

**TOWARD A BETTER
UNDERSTANDING OF THE
INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF
SOUTHWESTERN MALUKU**

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TOWARD A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF SOUTHWESTERN MALUKU¹

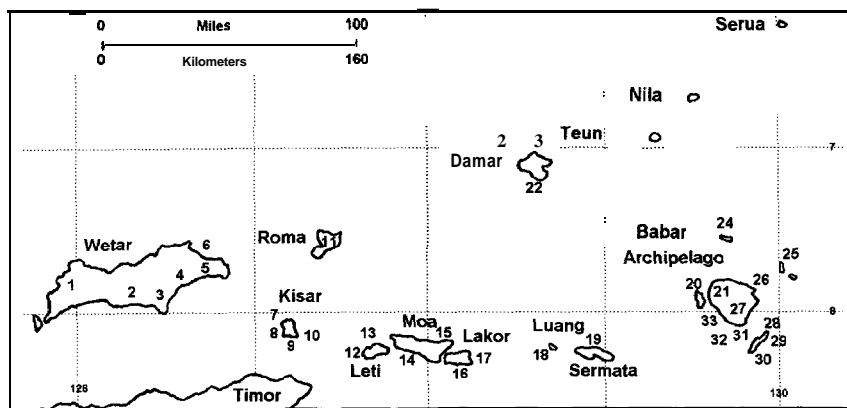
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Relatively little is known about the indigenous languages in southwestern Maluku, Indonesia. The reasons are many, not the least of which is the logistical remoteness of these nineteen islands. This paper seeks to update our understanding of the situation by presenting the results of a recent linguistic survey conducted by Pattimura University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Data were collected from 41 villages using a 210-item wordlist as the primary instrument. The data were subsequently analyzed with the aid of the computer program WORDSURV. The results have helped to answer our questions regarding (1) the number of languages currently spoken in southwestern Maluku, (2) their boundaries, (3) their relationship to each other, and (4) their relationship to languages in the Kei, Aru, and Tanimbar archipelagos of southeastern Maluku. Previous linguistic studies and classifications, together with sociolinguistic and demographic information collected during the study, were examined in order to add to our understanding of the area.

1. INTRODUCTION. There has been relatively little firsthand information published on the indigenous languages spoken in the southwestern part of the Indonesian province of Maluku (see the Area Map in the Introduction to this group of papers). Because these languages are distributed throughout 19 islands spread over 81 thousand square kilometers of ocean from the Babar archipelago in the east to **Wetar** and Ustutun in the west (see Map 1),² data have been difficult to obtain. The linguistic classification of these languages has been therefore no easy task, as seen from the divergent views expressed in the literature. This paper refers to these previous studies so that the reader will understand the extent of the work that has been done, and how the conclusions of the present study help to

**MAP 1. THE VILLAGES WHERE DATA WERE COLLECTED
(VILLAGE NAME-LANGUAGE NAME).**



- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 1. Ilmaumau— <i>Iliun</i> | 18. Luang Timur— <i>Luang</i> |
| 2. Hiay— <i>Talur</i> | 19. Mahaleta— <i>Luang</i> |
| 3. Ilwaki— <i>Talur</i> | 20. Nusiata— <i>Luang</i> |
| 4. Ilputih— <i>Aputai</i> | 21. Tapa— <i>Luang</i> |
| 5. Mahuan— <i>Tugun</i> | 22. Wulur— <i>East Damar</i> |
| 6. Moning— <i>Perai</i> | 23. Batumerah— <i>West Damar</i> |
| 7. Wonreli Kota— <i>Kisar</i> | 24. Hartuti— <i>Dai</i> |
| 8. Kota Lama— <i>Kisar</i> | 25. Welora— <i>Dawera-Daweloor</i> |
| 9. Mesiapy— <i>Kisar</i> | 26. Nakarahamto— <i>North Babar</i> |
| 10. Oirata Barat— <i>Oirata</i> | 27. Kokwari— <i>Southeast Babar</i> |
| 11. Jerusu— <i>Roma</i> | 28. Serili— <i>Serili</i> |
| 12. Tomra— <i>Luang</i> | 29. Latalola Besar— <i>East Masela</i> |
| 13. Tutukey— <i>Luang</i> | 30. Ilbutung— <i>Central Masela</i> |
| 14. Tounwawan— <i>Luang</i> | 31. Emplawas— <i>Emplawas</i> |
| 15. Poliuw— <i>Luang</i> | 32. Tela— <i>Tela-Masbuar</i> |
| 16. Letoda— <i>Luang</i> | 33. Imroing— <i>Imroing</i> |
| 17. Siera— <i>Luang</i> | |

provide a better understanding of these languages and their present-day relationships.

1.1 PREVIOUS STUDIES. S. J. Esser in 1938 contributed his linguistic findings in a brief article in *Arias van tropisch Nederland*. He mapped out the languages of Indonesia under three broad families: Malayo-Polynesian, North Halmaheran, and Papuan. Under the Malayo-Polynesian family, he listed 17 different groupings, one of which is the Ambon-Timor group. The 22 languages he listed in this group extended from central Maluku, through southeastern and southwestern Maluku, to the eastern Lesser Sunda Islands. For the southwestern Maluku area, Esser listed five languages: **Wetar**, **Roma**, **Kisar**, **Letinese**, and **Damar**.

Esser, who worked as a language officer for the Dutch colonial government in central Sulawesi (cf. Grimes and Grimes 1987: 4), made no attempt to explain the basis for his language groupings.

Richard Salzner in 1960 published a language atlas of the Indo-Pacific region, *Sprachenatlas des Indopazifischen Raumes*. Under the Austro-nesian Phylum, he lists West Indonesian and East Indonesian, with the Maluku languages falling under the latter. Thus, his East Indonesian division contains the Ambon-Timor Group, which has 18 further subgroupings, of which five are found in southwestern Maluku, which are in turn further subgrouped.

Like Esser, Salzner made no attempt to explain the basis on which he made his groupings or to show the degree of relationship between the groups. Salzner's (1960) subdivisions of Ambon-Timor do not correlate well with any other known study of the region, nor do they correlate with this present study.

The *Language Atlas of the Pacific Area* (Wurm and Hattori 1981) includes a map labeled "Lesser Sunda Islands and Timor" with the information compiled by J. J. Fox and S. A. Wurm, which includes the languages located in southwestern Maluku. Wurm and Hattori (1981) classify all the languages in the present study under the Timor Area Group within the Timor and Islands Subgroup. Wurm and Hattori (1981) is the most recent and most helpful resource available for comparison with the results of the present study.

1.2 PURPOSE. The purpose of this study was to collect firsthand data necessary for determining how many indigenous languages are spoken today in southwestern Maluku, where these language boundaries are, and to make an approximation of how the languages are related to each other. A secondary purpose was to gain the means to evaluate existing literature on the area (as to its reliability and what is meant by such terms as "language," "dialect," and "closely related").

As a result of the study, preliminary language groupings have been made. It is expected that the picture presented here will require further refinement when the more detailed methods of intelligibility testing (Casad 1974), comparative analysis, and sociolinguistic assessments are applied.

2. PROCEDURE. The intent of the study, together with the difficulty of travel, made lexicostatistics³ the method of choice for getting a preliminary calibration on previous studies, reported information, and my own data. However, lexical similarity was used merely as an initial indicator of groupings. No final clustering decisions were made without corroborating evidence. Several trips totaling eight weeks in the area were required to

Oirata Barat (Kisar)-Oirata

11 Ilmaumau (Wetar)-Iliun

11 74 Mahuan (Wetar)-Tugun

12 74 77 Moning (Wetar)-Perai

11 73 77 79 Iputih (Wetar)-Aputai

11 60 59 59 68 Ilwaki (Wetar)-Talur

12 61 60 60 67 91 Hiay (Wetar)-Talur

12 47 47 45 47 50 51 Kota Lama (Kisar)-Kisar

12 48 45 44 45 48 49 98 Mesiapy (Kisar)-Kisar

12 47 45 44 45 50 50 98 99 Wonreli Kota (Kisar)-Kisar

12 48 48 44 46 48 49 62 62 63 Jerusu (Roma)-Roma

10 51 49 48 48 48 49 58 58 58 60 Tomra (Leti)-Luang

10 49 50 47 47 48 48 56 55 57 59 97 Tutukey (Leti)-Luang

10 47 48 46 47 48 48 55 56 57 58 88 88 Poliuw (Moa)-Luang

10 48 49 46 47 48 48 56 56 57 58 88 88 99 Tounwawan (Moa)-Luang

10 48 48 45 46 47 47 55 55 56 57 89 89 95 95 Letoda (Lakor)-Luang

10 49 48 46 46 47 47 56 56 56 57 88 88 93 93 98 Siera (Lakor)-Luang

10 49 50 47 47 48 48 56 56 57 59 89 89 95 95 95 93 Luang Timur (Luang)-Luang

09 49 48 45 46 47 47 55 55 56 58 88 87 93 92 92 91 97 Mahaleta (Sermata)-Luang

10 48 48 45 46 47 47 54 54 55 54 83 83 89 89 88 88 87 87 Tapa (Babar)-Luang

10 47 46 43 44 44 45 53 53 53 54 82 81 88 87 87 87 88 88 97 Nusiata (Wetan)-Luang

10464642 43 4443 51 51 52 52 78 79 84 848482 848393 93 Isu (Teun)-Luang

10 46 45 43 44 44 44 49 49 49 51 77 77 82 83 82 81 83 81 91 91 97 Layeni (Teun)-Luang

10 43 44 43 44 47 47 45 45 45 47 56 56 57 57 56 56 57 54 53 51 50 51 W

104339373841404041424250505253525054515049515048M

10414037384037394040405151525252505451515051514884J

1040383637393940414142504951515050525049474848468183

0943413939424142434343494947474746494747464949466568

104240393942404041414242484847464646484747464847486364

104240393942404142414242484847464645484747464747476464

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0835323331353535363636484549494749494851514947374139

08312930283129373738354645454544474546454544343836

0732313129333135353535474747464746484649474746363837

073535353363439383837494950494947494952525150373939

07333131293332393938494849484949505051515049364141

0634323230333136363737494848484949505050494645373837

0733323231343334343536464649485048495051504847373837

0631323231343235343536454548474746484849494746383534

0734343332343336363530373737373736373733333332313535

093734363636373737373436353636373536353534353333363534

0940393838404042424339444342434242434241404039393838

0734333232343334343432373637373736363534323334343331

093736343634343537373734393939393939403837363938383636

0836343433363640414136424241414040424039383938383737

0626252424282826262625272727262525272725242623252222

B

**FIGURE 1: THE FORTY-ONE VILLAGES SURVEYED
IN SOUTHWESTERN MALUKU PLUS SEVEN VILLAGES*
IN SOUTHEASTERN MALUKU**

Key: Village Name (Island)-Language Name

Wulur (Damar)-East Damar

Mesa (Teun)-Teun

Jafila (Teun)-Teun

B ... Bumei (Nila)-Teun

K ... 74 Kokroman (Nila)-Nila

W .. 70 77 Waru (Serua)-Serua

T ... 70 75 97 Terana (Serua)-Serua

B ... 39 38 38 37 Batumerab (Damar)-West Damar

W .. 39 37 37 36 40 Welora (Dawera)-Dawera-Daweloor

H ... 40 38 38 36 38 70 Hartuti (Dai)-Dai

N ... 40 40 37 35 38 65 68 Nakarahamto (Babar)-North Babar

K ... 35 38 34 33 38 47 48 51 Kokwari (Babar)-Southeast Babar

S ... 35 38 34 33 37 46 47 52 76 Serili (Marsela)-Serili

L ... 37 39 36 34 42 49 50 52 76 78 Latalola Besar (Marsela)-East Masela

I 39 41 37 36 39 46 48 52 71 74 78 Ibbutung (Marsela)-Central Masela

E ... 36 37 35 34 40 50 50 53 65 69 71 73 Emplawas (Babar)-Emplawas

T ... 36 35 36 34 37 48 50 5 1 62 67 69 67 76 Tela (Babar)-Tela-Masbuar

I 32 32 33 32 36 45 44 48 60 61 67 67 70 76 Imroing (Babar)-Imroing

L ... 33 32 33 34 27 29 30 29 29 28 31 31 29 27 26 Lingat (Selaru)-Selaru*

M .. 34 34 34 34 29 25 28 26 27 25 28 27 28 27 26 45 Makatian (Tanimbar)-Makatian*

A ... 39 40 40 40 34 31 3 1 29 30 29 32 3 1 32 29 27 36 39 Atubul Dol (Tanimbar)-Yamdena*

D ... 32 34 36 35 28 27 28 29 28 26 27 27 28 25 25 28 33 43 Debut (Kei Kecil)-Kei*

K ... 35 35 34 34 29 28 29 30 28 26 29 26 29 27 25 30 30 40 43 Kur Kilmas (Kur)-Teor-Kur*

E ... 38 39 38 37 30 29 30 30 31 30 32 31 31 29 28 31 30 41 39 41 Elat (Kei Besar)-Banda*

B ... 25 25 25 20 22 24 24 19 18 20 19 19 17 19 23 27 27 28 26 Benjina (Aru)-Manombai*

collect word lists from 41 villages (see Map 1). The data were collected from native speakers who were themselves the offspring of native speakers. The 210-word list used in this study and others in the area includes most of the items from the Swadesh 100- and 200-word lists.⁴

In analyzing the data, the inspection method (Gudschinsky 1964) was used to make the initial groupings for determining the percentages of lexical similarity among the 48 wordlists.⁵ This was accomplished by grouping words that were considered to be both phonetically and semantically similar into sets of probable cognates. Then the computer program, WORDSLJRV (Wimbish 1989), was used to refine the initial groupings by performing a computational analysis of regular sound changes.⁶ WORDSURV was also used to permute and display the results in a lexical similarity percentages matrix (see Figure 1).

3. CLASSIFICATION. For the purpose of comparing lexical similarity between languages, a language-defined taxonomy is helpful in giving an approximation of how closely languages are synchronically related. However, there are numerous factors (e.g., rate of language change, size and content of wordlists) that prevent the setting of universal percentage boundaries for taxonomic levels. Rather, for each study conducted, one must examine the individual statistics to see where the lexical similarity percentages (LSP) reveal the internal and significant groupings (see Simons 1977c). One must also consider both firsthand observations and speakers' opinions about their language situation as corroborating evidence in determining the present-day language groupings. These play an important role in either validating or calling into question groupings made on the basis of lexicostatistics alone.

Therefore, the thresholds of lexical similarity that seem significant for this study are defined by the following taxonomy.⁷

| TERM | LSP RANGE |
|----------|---------------------|
| Phylum | 0–15% |
| Branch | 15–25% ⁸ |
| Group | 25–40% |
| Subgroup | 40–60% |
| Cluster | 60–75% |
| Language | 75–80% |
| Dialect | above 80% |

In the present study, languages within the LSP range of 75–80% are considered to be closely related, meaning that they may be approaching the threshold of inherent intelligibility. This threshold of comprehension,

which separates language from dialect, can be determined accurately only by further investigation and testing (Casad 1974).

4. THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTHWESTERN MALUKU. The analysis of the data presented in this study show the relationships among all 24 of the indigenous languages located in southwestern Maluku (see Figure 1). Figure 2 presents the broad overview of these languages and their relationships, while Figure 3 presents their lexicostatistic relationships. These figures show the two phyla, Non-Austronesian and Austronesian, with only one language under the **former**⁹ and three major groupings under the latter. In addition, seven representative languages from the Aru, Kei, and Tanimbar archipelagos have been compared with the southwestern Maluku languages to give an indication of the relationship between these geographic neighbors.

4.1 NON-AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGE: OIRATA. The Oirata language is spoken in only two small villages on the southeastern side of the island of Kisar by approximately 1200 speakers (see Map 1).¹⁰ The Oirata people informed me that hundreds of years ago their ancestors migrated from the eastern tip of Timor Island to Kisar. De Josselin de Jong (1937) also made this claim. Cape11 made a brief comparison of Oirata and Makasai, a language of East Timor, stating, "... comparison of the language [Oirata] in de Jong's book will show a considerable amount of agreement with Makasai. ... however, ... [Oirata] is not derived directly from modern Makasai" (1943 : 328). The alternate name of Oirata, *Maaro* (B. F. Grimes 1992), originates from the family name of the first clan that migrated to Kisar from East Timor.

Therefore, the relationship of Oirata with other non-Austronesian languages in Timor needs further study. Oirata is clearly not related to the Kisar language, in spite of Salzner's (1960) classification. Wurm and Hattori (198 1) place the Oirata language under the Trans-New Guinea Phylum within the Timor-Alor-Pantar Stock.

4.2 AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES. All of the 23 Austronesian languages in the present study belong to one branch (LSP 25540%) and fall within Blust's (1977, 1981) Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) subgrouping. CMP consists of the Malayo-Polynesian languages "of the Lesser Sunda Islands east of Sumbawarese and of the southern and central Moluccas" (1981: 21). This grouping roughly corresponds to Esser's (1938) Ambon-Timor Group and Dyen's (1965) "Moluccan Linkage." Although many further studies have been done within different areas of CMP, there is no clear picture as to how all of these languages relate to

**FIGURE 2: OVERVIEW OF THE LANGUAGES OF
SOUTHWESTERN MALUKU**

NON-AUSTRONESIAN

Oirata

AUSTRONESIAN

Southwest **Maluku** Group

Wetar Subgroup

Talur

Wetar Cluster

Aputai

Perai

Tugun

Iliun

Kisar-Roma Subgroup

Kisar

Roma

Luang

Luang

Leti

Luang

Wetan

East Damar

East Damar

TNS (Teun-Nila-Serua) Subgroup

Teun

Nila-Serua Cluster

Nila

Serua

West Damar Isolate

West Damar

Babar Group

North Babar Subgroup

North Babar

Dai

Dawera-Daweloor

South Babar Subgroup

Southwest Babar Cluster

Emplawas

Tela-Masbuar

Imroing

Masela-Southeast Babar Cluster

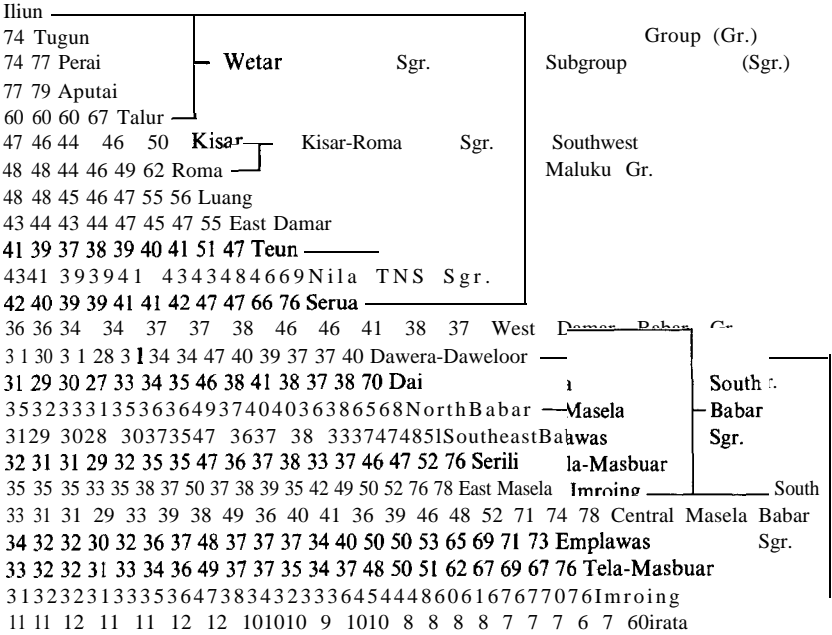
Southeast Babar

Serili

East Masela

Central Masela

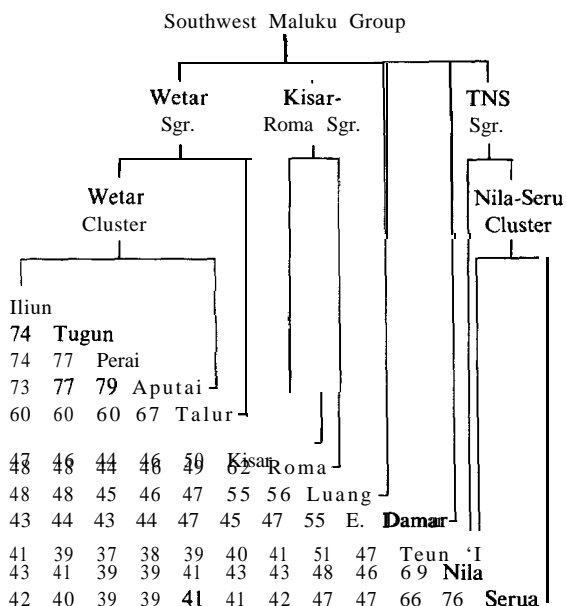
FIGURE 3: THE 24 LANGUAGES OF SOUTHWESTERN MALUKU



each other, especially at the higher-level groupings. Though the languages in the present study do not clarify the big picture, they add one more necessary piece to the CMP puzzle. In this section these languages are divided into their three major groupings, the Southwest Maluku Group, the West Damar Isolate, and the Babar Group.

4.2.1 **Southwest Maluku Group.** The Southwest Maluku Group consists of the twelve languages in Figure 4, exactly half of the 24 southwestern Maluku languages of Figure 3. Although the present study contains no data from Timor, it is believed that the languages in the Southwest Maluku Group are directly related to the languages of Timor (e.g., form a subgroup under a larger Timor grouping). For instance, as noted above, Wurm and Hattori (1981) place these languages in the Timor Area Group and within the Timor and Islands Subgroup. C. Grimes (1991) classifies the Southwest Maluku languages with those of Timor, as a possible first-order subgrouping within Central Malayo-Polynesian. A. van Engelenhoven (1987) also posited such a relationship when he reconstructed Proto-Luangese-Kisarese, claiming that the daughter languages are a part of a larger Proto-Timor grouping.

FIGURE 4: THE 12 LANGUAGES OF THE SOUTHWEST MALUKU GROUP



4.2.1.1 Wetar Subgroup. Although the lexicostatistic analysis clearly shows **Wetar** to be comprised of the Talur language and the **Wetar Cluster** languages, this is a distinction that has not been made previously. Both Esser (1938) and Salzner (1960) identify **Wetar** as one language, although Salzner adds as dialects the names of Ilwaki, Tutunohan, Limera, Hahutan, Welemur, and Galoli. Voegelin and Voegelin (1977) follow Salzner (1960), except that instead of including the Galoli dialect, they add the Erai dialect from de Josselin de Jong's (1947) study. Wurm and Hattori list only Ilwaki, Tutunohan, Limera, Hahutan and Welemur as dialects in their description. They do point out, however, that "the differences between the **Wetar** dialects are considerable, and there are numerous sub-dialects" (1981: 40). The present study concurs with this description. Much of the following information on the **Wetar** languages, including the use of the indigenous language names (see Map 1), results from a recent study by Bryan Hinton (1990).

4.2.1.1.1 Talur Language. Figure 4 shows the Talur language to be slightly more divergent than the rest of the **Wetar** languages. Using independently collected data, Hinton (1990) also shows the same basic statistical break

FIGURE 5: THE KISAR AND ROMA LANGUAGES

Jerusu (Roma)
 63 Wonreli Kota (Kisar)
 62 99 Mesiapy (Kisar)
 62 98 98 Kota Lama (Kisar)

between Talur and the other languages of **Wetar**.¹¹ Cape11 speaks of the “noticeable dialect differences within the **Wetar** language” (1944 : 40-41) and reports that the Ilwaki “dialect” (an alternate name for the Talur language) is almost the same as the Galoli language of East Timor. While this would explain why Talur is more different than any of the other languages on **Wetar**, in the larger context of the Southwest Maluku Group, Talur does not diverge at all. This fact is further evidence that the languages of the Southwest Maluku Group are directly related to those on Timor.

4.2.1.1.2 **Wetar** Cluster. The **Wetar** Cluster is made up of the Aputai, Perai, Tugun, and Iliun languages. They are all relatively small languages with a combined total of approximately 3000 speakers in 19 villages. The Iliun language also extends to the island of Ustutun just off the southwestern coast of **Wetar**. Intelligibility testing among the speakers of these languages is needed in order to determine whether they have the ability to understand each other.

4.2.1.2 Kisar-Roma Subgroup. The present study concurs with previous studies of the area, which have all classified Kisar and Roma as separate languages (see Figure 5).

4.2.1.2.1 Kisar Language. The Kisar language (also known as **Meher**) is spoken on the island of Kisar by approximately 10,000 people in 20 villages (see Map 1). There are also an additional two Kisar-speaking villages known to be on **Wetar** (Hinton 1990) and two more on Roma (Steven 1991), as well as a large community in Ambon, Maluku’s provincial capital (Christensen 1992).

The Kisar people refer to their own language as *Yotowawa*, and they have a strong ethnic identity. The island of Kisar has a certain prestige, since it was once a Portuguese stronghold in the 1500s and was later occupied by the Dutch. There are remnants of Portuguese and Dutch forts still standing in the village of Kota Lama. The Portuguese and Dutch influence is still evident today in the architecture, the family names, the many loanwords, and in some anatomical features passed down through intermarriage (e.g., blue eyes, red hair).

4.2.1.2.2 Roma Language. The Roma language is spoken on the island of the same name (see Map 1). An alternate name, Romang, is commonly used by outsiders (B. F. Grimes 1992); the indigenous term is *Mnyala Riomana* meaning ‘the Roma language’ (literally ‘the speech of Roma’). There are approximately 1700 speakers who all live in the village of Jerusu on the southeastern coast of Roma Island. This one village is made up of several smaller subvillages, which stretch for about 10 kilometers along the coast. There is a small group of Roma speakers living on the island of Ambon, and individual speakers are scattered throughout the islands of southwestern Maluku. There appear to be no significant dialect differences. The **two** other villages on the island, Hila and **Solath**, were established relatively recently by Kisar speakers (Steven 1990).

4.2.1.3’ Luang Language. Luang is the largest language group in southwestern Maluku, both numerically and geographically, spreading over 200 kilometers from east to west. It is spoken by approximately 24,000 speakers in 49 villages on the western part of Babar Island and on the islands of **Wetan**, Sermata, Luang, Lakor, Moa, and **Leti** (see Map 1). There are also two Luang-speaking villages, Isu and **Layeni**,¹² that were once located on the island of Teun and have since relocated to the TNS resettlement area in south-central Seram.

The data reveal the Luang language to have a unique relationship with the rest of the Austronesian languages in southwestern Maluku. Looking only at the lexical similarity percentages (LSP) of Figure 3, Luang appears to be equally related to all of the 23 Austronesian languages in this study, including the West Damar isolate. Although this presents a potential problem for its classification, a closer look at the LSP reveals an internal cohesion between Luang and the rest of the languages of the Southwest Maluku Group. This perspective would indicate that Luang is more directly related to these languages than to the West Damar language or to the Babar languages, with which it appears to converge (see Figures 6 and 7).

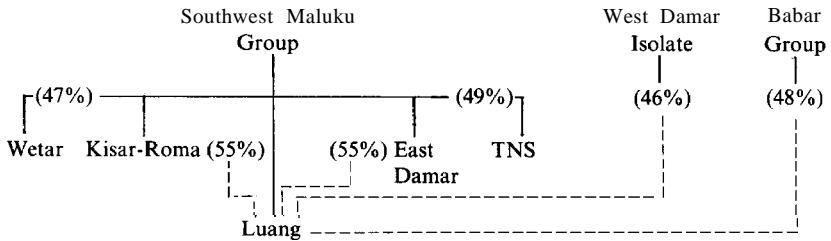
After I went to live on Luang Island to study the language and culture, I was able to collect further information to add to my understanding of the area. Several factors affect the situation. (1) The island of Luang has a certain prestige in being a *pusat adat* or ‘cultural center’ and a *pusat sejarah* or ‘historical center’.¹³ (2) There are almost as many speakers of the Luang language in southwestern Maluku as there are of all the other languages combined. (3) Because the Luang people are a seafaring people ‘who frequently travel to the other islands to trade, there is a high degree of contact and much intermarriage.

Taking all of these factors together, it is easy to see how widespread convergence with neighboring languages might have taken place. This

FIGURE 6: LSPs INDICATING LUANG'S RELATIONSHIP TO ALL THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTHWESTERN MALUKU

| | | |
|-------|------------|-----------------------|
| Wetar | Subgroup | |
| 47 | Kisar-Roma | Subgroup |
| 47 | 55 | Luang Language |
| 44 | 46 | 55 |
| | East Damar | Language |
| 40 | 41 | 49 |
| | 47 | TNS Subgroup |
| 35 | 37 | 46 |
| | 6 | 39 |
| | West Damar | Isolate |
| 32 | 36 | 48 |
| | 37 | 37 |
| | 38 | Babar Group |

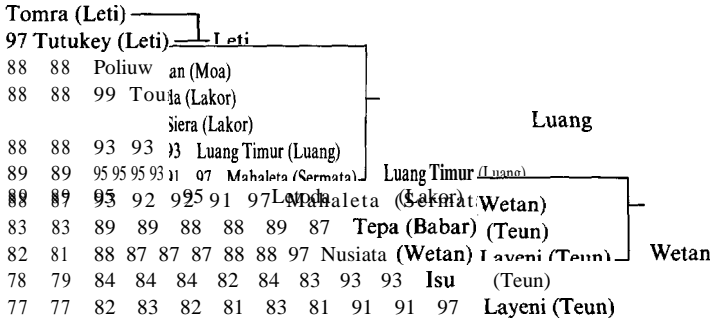
FIGURE 7: LUANG CONVERGENCE PATTERN



convergence is seen not only outside of the Southwest Maluku Group, but also within the group, as Luang appears significantly closer to Kisar, Roma, and East Damar (55%) than it is to the other languages. It shares 47% with the **Wetar** languages and 49% with the TNS (Teun, **Nila**, Serua) languages (see Figure 7.) Looking only at the numbers of Figure 7, one might consider the numerical break between Luang, Kisar-Roma, East Damar languages, and the **Wetar**, TNS languages significant enough to group Luang, Kisar-Roma and East Damar together as one separate subgrouping under the Southwest Maluku Group. However, this closer relationship (55%) is only between Luang and Kisar-Roma, and Luang and East Damar. Whereas, Kisar-Roma and South Damar relate to each other at the same level as do all the other languages within the Southwest Maluku Group (at 46%). Therefore, because of this fact and because of Luang's strong influence in the area, the numbers should be understood to reflect an external influence rather than an internal relationship. There is, however, the possibility that Luang and Kisar-Roma could form a separate subgroup based on van Engelenhoven's (1987) data, Mills and **Grima** (1980), and Blust's conclusion that "these data indicate that the languages of Roma (or Romang), Kisar, the **Leti-Moa** and Luang-Sermata Archipelagos and **Wetan/Wetang** probably form a relatively close-knit subgroup" (de Josselin de Jong 1987 : viii).

Salzner's (1960) study uses **Leti** as the name for the Luang language and subdivides it into two main dialects: Lire **Leti** and **Literi** Lagona, which are further separated into subdialects. The results presented here differ

FIGURE 8: THE DIALECTS OF THE LUANG LANGUAGE



greatly in that Salzner’s (1960) Moa and Lakor subdialects of Lire Leti are both placed by the present study in the Luang dialect, while the Leti dialect remains separate (see Figure 8). Also, Salzner’s (1960) Manowui and Wetoki subdialects of Literi Lagona are placed by the present study as dialects of the North Babar language. Salzner’s (1960) Letwuring, Kokowari (Kokwari), and Anlutur subdialects are placed by the present study as dialects of the Southeast Babar language. Finally, Salzner’s (1960) Imroin (Imroing) and Tela’a (Tela) are classified by the present study as languages in the Southwest Babar Cluster.¹⁴ Voegelin and Voegelin (1977) appear to use Salzner as their source, following the same language and dialect names while classifying them as “Letic” according to Dyen’s (1965) “Moluccan Linkage.” Wurm and Hattori (1981) use the name Letri Lagona, however, their map does not list which villages (dialects) belong to that language.

Luang is the common term used for the language and is the name of the island from which it originated. Only the people who live on the island of Luang refer to their own language as *Leteri Lagona*, meaning ‘to speak Luang’ or ‘the language of Luang’. The people from each of the other islands in the Luang language group refer to their form of speech (their dialect) by the name of their own island (Lir Leti, Lir Moa, Lir Lakor, etc.). However, the inhabitants all acknowledge speaking the same language, which they agree originated from the island of Luang. Therefore, because Luang is acknowledged to be the prestige dialect and also considered to be the linguistic, historical, and cultural center, I have chosen to use Luang as the language name for the group.

The Luang language includes three statistically significant internal groupings, which point to three main dialects: **Leti** in the west, **Wetan** (sometimes referred to as **Wetang**) in the east, and Luang in the center (see Map 1).

The results of this study show the **Leti** dialect to be spoken by approxi-

FIGURE 9: THE LUANG SUBDIALECT GROUPINGS

Poliuw (Moa)
 99 Tounwawan (Moa)
 95 95 Letoda (Lakor)
 93 93 8 Siera (Lakor)
 95 95 95 93 Luang Timur (Luang)
 93 92 92 91 97 Mahaleta (Sermata)

FIGURE 10: THE **WETAN** SUBDIALECT GROUPINGS

Tepa (West Babar)
 97 Nusiata (**Wetan**)
 93 93 Isu (**Teun**)
 91 91 97 Layeni (**Teun**)

mately 7,000 people who live on the island of **Leti**. Several previous studies have been done on **Leti**, including Jonker (1932), Mills and Grima (1980) and the Holle lists compiled by Stokhof (1980a, b). Included in these lists is a 1,400-item wordlist taken by L. Ch. A. Moorrees in 1895 from the **Leti** dialect (see Figure 11). More recent study of **Leti** has been done by van Engelenhoven (1987, 1991).

The Luang dialect is spoken by over 12,000 people living on the islands of Moa, Lakor, Luang, and Sermata. Figure 9 points to the slight differences between speakers of this dialect living on each of these islands. These lexical differences could be interpreted as defining subdialects. Nothing, however, is yet known about the level of comprehension or inherent intelligibility among speakers from these islands.

The **Wetan** dialect is spoken by approximately 5,000 people on the island of **Wetan**, on the western part of Babar Island in the two villages of Tepa and Letsiara, and on south-central Seram in the two transmigration villages of Isu and Layeni. In his linguistic notes on **Wetan**, de Josselin de Jong (1987) describes the distinctives of the **Wetan** dialect, including the absence of an /h/ phoneme (see Figure 11). De Josselin de Jong also recorded many stories from **Wetan's** past. Included in these texts is a **Wetan** ancestor named **Pai** who moved and resettled on the island of Teun. Figure 10 shows the difference between **Wetan**-West Babar and the two villages on Seram (Isu and Layeni) that were once located on Teun Island. This difference is representative of the geographical distance between the two speech communities over a long period of time.

The differences among the three Luang dialects are further illustrated by the following synchronic sound correspondences: **Leti** /w/: Luang /g/: **Wetan** /y/; and **Leti** /s/: Luang /h/: **Wetan** / \emptyset /, among others (see Figure 11). There are also noticeable differences in the intonation patterns.

Information obtained from native speakers throughout the Luang lan-

FIGURE 11: THE THREE LUANG DIALECTS COMPARED WITH HOLLE LIST ITEMS

| GLOSS | HOLLE LIST | LETI | LUANG | WETAN |
|----------|------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 'water' | were | were | gera | yera |
| 'island' | nusa | nuse | noha | noe |
| 'tooth' | nise | nise | niha | nie |
| 'face' | woone | woone | gaini | yani |

guage is conflicting. Some speakers insist that they can understand speakers from a different dialect area, while others say they can only understand a part of what people from the other dialects are saying. This may point to passive bilingualism due to frequent contact, which can easily be confused with inherent intelligibility. It is clear that intelligibility testing and further sociolinguistic survey work is needed before firm dialect boundaries can be drawn.

4.2.1.4 East Damar Language. Previous studies refer to Damar as having north and south “dialects.” However, because the terms east (for south) and west (for north) seem to be more appropriate from the geographical, cultural, and linguistic point of view (Sandra Pannell communication via C. Grimes), they are included in the present study.

The East Damar language is spoken in six villages by approximately 2800 people on the east side of Damar Island. Figure 3 reveals an internal cohesion between East Damar and the other languages of the Southwest Maluku Group. East Damar also shows slight convergence with West Damar (at 46%), probably resulting from a great amount of contact over a long period of time. Comparative study is needed before any firm conclusions can be drawn. It is clear, however, that East Damar is not a dialect of West Damar, as put forth by Esser (1938), Salzner (1960), and Wurm and Hattori (1981). When questioning East Damar speakers as to whether the language of West Damar or Luang more closely resembles their own, they are quick to respond that it is Luang, adding that the West Damar language is very “strange.”

4.2.1.5 Teun-Nila-Serua Subgroup. The islands of Teun, Nila, and Serua (TNS) are located northeast of Damar Island¹⁵ (see Map 1). However, according to Collins (1982:125), “due to recent volcanic activity on Nila, and to the severe water shortages on all three islands, the people of all these islands have recently been resettled on the south coast of central Seram on the shores of the Elpaputih Bay.” Despite this fact, some people are returning to harvest spices.

The TNS languages consist of the Teun language and the Nila-Serua Cluster (see Figure 12). This analysis concurs with Collins’s conclusions

FIGURE 12: THE TNS LANGUAGES WITH EAST AND WEST DAMAR

| | | | | |
|-------------------|------|------|-------|-------------------|
| East Damar | | | | |
| 47 | Teun | | | |
| 46 | 69 | Nila | | |
| 47 | 66 | 76 | Serua | |
| 46 | 41 | 38 | 37 | West Damar |

FIGURE 13: THE TNS DIALECTS

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|--|--|--|---------|
| Mesa (Teun) | — | | | | } Teun |
| 84 Jafila (Teun) | — | | | | |
| 81 83 Bumei (Nila) | — | | | | } Nila |
| 65 68 74 Kokroman (Nila) | — | | | | |
| 63 64 70 77 Waru (Serua) | — | | | | } Serua |
| 64 64 70 75 97 Terana (Serua) | — | | | | |

concerning the TNS languages: “The Teun language, not mutually intelligible with Nila-Serua, is closely related” (1982: 124). This relationship is also reflected in Wurm and Hattori (1981). However, the TNS languages are clearly not dialects of the Damar language, as claimed by Esser (1938), Salzner (1960), and Voegelin and Voegelin (1977).

The TNS languages are also separated from those of southeastern Maluku since they relate at a much lower taxonomic range (approximately 34%; see Figure 1). This again concurs with Collins’s statement that “the languages of Teun, Serua, and Nila are further distinguished from Banda, at one time geographically the closest Central Maluku language ... Consequently the geographic boundary that separates Serua and Banda parallels a linguistic boundary” (1982 : 124).

4.2.1.5.1 Teun Language. The Teun language has approximately 1200 speakers living in four villages. One of these Teun-speaking villages, Bumei, was formerly located on Nila Island. While the Bumei wordlist in this study is obviously a Teun dialect, it is significantly closer to the Nila language than the other Teun dialects, Jafila and Mesa (see Figure 13). This fact probably results from contact-induced language change over a significant period of time.

4.2.1.5.2 Nila-Serua Cluster. The data show Nila and Serua to be more closely related to each other (at 76%) than to the Teun language (at 69% and 66% respectively; see Figure 13). As Collins (1982 : 124) reports: “On Nila and Serua the same language is spoken with only slight variation.” However, the information I obtained from the speakers of these languages is ambivalent, with some saying they can understand each other, and

others saying they cannot. Sporadic bilingualism may be a factor, but intelligibility still needs to be measured.

There are approximately 1800 people who are presently recognized as Nila speakers living in six villages on Seram. The 2000 Serua speakers are located in four villages in the same resettlement area.

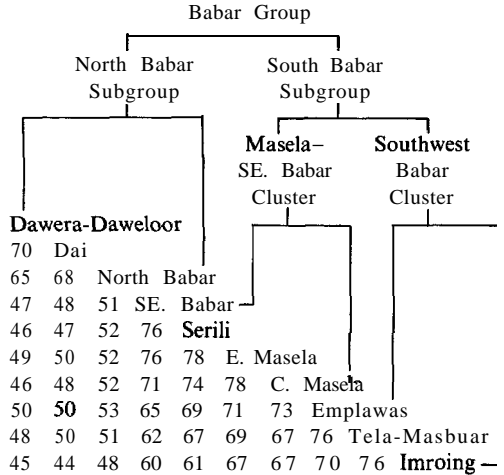
4.2.2 West Damar Isolate. The West Damar language is spoken by approximately 800 people in the two remote villages of Batumerah and Kuai-Melu on the northwestern side of Damar Island. The West Damar language is known in the area as being quite distinct from nearby languages.

The data show the West Damar language to be an isolate, not closely related to any of the languages in this study (see Figure 3). The status of West Damar is unclear and further study is needed. The present study differs from that of Esser (1938) and Salzner (1960), who classify all of Damar together with Teun, Nila, and Serua as one language group. The present study also differs from Wurm and Hattori (1981) who classify West Damar as a dialect of East Damar. West Damar is also very divergent from the representative languages of southeast Maluku (approx. 28%; see Figure 1), and is therefore not believed to be closely related to any language or grouping from that area. Long-term study in the area is needed to sort out any contact-induced language change that might be obscuring its classification. Further work is needed to see if it groups together with the Central Maluku languages, or with other languages on Timor.

4.2.3 Babar Group. The Babar Group is divided into North and South subgroupings. The South Babar Subgroup is further divided into the Southwest Babar Cluster and the Masela-Southeast Babar Cluster. When looking at the overall picture, the languages of the Babar Group show approximately the same degree of lexical similarity to the languages of the Southwest Maluku Group as they do to the representative languages of southeastern Maluku (see Figure 1). The languages of the Babar Group, therefore, can be seen as transitional between the languages of the Southwest Maluku Group (and therefore, between all the Timor-related languages) and the languages of southeastern Maluku. C. Grimes (1990) concurs, and classifies the Babar languages as transitional in a chaining of subgroups within CMP. Wurm and Hattori (1981) on the other hand, place the languages in the Babar Group under their Timor and Islands Subgroup. Comparative study is needed to determine these genetic relationships before any final conclusions can be drawn.

In looking at the language relationships within the Babar Group, the results of this study differ significantly from the previous lower-level classi-

FIGURE 14: THE BABAR LANGUAGES



fications of Esser (1938) and Salzner (1960), who list the languages of the entire Babar Archipelago as dialects of their Leti (Luang) language. Wurm and Hattori (1981) only list Dawera-Daweloor, Dai, and Masela-South Babar as separate from their Letri Lgona (Luang) language. As previously stated, Luang has had a significant influence on all the languages of southwestern Maluku, including those of the Babar Archipelago. This, however, does not prove that they are closely related or that they should be grouped together. On the contrary, the internal cohesion (see Figure 3) clearly shows the divergent relationship between the Babar Group, the West Damar Isolate, and the Southwest Maluku Group.

4.2.3.1 North Babar Subgroup. The North Babar grouping consists of three languages: Dawera-Daweloor, Dai, and North Babar (see Figure 14). The Dawera-Daweloor language is spoken by nearly 1500 people living in six villages on the islands of Dawera and Daweloor, located to the east of Babar Island. The Dai language is spoken by approximately 800 people living in three villages on the island of Dai, located north of Babar. The North Babar language is spoken by nearly 1500 people in six villages on the north side of Babar Island (see Map 1).

4.2.3.2 South Babar Subgroup. The South Babar Subgroup consists of the Southwest Babar Cluster and the Masela-Southeast Babar Cluster. The South Babar Group corresponds with Wurm and Hattori's (1981) Masela-South Babar language, under which they list several dialects that correspond to the languages listed in the present study.¹⁶

4.2.3.2.1 Southwest Babar Cluster. The Southwest Babar Cluster consists of three languages: Emplawas, Tela-Masbuar and Imroing. These are spoken in villages of the same names located along the southwestern coast of Babar Island (see Map 1). Emplawas has approximately 250 speakers, Tela and Masbuar total approximately 1050 speakers, and Imroing has approximately 450 speakers.

Figure 14 shows how the present study differs from Wurm and **Hattori** (1981), who list Tela-Masboar (Tela-Masbuar) and Emplawas as dialects of their Masela-South Babar language. Imroing, which they appear to include in their Letri Lgona (Luang) language, is not mentioned.

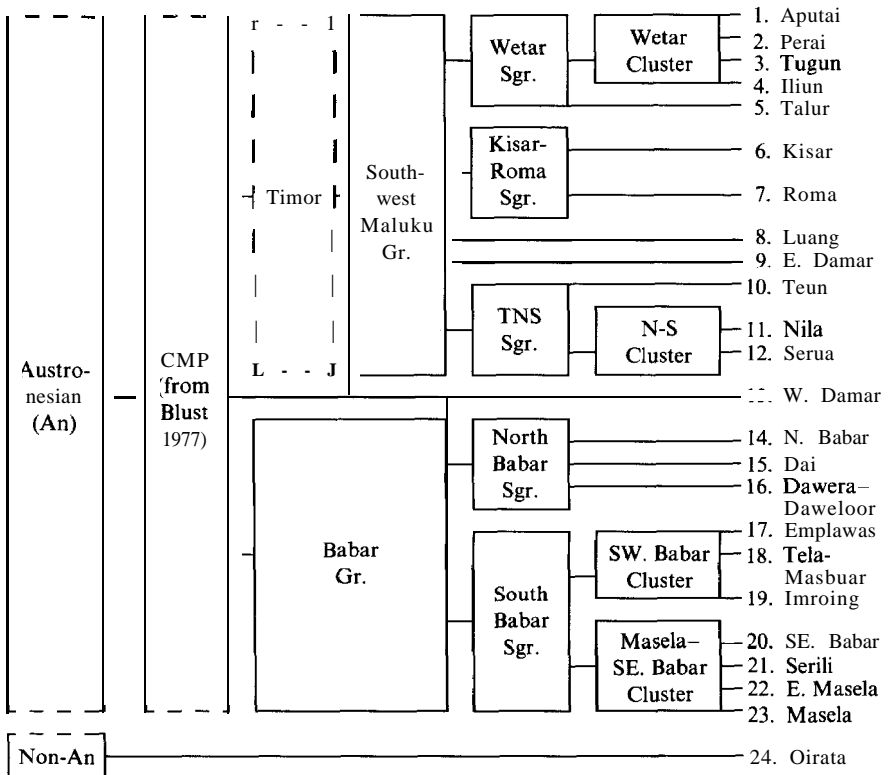
The villages of the Southwest Babar Cluster are rather isolated from each other, and the information from native speakers about the level of comprehension between the languages varies widely. It is possible that word taboos in the archipelago, and throughout all of southwestern Maluku, could be a factor in skewing the analysis, showing the divergence to be greater than it actually is. Therefore, it is evident that further investigation, including intelligibility testing, is needed before firm conclusions can be drawn.

4.2.3.2.2 Masela-Southeast Babar Cluster. The Masela-Southeast Babar Cluster consists of four languages: Southeast Babar, Serili, East Masela, and Central Masela. The Southeast Babar language is spoken by approximately 3325 people living in eight villages along the southeastern coast of Babar. The Serili language, which is limited to one village by that name, is located at the northern tip of Marsela Island and is spoken by more than 300 people in the Serili village. The rest of the island of Marsela, which includes the two language groups of East and Central Masela, has a population of nearly 2000 people.

The language picture in this cluster is still unclear, since not every village was surveyed and there appears to be chaining (see Figure 14). Wurm and **Hattori** report the Serili dialect "to be highly aberrant" (1981:40). They also show the inhabitants in the villages on the southern end of Marsela Island to speak the West Masela dialect. However, the author was unable to gather any data from that area. Toos van Dijk and **Nico de Jonge**, two Dutch anthropologists who have spent some time living in the area, also speak of the linguistic complexity: "Within the [Babar] archipelago we can distinguish at least six separate linguistic units. The islands of Marsela on the one hand, and of Dawera and Daweloor on the other, differ so much in this respect, that the inhabitants of these islands often have to avail themselves of Moluccan Malay for the purposes of communication" (1987 : 56, 57). It is obvious that in-depth intelligibility testing, comparative study, and sociolinguistic survey work is needed to give a clearer picture of the linguistic relationships within this language cluster.

4.2.4 The Languages of Southeastern Maluku. Seven representative languages from southeastern Maluku” have been compared with all the languages in southwestern Maluku for the purpose of ascertaining the overall linguistic relationships between the two geographic areas. As previously mentioned, Collins (1982) points to a linguistic break between Banda and the TNS languages that corresponds to their geographic separation. This study supports such a view, and not just between Banda and TNS, but also between the geographic areas of southeastern and southwestern Maluku (see Figure 1). The lexical similarity is significantly low (approx. 23%) between Manombai, a representative language from the Aru Archipelago, and the rest of the languages in this study. The other representative languages from the Kei and Tanimbar archipelagos are significantly higher (approx. 36%) in their degree of lexical similarity with the rest of the languages in southwestern Maluku. Although only one language from Aru was compared, this statistically significant break points

FIGURE 15: SUMMARY CLASSIFICATION OF THE LANGUAGES IN SOUTHWESTERN MALUKU



to a distinct separation between the Aru languages and the Kei and Tanimbar languages. This point concurs with C. Grimes (1991) who tentatively classifies the Southeast Maluku (Kei and Tanimbar) languages and the Aru languages as separate subgroups under CMP.

5. SUMMARY. This study has described 24 languages spread across the remote islands of southwestern Maluku. Diversity is displayed in several ways: (1) the two linguistic phyla, Non-Austronesian and Austronesian; (2) the three distinct Austronesian internal groupings: the Southwest Maluku Group, the West Damar Isolate, and the Babar Group; and (3) the clear linguistic separation of the southwestern Maluku languages from the Southeast Maluku and Aru languages. Yet despite the diversity, there is an intriguing pattern of convergence in the Luang language (and culture) because of its unique relationship to the other Austronesian languages in the area.

In looking at the data from these 24 languages and comparing this new information with what has been discovered in the past, we have gained a fresh insight into how these languages are related to each other (see Figure 15 for a summary classification).” Although many questions still remain, this study brings us one step closer to a better understanding of the indigenous languages of southwestern Maluku.

APPENDIX WORDLISTS FROM THE 24 LANGUAGES OF SOUTHWESTERN MALUKU

Language Code

Ind – Indonesian
Oir – Oirata
IIn – Iliun
Tgn – Tugun
Per – Perai
Apt – Aputai
Tal – Talur
Ksr – Kisar
Rom – Roma
Lng – Luang
EDm – East Damar
Ten – Teun
Nil – Nila
Sra – Serua
WDm – West Damar
DDI – Dawera-Daweloor
Dai – Dai
NBb – North Babar
SEB – Southeast Babar
Ser – Serili
EMs – East Masela
CMs – Central Masela
Emp – Emplawas
TIM – Tela-Masbuar
Imr – Imroing

The following wordlists contain the raw phonetic data collected on survey. The symbols used here follow the International Phonetic Alphabet. Stress is marked by [']. Names of informants and eliciting linguists, along with other relevant data related to each informant session, were included as a separate appendix with the original conference presentation of this paper, and are on file at the office of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Maluku.

| | 1. ROOT | 2. TREE | 3. LEAF | 4. THORN | 5. COCONUT SHELL | 6. COCONUT | 7. BANANA | 8. BETELNUT |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|--------------|
| Ind | <i>akar</i> | <i>pohon</i> | <i>daun</i> | <i>duri</i> | <i>tempurung</i> | <i>kelapa</i> | <i>pisang</i> | <i>sirih</i> |
| Oir | 'larin | ete'para | ete'pasa | 'uku | to'tukul | 'wata | 'mu | malu |
| Iln | ai'aka | aini'aka | ai'ro | 'ruri | tek'luru | 'no | 'mu | malu |
| Tgn | ai'pakar | ai'pun | ai'ron | ai'rurin | tau'kafan | 'nor | 'mu | malu |
| Per | ai'akar | ai'un | ai'ron | 'rurin | taka'nuru | 'nor | 'mu | malu |
| Apt | 'ramuk | 'un | 'ron | 'ruriŋ | 'suang | 'nor | 'mu | malu |
| Tal | ai'pamot | ai'pun | ai'ron | ai'ruin | ka'nurak | 'no | 'muʔu | hu'runon |
| Ksr | 'aʔarn | 'onno | au'kaui | 'ruri | lak'nuri | 'nor0 | 'muʔu | 'maluh |
| Rom | 'mʷarna | 'ai | 'tauna | 'rurni | 'kdirnu | 'nura | 'wui | 'mahōlu |
| Lng | 'gaʔərə | 'onə | 'taui | 'ruri | 'tutəvu | 'norə | 'udi | 'kaunu |
| EDm | aha'ran | 'pohon | 'taven | 'rurin | ulu'pulu | 'nuru | 'vi | 'malu |
| Ten | ni'wowa | ŋ'jeʔena | p'tafa | p'tetsta | 'tufti | 'nowa | 'fiwa | ma'mama |
| Nil | ui'ara | a'tutnu | ti'aha | te'teta | 'tuptu | 'nuru | 'hia | ma'mama |
| Sra | 'nera | 'netna | p'tewi | ŋ'teteta | 'lari | 'nuru | 'wia | ma'mama |
| WDm | 'woto | 'tama | 'towo | rur'rursa | 'tuno | nuho | 'usso | 'malho |
| DDI | wo'jelol | a'sulol | tavi'jelol | 'wurlel | ku'kuuu | 'peʃ | 'urus | 'artau |
| Dai | oi'jon | wa'tenon | tauvie'non | huire'non | nuo'won | 'peison | di'ampon | 'haron |
| NBb | 'viana | 'unna | 'kaunija | — | 'powa | 'peija | 'udvija | ar'kaʃe |
| SEB | 'wia | 'kodol | k'a'uliol | 'or | wew'tovol | 'beir | 'ut ^h | — |
| Ser | bia'le | ol'le | jab'le | bubu'burje | 'petube | 'ber | 'ut | 'har |
| EMs | i'vierne | o'lei | ai'kevdei | u'vurviei | 'pet0 | 'peir | 'ut | 'ar |
| CMs | wɛ'pe | on'je | kav'je | bu'burie | 'wetow | 'peri | 'ut | 'ar |
| Emp | 'welli | 'osieʔ | kau'wolieʔ | 'rurlijeʔ | 'eluvra | 'peire | 'utieʔ | 'are |
| TIM | 'wcnia | no'ukans | ka'uvins | ru'inje | 'nevre | 'paire | 'utie | 'are |
| Imr | 'welje | 'olje | a'keʃie | 'rurlijeʔ | ɛ'βake | peire | 'utie | 'are |

| | 9. RATTAN | 10. BAMBOO | 11. FRUIT | 12. KUNAI GRASS | 13. SAGO | 14. HULLED RICE | 15. I | 16. YOU |
|-----|--------------|-----------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------------------|------------|---------------|
| Ind | <i>rotan</i> | <i>bambu</i> | <i>buah</i> | <i>alang-alang</i> | <i>sagu</i> | <i>beras</i> | <i>aku</i> | <i>engkau</i> |
| Oir | 'loʔon | 'eʔe | mana | 'eʔ | 'elhia | kal'kali | 'andri | 'eri |
| Iln | 'ua | 'petu la'lutu | ai'hua | 'nau | kama'riu | halai'hi | 'au | 'o |
| Tgn | 'ua | 'petun'getun | 'fuan | 'nau | kam'riu | p ^h a'tʃihin | 'au | 'o |
| Per | 'ua | 'ulak | 'fua | 'leter | kama'riu | 'reha'ih | 'au | 'o |
| Apt | 'ua | 'petun | fuan | 'nau | 'kamriu | 'nalun | 'au | 'o: |
| Tal | 'ua | 'o | ai'huan | 'kli | kam'diu | 'nalun | 'gaʔu | 'go |
| Ksr | 'losne | 'our | 'woin | 'penek hor'horo | 'pi | ali'uerhe | 'jaʔu | 'kiʔo |
| Rom | 'lotna | 'petnu | 'wuna | 'wlina | 'lpija | jem'taha | ai'jau | o'jou |
| Lng | 'lotna | 'petu | wo'ʔə | 'weβəŋə | 'rotna | auri'eha | 'aʔu | 'oʔə |
| EDm | 'lodan | 'km ^w elan | 'buan | 'alhan | 'prihə | av'rera | 'au | 'um |
| Ten | 'lətna | 'japi | ŋ'fua | 'wəni | 'skera | ja'fersa | 'wau | 'wə |
| Nil | al'ua | 'fierna | m'fua | 'javnu | 'veta | 'jana | 'waʔu | 'wə |
| Sra | 'lətna | 'tembra | ŋ'wua | 'nenu | 'skera | 'jena | 'haʔu | 'oa |
| WDM | lo'hena | 'oro | 'uha | o'tona | 'priho | 'ario | 'odo | 'Ede |
| DDI | 'lode1 | 'wale1 | 'uk | 'wabel | 'rotal | 'alwer | 'ai | 'o |
| Dai | 'noʔnon | 'fitdon | wuʔ'enon | 'vevnon | 'rətnon | 'jaʔnon | 'ai | 'oʔ |
| NBb | 'keja | 'spinda | 'vuna | 'weβəna | 'rotna | 'jaʔana | 'jauw | 'owu |
| SEB | 'lot01 | 'behei/pul | 'wu | 'weβel | 'rohol | 'unbir | 'um | 'ob |
| Ser | bi'ha | 'ə | 'bulje | beb'le | ro'ʔol | 'lat | 'ui | 'obi |
| EMs | 'via | 'or | 'vuliei | 'wevel | 'rok | 'laitʃ | 'ui | o vi |
| CMs | pə'perei | 'or | 'buini | 'weβne | 'ron | 'laitʃ | 'e | 'ow |
| Emp | 'βe | 'ore | 'wuilieʔ | 'wevleʔ | 'rokleʔ | u'viere | 'nu | 'o |
| TIM | 'wə:ɾ | 'pəkke | 'βupe | 'wevni | 'rokne | 'janne | 'ui | 'oʃi |
| Imr | 'wə: | 'lorle | 'wuiljeʔ | we'βəle | 'rokle | 'jali | 'ui | 'owu |

| | 17. WE (EXCL.) | 18. WE (INCL.) | 19. SUN | 20. MOON | 21. STAR | 22. WATER | 23. RAIN | 24. STONE | 25. SAND |
|-----|----------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------|------------------------------------|------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| Ind | <i>kami</i> | <i>kita</i> | <i>matahari</i> | <i>bulan</i> | <i>bintang</i> | <i>air</i> | <i>hujan</i> | <i>batu</i> | <i>pasir</i> |
| Oir | abu'pupur | abu'pupur | 'wa <u>tu</u> | 'UN | hihi'naxa | 'ira | 'aja | uwa'raha | 'ini |
| Iln | 'ami | 'ami | 'leo | 'hulan | 'tu | 'e | 'husan | 'hatu | 'moi |
| Tgn | — | 'ita | 'leo | 'fulan | 't ^h u | 'er | 'usa | 'fatu | 'moen |
| Per | 'ami | 'ita | 'leo | 'fulan | 'tu | 'er | 'usa | 'fatu | 'moe |
| Apt | 'ami | 'ita | 'leo | 'fulan | 'asa | 'er | 'usa | 'fatu | 'moig |
| Tal | 'gami | 'gita | 'lelo | 'hulan | 'ada | 'we | 'usan | 'hatu | da'dean |
| Ksr | ma'jai | ma'ika | 'lere | 'wollo | kali'joro | 'oir | 'okon | 'waku | 'tosle |
| Rom | ai'jami | i'jiti | 'lera | 'wulan | ta' ^h ara | 'ori | 'utni | 'watu | 'ena |
| Lng | 'ami | 'it ^o | 'lera | 'wolla | uti'ona | 'gera | 'otna | 'watu | 'eni |
| EDm | 'it | 'it | 'lero | 'vulno | 'bintan | 'er | 'mul ^o | 'watu | 'matar |
| Ten | 'mi | 'mi | 'lo | 'fula | 'kn ^o rna | 'weru | 'usna | 'fa <u>pu</u> | 'wenwa |
| Nil | 'mi | 'mi | 'leura | 'hulna | 'kn ^o rna | 'weru | 'usna | 'hatu | 'vena |
| Sra | 'ama | 'ita | 'lera | 'wulna | 'n ^o rna | 'eru | 'usna | 'watu | 'eni |
| WDm | i'tito | i'tito | la'woni | u'lonni | 'tonno | 'vio | u'hano | 'wotho | 'enno |
| DDl | 'it | 'it | 'lejol | 'wullol | 'tolol | 'we: | 'ulol | 'watak | 'elijol |
| Dai | 'am | 'it | 'neon | wunnon | 'tnornon | 'vejon | 'uhn ^o n | 'wat ^o n | en'pon |
| NBb | 'jamoi | 'ita | 'neja | 'wona | 'to ^o n ^o na | 'βieja | 'ho:na | 'wa ^o a ^o jaie | 'enija |
| SEB | 'am | 'am | 'le ^o ol | 'wolol | 'kulamol | 'we | 'uml | 'waxai | 'ili |
| Ser | e'ait | a'mit | 'le: | 'bole | 'ulle | 'be | omi'na | ba'?'aje | ili'je |
| EMs | 'am | ki'ki? | 'loi | 'vol | 'kun | 've | 'umul | 'wak | 'il |
| CMs | | | 'lo ^o n | 'vole | 'kunei | 'wei | 'om ^o ne | 'waijei | 'inje |
| Emp | 'am | 'ik | 'loe | 'wose? | 'kule | 'vee? | 'ope? | wa'kije? | 'ilije? |
| TIM | 'amir | 'ikir | 'noe | 'reme | 'kunn.? | 'vejei | 'omne | 'wake | 'inje |
| Imr | 'iku | 'ikem ^o e | 'lo | reme | kowa'kowa | weje | 'omle | 'wak ^h e | 'ilije? |

| | 26. ISLAND | 21. EARTH/GROUND | 28. CLOUD | 29. WIND | 30. SEA | 31. FOREST | 32. MOUNTAIN | 33. FIRE |
|-----|--------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|------------|
| Ind | <i>pulau</i> | <i>tanah</i> | <i>awan</i> | <i>angin</i> | <i>laut</i> | <i>hutan</i> | <i>gunung</i> | <i>api</i> |
| Oir | uma'moʔo | uma | umaja'muin | 'hari | 'domi | irim | 'teher | 'ata |
| Iln | 'nusa | 'rare | 'nata | 'anni | 'lor/tʃahi'lo | na'mural | 'utu | ai'mori |
| Tgn | 'nusa | 'rare | 'natas | 'anin | 'lor | ai'ala | 'utur | ai'morin |
| Per | 'nusa | 'rere | 'kakan | 'aninʔ | 'lor | ai'ala | 'ulunʔ | ai'morig |
| Apt | 'nusa | 'rari | 'natas | 'anin | sahi'lor | 'alas | ili'hunun | 'ai |
| Tal | 'nusa | 'rea | 'natas | 'anin | 'lor | 'alas | 'hunun | ai'morin |
| Ksr | 'noho | eli'moʔo | 'kakam | 'anne | 'kahi | 'alha | 'woʔor | 'ai |
| Rom | 'nuha | rar'moa | kak'morna | 'anni | 'ʔoura | 'ahõla | 'ili | 'ai |
| Lng | 'nohə | 'tani | 'kakəmə | 'anni | 'lorə | wo'ʔorə 'kauru | wo'ʔora | 'ai |
| EDm | 'nuh | 'En | 'awan | 'anin | 'lur | 'b*ar | 'uhu | 'ai |
| Ten | 'nusa | 'rau | 'mota | 'wani | 'tai | 'leʔa | 'fura | 'wai |
| Nil | 'nusa | 'wahu | 'lipta | 'wani | se'lora | 'Istna | 'hura | 'wai |
| Sra | 'nusa | 'au | 'lipta | 'motra | 'sletna | 'letna | 'wura | 'ai |
| WDM | 'nuda | 'tanah | mu'halo | 'opo | a'lero | a'woro | wah'lejo | 'oso |
| DDI | 'pol | 'wan | 'am0I | ai'liol | la'rorol | 'wur | 'wur | |
| Dai | vu'nuʔon | 'tanpon | aʔmon | su'ʔon | na'noren | 'envon | 'verʔon | amʔon |
| NBb | 'wura | 'kanjai | 'mudai | 'anniai | na'nora | 'wura | 'wura | 'amijai |
| SEB | 'IOU | 'kalol | 'robok | 'un | — | 'unt | 'wor | 'uwi |
| Ser | ʃho'ʔe | 'kale | 'robuke | un'ε | 'ujor | 'uper | 'bunts | 'ujs |
| EMs | 'loiwal | 'kal | 'rowak | 'un | 'lor | 'ura | 'wor | 'ui |
| CMs | 'noei | 'kale | 'roʔkei | 'enei | 'ellor | 'erə | 'wor | 'ejei |
| Emp | 'lue | 'kale | 'rovka | 'usieʔ | 'unor | 'wo:re | 'wo:re | 'ujd |
| TIM | 'nowe | 'kane | 'ammei | 'une | 'noroni | 'wore | u'nune | 'uje |
| Imr | 'lowe | 'kale | 'louvke | 'unnsʔ | loronu | 'wo:ru | 'ululije | 'uje |

| | 34. SMOKE | 35. ASHES | 36. HOT | 37. BURN/ROAST | 38. COLD | 39. NIGHT | 40. FISH | 41. BIRD |
|-----|--------------------------|-------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|
| Ind | <i>map</i> | <i>abu</i> | <i>panas</i> | <i>bakar</i> | <i>dingin</i> | <i>malam</i> | <i>ikan</i> | <i>burung</i> |
| Oir | aʔa'tau | il'hua | 'timne | 'isa | 'elewe | teʔe'manahe | 'ahi | 'asa |
| Iln | ai'mauhu | 'krahu | 'pana | 'tunu | 'tʃirij | 'heni | 'meti | 'manu |
| Tgn | ai'mahun | kalau'rafun | 'p ^h ana | 'tunu | 'mohon | 'tʃima | 'ika | 'manu |
| Per | ai'hapu | ka'rono | 'pana | 'tunu | 'mohon | 'sema | 'meti | manuka'ho |
| Apt | ai'mahun | 'karaur | 'panas | 'tunu | gali'mohon | 'sema | 'meti | 'manu |
| Tal | ai'masun | re'ahun | 'panas | 'tunu | 'nadin | 'henin | 'iʔan | 'manu |
| Ksr | ai'mahu | 'apu | 'manha | 'harna | maʔu'rinnə | a'ʔalam | 'iʔin | 'manu |
| Rom | ai'mukalla | 'au | 'mahanna | p'tunu | ɳma'didina | 'mela | 'ihəna | 'manu |
| Lng | ai'mokələ | 'avu | 'pahəna | p'tunu | 'woki | mel'melə | i'ʔinə | 'maʔənu |
| EDm | ai'muklan | li'avu | 'panas | 't ^h unu | ma'ririn | 'alam | 'jaŋ | 'manuk |
| Ten | 'masu | 'jafu | 'pansa | tu'ni | ma'situ | 'mela | 'ina | 'manu |
| Nil | wai'masu | 'wahu | saʔu'pansa | ɳtu'ni | saʔume'rina | 'mela | 'ina | 'manu |
| Sra | ai'masu | 'au | — | 'tutnu | mo'rina | 'mela | 'ina | manu |
| WDM | omu'halo | 'opho | he'pondo | 'ktunni | me'rijo | mel'mela | 'jeɳo | 'munwo |
| DDI | am'mədik ^h | 'leukol | 'wetul | 'tut | 'pril | 'lam.51 | 'il | 'malol |
| Dai | 'mat ^h ʔe'non | ɳav'ʔon | ve'tun | tu'nsn | 'riʔpon | 'menʔon | 'itnon | 'manʔon |
| NBb | a'mematpai | 'niavi | ɳ'vetunni | 'tunni | 'nerinnu | men'menno | 'inai | 'manija |
| SEB | uwi'momot | 'ubi | 'palpan | 'kuhul | 'rirʃ | mel'mel | 'El | mo'pan |
| Ser | 'ujho'bobere | ubi'e | 'papante | 'tekul | ri'rikjoli | mil'le | 'El | 'mone |
| EMs | 'wemotʃ | 'uv | 'palpant | 'kuni | 'rilʃ | 'melok | 'El | 'moʃen |
| CMs | owou'rijei | ε'βijej | 'panti | ɳ'kuni | ri'rirpei | 'melmel | 'inei | me'ʃenei |
| Emp | 'ujo mut'tijeʔ | 'uvijeʔ | 'patti | 'kuli | 'pris | 'melle | 'ile | mu'ʃelle |
| TIM | 'obrie | 'obie | 'panti | me'kukni | 'prin | men'mene | 'irne | 'mune |
| Imr | 'mutile | 'uβije | lol'patəleʔ | ɳ'kuli | 'pille | lol'letneʔ | 'ille | 'mune |

| | 42. EGG | 43. DOG | 44. FRUIT BAT | 45. LOUSE | 46. MOSQUITO | 47. MOUSS/RAT | 48. SNAKE | 49. TAIL |
|-----|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------|-------------|
| Ind | <i>telur</i> | <i>anjing</i> | <i>kalong</i> | <i>kutu</i> | <i>nyamuk</i> | <i>tikus</i> | <i>ular</i> | <i>ekor</i> |
| Oir | asa'utu | 'ihar | 'maṭa | 'amin | 'nikin | 'ura | 'nana | ula'buā |
| Iln | manu'tslu | 'asu | 'hiki | 'utu | 'sisi | 'laso | 'sao | 'iku |
| Tgn | man'telun | 'ahu | | 'utu | 'namu | 'laso | 'sau | 'maten |
| Per | 'telur | 'ahu | fa'niki | 'utu | 'utuṅ | 'loso | 'sou | 'ikur |
| Apt | manu'telun | 'ahu | 'rego | 'utu | 'namu'utun | pa'laho | 'sao | 'ikur |
| Tal | manu'telun | 'asu | kui | 'utu | 'namu | 'plaho | 'sau | 'i?un |
| Ksr | manu'kerre | 'ahu | e'laṗu | 'uku | 'namu | or'noho | 'ne: | 'i?urn |
| Rom | 'tehōru | 'ahu | 'niki | 'utu | 'namu | 'mella | 'nia | 'ikurna |
| Lng | 'ternu | 'ahu | 'niki | 'utu | potō'potō | 'upō/ṃ'lawa | 'niji | li'?irnu |
| EDm | teru'wan | 'ahu | 'ni?i | 'utu | 'nini | 'vau | t ^h uwa'nin | ir'wan |
| Ten | siftola | 'wasu | m'niki | 'uṗu | i'ʔiʔi | 'flafa | 'wula | 'niu |
| Nil | sif telu | 'wasu | 'fniʔi | 'utu | i'ʔiʔi | 'flaha | la'ulra | 'niru |
| Sra | sip'tilru | 'asu | ṃ'ni: | 'utu | 'mini | 'lawa | la'ula | p'niru |
| WDm | diu'talho | 'otho | 'niso | 'utho | koko'taijo | sa'mela | 'dodamo | ehe'hea |
| DDI | 'mantilk ^h | 'adkol | 'liksiol | 'otōk ^h | ka'kakel | 'tikus | sai'tiat ^h | 'jiei |
| Dai | tēn'ʔenon | 'aṭ ^h on | 'pitson | 'ot'ʔon | da'dadon | mar'ton | sia'siaton | 'i'ʔon |
| NBb | div'kenjai | a'duvjaj | 'niʔijai | 'otijai | da'dadai | 'martai | siaʔanan'nanna | 'inijai |
| SEB | tim'kel | 'ut ^h | 'li: | 'ohoi | 'iki | 'pop | 'le | 'i: |
| Ser | ti'buksl | 'ut | 'lie | 'hoʔoje | a'ke | bo'pis | le'ε | il'je |
| EMs | 'kel | 'ut | 'li | 'ok | 'kolkol | sammil | 'le | 'iljei |
| CMs | 'kepei | ε'tije | 'pijei | 'ojei | ma'wewei | 'sammil | 'ni | i'ripei |
| Emp | 'kellije? | 'utie? | 'lie? | 'okije | 'hija? | 'melloke | li'likōme | 'iririje |
| TIM | tev'ken | 'nutie | li'e | 'oke | mom'mobe | 'popia | ne'nikma | 'ir'e |
| Imr | mune'kellie | 'uttie | | 'ok ^h e | 'atitije | 'popije | il'likame | i'ririye |

| | 50. BLACK <i>hitam</i> | 51. WHITE <i>putih</i> | 52. RED <i>merah</i> | 53. YELLOW <i>kuning</i> | 54. GREEN <i>hijau</i> | 55. ONE <i>satu</i> | 56. TWO <i>dua</i> | 57. THREE <i>tiga</i> | 58. FOUR <i>empat</i> |
|-----|---------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Ind | | | | | | | | | |
| Oir | 'lawar | 'hitini | mer'braka | a'raun | u'pu'lana | u'wane | 'ei | 'utu | 'pat |
| Iln | 'metanj | 'puti | 'mera | 'pula | 'mosuj | 'eha | ha'rua | ha'telu | 'ha'pa |
| Tgn | ma'metan | pa'puti | ma'mera | pa'pola | ma'moso | 'eha/'hasa | 'rua | 'telu | 'a:t |
| Per | 'metanj | 'puti | 'mera | 'pola | 'moso | 'hasa | 'rua | 'telu | 'auk |
| Apt | 'metan | 'puti | 'mera | 'pola | 'moso | 'eha/'hasa | 'rua | 'telu | 'ak |
| Tal | 'metan | 'putih | 'mea | 'mara | 'moso | 'nehe | 'irua | i'telu | in'ha'pat |
| Ksr | mo'mohon | wa'warha | me'mere | ma'mare | mok'moke | 'ita | wo'ro'ro | wo'kelu | wo'paka |
| Rom | mur'murna | wa'wahōra | me'mera | ma'mahōra | mo'motje | 'ida | wo'rua | wo'telu | wo'patta |
| Lng | met'metmə | wa'wahōrə | mer'merə | mar'marə | mot'motni | 'idə | 'woru | wo'telu | wo'gatə |
| EDm | mu'han | wawa'rah | mer'mer | mar'mar | mor'mor | me'han | 'woru | wo'telu | wo'atu |
| Ten | 'metni | far'farsa | ṛ'mera | lak'wəsi | məs'məsa | 'mesni | 'ru | 'təlu | 'watu |
| Nil | | har'harsa | mer'mera | la'lali | — | 'mesa | 'ru | 'təlu | 'natu |
| Sra | met'metna | war'warsa | ṛ'mera | ṛ'lali | 'hidzau | me'sa | 'rua | 'təlu | 'natu |
| WDM | me'metmo | war'warha | me'mejo | mor'mora | meh'mehho | 'mehno | vie'ru | vie'teli | vi'oto |
| DDI | 'metmel | 'wurwur | me'mejel | 'kuniṅ | 'hidzaw | 'med | 'ruv | 'təl | 'at ^h |
| Dai | ṛ'metrṛ | ṛ'warh | ṛme'me | 'kuniṅ | 'hidzaw | 'med | 'ru | 'tən | 'at |
| NBB | ṛ'me'pemma | ṛ'worwore | ṛ'meme | 'kumai | 'hidzau | 'mede | 'ruwu | 'kini | 'ato |
| SEB | me'mehem | 'wowor | mu'loror | la'ljal | — | 'metj | 'wuru | 'wəkel | 'wax |
| Ser | məm'pemi | 'bubure | l'emplur'lur | l'elal'lal | mom'hoi | met'el | 'buru | bok'kel | bo'pa |
| EMS | me'mekam | 'vovor | lem'nonor | — | — | 'metəl | 'vuru | 'wəkkəl | 'wua |
| CMs | 'memem | wo'worei | ṛ'nonor | nela'lellei | nepla'laei | metən | 'vuru | 'wəkel | 'fiak |
| Emp | pe'kami | 'wori | 'polori | 'plalai | mo'moji | met | 'wuru | 'wokel | 'biək |
| TIM | 'mekami | 'woru | nemno'nore | nepna'nai | 'məmoi | metnu | wo'ru | wo'ken | vi'ek ^h |
| Imr | me'mekame | wo'wore | lem'lolore | mar'mara | mot'mote | 'metle | wo'ru | wo'keli | wo'jate |

| | 59. FIVE | 60. SIX | 61. SEVEN | 62. EIGHT | 63. NINE | 64. TEN | 65. ONE HUNDRED | 66. ONE THOUSAND |
|-----|----------|-------------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Ind | lima | <i>enam</i> | <i>tujuh</i> | <i>delapan</i> | <i>sembilan</i> | <i>sepuluh</i> | <i>seratus</i> | seribu |
| Oir | 'lim | 'nem | 'pitu | 'kapa | 'siwa | taʔa'nauni | 'rauni | 'riun'ʔauni |
| Iln | ha'lima | ha'ne | ha'itu | ha'kau | ha'sia | sa'nulu | atu'weha | rihun'eha |
| Tgn | 'lima | 'nein | 'itu | 'kau | 'sia | so'nulu | ratu'eha | rihun'eha |
| Per | 'lima | 'nej | 'itu | 'kau | 'sia | sa'nulu | 'atus | 'riun |
| Apt | 'lima | 'nej | 'itu | 'kao | 'sia | so'nulu | atus'eha | rihun'eha |
| Tal | i'lima | 'inen | i'hitu | 'ihau | i'sia | se'nulu | 'atus | 'rihun |
| Ksr | wo'lima | wo'neme | wo'isku | wo'ʔa: | wo'hi: | iʔa'weli | rahu'iʔa | riu'niʔa |
| Rom | wo'lima | wo'nema | wo'ʔittu | wo'ʔallu | wo'hia | id'weli | rah'tʔida | rin'wida |
| Lng | wo'lima | wo'nema | wo'itu | wo'awə | wo's'ewə | ha'nulu | rahu'ida | riu'nida |
| EDm | wo'lim | wo'nem | wo'itu | 'gwalu | 'wosi | wu'sar | ratu'sar | riʔun' har |
| Ten | 'limu | 'nemu | 'jitu | 'walu | 'si | futu'ota | ra'seta | rif'nata |
| Nil | 'limu | 'nemu | 'itu | 'walu | 'si | hut'wosa | ras'ʃosa | rif'ʃosa |
| Sra | 'limu | nemu | 'itu | 'alu | 'sia | wu'tosa | ra'sosa | riu'nasa |
| WDm | vi'limo | vis'namo | vi'ti | vi'a: | vi'si | us'wuti | ofresso | riw'nuso |
| DDi | 'lim | 'lem | 'it ^h | 'auw | 'siuw | 'dəwut | 'raije | 'rivieʔ |
| Dai | 'nim | 'nem | 'it ^h | 'av | 'siv | 'dʔut | 'rahje | 'riveʔar'ape |
| NBb | 'nimo | 'nemo | 'iti | 'awou | 'siwou | 'dawuti | 'ratau | 'rivitau |
| SEB | wo'lim | wo'lem | wo'ix | wo'ka | 'wusi | 'wuki | 'rai | 'ribali |
| Ser | bu'lim | bo'lem | bo'ʔit | bo'a | bu'si | bu'ki | ra'i | ni'bel |
| EMs | 'wulim | 'wolem | 'woik | 'woka | 'wusi | 'wuki | 'rai: | ri'vili |
| CMs | wu'lim | wo'nem | 'woie | 'woa | wo'sem | wu'ki | 'rai: | 'rivni |
| Emp | wo'lim | wo'ism | wo'ik | wo'auw | re'er | 'wuki | 'rai: | 'rivale |
| TIM | wu'lim | wo'lem | wo'ik ^h | wo'aʔu | re'iri | 'wukki | 'rait | 'riveni |
| Imr | wo'lim | wo'lemu | wo'iki | wo'aka | 'veri | 'wuki | 'rai | 'riuuli |

| | 67. ALL | 68. LONG | 69. NEAR | 70. FAR | | 73. GOOD | 74. ROUND |
|-----|--------------|----------------|--------------|----------------------|------------------------|-------------|---------------------|
| Ind | <i>semua</i> | <i>panjang</i> | <i>dekat</i> | <i>jauh</i> | <i>penuh</i> | <i>baik</i> | <i>bulat</i> |
| Oir | su'kani | lo'wai | wau'wauni | jo'Poni | a'Pate | ja'Panin | up'laka |
| Iln | 'puhi | 'poha | 'rani | 'so | | 'raja | ka'pulan |
| Tgn | ta'tema | pa'poha | 'rani | 'so: | 'p ^h enu | na'mi | 'potuŋ |
| Per | 'tema | 'poha | 'ranik | 'SO | 'penu | 'eaj | ka'potuŋ |
| Apt | ta'tema | 'poha | ka'rinik | 'sol | 'penu | 'feru | ka'putun |
| Tal | ta'tema | 'naru | 'rani | 'so: | | 'hoheu | na'liduk |
| Ksr | naʔa'keme | 'naru | 'rani | 'koʔu | 'pennu | wo'woru | pu'purna |
| Rom | de'tele | m'lahanna | pwakran'ja | a't'jounna | pem'p ^w enu | war'waru | po'pokiʔe |
| Lng | hon'nona | 'plahōwə | horu'oru | oli'etə | pen'penu | war'warnu | napopo'ʔolə |
| EDm | vedue'dinhi | pla'hun | hu'til | r'let | r'penu | raver'veru | rasput'put |
| Ten | a'woka | nipla'lapsa | nikata'tuli | nikata'temna | ŋ'penu | fer'feru | mel'meli |
| Nil | it'wakila | ni'plasa | nikran'rani | niklə'ləla | ŋ'penu | fer'feru | mel'meli |
| Sra | it'rstan | li'li | nikren'reni | niklə'ləla | ŋ'penu | wir'wiru | 'meli |
| WDM | iti'teti | bolo'doi | ŋo'norsa | he'hejo | ŋ'pani | wel'veka | ja'vejo |
| DDI | 'ramor | 'plavələl | wa'raral | 'warlet ^h | 'ləpil | 'vikel | du'wələl |
| Dai | 'rammor | nep'naut | hor'hor | war'net ^h | | vi'vit | p'kom |
| NBB | p'nehupno | ne'plavado | ho'riorije | wiar'niete | | 'viuije | 'duane |
| SEB | e'hike | plē'ler | or'jori | wiar'lēh | 'ləpel'pil | wawai | 'ləmjal |
| Ser | ei'k'ɛ | pa'lelere | horjo'ri | b'ak'klelələ | ləpel'pil | barbiar'ri | lə'pes |
| EMs | 'kikie | 'leri | o'rori | 'warlek | 'pelpel | 'warviar | 'pespes |
| CMs | kə'kəkem | plē'tanei | jo'jori | warle'talei | pen'pijem | war'βieri | 'pes |
| Emp | ir'pumuti | 'plerli | or'juri | 'wateki | 'pelpil | war'vieri | 't ^w ali |
| TIM | iri'muje | pə'nəri | o'riori | | ŋpen'pieni | war'βieri | tu'ani |
| Imr | lika'muje | pər'talleji | ore'rieki | warlek'talle | pelpel'linili | pe'ruti | tuwa'loune |

| | 75. DRY | 76. TO DRY | 77. NO | 78. THIS | 79. THAT | 80. HERE | 81. THERE | 82. INSIDE | 83. ABOVE |
|-----|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|------------|------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Ind | <i>kering</i> | <i>menjemur</i> | <i>tidak</i> | <i>ini</i> | <i>itu</i> | <i>di sini</i> | <i>di situ</i> | <i>di dalam</i> | <i>di atas</i> |
| Oir | 'reple | 'wate | 'uhe | i'Piri | u'Piri | i'nani | pana?i'nani | mutwa?i'nani | meta?i'nani |
| IlN | 'mea | 'rese | 'tora | 'ge | 'go | la'ge | la'go | la'ralan | la'djela |
| Tgn | 'geran | 'rinan | 'toa | na'ge | nah'ko | on'ge | nah'ko | oi'ralan | oi'otur |
| Per | 'gera | 'rina | 'tora | 'ge | 'go | la'sige | la'nago | la'ralan | la'otur |
| Apt | 'geran | 'rinan | 'tora | 'ge | 'go | la'ge | la'go | la'ralan | sasin |
| Tal | na'getun | 'me?ar | 'taik ^b | i'le?e | i'la?a | i'le?e | i'lete | 'ralan | mia'upus |
| Ksr | <i>napo'ro?uk</i> | 'loi'lere | 'ka | 'eni | 'onne | lol'eni | lol'onne | 'ai'raram | 'ai'wawan |
| Rom | nam'rahaka | 'ŋ ^w ere | ta'wai | 'eki | 'oko | lo'leki | lo'loko | la'r'arama | la'tilu |
| Lng | 'ksrna | na'gari | e'donna | 'hadi | 'hade | 'la handi | 'la'hande | 'la ri'almə | 'la hi'janna |
| EDm | ʔ?e'ran | ra'lisir | 'tadu | 'idioi | 'dai | 'maidoi | 'ladai | la'rahnano | la'rah |
| Ten | maka'reo | waila'lo | ε'Peta | 'wana | 'wa | ni' tsna | 'la | 'ralma | 'ta |
| Nil | mas'keu | 'twau | 'tata | ijan'ε | ija'je | nanpan'e | nan'na?a | na'ramna | na'rasta |
| Sra | 'kima | i'karnu | 'tata | ia'ε | i'u | nanne'Pε | nanni'u | na'ralna | na'rasta |
| WDm | ɳdek'dekro | k ^w ala'wopi | 'keve | i'tfei | i'tferi | idi'mode | idi'moderi | idila'rolmo | idila'huli |
| DDI | 'derel | me'wael | 'tatel | 'wel | 'wal | mil'wdle | mil'walle | mil'ralam | mila'ulol |
| Dai | ɳ'ter | revi'ai? | tau'ven | 'uin | ua'Pin | 'nauin | 'nava'Pin | na'ranp | na'hunsn |
| NBb | ɳ'meti | neviai'jenna | ka'manne | 'hija | 'hejai | 'nahija | 'naheja | 'ranne | na'hunvia |
| SEB | 'mek ^ɟ er | mo'jare | 'ou | ta'ha | 'ta?anE | ehε'lei | 'ehelle'nei | 'ramble | 'wawule |
| Ser | ɟmε'kil | rεf'Paje | ka'be: | ta'ha | taha'no | ta't ^b alle | ta't ^b alheno | 'ramne | hulu'l'paul |
| EMs | 'mekil | mo'riajei | kar | 'talil | tane | 'ahlei | ah'lelei | ramne | ne'airem |
| CMs | 'mekir | mo'fejei | 'kar | 'taijen | ta'nejan | lei'jenni | lole'jenni | 'ramnei | ai'riem |
| Emp | u'tuwvε? | re'vette | 'kar | 'kar | ne? | lo:i | lo:'ne? | lo:'rape? | lo:'ariepe? |
| TIM | me'ekni | re'βεje | 'karim | 'ije | ta'nejei | 'nane | 'none | 'ramni | 'wauni |
| Imr | mε'kelli | mo'weje | ka'rime | 'talje | oje | taije'naije | ne'lole | ime'rame | arie'melli |

| | 84. OUTSIDE <i>di luar</i> | 85. BELOW <i>di bawah</i> | 86. IN FRONT OF <i>di depan</i> | 87. BEHIND <i>di belakang</i> | 88. EDGE <i>pinggir</i> | 89. SKIN <i>kulit</i> | 90. MEAT/FLESH <i>daging</i> | 91. BLOOD <i>darah</i> |
|-----|-------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Ind | | | | | | | | |
| Oir | 'malaʔi | 'araʔi | u'maraʔi | 'uraʔi | weʔe | 'wele | 'leura | 'we |
| Iln | la'kekeo | la'oran | la'oe | la'liu | la'siriŋ | 'uli | 'musa | 'raraŋ |
| Tgn | oi'lilin | oi'luin | oi'ʔoe | oi'tuan | oi'sirin | 'ulik | 'musan | 'raran |
| Per | la'milaŋ | la'leŋ | la'oe | la'tina | 'siriŋ | 'elik | ih'i'mera | 'rara |
| Apt | ta'keo | la'rare | la'oig | la'tira | la'seriŋ | 'ilik | 'musan | 'raran |
| Tal | mia'tuan | mia'rea | mia'ʔain | mia'tuan | mia'serin | 'ulit | 'isin | 'ran |
| Ksr | 'ai'paharne | ai'jawa | ka'lari | ki'liʔur | 'arkan | 'ulik | 'mahin | 'rarna |
| Rom | la'p'ahirna | la'viena | la'jaina | la'lihura | 'aratna | 'ulitna | 'ih'ōni | 'rarna |
| Lng | 'la'ti'orə | lai'jawa | la'gajni | lato'ʔorni | 'aratni | 'ulatni | 'ihi | 'rara |
| EDm | la'her | la'wo | la'ʔain | la'turano | he'rinno | uli'tianno | ih'ino | 'rar |
| Ten | 'loni | 'fafa | 'loni | 'tura | 'jara | 'luli | — | 'rawa |
| Nil | na're | na'wahu | na'wulu | na'tahu | nan'seri | 'ulti | 'nisi | ʔre'ara |
| Sra | na'seri | na'wawa | na'ulu | na'tau | nan'siri | 'ulti | p'takni | ʔ'rara |
| WDm | a'liro | 'are | 'ovei | a'liro | tete'hejeni | 'ultʃo | — | 'rowo |
| DDI | mil'tukir | mil'wau | mil'muk ^h | mil'velak ^h | 'arts101 | ont ^h elol | 'irselol | 'raiol |
| Dai | na'noisen | na'vaven | na'muk | na'tuʔur | na'ʔarten | ot'tenon | iri'son | ra'ʔon |
| NBb | 'toʔoro | nera'wenna | 'nomuka | nosa'ʔiniru | 'demi | u'neʔinai | 'itinai | 'raʔanai |
| SEB | 'kor | ra'wawule | 'alul | u'winir | 'terle | 'tovul | 'iti | 'rah |
| Ser | 'kor | rebab'le | b'a'teramne | ko'ra | ark'je | to'ba | it'je | ra'ε |
| EMs | ne'kor | 'rewavəl | alul | ne'kor | 'vir | 'tove | 'itiei | 'ra |
| CMs | 'kor | e'ramn | 'wane | e'lir | 'terni | tou'uije | 'itni | 'reε |
| Emp | lo:'melloli | lo:'koro | lo:'wale | lo:'unire | 'arke | 'tuvije? | 'itije? | 're: |
| TIM | 'korri | 'koroni | wamo'ramni | ime'korei | 'terpe | 'tubiε | 'itpe | 'repe |
| Imr | me'l'loili | 'koronu | wamu'rameli | 'ko:ru | ore'rieki | 'kulimo | 'it'ije | re'εmo |

| | 92. BONE | 93. FAT | 94. HAIR | 95. BODY HAIR | 96. HEAD | 97. EAR | 98. EYE | 99. NOSE |
|-----|---------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|
| Ind | <i>tulang</i> | <i>lemak gemuk</i> | <i>rambut</i> | <i>bulu</i> | <i>kepala</i> | <i>telinga</i> | <i>mata</i> | <i>hidung</i> |
| Oir | opo | 'mina | 'wata | 'lia | jai'tapul | 'wali | ina'moʔo | mur'wana |
| Iln | 'ruriŋ | 'hianj | 'kurun | 'hulunj | ka'ratunj | 'kini | 'mataj | 'kunai |
| Tgn | 'rurin | 'mair | 'kuron | 'fulun | ku'ratun | 'kinron | ma'tuhar | 'kunai |
| Per | 'ruri | 'mair | kuru'ron | 'fulunj | ku'ratun | 'kini | 'mata | 'nunur |
| Apt | 'ruriŋ | 'mair | 'kuru | 'fulunj | ka'ʔatun | 'kini | 'mata | 'nunur |
| Tal | 'ruin | 'pour | gare'ron | 'hulur | garer'hatun | kina'ron | 'matar | 'inur |
| Ksr | 'urna | 'minan | 'muruk | 'wulla | ulu'wakun | ki'lina | 'makan | 'irun |
| Rom | 'urni | 'minanna | 'murutna | 'wullu | 'ullu | 'tlinna | 'matna | 'irunna |
| Lng | 'ruri | 'miʔɔnɔ | 'mortu | 'vulu | 'oʔɔtani | 'tlini | 'matɔ | 'irnu |
| EDm | ru'rino | na'pit | bu'gano | 'vulum | 'uluno | 'ŋinano | 'matano | 'nurmano |
| Ten | 'ro | ni'mina | 'poʔu | 'fuli | 'wulu | 'lina | 'maʔa | 'nafu |
| Nil | p'kui | 'mina | 'porti | 'fulru | 'nulu | 'klina | 'm'ata | 'nirnu |
| Sra | p'kui | p'mina | 'porti | 'wulu | 'kuku | 'klina | 'meta | 'nau |
| WDm | 'ruso | <i>jekpit'pito</i> | 'mito | wul'wulha | ul'konna | 'tlinna | 'mota | 'sun0 |
| DDI | 'rusol | 'leprul | 'mot01 | 'wulkol | 'radlol | 'kliol | 'mat01 | 'udol |
| Dai | 'ruson | min'on | moit'on | wun'ʔon | 'unʔon | ʔ'niʔon | 'ma:ton | 'udon |
| NBb | 'runai | na'prono | 'mukai | 'wunŋai | 'unni | 'klinne | 'matɔnne | 'otne |
| SEB | 'ru | 'min | 'mork | 'wul | 'ox | 'hlil | 'mox | 'ir |
| Ser | ru'l'je | mi'ne | mor'ʔe | 'bul | o'o | lil'lar | mo'ɔ | i'rel |
| EMs | 'ru | le'proron | 'mor | 'vul | 'oke | 'klil | 'mok | 'ira |
| CMs | 'ruini | 'msnjei | 'mork | 'wulli | 'oke | 'lille | 'monei | 'irnei |
| Emp | ru'wilijeʔ | 'leprol | 'murkijeʔ | 'wusijaʔ | 'okijaʔ | 'klise | 'mukle | 'itte |
| TIM | a'rupɛ | 'melje | 'toje | 'wujete | 'oke | ke'nine | 'mukni | 'irne |
| Imr | 'rulije | mop'prole | 'to:mo | wulmu'rakalmu | o' kamu | 'klilmu | muku'mute | ir'lemmu |

| | 100. MOUTH | 101. LIP | 102. TOOTH | 103. TONGUE | 104. NAIL/CLAW | 105. FOOT | 106. KNEE | 107. HAND |
|-----|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| Ind | <i>mulut</i> | <i>bibir</i> | <i>gigi</i> | <i>lidah</i> | <i>kuku</i> | <i>kaki</i> | <i>lutut</i> | <i>tangan</i> |
| Oir | 'oʔo | oʔo'hira | 'wain | u'hul | tana'keles | ja'keles | ja'moil | 'tana |
| Iln | 'kaha | 'ipu | 'ni | 'na | ka'lusuŋ | 'lukuŋ | 'klulu | 'lima |
| Tgn | 'nunur | 'ipur | 'ni | 'nan | ki'ľusu | 'lukun | telur'kun | 'liman |
| Per | 'hafa | hafa'ipu | 'ni | 'na | ka'ľusu | 'luku | ta'rulu | 'lima |
| Apt | 'hafa | hafa'ipur | 'ni | 'na | ka'ľusuŋ | 'luku | atu'rulu | 'lima |
| Tal | 'hahar | 'ipur | 'nis | na'ʔanar | lu'matan | 'er | 'laloun | 'limar |
| Ksr | 'wawan | 'nurne | 'nihin | 'naman | liman'makan | 'ein | 'ein'korno | 'limən |
| Rom | 'nutanna | 'nivitna | 'nihəna | 'namna | lim'unu | 'lakəna | 'wakinu | 'limna |
| Lng | 'nuru | 'niutu | 'niha | 'namə | 'kuku | 'lakə | 'tora | 'lima |
| EDm | 'wowaro | ip'tiano | ŋi'hano | le'maino | 'ukm'ano | 'leʔeno | 'ivino | 'limano |
| Ten | 'suʔu | 'nifu | 'nina | ni'mau | 'kuʔi | 'ləka | 'turu | 'lima |
| Nil | 'so | 'niftu | 'nina | 'ma | 'kuʔi | 'bka | 'turu | 'lima |
| Sra | p'su | 'ivti | 'nina | q'ma | 'sremu | 'luki | 'turu | 'lima |
| WDm | 'nunho | 'niptfo | 'nino | le'lemma | 'kukamo | 'eja | 'turo | 'lima |
| DDI | 'uwol | u'wont'hol | 'idol | 'maiol | to'matol | 'tilol | 'turol | 'imol |
| Dai | 'uʔon | 'ʃavron | 'idon | ne'maʔon | 'itmon | 'hejon | 'turon | 'imon |
| NBb | 'dioʔane | i'veʔinne | 'itne | 'namane | ids'mine | he'inni | 'korne | 'namne |
| SEB | 'lor | 'ibk | 'lil | 'nom | 'oum | 'ori | 'kor | 'lim |
| Ser | ľhu're | bibe'ʔe | 'lil | 'nom | 'om | 'or | 'kor | 'lim |
| EMs | 'lor | 'ivik | 'lil | 'nom | 'om | 'or | 'korl | 'nim |
| CMs | 'nure | tu'tunei | 'nin | 'namnei | 'omei | 'lani | 'komei | 'limnei |
| Emp | 'lore | 'iuβke | 'lise | 'nupe | 'ope | 'lali | 'kutte | 'lipe |
| TIM | nore | 'ivke | 'nine | 'nomne | 'ome | 'one | 'korne | 'itmi |
| Imr | lo'remu | i'wakamu | lil'mute | 'nummu | ris'mukmute | ol'mute | wek'kermu | lim'mute |

| | 108. STOMACH | 109. NECK | 110. BREAST | 111. LIVER | 112. FACE | 113. FECES | 114. URINE | 115. DEAF |
|-----|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Ind | <i>perut</i> | <i>leher</i> | <i>susu</i> | <i>hati</i> | <i>muka</i> | <i>tahi</i> | <i>air kencing</i> | <i>tuli</i> |
| Oir | 'atu | 'mani | 'susu | 'lar | 'panu | 'atu | 'iri | wa'limu |
| IIn | 'kapuŋ | 'genuŋ | 'susu | 'ateŋ | 'oe | tei | 'tari | kini'puŋ |
| Tgn | 'kanenŋ | ki' luan | 'susu | 'ruman | 'oe | 'tei | 't'arik | ki'nupu |
| Per | 'teij | 'genu | 'susu | 'ruma | 'oe | 'te | 'tarik | kini'upu |
| Apt | 'teŋ | 'kaluaŋ | 'susu | 'rumaŋ | 'oe | 'te | 'tarik | 'pun |
| Tal | 'apur | 'nuar | 'susu | 'ater | 'air | 'ter | 'sumer | 'par |
| Ksr | ko'noin | 'kelen | 'huhun | 'akin | 'oin 'makan | 'koi | 'omi | 'roho |
| Rom | 'apnu | 'telanna | 'huhu | 'atanna | iru'nainna | 'toi | 'omi | p'tilu |
| Lng | 'apōnu | 't'ēru | 'uhu | 'atni | 'gaji | 'teʔə | om'gera | 'tilu |
| EDm | 'apnono | 'lirano | 'huhuno | 'ralmano | 'aino | 'teno | 'omi | ʔ'tilu |
| Ten | 'newa | tef' tefna | 'susu | 'wawa | wira'maʔa | 'tewa | 'wōmi | kat'lasu |
| Nil | 'neʔa | le'lēna | 'susu | 'jata | 'nahu | 'tea | 'wōmi | ʔ'kau |
| Sra | 'niʔa | le'lēna | 'susu | 'neti | ura'matra | 'tea | 'mōmi | 'kau |
| WDm | 'opno | 'tall0 | 'dutho | 'rolmo | 'owa | 'teo | 'komso | 'ktili |
| DDI | 'apiol | rok'rokol | 'dudkol | ralōmoll | udel'matol | 'tejol | 'omiol | 'tilkol |
| Dai | 'apʔon | 'tsnnon | 'dutʔon | 'atjon | 'vajon | 'kejon | 'omjon | 'tinʔon |
| NBb | 'apene | 'onne | 'dutiŋjs | a'ʔaŋa | otne'matana | 'tejei | o'mijai | p'tini |
| SEB | 'ad | 'kel | 'tut | 'ram] | ir]'mox | 'ke | 'koi | 'kilkil |
| Ser | a'pel | 'kel | 'tut | 'ramne | 'ikl]e mo'ʔo | 'ke | kōmō'mun | kil'kil |
| EMs | 'apən | 'kel | 'tut | 'ram | 'iramok | 'kei | 'koimot | 'kil |
| CMs | 'apnei | 'kelle | 'tutni | 'enjei | 'wanei | 'kejei | 'koipei | 'nekil |
| Emp | 'apali | 'kssse | 'tutiŋeʔ | 'ukəlijeʔ | 'wai | 'kejeʔ | 'kojeʔ | 'ləkil |
| TIM | 'apni | 'kene | 'tutni | 'ukne | 'wane | 'kenije | koije | p'kini |
| Imr | a'pelmu | kel'lemu | tutu'mute | ra'melmu | 'wa:mu | ke'mute | kōmmo | klilmute'rauwe |

| | 116. BLIND <i>buta</i> | 117. PERSON <i>orang</i> | 118. MAN <i>laki-laki</i> | 119. WOMAN <i>perempuan</i> | 120. FATHER <i>bapak/ayah</i> | 121. HUSBAND <i>suami</i> | 122. WIFE <i>istri</i> |
|-----|---------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Ind | | | | | | | |
| Oir | ui'se | 'tou | 'nami | 'tuhur | nam'rai | uhu'rai | 'ha |
| IIn | 'puta | 'hatu | ma'mane | ha'hata | 'niriug ma'mane | 'niriug ha'hata | 'ama |
| Tgn | mata'tjehak | ai'topu | ma'mane | fa'fata | ka'liran | 'riu | 'ama |
| Per | 'pske | ai'topu | 'mene | 'fata | riu'mene | riu'fata | 'ama |
| Apt | 'puta | ai'topu | 'aman | inan | eh'amag | eh'inan | 'ama |
| Tal | 'puta | i'topu | ma'mane | pa'pata | 'sau | 'sau | 'aman |
| Ksr | 'toko | rimori'mori | mo'poni | ma'weke | ma'mane | pa'pate | 'ama |
| Rom | — | 'hiri | 'mwana | 'pata | 'hana | 'hana | 'ama |
| Lng | mat'hijata | 'ria | m'an'keʔə | pat'keʔə | m'anke'ʔeni | 'pat ke'ʔeni | 'amə |
| EDm | 'buta | 'tamət | 'man | 'hat | 'hano | 'hato | 'amno |
| Ten | p'puta | ta'moʔa | 'mana | 'faʔa | 'jafu | 'jafu | 'wama |
| Nil | ka'nita | ta'mota | 'monra | 'fatra | no'nora'mona | no'nora'fata | 'wamna |
| Sra | m'poʔa | ta'mota | 'mani | 'fata | 'nara'mani | 'nora'fata | pa'tua'mani |
| WDM | 'kwullo | 'deo | 'ulho | 'deweja | ul'hunni | dewe'jeni | tato'jeni |
| DDI | mat'paliol | 'efiol | 'muliol | 'watol | 'dawol | 'dawei | 'amme |
| Dai | mat'vakŋ | es'on/es'ran | 'manjon | 'faton | 'daivon | 'daivonm | am'on |
| NBb | ŋ'pone | 'ejai | 'meŋai | 'waʔai | 'davene | 'davene | 'amne |
| SEB | mox'kun | 'oi | oi'm'al | oi'b'jak | oi'm'al | oi'b'jak | 'urn |
| Ser | l'boʔ | otiha'no | o'm'ɛn | o'piʔa | om'al'le | opial'ls | um'nɛ |
| EMs | 'boi | 'momo | oi'mel | oi'piak | oi'molmoi | oi'piakmoi | umoi |
| CMs | lou'k'ei | oi'jallei | o'mɛpi | o'piaki | o'mapi | o'piane | ɛmne |
| Emp | — | | 'pielle | 'paki | | | ume |
| TIM | mbo'ks | 'otije | om'mene | op'paki | om'kuni | op'peni | omi |
| Imr | mukmuta'seri | 'olieʔ | o'meli | o'paki | om'kummu | o'pemu | ume |

| | 123. MOTHER | 124. NAME | 125. GRANDFATHER | 126. GRANDMOTHER | 127. OLDER SIBLING | 128. YOUNGER SIBLING |
|-----|-------------|-------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Ind | <i>ibu</i> | <i>nama</i> | <i>kakek</i> | <i>nenek</i> | <i>kakak</i> | <i>adik</i> |
| Oir | 'na | 'nene | rat'nami | rat'tuhur | 'ka | 'noʔo |
| IlN | 'ina | 'nea | paʊŋ'lai | paʊŋ heɪ | 'pouŋ | 'aliŋ |
| Tgn | 'ina | 'nean | a'plaik | a'feik | 'pou | 'ali |
| Per | 'ina | 'neanʝ | apu'laik | apu'feik | 'pou | 'ali |
| Apt | 'ina | 'neanʝ | apu'laik | apu'feik | 'poʔu | 'ali |
| Tal | 'inan | 'naran | 'aman | 'inan | 'pour | 'alir |
| Ksr | 'ina | 'naran | 'lait | 'heit | 'anulu | ka'ruri |
| Rom | 'ina | 'naranna | na'ʔehara | 'nene | 'kaka | 'alli |
| Lng | 'inə | 'nanə | 'upə | upə | ja'nulu | 'gari |
| EDm | 'inn0 | inan'narano | memni'mano | memnio'hoto | 'aʔano | 'arni |
| Ten | 'jina | 'nana | patu'mana | patu'faʔa | 'aʔa | 'waʔi |
| Nil | 'ina | 'narna | 'wemni'mona | 'wemni'fata | 'anʔa | 'warni |
| Sra | 'ina | 'arna | 'upa | 'upnu | 'ana | 'arni |
| WDm | nen0'jeni | 'non0 | 'tete | 'nene | kaka'jeni | we'seni |
| DDI | 'ilei | wu'ʔetalol | im'miei | im'miei | 'kakol | 'welol |
| Dai | ir'on | vʔet'an | mem'bion | mem'bion | ka'kon | uai'pon |
| NBb | 'enne | 'anai | 'memni'miana | 'memni'waʔa | ka'ʔanne | ʔi'aʔai |
| SEB | 'rel | 'non | ɛ'mem | mem'Em | 'au | 'viau |
| Ser | rel'le | 'nan | 'memlie o'm'an | 'memlie o'pih | aal'ɛ | biali'ɛ |
| EMs | 'inoi | 'non | 'mem | 'mem | 'ulul | 'uvei |
| CMs | 'renne | 'nene | 'memni | 'memni | 'anne | 'weini |
| Emp | 'rile | 'nune | 'memijs? | 'memije? | 'ai | 'weje |
| TIM | 'ine | 'nunmu | 'upe | 'upe | 'ake | 'ʔeije |
| Imr | 'ile | 'nunmu | upe | upe | 'axi | wɛ'jeji |

| | 129. GRANDCHILD | 130. GUEST | 13 I STRING/ROPE | 132. ROAD | 133. SAILBOAT | 134. SAIL | 135. MACHETE | 136. KNIFE |
|-----|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Ind | <i>cucu</i> | <i>tamu</i> | <i>tali</i> | <i>jalan</i> | <i>perahu</i> | <i>layar</i> | <i>parang</i> | <i>pisau</i> |
| Oir | ra'tara | hei'na | 'taru | i'jar | 'losu | le'hen | iha'lo'or | u'lulu |
| Iln | 'peŋ | pa'nage | 'tali | ra'lowa | 'loina | 'la | api'suq | 'mumu |
| Tgn | 'kapu | ka'wair | 'tali | 'sələ | 'loi | 'lar | 'mumu | 'perik |
| Per | 'kapu | pa'nege | 'asar | 'sala | 'loi | 'lar | 'pirik | pirik'ana |
| Apt | 'kapu | pe'nage | 'talin | 'sala | loi'inan | 'lar | 'mumu | 'sihik |
| Tal | 'peir | 'tamu | 'tali | 'salan | 'ro | 'lan | 'itur | 'sihit |
| Ksr | 'upun | pe'naʔa | 'kali | 'kalla | 'loi | wa'lare | 'kawe | 'kuri |
| Rom | 'upna | 'tamu | 'tali | 'tʃalla | 'loi | 'lara | 'hivti | 'kopi |
| Lng | 'upə | 'pen'jakə | 'tali | 'tallə | 'puow | 'lara | 'wehələ | 'taʔəwə |
| EDm | 'memni | 'tamu | 'ara | lal'no | pel'ʔo | lar'wo | turiʔa'pro | turiwu'lado |
| Ten | 'pai | ta'məra | 'weʔu | 'kala | 'jai | 'lawə | 'turi | 'fnita |
| Nil | 'wemi | 'tamu | 'etu | 'salna | 'ai | 'laru | 'tori | po'narsa |
| Sra | 'upnu | 'tamu | 'worta | 'salna | w'roa | 'laru | 'turi | pu'masa |
| WDm | mam'seni | 'tamu | 'tolso | 'hollo | 'osko | 'low0 | 'turko | 'takno |
| DDI | 'upkei | 'pailia | 'wa: | 'alloy | 'ajiol | 'larol | 'turkol | 'takliol |
| Dai | mem'bion | esme'venoh'ren | uah'on | hannon | ais'on | 'naron | 'turon | 'taknon |
| NBb | mem'nijai | pa'nijai | vi'aʔai | haʔanai | 'ajai | 'narai | tur'kijai | taʔanjai |
| SEB | me'mem | 'uβl | 'wia | 'al | 'ai | 'lar | 'kor | 'tahal |
| Ser | memeli'e | 'ubel | bi'ha | hal'le | aj'e | 'lar | 'kor | ta'ʔal |
| EMs | 'mɛmtʃɛ | 'llvul | 'kalieo | 'al | 'ai | 'lar | 'kor | 'tahal |
| CMs | 'mɛmni | 'peije | 'wɛci | 'allei | 'aije | 'lare | 'korei | o'pije |
| Emp | 'memijeʔ | 'uvale | 'veʔ | 'asse | 'aje | 'lareʔ | 'wakale | 'tiakale |
| TIM | 'upe | u'βinteini | 'kape | 'anne | 'aije | 'nare | 'wakne | 'tʃiakne |
| Imr | 'upe | | 'WE: | 'anne | 'aije | 'lale | 'wakle | 'opije |

| | 137. RICE MORTAR | 138. RICE PESTLE | 139. SALT | 140. SUGAR | 141. WHAT | 142. WHO | 143. WHERE |
|-----|------------------|------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| Ind | <i>lesung</i> | <i>alu</i> | <i>garam</i> | <i>gula</i> | <i>apa</i> | <i>siapa</i> | <i>di mana</i> |
| Oir | 'lutu | a'lutu | 'asir | 'kula | in'hai | u'mani | ina'nani |
| Iln | 'nihun | alu'ana | 'masin | 'gula | ha'la | ha'ri | la'me |
| Tgn | ka'nehun | 'alu | 'mahin | 'gula | 'hala | o'hari | oinu'me |
| Per | ka'nehu | 'alu | 'masin | 'gula | 'hari | o'hari | la'me |
| Apt | ka'nehun | 'alu | 'masin | a'masi | a'la: | a'ri | la'mei |
| Tal | 'nesun | 'alu | 'masin | 'gula | 'la | 'gose | 'gamai |
| Ksr | 'lehun | alu'waʔu | 'asir | 'asir 'mina | in'hawa | in'hoi | ai'evi |
| Rom | 'lehõnu | 'alu | 'mahãni | 'gula | 'hai | 'hoi | 'lake |
| Lng | lie'henu | lie'henu'gaʔõnõ | ki'oʔõ | 'kula | hi'aʔõ | 'heʔõ | 'la han'meni |
| EDm | le'hum | 'uai | 'hu | 'ul | an'de | hei'je | 'ladanmai'je |
| Ten | 'lusmu | fa'fai | 'suwa | 'kula | wa'ti | se'wo | la'mai |
| Nil | ha'hai | 'wana | 'sua | 'gula | no'kroa | se'tai | na'poa |
| Sra | le'sun | wa'wei | 'skua | 'kula | sa'sa | seke'ai | na'noa |
| WDm | 'luhjo | luh'jono | da'vijo | 'gula | da'dari | de'ssri | didi'lamoi |
| DDI | 'limol | 'alel01 | 'doijol | 'kullol | 'adika | 'deja | mil'malle |
| Dai | 'ŋ'eimon | wa'wajon | 'dõʔon | 'hunon | di'd'ahe | de'jehe | 'naman |
| NBb | 'nijai | nia'annai | 'dojai | 'kunai | 'dadija | 'dedije | 'nomai |
| SEB | 'ehel | wawa'hun | 'toʔ | 'kul | 'dzai | to'i | ehle'mo |
| Ser | 'hel | helun'e | 'to | 'kul | 't'ai | 'toi | it'a'le |
| EMs | 'hel | 'halun | 'to | 'kul | 'itʃa | 'toi: | 'nomoi |
| CMs | 'enei | 'enei'ene | 'toei | 'kule | 'itei | 'tʃoi | lo'tennei |
| Emp | 'seile | sie'nune | 'toeʔ | 'kuleʔ | 'itita | 'toji | 'lo:mo |
| TIM | 'jene | 'jene'ʔupe | 'toe | 'kune | 'tio | te'ʔoi | 'nomme |
| Imr | 'lelle | 'waje | 'to: | 'kule | 'wetto: | 'toi | 'nelo: |

| | 144. HOW | 145. HOW MANY | 146. THIRSTY | 147. BITE | 148. DRINK | 149. HUNGRY | 150. EAT | 151. SEE |
|-----|------------------|---------------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Ind | <i>bagaimana</i> | <i>berapa</i> | <i>haus</i> | <i>menggigit</i> | <i>minum</i> | <i>lapar</i> | <i>makan</i> | <i>melihat</i> |
| Oir | ino'ʔone | 'tarha | 'kaʔase | 'aria | 'tutu | to'ʔore | 'mete | 'wataʔe |
| IIn | noni'me | ha'ira | 'mateʔe | 'kosa | 'rinu | 'klau | 'mua | 'otʔo |
| Tgn | nussn'hala | 'faira | 'matro | 'gaga | 'minu | mat'lar | 'mua | 'tʔotʔo |
| Per | oni'me | fa'ʔira | 'mete'er | 'gaga | 'minu | 'hahi | 'mua | 'nagua/'kihi |
| Apt | ani'mei | fa'ira | 'par0 | 'heu | 'inu | 'palar | 'ua | 'naoŋ |
| Tal | ele'gamai | i'hila | 'apro | 'toi | 'renu | 'apla | 'raʔan | 'noun |
| Ksr | hiʔi'hevi | wo'ira | ma'rou | 'naʔu'nihhi | 'nomun | nam'lara | 'naʔan | 'poʔon |
| Rom | nu'noke | wo'ʔira | pma'rou | p'kiki | 'nomun | ŋma'raram | 'nana | p'tona |
| Lng | eŋka'meni | wo'ira | 't'eru'kernə | p'nihia | nemnu | 'plarə | na'ʔana | nam'keka |
| EDm | 'umbʷannuʔo'e | woi're | gamne'rah | 'giʔi | go'mun | gam'laru | game'nan | go'ven |
| Ten | anuk'mai | 'jiru | ma'nsrsi | 'niʔi | 'mimni | mai'jsrnu | an'ti | ton'la |
| Nil | nəkə'beʔe | 'ira | 'nersa | ŋ'ʔiʔi | nəm'ni | 'karsa | na'ena | ta'ksra |
| Sra | nəkə'me | 'ira | ŋ'nersa | ŋ'iʔi | 'jomnu | ŋ'karsa | 'konu | ni'klai |
| WDm | pa'redmoi | 'vi | 'mare | ot'kiki | 'vimjo | 'marmo | 'tavitʔo | 'vito |
| DDI | lu'malle | 'irei | telai'ləmek ^h | 'ləkik ^h | 'mimil | 'arm01 | 'laweu | 'k ^h ita |
| Dai | en'unnu | 'ira | tcna'muta | pve'dat | 'timŋ | 'armon | tsm'atp | 'nit |
| NBB | 'etimai | 'ire | — | p'wedado | 'mimno | 'narmo | ŋ'weʔo | js'tenni |
| SEB | jax'mo | 'nomja | 'ovl | lax'ka | 'miml | 'morom | 'kal | 'kioker |
| Ser | pəpit'e'ta | nəmi'a | lə'hobel | lə'k'a | le'men | mermo'ni | 'kal | 'kol |
| EMs | 'itjai: | 'fiera | 'kelmek | 'ilparam | 'mimn | 'merm | 'kan | um'kiol |
| CMs | 'numow | 'fiera | 'keloin'mekir | ini'kiei | 'nemni | nə'merm | 'eon | ŋ'kon |
| Emp | 'numeʔ | 'visra | 'leeʔ | 'lillija | 'ləp | lə'merem | 'nun | 'miella |
| TIM | ŋbut'nuim'e | wo'iri | kenne'ne | ŋ'nijne | 'nemnə | om'merrŋ | 'on | p'kon |
| Imr | 'apato: | wo'iru | kel'lule | 'minei | 'meməle | ome'remu | o'naitu | ŋ'konei |

| | 152. HEAR <i>mendengar</i> | 153. SLEEP <i>tidur</i> | 154. KNOW <i>tahu</i> | 155. TO GET UP <i>bangun</i> | 156. DIE <i>mati</i> | 157. SWIM <i>berenang</i> | 158. WALK <i>berjalan</i> | 159. SING <i>bernyanyi</i> |
|-----|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Oir | 'wari | 'taija | na'ware | 'ture | 'umu | 'naʔaje | 'lalare | li'ʔule |
| Iln | 'liu | 'rapur | na'nau | 'eraŋ | 'mate | 'nani | 'raloa | noi'sani |
| Tgn | 'liu | ti'pur | 'serek | 'panu | 'mate | 'nani | ni'loa | ma'sasani |
| Per | 'liu | 'pu | 'serek | 'pono | 'mete | 'nani | 'akak | 'loli |
| Apt | 'liuŋ | 'lole | 'nauŋ | 'pan0 | 'mate | 'nani | 'ahak | 'sani |
| Tal | 'dahar | 'rena | 'nou | 'mesu | 'mati | 'nani | 'sole | 'loli |
| Ksr | 'terne | nam'kuru | nau'roin | na'maka | 'maki | na'nani | na'laʔa | 'nahi'nara |
| Rom | pwa'naham | nam'turwe | nar'woina | 'neram | ŋ'pora | 'nani | nal'wa | p'sinina |
| Lng | na'tlina | na'nina | 'natu | na'mata | p'mati | ŋ'nani | na'laʔə | wa'gara |
| EDm | gat'lin | gam'dudu | ga'tu | ŋb'a'tar | ŋ'mat | p'nani | ŋ'laʔat | ŋ'lori |
| Ten | 'serni | p'mina | naf re | 'pətri | ŋ'maʔa | 'nani | 'lakti | a'snera |
| Nil | ss'rina | 'nena | 'frena | və'ni | ŋ'mata | 'nani | ŋ'loka | nus'para |
| Sra | ŋ'serin | 'nena | ni'brsna | p'patar | p'mati | p'ai | ni'lōki | nis'nsra |
| WDM | wa'dano | ma'tunni | wut'hono | wa'moto | 'moto | jsnnun'nuni | 'lakto | ŋ'pe |
| DDI | 'wakli | le'milla | 'matk ^h | 'patər | 'mat | 'wellai | 'lauant | 'melar |
| Dai | 'teni | 'tem'in | en'at | 'patr | ŋ'mat | ŋven'aʔis | nen'aʔat | ŋvo't ^h en |
| NBb | je'ʔennio | 'niʔina | ja'ʔakijai | ja'waʔare | ŋ'maʔi | p'wennai | inata'tanna | inen'paro |
| SEB | 'rilker | 'monit | 'oʔre | 'momox | 'moxoi | kabe'non | ks'na | re'liar |
| Ser | ma'ril | kel'lil | l'e'bre | lis'mo | ləmo'po | l'e'mon'on | l'e'la | lihe'ljar |
| EMs | ŋ'rel | 'mojin | mo'vorei | 'mopak | 'mok | 'movnon | 'mona | moi'liar |
| CMs | 'renker | 'nenin | 'nevrei | 'nepar | p'mokei | 'nevjen | ns'lala | 'nepər |
| Emp | 'rerel | 'leisil | 'levri | 'lemuk | 'muk | 'lavnun | la'wokalak | le'liar |
| TIM | nu'kain | nen'nin | nev're | mə'muk | 'mu:ki | nev'nuni | ŋbo'nak | nai'ner |
| Imr | nu'kainu | ma'nino | 'owu | ma'muku | muko'tienu | mou'luli | 'kenah | mo'lieru |

| | 160. VOMIT | 161. LAUGH | 162. ITCH | 163. SLEEPY | 164. CHILD | 165. SKY | 166. FLY | 167. COME | 168. STAND |
|-----|---------------------|----------------|--------------|------------------|-------------|-----------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| Ind | <i>muntah</i> | <i>tertawa</i> | <i>gatal</i> | <i>mangantuk</i> | <i>anak</i> | <i>langit</i> | <i>terbang</i> | <i>datang</i> | <i>berdiri</i> |
| Oir | 'ote | 'kele | u'hute | — | 'moto | 'leʔene | 'ihile | 'maʔu | 'natara |
| IlN | 'muta | 'mali | 'gataŋ | matan'hera | 'ana | 'nata | na'palia | 'ma | 'dali |
| Tgn | 'muta | 'mali | 'gatal | mat'ferak | 'ana | 'morta | 'sopar | 'ma | 'piri |
| Per | 'muta | 'mali | 'gata | mata'ferak | 'ana | 'mota | 'sopan | 'ma | 'piri |
| Apt | 'muta | 'mali | 'gatan | mata'pulir | a'nuran | 'mota | 'palia | 'ma | 'gale |
| Tal | 'pura | 'mali | 'rou | 'dukur | 'anak | 'lanjit | 'nemo | 'mai | 'napri |
| Ksr | na'moko | na'lau | 'akal | 'makanna'soi | 'anan | 'aʔam | 'liuar | 'mai | nam'riri |
| Rom | na'muta | na'mali | nam'kata | 'matnama'soi | 'anana | 'lʔanti | ŋ'liwara | p'mai | nakʔ'deda |
| Lng | na'mota | nam'mali | 'matla | 'ŋoki | 'aʔəno | li'anti | p'nema | p'mai | na'priri |
| EDm | ŋ'mut | ŋ'mali | ne'wur | 'matanhir'hou | 'anano | li'anti | 'nem | ŋ'mai | nam'briri |
| Ten | p'muta | p'mali | na'matli | marar'so | wa'koʔi | 'lakti | 'nima | 'mo | uma'ru |
| Nil | p'muta | p'mali | nima'tela | matra'sou | 'wanu | 'lakti | 'nema | 'morpi | ŋ'rirri |
| Sra | 'luʔa | 'mali | 'matla | matra'son | wa'koʔi | 'lakti | ŋ'nema | p'mai | ŋ'briri |
| WDm | wa'muto | wa'moli | 'katlo | ja'hoho | kame'mejo | 'muhəlo | 'jemmo | 'moi | jem'riri |
| DDI | 'lemut ^h | 'lal | 'weiru | ʃioi'ʃioi | 'allol | 'dartol | 'məlim | 'ləma | 'lepri |
| Dai | ŋ'mut | p'han | ŋvi'ivra | ve'soi | an'on | 'darton | p'nim | ŋ'mai | ne'pri |
| NBb | in'moʔo | p'hanni | p'weivero | p'wesioi | 'annai | — | ŋ'nimo | ŋ'mai | ŋ'nepri |
| SEB | 'mox | 'lesel | 'loik | le'kiʔaʔox | 'un | 'lalak | 'lem | 'mai | 'mopri |
| Ser | ʔeno'o | ʔem'on | loj'hoʔo | liepo'poʔo | 'une | lal'ke | 'lem | lam'. | ʔe'b'ri |
| EMs | 'muk | 'momol | 'oik | 'mobuk | 'un | 'rowek | m'lim | 'mai | 'mopri |
| CMs | 'nemuk | nemel'miel | 'maltalei | 'nepok | 'ene | 'lalkei | 'illem | p'mei | 'nepri |
| Emp | 'mokeʔ | 'lemun | 'makali | le'pokpok | 'une | 'lalkijeʔ | 'sem | 'peʔ | 'leprit |
| TIM | na'mok ^h | ne'muni | 'nevʔ | noik'ar'k'ar | 'une | 'nanʔk ^h e | p'nem | p'mai | 'nepri |
| Imr | mo'moku | mo'muni | le'veru | | u'nemmu | li'anti | ma'lemu | 'moi | 'mopri |

| | 169. COUGH <i>batuk</i> | 170. SPIT <i>meludah</i> | 171. CRY <i>menangis</i> | 172. DREAM <i>bermimpi</i> | 173. PREGNANT <i>mengandung</i> | 174. OLD <i>tua</i> | 175. KILL <i>membunuh</i> | 176. SIT <i>duduk</i> |
|------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Ind | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Oir</i> | 'uwale | kausa'Pupa | 'saure | upa'rana | mofoa't nani | 'laite | u'a'umu | una'mira |
| In | 'koho | 'pita | 'kua | 'mi | 'tou | 'lai | 'edza | 'pasu |
| Tgn | 'koho | pita'pre | 'kua | na'mi | kap'kurun | 'nihi | 'otu | 'tur |
| Per | 'kose | pika'pre | na'ge | 'nami | karu'Pina | 'laik | 'edza | 'tu |
| Apt | 'koscr | pikpa're | na'ge | a'mi | li'golog | laik'agin | 'ega | 'tur |
| Tal | 'mahu | 'uper | 'tanis | re'nami | 'sau | 'la?it | 'regan | 'madei |
| Ksr | 'horo | sa'prui | na'hsre | na'marmi | ap'Papun | na?i'leher | 'nesne | nai'koro |
| Rom | 'gora | na'prui | p'karara | nam'mia | 'napuna | na'le'hara | 'nedina | na'trorana |
| Lng | na'senə | na'krui | ŋ'kakəru | ŋ'mi?ə | na?ap'apənu | nam' to?ə | p'wenna | nam'tatna |
| EDm | mə'har | 'napri | 'ou | 'natə | na'pun | 'nau | pve'dan | m'pap |
| Ten | 'esa | a'prea | ke a | 'mia | 'apni | pa'tua | 'funu | a'kasni |
| Nil | p'mahu | nif rəti | ni'ranu | nim'jatu | 'apnu | pa'tua | 'fulnu | p'tara |
| Sra | n'mau | niv'riti | is'iru | p'mita | ŋ'apnu | ppa'tua | ŋ'wunu | p'tara |
| WDm | 'mero | 'jepti | ja'dono | — | i'titpo | 'jemtu | wuŋhi | wa'wathono |
| DDi | 'kesla | 'lapər | e'likiv | 'molial | 'laps | 'ləmt ^h u | m'puliei | 'wakrei |
| Dai | 'kesnon | ap'ron | p'hava | ŋ'mon | 'na?ap | nem'tu | ŋ'vun | nai'tu? |
| NBb | q'kesino | ŋ'netivo | p'naroti | ŋ'namui | p'nape | ŋnen'jero | p'wunni | ŋ'wa?arena |
| SEB | lə'mər | 'wix | ləx'nin | mu'mu | le'ap | le'por | le'bul | te'kahait |
| Ser | l'əm'er | l'ə'bi?i | lur'əl | lam'u | l'ap'əl | l'ə?oren'tu | lab'ul | l'eka?a |
| EMs | 'mər | 'mokavi | 'moklil | 'mumu | 'moapal | po'poritʃi | m'puli | 'mukak |
| CMs | 'nəmmer | 'lik | p'noi | p'mejsl | ŋ'japən | ŋ'por | 'neni | ŋ'par |
| Emp | 'pərre | 'ləvik | 'luwek | 'poje | le'apala | 'por | 'lawuli | 'par |
| TIM | ne'ro | ne'βik | nek'nian | pmoi'jak | 'napnu | ŋ'por | 'nene | m'per |
| Imr | 'moro | mo'wiku | moka'lenu | mu'jelle | la'Pəpenu | porkor'tʃenu | 'meli | 'per0 |

| | 177. BATHE | 178. FALL | 179. GIVE | 180. TALK | 181. LEECH | 182. THICK | 183. THIN | 184. SHARP | 185. ROTTEN |
|-----|--------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| Ind | <i>mandi</i> | <i>jatuh</i> | <i>memberi</i> | <i>bicara</i> | <i>lintah</i> | <i>tebal</i> | <i>tipis</i> | <i>tajam</i> | <i>busuk</i> |
| Oir | ɪmusa | 'ipa | E'mina | luk'luku | — | ut'wata | mam'pia | 'aʔate | 'hoho |
| Iln | 'topu | 'pole | 'ne: | 'tʃotʃe | 'heti | 'kabaŋ | 'mi | 'tain | 'hoŋ |
| Tgn | 'topur | 'pole | 'nei | ni'tʃalan | 'kit ^h ul | 'kawar | 'nis | 'tain | 'poŋ |
| Per | 'topu | 'mosu | 'ne | 'salaŋ | 'makak | 'magas | 'mis | 'tain | 'po |
| Apt | 'goheŋ | 'fonuk | 'neila | 'oruŋ | 'makak | 'tun | 'mis | 'nagan | 'fon |
| Tal | 'rius | na'ledir | 'ne: | ma'teten | 'makat | 'tuʔun | 'mis | 'preʔat | 'hon |
| Ksr | na'roho | neʃi'jawa | 'nala | wa'kunu | 'nihim | nam'ʔawal | nam'nisa | nam'lorno | 'popo |
| Rom | nal'were | na'dʒaura | 'nala | pwa'rei | ah'komla | 'kawalla | rp'nihana | ŋ'i'orana | ŋ'popa |
| Lng | na'rohə | p'tujni | 'nala | na't'eri | — | na'kəpau | ŋ'nihə | 'plokra | 'gehəpə |
| EDm | ŋ'vuri | 'taiwou | ŋa'lila | ŋal'tieri | — | 'poum | nam'nihu | 'na:n | tu'hah |
| Ten | wa'ɾə | 'te | moli'la | ŋ'kokla | wula'tewa | nikfut'futna | nimnis'nisu | el'ela | 'pursi |
| Nil | 'lera | ŋ'tuʔu | nau'ti | na'ʔomsa | — | nik'futna | ŋ'nisu | ni'merna | pu'esa |
| Sra | ni'lera | ŋ'tuʔu | mul'ti | na'ʔomsa | — | ni'kutna | nim'nisu | mer'merna | 'pusaʔ |
| WDm | wa'diro | 'nadi | ji'olo | ŋ'hoto | — | ku'vunoi | mi'pidoi | jejo'jono | ja'teto |
| DDI | 'leurid | 'led | 'moʃei | ŋ'p ^w erei | 'wawutk ^h | 'wutələl | ma'lidlid | m ^w em'merel | 'pudel |
| Dai | 'nevriʃ | net'tioʔ | 'nuse | no'hor | — | nev'utnə | mam'nit | nem'merə | ŋ'puʃ |
| NBb | pna'vrodə | ŋ'nekpe | 'nai | ŋve'tatarə | — | wo'tenne | pnem'nido | p'namare | ŋ'pure |
| SEB | 'mojtir | 'let | 'moʔi | kue'hap | — | bo'bohol | pil'pil | ma'mar | lə'bor |
| Ser | l'at'ir | 'let | 'noi | bl'er'ε | — | bobo'ʔol | mali'lit | mamhar'a | ləpur'purhe |
| EMs | 'moitiri | 'meliet | 'mieri | 'mere | — | vo'vokli | ləm'ninit | ma'ri | 'por |
| CMs | 'neitir | ŋ'let | 'mieri | wε'perei | — | 'βonni | nem'ninit | ŋ'mari | 'porpor |
| Emp | 'letir | 'lauvela | nuni | wəlie'rejeʔ | — | 'wokali | 'piliti | 'mari | 'pur |
| TIM | ne'tir | 'netne | mu'nina | ŋ'kakɾ | — | 'wokani | nemi'nita | 'maru | ŋ'poru |
| Imr | mo'tiro | ŋ'letne | mune | ŋpe'kerru | — | wo'kelli | pom'keki | mare'tallei | 'poreʔ |

| | 186. CARRY | 187. RUN | 188. WOUND | 189. HOUSE | 190. VILLAGE | 191. BRAIN | 192. SWEAT | 193. CORAL |
|-----|-------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| Ind | <i>pikul</i> | <i>lari</i> | <i>luka</i> | <i>rumah</i> | <i>kampung</i> | <i>otak</i> | <i>berkeringat</i> | <i>karang</i> |
| Oir | somone | 'tipare | 'kake | 'natara | so'lin | 'okon | mul'wana | 'auru |
| Iln | 'leka | raga'rusu | 'mani | 'raha | 'ili | 'gutanj | 'klema | 'krosa |
| Tgn | 'fara | 'huk | 'manin | 'raha | 'ili | 'gutan | ka'neus | 'kura |
| Per | 'teru | 'koe | 'mani | 'raha | 'ili | 'guta | ga'morah | ai'Paur |
| Apt | 'fara | 'koe | 'manin | 'raha | 'ili | 'gutan | ka'meman | 'kura |
| Tal | 'san | 'laiʔi | na'manin | 'uma | 'ili | 'utak | kǎ'meman | 'nele |
| Ksr | naʔu'wara | 'lari | 'noʔo | 'rom/'nakar | 'awak | ok'okon | a'wenne | 'wakuru'ruri |
| Rom | na'k'wara | 'naula | 'nua | 'krahna | 'leta | 'utanna | ŋma'ʔinata | 'aru |
| Lng | nakǎ'warǎ | nau'lari | 'noʔǎ | 'romǎ | 'letǎ | kri'ahǎlu | ŋma'liwtu | 'leri |
| EDm | ŋvu'ar | ŋ'lehu | nam'ru | hani'al | 'letu | suta'no | mahun'nano | 'ner |
| Ten | ŋ'lera | ŋ'tera | nam'nu | 'wǎma | 'leʔu | 'nulu | mala'sune | fa'tota |
| Nil | 'lepa | ŋli'ori | 'nua | 'ruma | 'leta | 'nuta | mal'sulna | rǎk'rǎka |
| Sra | 'lepi | ŋ'tera | m'kala | 'kresna | 'leta | 'uta | 'ratni | 'rǎka |
| WDM | wahu'ano | 'nēhi | 'kida | 'uma | 'lato | ro'hono | ma'heno | 'tutho |
| DDI | 'lep ^h | 'lod | 'lemlu | 'umol | 'lettol | 'wetim | 'porol | 'dǎdirol |
| Dai | ŋ'vare | ŋ'not | ŋ'nuʔon | 'umon | nd'on | 'ratnon | ŋ'pessoʔu | 'ueʔiron |
| NBB | ŋ'piʔəni | p'nodo | 'nnnai | 'omai | ablu'viai | o'tənənai | sode'venai | 'waʔavijai |
| SEB | 'lep | 'lot | ŋ'lo | 'Em | 'lex | kir'kir | 'otovul | 'wanai |
| Ser | lǎb'ar | 'lǎt | 'lo | 'Em | le'ʔe | — | hot'be | p'ap'el |
| EMs | mǎ'liep | ma'loip | 'lo | 'em | 'lek | | 'otova | 'teter |
| CMs | mǎ'liepi | ŋ'lot | 'nojei | 'Emmei | 'lek | oke'laltje | o'tuwon'larie | 'rurei |
| Emp | lu'wari | 'sot | 'poeʔ | 'immeʔ | 'leke | ra'tijeʔ | 'otuwe | 'tētre |
| TIM | pvu'arna | p'notu | nem'no | 'ime | 'neke | 'rantie | me'ori | te'tere |
| Imr | pi'kelli | ŋ'lotu | 'lello | 'imme | 'lowe | o'trale | mor'tallei | wakǎ'tetle |

NOTES

1. I wish to express thanks to Pattimura University in Ambon and the Summer Institute of Linguistics, whose cooperative agreement made this study possible. I am also indebted to several colleagues, Rosemary Bolton, John Christensen, David and Naomi Coward, Bryan Hinton, Russell Loski, Yushin Taguchi, and Edgar Travis, who, on previous linguistic surveys of their own, collected data that I have been able to incorporate in this report. To complete the data, a few of the wordlists were collected in Ambon from native speakers who grew up in their native areas. The responsibility for the analysis of the wordlists is mine. Significant consultant help that has influenced the character of the paper is generally acknowledged, in particular that of C. Grimes and J. Wimbish.
2. This area is known locally as *Tenggara Jauh* (far southeast) as opposed to *Tenggaru Dekat* (near southeast), which consists of the three island archipelagos of Kei, Aru, and Tanimbar located in the southeastern part of the province. The two areas combined make up the government regency known as *Kabupaten Maluku Tenggara* (Southeast Maluku Regency). Geographically, the area comprising *Tenggara Jauh* is the southernmost part of Maluku Province and is located approximately 200 miles south of Ambon. One reason why it is known locally as the "far southeast" is because it is the farthest away from the provincial capital of Ambon, not geographically but logistically via local transportation routes. For the purposes of this paper, I shall distinguish *Tenggara Dekat* as Southeast and *Tenggara Jauh* as Southwest Maluku.
The reader should also take note that the term "Southwest Maluku Group" refers to a linguistic grouping, while "the languages of southwestern Maluku" is a general reference to all the languages within the geographic area explained above.
3. Lexicostatistics involves the collection of a given set of words (e.g., from the Swadesh 200-word list), preferably from native speakers, from the desired number of speech groups to be compared. Subsequently, an analysis is made comparing corresponding lexical items and thence deriving a statistical summary.
It is clear that lexicostatistics alone cannot determine inherent intelligibility between any two speech groups. "This does not mean that we abolish the use of word lists in language surveys. It means instead that we no longer try to squeeze out of them information they are inherently incapable of giving. They do show up areas where intelligibility is unlikely, the ones where similarity is below 60%. Above that, counts based on them are helpful mainly to point up the need for intelligibility testing, but they are not a substitute for it. Word lists should be used instead to give an initial picture of language groupings" (J. Grimes 1988 : 29). Simons adds that synchronic lexicostatistic's "one serious defect is that it looks at only one aspect of the whole communication question -the role of lexical similarity. By combining it with studies of sociolinguistic factors and other aspects of linguistic similarity, a more complete picture can result" (1977a : 17).
4. This 210-word list was also used by Grimes and Grimes (1984), Hinton (1990), Hughes (1987), Kotynski (1989), Loski (1989), Taguchi (1989), and Travis (1989). This list differs from the Swadesh 200-word list in that the words *horn*, *heart*, and *seed* were eliminated due to previous experience of confusion and hesitation upon elicitation. *Feather* was also eliminated due to its polymor-

phemic status both in Indonesian, which was the language of elicitation, and in many of the vernacular languages being surveyed. Both forms (*bulu* 'hair' and *burung* 'bird') were elicited separately. Some additional words were added that were thought to be appropriate to the Moluccas (Hughes 1987). After having collected all of the wordlists, the author lived six months on the island of Luang studying the Luang language. After rechecking the data collected, 17 words were eliminated because they were considered unreliable. Specific reasons for eliminating those that were suspect include the obscuring of semantic distinctions between pairs of words on the wordlist (e.g., *banyak* 'many' and *besar* 'big'); the variety of synonymous terms elicited for certain words (e.g., *pukul* 'hit' elicited four different responses: hit, punch, slap, and hit with a stick); and confusion over kinship terminology (i.e., *om* 'uncle', father's brother vs. mother's brother). The remaining 193 words, having been thoroughly screened for errors before analysis, were considered to be accurate data. The Appendix gives broad phonetic transcriptions of these words for the 24 languages of Southwest Maluku.

5. Seven wordlists taken from languages in southeastern Maluku were added to the original 41 wordlists for the purpose of comparison.
6. WORDSURV is a computer program developed by John Wimbish (1989) for comparing and analyzing wordlists. The program includes COMPASS (comparativist's assistant), an algorithm based on the comparative method developed by Donald Frantz (1970). "Compass measures the frequency with which proposed sound correspondences recur as a means of evaluating the likelihood that forms entered as cognate in the wordlist database are in fact historically cognate" (Wimbish 1989: 67). Once the cognate decisions are made, WORDSURV produces seven matrices, which calculate lexical similarity, phonological similarity (phonostatistics), standard deviation variance, number of comparisons made, the number of cognate sets, and so forth. This greatly reduces the time and difficulty involved in comparing 48 wordlists each containing 193 words. Once I entered the wordlists and grouped them into sets with the aid of COMPASS, it took less than five minutes to tabulate the decisions.
7. Although different classificatory terms were used, the same lexical similarity thresholds proved equally useful for studies of the languages of Sabah (Smith 1984), North Maluku (Grimes and Grimes 1984), South Sulawesi (Grimes and Grimes 1987), and Southeast Maluku (Hughes 1987).
8. Because the data presented here share a common branch, with the exception of Oirata, which belongs to a different phylum, the LSP in this range are not considered significant for this study.
9. This study makes no attempt to determine under which phylum the Oirata language is classified. The literature is unclear in that there are many differing views.
10. This counts only the speakers in southwestern Maluku. There may be others in East Timor. However, if there are, they are not mentioned in Wurm and Hattori (1981).

The population figures listed throughout the present study were obtained from the Indonesian Statistics Office in Ambon, Maluku, unless otherwise stated. They only account for speakers presently living in the language area, since there are no official records kept of those who have moved to other areas. Also there are no official records kept of speakers of other languages who may have moved into the area.

11. Lexicostatistic matrix adapted from Hinton (1990).

Talur
 57 Aputai
 51 79 Perai
 52 74 76 Tugun
 52 69 66 72 Iliun

Hinton's data for the Perai language were used to complete my analysis of the **Wetar** languages.

12. In referring to the language spoken by the people of Isu and Layeni, Collins (1982 :124–125) uses the dialect name of **Wetang**, also known as **Wetan**.
13. Toos van Dijk and Nico de Jonge in their anthropological studies of the Babar archipelago report: 'Various myths collected in the field provide further evidence that the culture of Luang spread to the Babar Archipelago. In addition, Muller-Wismar (1914:914) and van Hoëvell (1890:196) assume that the *literi lagona*, the 'tongue of Luang', spread from Luang to the isles in the vicinity, both in an eastern direction (that is, to the Babar Archipelago) and a western one" (1987 : 98). There are local legends claiming that many of the surrounding islands and beyond were first populated by people from Luang. These traditions are known to extend to the Kei Archipelago (Edgar Travis pers. comm.).
14. I was not able to collect wordlists from every village in southwestern Maluku. Therefore villages (dialects) where no wordlist was taken were placed in language groupings according to firsthand information gathered from native speakers. Consequently the dialect-language relationships in these villages remains somewhat unclear.
15. Although the TNS islands are geographically located in the northeastern part of southwestern Maluku, they are in the governmental regency of *Maluku Tenggara* (Central Maluku).
16. The language names used in this study under the Babar Group were taken from the corresponding dialect names in Wurm and Hattori (1981).
17. This study does not concern itself with the linguistic relationships between the individual languages of southeastern Maluku because such a preliminary study there has already been completed. For further information regarding those languages see Hughes (1987).

It should also be noted that the general reference to the languages of southeastern Maluku is a purely geographical one, because apparently all of these languages do not form a single linguistic grouping (the Aru languages, for example, cannot be grouped with the Kei and Tanimbar languages). However, see Blust (this volume).

18. It should be noted that diagrams of this type are inherently incapable of reflecting all aspects of language relationships. The dotted line endeavors to represent a type of open endedness to convey that more languages outside of this study exist. Figure 15 is meant merely to be an overview of the language relationships brought out in this paper.

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