

**WORKPAPERS IN INDONESIAN
LANGUAGES AND CULTURES**

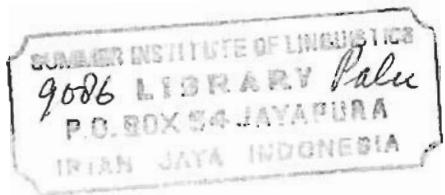
Volume 4



THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
IN COOPERATION WITH
THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WORKPAPERS IN INDONESIAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

VOLUME 4



The Summer Institute of Linguistics

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The Department of Education and Culture

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Percetakan Universitas Cenderawasih
Irian Jaya, Indonesia

PREFACE

In this fourth volume of Workpapers in Indonesian Languages and Cultures we present four papers from Irian Jaya: two on the kinship and marriage patterns of the Iau in the Lakes Plains and two language survey reports from the Bird's Head.

Sonja Rehatta has reworked Janet Bateman's article "Iau Kinship and Marriage" (1983. Gods, Heroes, and Kinsmen. Edited by William Merrifield and Daniel C. Ajamiseba. Co-published by Cenderawasih University and the International Museum of Cultures, Dallas, Texas. pp.191-220) and put the data into two articles adapted to an Indonesian audience in both language and presentation.

Keith and Christine Berry have done extensive surveys of the language situation in the west and south Bird's Head area and provide wordlists and maps to enhance their survey reports. These two reports add considerably to previous knowledge about Bird's Head languages and their relatedness.

These four papers are presented as part of the academic production of the cooperative agreement between Cenderawasih University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics to promote the three goals (TRI DHARMA) of higher education in Indonesia: Education, Research, and Community Development.

Peter J. Silzer and Joyce K. Sterner

Editors

Jayapura, May 1987

PRAKATA

Dengan gembira kami menyambut volume ke-4 dari publikasi Workpapers in Indonesian Languages and Cultures yang memuat dua buah tulisan tentang antropology suku Iau yang disadur dari buku 'Gods, Heroes, and Kinsmen' serta dua buah survai/penelitian bahasa-bahasa di daerah Barat dan Selatan Kepala Burung yang disponsori oleh Program Kerjasama UNCEN-SIL selama beberapa tahun terakhir ini.

Publikasi ini merupakan lanjutan Program Kerjasama UNCEN-SIL dalam bidang penelitian sebagai salah satu wujud dari TRI DHARMA PERGURUAN TINGGI.

Semoga hasil-hasil penelitian seperti ini dapat diteruskan agar menjadi suatu daya tarik tersendiri bagi mereka yang sadar dan ingin tahu akan kekhasan bahasa serta budaya Irian Jaya.

Prof. Dr. Ir. Rudy C. Tarumingkeng

Rektor Universitas Cenderawasih

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ADOPSI, PERKAWINAN DAN SEKUTU DI SUKU IAU

disadur dari
"Iau Kinship and Marriage" bagian "Adopsi,
perkawinan dan sekutu"

oleh
Sonja Rehatta
Program Kerja Sama UNCEN-SIL

PENDAHULUAN

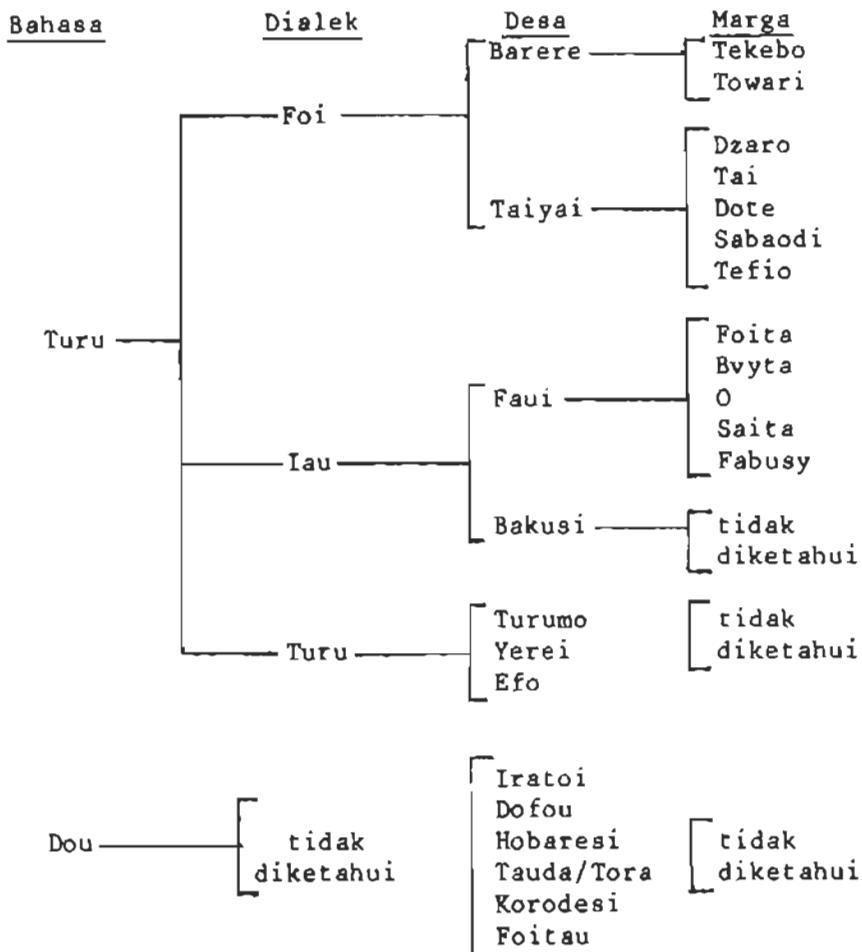
Tulisan ini merupakan saduran dari "Iau kinship and marriage" bagian Adopsi, Perkawinan dan Sekutu karangan Janet Bateman. Karangan aslinya yang dimuat di "Irian, bulletin of Irian Jaya" Vol. X no 3, October 1982 diterbitkan oleh Lembaga Anthropologi Universitas Cenderawasih.

Tulisan ini dimaksud untuk menolong orang awam untuk mengerti sedikit dari kebudayaan orang Iau, terutama bagi mereka yang akan bekerja di suku Iau, desa Faui, kecamatan Mulia, kabupaten Paniai.

Suku Iau mendiami daerah dataran bagian barat cabang sungai Van Daalen di Irian Jaya. Bahasa mereka yang bernada dan non-Austronesia merupakan salah satu dari tiga dialek bahasa Turu.

Antara tahun 1968 dan 1973 landasan-landasan terbang dibangun di Dataran-dataran Danau-danau bagian barat oleh beberapa misi. Penginjil-penginjil dari suku Dani, suatu suku dari dataran tinggi Irian Jaya, ditempatkan di tempat-tempat ini. Mulai saat itu, orang-orang dari masing-masing daerah mulai berkumpul di tempat-tempat ini. Nama-nama dari desa-desa ini dengan nama-nama marga (bila diketahui) tercantum dalam Tabel 1. Yang dimaksud dengan marga adalah orang-orang yang seasal seturunan yang tinggal di suatu daerah tertentu.

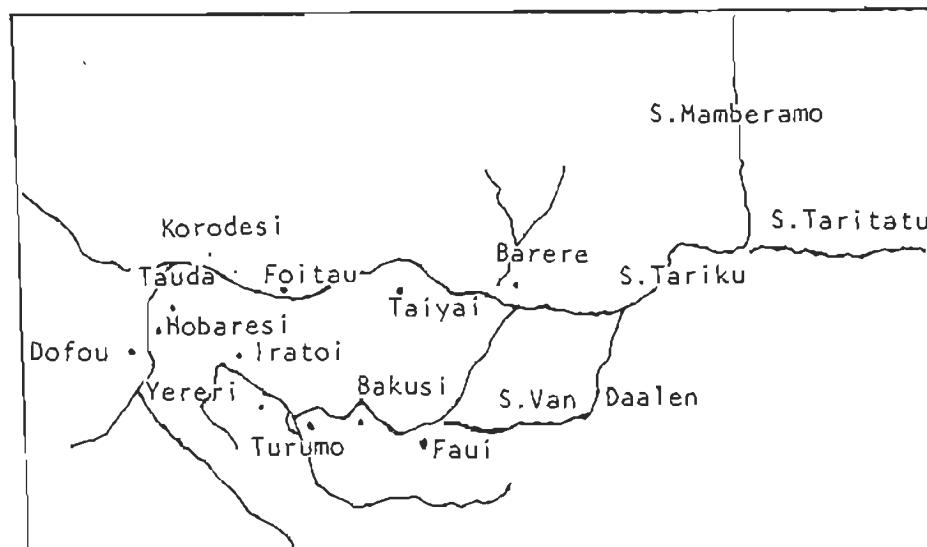
Tabel 1. Distribusi Keluarga Bahasa Turu



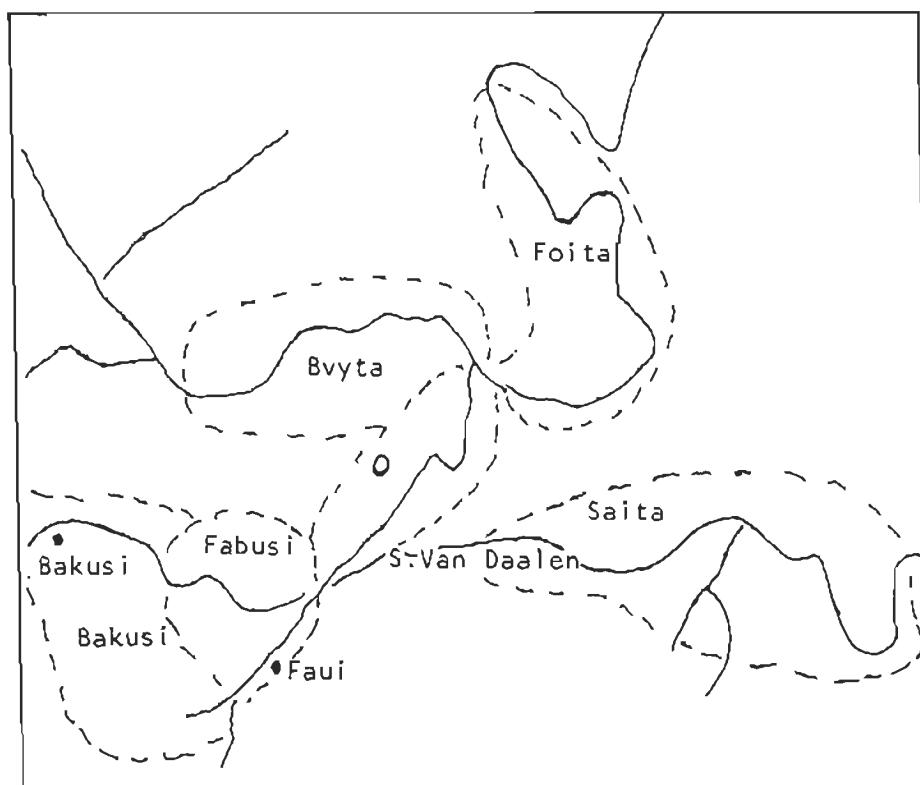
Gambar 1 memperlihatkan lokasi desa-desa ini sepanjang sungai Van Daalen dan sungai Tariku (Rouffaer). Gambar 2 memperlihatkan daerah-daerah kelima marga Iau yang telah menjadikan Fauui sebagai pusat mereka. Disamping itu terdapat juga marga-marga Iau yang tidak diketahui jumlahnya yang telah membuat Bakusi sebagai pusat mereka. Mereka tinggal di daerah yang ditandai dengan nama Bakusi (Gambar 2).

Orang-orang Iau adalah pemburu-pemburu dan pengumpul makanan. Sagu merupakan makanan pokok mereka ditambah dengan babi butan, ikan, ulat sagu, marsupial (binatang yang mempunyai kantong di perutnya), rodentia (binatang menyusui yang meliputi binatang penggerat seperti tikus dan bajing), umbi-umbian yang mengandung zat pati, pisang, ubi jalar, papaya, nenas dan ayam.

Biasanya setiap keluarga Iau mempunyai dua rumah. Satu rumah di desa Fauui atau Bakusi yang lainnya di tanah yang dikuasai marganya. Ada 63 rumah di Fauui. Setiap rumah mempunyai keluarga inti atau keluarga dalam arti yang luas dan terdiri dari seorang laki-laki, isterinya, anak-anak dan gadis-gadis yang belum menikah. Bujang-bujang tinggal di rumah orang-orang laki-laki.



Gambar 1. Desa-desa Keluarga Bahasa Turu.



Gambar 2. Marga-marga dan desa-desa Iau.

ADOPSI DI SUKU LAU

Di kalangan suku Lau pengadopsian anak adalah suatu hal yang lazim dilakukan. Hal yang paling umum yang menyebabkan seseorang mengadopsi anak adalah untuk mengatasi kesedihan atas kematian anak sendiri. Seorang wanita bila melihat seorang anak yang mengingatkannya kepada anaknya yang telah meninggal akan minta kepada ibu anak itu apakah ia dapat mengadopsi anak itu untuk menggantikan anaknya yang telah meninggal. Tidak ada upacara yang khusus untuk pengadopsian ini. Tetapi seringkali ada penukaran makanan dan barang-barang sebagai ganti anak ini.

Bila anak ini sudah lebih besar pada saat diadopsi pengadopsian tersebut terjadi tidak dengan sepenuhnya. Anak tersebut akan pergi-pulang antara kedua rumah tersebut. Sebagai orang yang dewasa ia boleh memilih dengan siapa ia mau tinggal. Bila yang diadopsi adalah seorang bayi pengadopsian biasanya lebih sempurna karena anak tersebut hanya mengenal orang tua angkatnya sebagai orang tuanya dan menjadi anggota dari kelompok keluarga angkatnya.

Suatu keluarga yang mengadopsi seorang anak biasanya mempunyai hubungan keluarga dengan keluarga asal anak itu. Bagaimanapun juga, anak itu membentuk suatu jembatan atau mengikat pertalian antara kedua keluarga tersebut yang dapat dilihat dari pemakaian istilah kekerabatan. Seorang anak yang diadopsi menyebutkan anggota-anggota keluarga adopsinya sebagaimana ia menyebutkan keluarganya sendiri. Ia dianggap sebagai salah satu anggota keluarga. Saudara-saudara angkatnya sebaliknya memanggil semua keluarga kandung anak tersebut sebagaimana ia memanggil mereka.

PERKAWINAN DALAM SUKU LAU

1. Pengertian Orang Lau Mengenai Sistem Perkawinan

Menurut orang Lau mereka dapat menikahi siapa saja yang merekakehendaki. Seorang laki-laki memilih seorang wanita yang ia ingin sebagai isteri berdasarkan daya tarik peribadi. Calon mertua memilih seorang laki-laki sebagai suami anaknya lebih banyak berdasarkan kemauan orang laki-laki itu untuk bekerja dari pada sebagai sekutu atau untuk hal-hal lain. Meskipun demikian, ada cara yang lebih baik untuk mencari isteri. Menurut orang Lau, penukaran saudara perempuan adalah suatu hal yang sangat baik bagi orang laki-laki. Baik sekali bagi seorang laki-laki untuk menikahi saudara perempuan dari ipar laki-lakinya atau saudara perempuan dari isteri saudara laki-lakinya.

Perkawinan dengan seorang saudara dapat dilakukan asal tidak ada seorangpun yang ingat adanya leluhur yang sama antara mereka. Perkawinan antara saudara sekandung (termasuk saudara tiri atau saudara angkat) atau anak

dari saudara kandung orang tua tidak diperbolehkan, meskipun perkawinan-perkawinan serupa itu terdapat dalam suku ini. Orang-orang Iau mengatakan bahwa perkawinan-perkawinan serupa ini tidak baik, orang-orang yang melakukannya seperti binatang saja. Pasangan tersebut dimaki-maki, diejek dan dikirim untuk hidup sementara dalam pengasingan. Tetapi karena orang-orang mudah lupa pengasingan ini tidak lama. Pada waktu masyarakat sudah puas mencela pasangan ini diperbolehkan untuk kembali ke lingkungan masyarakat.

Seorang laki-laki dapat menikah bila ia mempunyai janggut dan telah membuktikan dirinya sebagai pemburu yang baik. Pada waktu yang lampau, seorang gadis dinikahi pada waktu dia masih kecil, kira-kira umur 7 atau 8 tahun. Penting sekali bagi seorang gadis untuk menikah sebelum akil balig untuk mencegahnya melakukan hubungan seks sebelum menikah. Sekarang sebagai akibat pengaruh dari luar gadis-gadis Iau menikah sesudah berumur 15 ATAU 16.

Ada dua macam perkawinan. yang pertama adalah penukaran wanita dan yang kedua disebut 'mengambil dari satu fihak atau mengambil tanpa memberikan gantinya'. Perkawinan jenis yang pertama lebih disukai selama ada wanita untuk dipertukarkan. Kemungkinan besar seorang laki-laki yang tidak mempunyai saudara perempuan akan ditolak bila ia melamar seorang gadis yang mempunyai saudara laki-laki yang berharap untuk memakainya sebagai ganti untuk isteri bagi dirinya sendiri. Menurut orang Iau, saudara perempuan adalah seperti uang. Permohonan yang diterima oleh suatu marga akan menimbulkan sebuah diskusi mengenai siapa yang sudah siap untuk beristeri dan wanita yang bagaimana yang dapat diperoleh sebagai ganti wanita yang diberikan.

Dalam perkawinan pertukaran seorang laki-laki dapat menukar setiap orang yang ia panggil dengan sebutan saudara perempuan (au19) atau anak perempuan dari saudara perempuannya (so6). Tidak ada mas kawin tetapi seorang laki-laki diharap untuk menyediakan babi untuk bapak mertuanya, mengurusnya bila ia sakit dan juga bekerja baginya. Sekarang bapak mantu serta saudara-saudaranya minta panci, kapak atau jala ikan selain yang telah disebut tadi.

Perkawinan jenis kedua juga sering diadakan. Perkawinan ini dapat diadakan karena permohonan seorang laki-laki atau oleh seorang ayah yang menawarkan anak perempuannya kepada seorang calon mantu yang baik. Pemburu-pemburu ulung dan pekerja-pekerja yang baik lebih disukai sebagai seorang mantu.

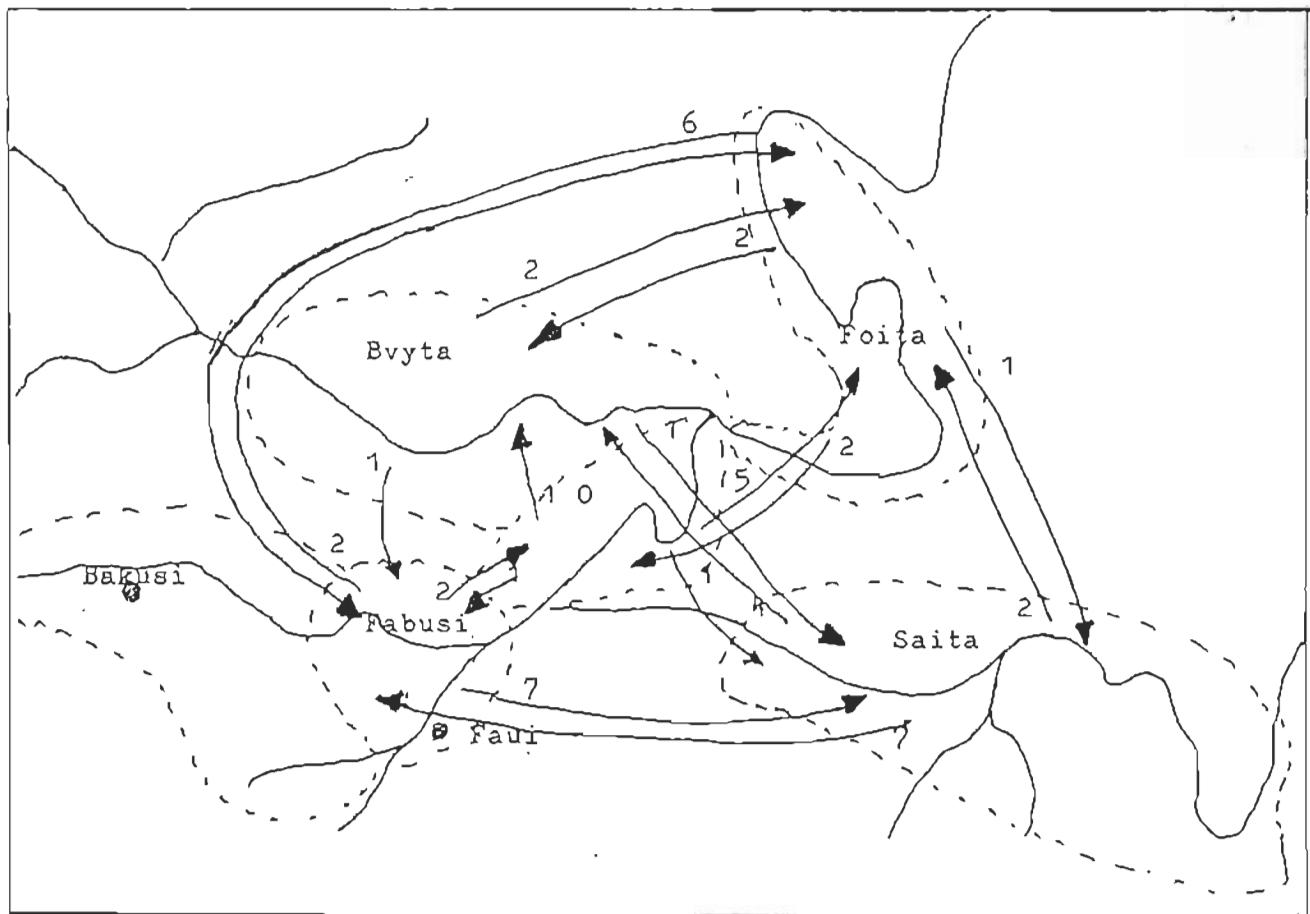
Orang Iau menganggap perkawinan tanpa pertukaran sebagai suatu bentuk perkawinan yang dapat diterima. Tidak ada pertukaran harta kawin tetapi penganten laki-laki diharapkan untuk mempertunjukkan kemauan untuk bekerja dengan mengayuh perahu dan menolong dengan menanam dan kebolehannya sebagai seorang pemburu dengan memberikan daging babi dalam jumlah yang cukup banyak kepada bapak mertuanya 'untuk melunakkan hatinya'. Seseorang tidak akan memberi anak perempuannya kepada seseorang yang tidak melakukan apa-apa untuknya.

2. Pola Perkawinan Suku Iau pada kenyataannya

Pada umumnya perkawinan dalam suku Iau terjadi antara individu-individu yang menganggap dirinya masih sanak yang satu dengan yang lainnya. Dari 80 perkawinan yang dilaksanakan dalam 4 generasi dari dua keluarga dalam arti yang luas 23 adalah antara sanak yang disebut 'saudara laki-laki ibu' (soe9) dan 'anaknya' (so6), 3 adalah antara sanak yang disebut 'ibu' (a6ty9) dan 'anak' (so6) dan 25 antara sanak yang disebut 'kakak' (boi9) dan 'adik' (y3). Pada umumnya hubungan keluarga yang sebenarnya tidak dapat ditemukan, tetapi dari penelitian ternyata ada 4 perkawinan antara 'saudara laki-laki ibu' dan anak saudara perempuan'nya dimana hubungan keluarga yang sebenarnya diketahui. Hal yang penting ialah bahwa seorang laki-laki menikah dengan saudara perempuan dari sekutunya (ty7 du8a3).

Gambar 3 menunjukkan pola pertukaran wanita untuk perkawinan yang sebenarnya antara marga-marga Faui berdasarkan data dari semua perkawinan yang ada sekarang di Fau. Rupanya setiap marga memusatkan perkawinan mereka dengan satu atau dua marga yang lain. Saita mempunyai hubungan perkawinan yang luas dengan Fabvsy. Foita mempunyai hubungan perkawinan yang luas dengan Fabvsy dan O. Kebanyakan dari hubungan perkawinan Bvyta adalah dengan Saita dan Foita dan hubungan perkawinan O pada umumnya dengan Fabvsy.

Seringkali saudara perempuan mempunyai suami yang sama. Dari 90 perkawinan yang diteliti dalam dua keturunan Iau ada 8 perkawinan dimana dua perempuan mempunyai suami yang sama dan satu perkawinan dimana tiga saudara perempuan mempunyai suami yang sama (semuanya saudara kandung atau saudara tiri). Ada juga tiga perkawinan dimana ibu dan anak perempuannya mempunyai suami yang sama, tetapi ini semuanya adalah perkawinan kedua atau ketiga untuk ibu-ibu ini.



Gambar 3. Pemberian dan penerimaan isteri antara marga-marga Iau. Angka-angka menunjukkan jumlah isteri yang diberikan.

Tabel 2 menunjukkan asalnya wanita untuk setiap marga. Jumlah wanita yang kawin dalam marganya sendiri tidak mempengaruhi keseimbangan jumlah wanita-wanita yang diberikan.

Tabel 2. Data perkawinan-perkawinan di Faui yang menunjukkan asalnya wanita untuk setiap marga.

| Nama marga | Wanita dari marga | | ditangkap dari musuh | diberikan oleh Barere | Wanita yang diberikan kepada marga-marga yang lain |
|---------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| | sama | yang lain | | | |
| Saita | 7 | 10 | - | - | 16 |
| Fabvsy | 4 | 15 | 2 | - | 11 |
| O | 1 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 8 |
| Foita | 2 | 11 | 2 | - | 11 |
| Bvyta | 1 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| Total | 15 | 47 | 8 | 2 | 50 |

Jumlah wanita yang diberikan dengan jumlah wanita yang diterima adalah seimbang. Wanita-wanita yang ditangkap dari musuh dan wanita-wanita yang diberikan oleh Barere merupakan suatu sumber yang bebas. Wanita-wanita yang diterima dari Barere diberikan oleh Barere setelah orang-orang Faui tinggal untuk beberapa lamanya di Barere. Ke delapan wanita yang ditangkap adalah dari Taiyai dan Barere.

Kesukaan orang Iau untuk menukar saudara perempuan yang telah dikatakan terlebih dahulu, pola pertukaran pada kenyataannya dan pola pertukaran yang lebih disukai antara beberapa marga tertentu, semuanya menunjukkan pada sistem pertukaran saudara perempuan yang dilakukan antar marga. Perkawinan di dalam marga dilakukan pula dengan anggota-anggota marga yang lebih jauh hubungan keluarganya. Meskipun ada larangan untuk menikah dengan sanak yang berasal dari nenek moyang yang sama, 10% dari perkawinan-perkawinan yang diteliti merupakan perkawinan antar sanak yang berasal dari nenek moyang yang sama.

Pertukaran saudara perempuan yang timbal balik lebih suka dilakukan dengan segera dari pada ditunda. Orang Iau kelihatannya tidak mengkhawatirkan ketidak sesuaian dalam jumlah wanita yang diberi dan diterima dalam jangka waktu yang tertentu. Dalam semua soal pertukaran orang Iau tidak mementingkan harga yang tepat dari barang-barang yang dipertukarkan tetapi lebih mementingkan nilai pertukaran hubungan itu sendiri. Pokok suatu hubungan pertukaran adalah pemberian yang rela dalam hal-hal yang diminta oleh pasangannya.

3. Prosedur Perkawinan

3.1. Memilih pasangan. Secara tradisi pemilihan adalah hak istimewa orang laki-laki di suku Iau. Akhir-akhir ini, karena pengaruh orang Dani yang beragama Keristen orang Iau mengatakan bahwa mereka harus membiarkan seorang wanita untuk memilih calon suaminya sendiri. Mereka mengatakan bahwa seorang wanita yang memilih calon suaminya sendiri akan menjadi seorang isteri yang baik dan setia, seorang yang sungguh-sungguh mengikuti suaminya. Bila seorang wanita dipaksa untuk kawin kesetiaannya tidak ada.

Meskipun demikian, pada kenyataannya perkawinan pada umumnya berdasarkan pemilihan si laki-laki dengan persetujuan si wanita.

3.2. Cara mendapat persetujuan. Keputusan terakhir untuk menentukan siapa yang akan menikahi seorang wanita ada di tangan ayah wanita tersebut. Prosedur antara perkawinan pertukaran dan perkawinan tanpa pertukaran berbeda. Dalam perkawinan pertukaran, pertukaran didiskusikan oleh kedua orang yang ingin menukar wanita. Secara ideal setiap orang minta izin dari ayah masing-masing. Meskipun demikian, kelihatannya transaksi terdapat antara kedua orang laki-laki yang menukar wanita dari pada antara ayah masing-masing. Dalam perkawinan tanpa pertukaran seorang laki-laki mendekati ayahnya mengenai pemilihan pengantennya. Bila ayah orang laki-laki itu menyetujuinya ia pergi ke ayah wanita tersebut dan melamarnya. Dalam perkawinan tanpa pertukaran kemungkinan besar bahwa ayah wanita itu mula-mula akan menolaknya dengan alasan bahwa calon mantunya belum pernah melakukan sesuatu baginya atau memberikan sesuatu kepadanya. Dia juga dapat menolak dengan alasan bahwa puterinya diperlukan untuk dipertukarkan dengan wanita lain sebagai isteri untuk anak laki-lakinya.

Seorang laki-laki mempunyai beberapa cara untuk mempengaruhi ayah seorang wanita agar memberi izin kepadanya untuk menikahi wanita tsb. Dia dapat bekerja keras untuk calon ayah mertuanya dan memberinya banyak babi untuk membuktikan nilainya sebagai mantu laki-laki atau ia dapat memilih suatu pendekatan secara permusuhan. Ia dapat mengancam seluruh keluarga wanita itu dengan guna-guna. Dalam suatu percakapan mengenai calon mantu yang ditolak ayah wanita itu dibujuk oleh saudara laki-lakinya untuk memberi puterinya pada calon mantu tersebut. "Berilah puterimu itu! Bila tidak kita semuanya akan mati karena guna-guna."

Suatu pendekatan lain yang agresif ialah konfrontasi secara terbuka dengan ayah wanita itu dengan suatu cara tradisionil. Calon mantu dan calon mertua saling berhadapan dengan panah terbusur sambil memaki-maki sampai permusuhan telah puas dipertunjukkan dan suatu persetujuan dapat dicapai.

3.3. Perkawinan. Menurut tradisi perkawinan adalah urusan peribadi antara ayah seorang wanita dan calon mantunya. Jarang sekali suatu perkawinan diumumkan jauh sebelum waktunya. Pelaksanaan pada umumnya ialah bahwa ayah seorang wanita memberitahukan kepadanya bahwa ia ingin agar wanita tersebut menikah dengan seorang laki-laki tertentu. Ia lalu memanggil calon mantunya ke rumahnya dan mereka, laki-laki dan wanita tersebut, mulai tidur bersama di rumah ayah wanita tersebut. Semua orang tahu bahwa mereka berdua telah menikah melalui kenyataan bahwa mereka tidur bersama. Mereka bersenda gurau dan wanita tersebut mulai mengikuti suaminya. Sesudah beberapa bulan, setelah wanita itu sudah terbiasa dengan suaminya, laki-laki tersebut boleh kembali ke rumah ayahnya dengan isterinya, tetapi ia meneruskan untuk sering mengunjungi rumah mertua laki-lakinya. Ada laki-laki yang tinggal untuk waktu yang cukup lama dengan bapak mertuanya.

Untuk menghadapi seorang wanita yang enggan menikah calon mantu diundang untuk tinggal bersama-sama wanita itu sehingga ia terbiasa dengan calon suaminya. Baru mereka sungguh-sungguh nikah. Cara yang lain ialah bila wanita itu tidur pada malam hari calon suami dengan bantuan orang tua wanita itu datang dan tidur di sebelahnya. Cara yang lain lagi ialah dengan kekerasan jasmani seperti memukul.

Sejak agama Keristen masuk ke daerah ini ada beberapa pernikahan yang dilangsungkan di gereja. Acara pernikahan ini meliputi menyanyi nyanyian rohani, khutbah singkat mengenai pernikahan dan bagaimana suami dan isteri harus memperlakukan yang satu terhadap yang lain dan suatu upacara singkat dimana pasangan itu memberi uang kepada gereja, berdiri dan saling pegang tangan serta dinyatakan sudah nikah. Kebaktian diakhiri dengan doa singkat. Hadirin pegangan tangan dengan pasangan tersebut. Penganten laki-laki dan penganten wanita saling tersipu-sipu selama kebaktian.

3.4. Perkawinan janda-janda. Meskipun menurut orang-orang Iau seorang janda seharusnya tidak menikah lagi bila ia betul-betul mencintai suaminya banyak janda-janda di Faui yang menikah lagi. Hanya wanita-wanita yang sudah tua yang tetap tinggal sebagai janda. Ada hukuman untuk menikahi seorang janda. Saudara laki-laki suaminya, ayahnya dan saudara laki-laki ibunya membala dendam pada suaminya yang baru karena mengambil isteri saudara mereka. Mereka membakar rumahnya dan menghancurkan makanan, pohon-pohon dan kebuonya.

SEKUTU SUKU LAU

Mereka yang dianggap saudara, meskipun dari marga atau desa yang lain, mempunyai kewajiban-kewajiban khusus yang satu terhadap yang lain. Kewajiban-kewajiban ini termasuk penukaran makanan, barang, wanita dan perlindungan terhadap guna-guna atau musuh. Saudara semacam itu yang berasal dari marga atau desa yang lain seperti Taiyai, Bareri atau Turumo disebut ty7 dva2 atau 'sekutu'. Hubungan seseorang dengan sekutunya ini tidak kelihatan karena ia jarang melihat mereka. Hal itu akan merupakan suatu sumber untuknya bila ia ada keperluan tertentu, khususnya bila ia di luar batas-batas rumah tangganya, marga atau desanya.

Suatu hubungan sekutu dapat pula dilaksanakan dengan orang luar. Hubungan ini diteruskan dari orang tua ke anak sehingga sekutu orang tua dianggap sebagai orang tua dan dipanggil dengan sebutan orang tua dan anak-anaknya dianggap saudara dan oleh karena itu sekutu pula.

Kira-kira 10 tahun yang lalu serangan-serangan antara masyarakat-masyarakat ini dihentikan. Tetapi sebelum itu sekutu seorang laki-laki biasanya anggota kelompok yang berpotensi untuk menjadi musuh. Oleh karena itu, fungsi utama dari hubungan seperti itu ialah untuk mempunyai komunikasi dan pertukaran antara dua kelompok melalui hubungan peribadi ini. Seseorang dengan bebas dapat masuk ke desa sekutunya. Nama lain untuk sekutu adalah ty7 be6 av9 'jalan seseorang'. Diharapkan adanya suatu kesetiaan yang tinggi antara dua sekutu. Seseorang melindungi sekutunya dari guna-guna atau kematian ditangan saudara-saudaranya. Bila seseorang dan saudara-saudaranya menyerang tempat dimana sekutunya tinggal ia akan menjaga agar sekutunya dilindungi kadang-kadang dengan merangkul dan memeluknya sedangkan orang-orang lain dibunuh. Sekutu-sekutu seseorang diundang ke suatu upacara yang disebut 'disi'. Upacara ini adalah untuk memperoleh kuasa untuk melaksanakan guna-guna pada musuhnya. Salah satu bagian dari upacara ini ialah untuk memberikan perlindungan pada sekutu-sekutunya terhadap guna-guna.

Bila isteri seseorang tidak senang dengannya dan ia mencurigai isterinya melakukan guna-guna terhadapnya ia akan mengambil beberapa dari rambut isterinya dan membawanya ke desa sekutunya. Sekutunya akan menyimpannya untuk digunakan sebagai pembalasan terhadap isterinya bila ia mati.

Bila ada rencana penyerangan ke suatu desa musuh, saudara-saudara dekat dari seseorang yang mempunyai sekutu di desa tersebut mungkin akan berusaha membujuknya untuk mengizinkan mereka membunuh sekutunya. Bila ia menolak biasanya mereka tidak akan meneruskan usaha mereka. Kadang-kadang mereka akan merencanakan suatu penyerangan tanpa memberitahukannya. Setelah kembali mereka akan mengatakan padanya bahwa sekutunya telah dibunuh. Ia kemudian akan menunjukkan ketidak senangnya dengan cara tradisionil yaitu dengan memasang busur dan panahnya serta mengarahkannya pada mereka sambil mengatakan kemarahan mereka atas apa yang telah mereka lakukan. Hal ini dapat berjalan sampai berjam-jam sampai kemarahan reda.

Rebebasan untuk masuk ke desa sekutu dapat berguna atau merusak. Seseorang dapat menggunakan hak-hak istimewa ini untuk menjadi mata-mata bagi kelompoknya untuk mengetahui kewaspadaan sekutunya atau waktu yang baik untuk suatu serangan. Di lain fihak seseorang yang masuk ke suatu desa dimana ia tidak mempunyai sekutu dapat dibunuh di tempat atau sekutu seseorang dapat menjadi pengkhianat. Caranya ialah dengan mengundangnya untuk mengunjungi desa itu lalu membunuhnya atau membiarkan orang lain membunuhnya.

Dalam peperangan hubungan persekutuan dapat digunakan juga sebagai alat untuk mengadakan perdamaian. Seseorang yang mempunyai sekutu di desa dengan mana grupnya sedang bermusuhan dapat pergi ke desa tersebut dan mendesak mereka untuk berdamai dengan grupnya. Bila ia berhasil orang-orang dari kedua desa ini akan bertemu di daerah yang netral antara kedua desa tersebut. Jalannya upacara perdamaian adalah sebagai berikut: kedua grup tersebut saling berhadapan dengan busur yang dipasang anak panahnya disertai gerak gerik yang menggertak sambil menyatakan kemarahan mereka secara lisan. Hal ini dapat berjalan untuk beberapa waktu. Mereka yang mempunyai sanak yang telah dibunuh dalam peperangan-peperangan sebelumnya dikenyalikan oleh saudara-saudaranya untuk menjaga agar mereka tidak kehilangan penguasaan diri dan menembak seseorang dan dengan demikian memulai peperangan yang baru. Orang yang bertindak sebagai penengah yaitu orang yang pergi ke desa sekutunya berdiri di antara kedua grup tersebut. Setelah kemarahan mereka reda kedua grup itu setuju untuk gencatan senjata. Sebagai tanda bahwa mereka mempunyai niat yang baik mereka akan menukar sagu dan barang-barang lain seperti busur dan panah. Penukaran dilakukan antara peribadi-peribadi dan meliputi pula penggantian serta penukaran rambut karena rambut merupakan unsur utama dalam guna-guna. Orang-orang yang menukar rambutnya dengan cara ini memanggil lawannya tai9 'rambut'. Hubungan yang dibentuk dengan cara ini adalah suatu hubungan yang besar kesetiaannya, setara dengan hubungan sekutu. Siapa yang ingin menyerang suatu desa di kemudian hari harus menghadapi kemarahan sanaknya sendiri yang mempunyai hubungan 'rambut' di desa tersebut yang mempunyai kemungkinan dibunuh. Kadang-kadang hubungan 'rambut' ini dapat putus dan meskipun seseorang tidak akan membunuh 'rambut'nya sendiri ia dapat menukaranya dengan 'rambut' orang lain dan membunuhnya.

RINGKASAN

Suku Iau mendiami daerah dataran bagian barat cabang sungai Van Daalen di Irian Jaya. Bahasa mereka adalah bahasa non-Austronesia. Bahasa ini merupakan salah satu antara tiga dialek dalam bahasa Turu.

Secara tradisionil suku Iau hidup dalam kelompok-kelompok marga patrilokal, tetapi mereka tidak memiliki perasaan hubungan kekerabatan secara lurus yang kuat yang mengikat peribadi orang yang satu dengan yang lainnya. Pengertian tentang hubungan kekerabatan dihubungkan dengan pertalian melalui pria dan wanita.

Di suku ini pengadopsian lazim dilakukan. Umumnya pengadopsian dilakukan untuk mengatasi kesedihan atas kematian anak sendiri. Anak yang diadopsi biasanya berasal dari keluarga yang mengadopsinya. Tidak ada upacara khusus untuk pengadopsian ini, tetapi seringkali ada penukaran makanan dan barang-barang sebagai gantinya anak ini.

Biasanya orang Iau menikah dengan orang yang berjauhan hubungan darahnya. Pertukaran saudara perempuan adalah bentuk pernikahan yang disukai tetapi pernikahan tanpa pertukaran juga dilakukan. Pertukaran lebih disuka dilaksanakan dengan segera dari pada ditunda. Tidak ada pertukaran mas kawin. Orang Iau cenderung untuk nikah dengan satu atau dua marga tertentu meskipun tidak ada pembatasan. Perkawinan saudara laki-laki ke dalam keluarga yang sama merupakan cita-cita dan harapan mereka.

Hubungan persaudaraan dengan marga-marga dan dialek-dialek yang lain sangat penting sebagai sekutu dalam struktur sosial suku Iau. Persekutuan ini menimbulkan sarana keramah tamahan, saluran komunikasi antar kelompok dan sebagai sarana untuk perdamaian antara kelompok-kelompok pada waktu perang.

HUBUNGAN KEKERABATAN SUKU IAU

disadur dari
"Iau Kinship and Marriage" bagian
'Hubungan Kekerabatan Suku Iau'

oleh
Sonja Rehatta
Program Kerja Sama UNCEN-SIL

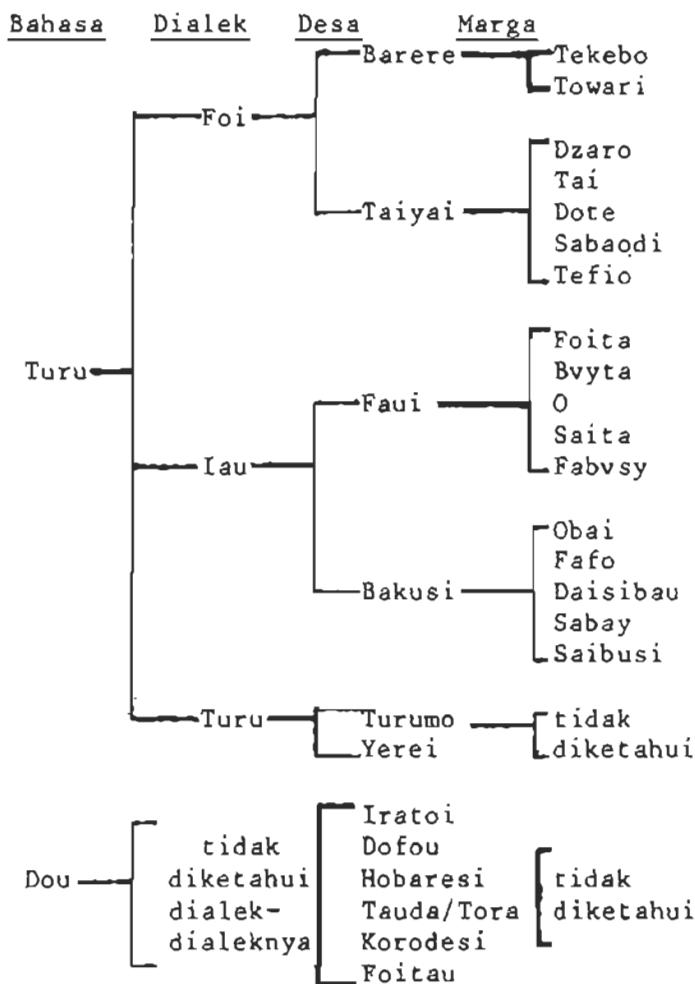
PENDAHULUAN

Tulisan ini merupakan saduran dari "Iau Kinship and Marriage" bagian 'Hubungan Kekerabatan Suku Iau' karangan Janet Bateman. Karangan aslinya yang dimuat di 'Irian, bulletin of Irian Jaya' Vol X no 3, October 1982 diterbitkan oleh Lembaga Anthropologi Universitas Cenderawasih.

Tulisan ini dimaksudkan untuk menolong orang awam untuk mengerti sedikit dari kebudayaan orang Iau, terutama bagi mereka yang akan bekerja di suku Iau, desa Faui, kecamatan Mulia, kabupaten Paniai, Irian Jaya.

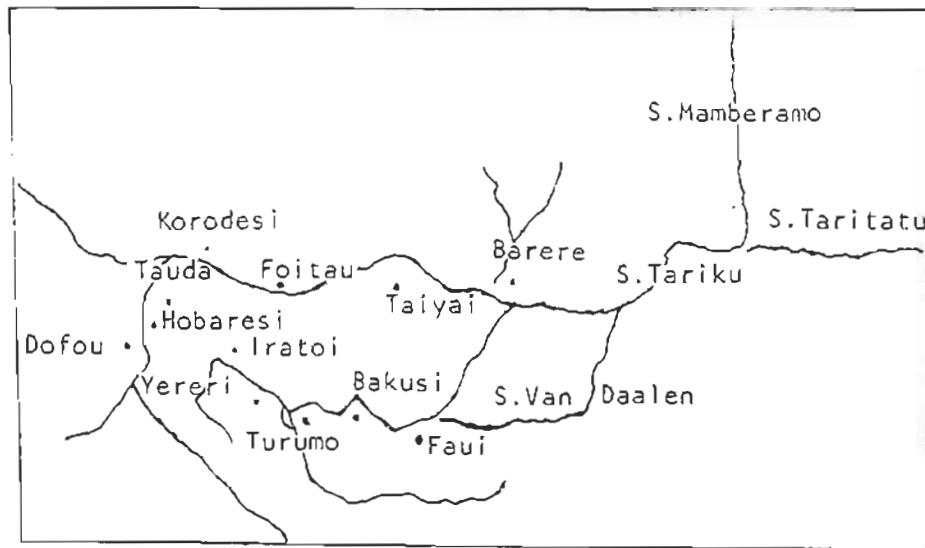
Suku Iau mendiami daerah dataran barat cabang sungai Van Daalen di Irian Jaya. Bahasa mereka yang bernada dan non-Austronesia merupakan salah satu dari tiga dialek dalam bahasa Turu. Bahasa ini bersama-sama dengan bahasa Dou termasuk keluarga bahasa Turu. Tabel 1 memperlihatkan bahasa-bahasa, dialek-dialek serta desa-desa dan marga-marga dimana bahasa-bahasa dan dialek-dialek ini digunakan.

Tabel 1. Distribusi Keluarga Bahasa Turu

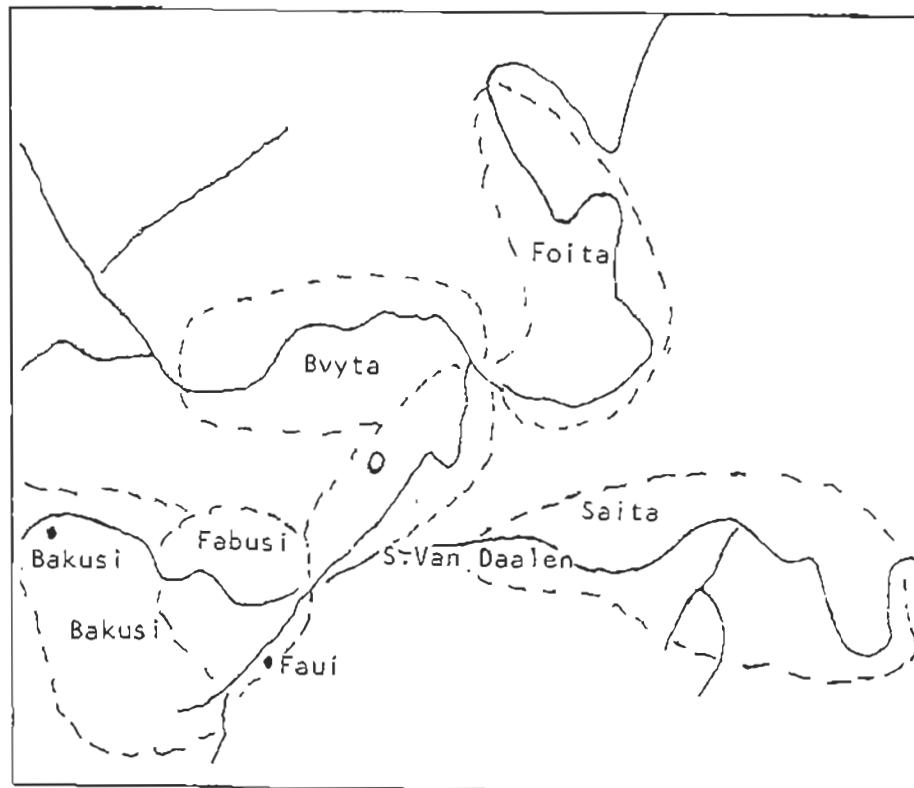


Gambar 1 memperlihatkan lokasi desa-desa ini sepanjang sungai Van Daalen dan sungai Tariku (Rouffaer). Gambar 2 memperlihatkan daerah-daerah yang secara tradisi ditempati oleh kelima marga Iau yang telah membuat Faui sebagai pusatnya dan kelima marga Iau yang telah membuat Bakusi sebagai pusat mereka. Mereka tinggal di daerah yang ditandai dengan nama Bakusi (Gambar 2).

Tulisan ini memberi penjelasan mengenai istilah-istilah kekerabatan dan pemakaiannya serta hubungan kekerabatan yang ada dalam suku Iau. Juga dijelaskan pula mengenai hubungan sosial dalam suku ini.



Gambar 1. Desa-desa Keluarga Bahasa Turu serta lokasinya sepanjang sungai-sungai Van Daalen dan Tariku (Rouffaer).



Gambar 2. Lokasi marga-marga suku Iau dan desa-desa mereka.

KELOMPOK SOSIAL

Secara umum orang Iau tidak mempunyai nama untuk kelompok-kelompok sosial tetapi mereka mempunyai tingkat-tingkat persatuan sosial. Mereka juga berbicara mengenai keanggautaan di dalam atau di luar suatu kelompok.

Semua penutur Bahasa Turu disebut 'kami' dan semua penutur dari bahasa yang lain disebut sebagai 'mereka'. Orang Iau merasa satu dengan anggota-anggota bahasa Turu berdasarkan persamaan bahasa dan kebudayaan. Dengan demikian penutur-penutur bahasa Turu adalah dari 'potongan yang sama' (hi9 bi7su5) -- suatu konsep yang sering timbul dalam pembicaraan hubungan sosial suku Iau.

Kata hi9 'potongan' digunakan dalam arti yang luas untuk menentukan keanggautaan dalam suatu kelas. Kata ini digunakan untuk menunjukkan pada 'potongan' pot (yang pecah), 'potongan' kayu (seperti papan) atau 'potongan' kacang tanah (kulitnya). Dalam konteks kelompok sosial dapat menentukan keanggautaan dalam suatu keturunan.

Keanggautaan dalam suatu kelompok dibedakan dengan ungkapan-ungkapan hi9 bi7su5 'dari potongan yang sama' atau hi9 a9 'dari potongan yang lain'. Dalam hubungan kekerabatan seseorang dapat berbicara mengenai saudara laki-laki ibunya yang sekandung sebagai 'saudara laki-laki ibu saya (yang dari) potongan yang sama'. Ungkapan ini umumnya dipakai untuk kelompok apapun saja seperti orang dari bahasa yang sama. Anak-anak dari orang tua yang berbeda, keluarga yang berbeda atau bahasa yang berbeda dapat dibedakan sebagai peribadi-peribadi dari 'potongan yang lain' (hi9 a9).

Dalam keluarga bahasa Turu sendiri orang Iau membedakan penutur-penutur bahasa Dou dengan penutur-penutur dialek-dialek Iau, Foi dan Turu. Dalam masa lampau penutur-penutur bahasa Dou tidak pernah dekat dengan orang-orang Iau. Tidak ada hubungan sosial sama sekali juga tidak dalam peperangan. Dalam hal ini orang-orang Dou adalah dari potongan yang berbeda dengan orang-orang Iau.

Pengertian orang Iau mengenai persatuan dengan penutur-penutur bahasa Foi dan Turu digambarkan dengan pernyataan sebagai berikut 'Kami sama. Kami sungguh-sungguh menggunakan bahasa yang sama. Hanya kata-kata kami untuk barang-barang berbeda.' (maksudnya perbedahan kata-kata yang berbeda). Pengertian berbeda ini dicerminkan dalam hubungan sosial. Orang Iau berperang dengan orang-orang Turu dan Foi dan mencuri wanita-wanita mereka.

Penutur-penutur dialek Iau terbagi antara 6 atau lebih marga (lihat Tabel 1 dan Gambar 2) yang namanya mengikuti daerah sepanjang sungai yang secara tradisi telah mereka duduki. Setiap marga terdiri dari beberapa kelompok keluarga dalam arti yang luas yang terdiri dari seorang laki-laki, isteri-isterinya dan anak-anaknya mungkin sampai 3 generasi. Kelompok-kelompok keluarga dalam arti yang luas dari suatu marga tertentu mengatakan bahwa mereka keturunan dari seorang nenek moyang yang sama (tidak disebut namanya), tetapi mereka tidak dapat mengusut hubungan yang sesungguhnya secara silsilah. Marga-marga Iau secara tradisi tidak berperang yang satu dengan yang lainnya. Mereka menukar isteri secara damai dan bersekutu bila melawan kelompok-kelompok lain.

Tempat tinggal umumnya menurut garis keturunan ayah. Saudara laki-laki yang mewarisi rumah ayah dan hak atas tanah di atas mana rumah itu dibangun. Pohon-pohon yang menghasilkan makanan seperti sukun dan pandan diwarisi oleh anak laki-laki maupun anak perempuan.

Meskipun marga-marga hampir semuanya mengikuti garis keturunan ayah, tidak ada azas keturunan yang kuat yang mengikat individu yang satu dengan yang lainnya. Hubungan kekerabatan ditentukan baik menurut keturunan wanita maupun pria. Karena marga memberi dan menerima isteri-isteri dari setiap marga yang lain maka pada kenyataannya terjadi perkawinan antara kerabat yang mungkin bertalian baik melalui pria atau wanita.

Dalam suku Iau hubungan sosial ditentukan sebagai berikut: orang laki-laki disebut sebagai kaf7 ho9 hi9 'busur yang mempunyai bagian' sedangkan yang wanita ,disebut kaf7 ae2 hi9 'busur yang tak mempunyai bagian'. Ungkapan-ungkapan ini dapat dipakai untuk menyebut suatu kelompok yang mempunyai ikatan melalui lelaki atau wanita atau keanggautaan pria atau wanita dari suatu kelompok tertentu.

Kutipan berikut memperjelaskan hubungan sosial ini: "Berapa banyak eyangmu dari busur yang mempunyai bagian yang asalnya dari potongan yang sama?" "Saya mempunyai tiga eyang busur yang mempunyai bagian dari potongan yang sama dan empat eyang busur yang tidak mempunyai bagian dari potongan yang sama. Nama-nama mereka adalah ----- (pembicara menyebut eyangnya serta saudara-saudara laki-laki dan perempuan dari eyangnya)".

ISTILAH-ISTILAH KEKERABATAN DALAM HUBUNGAN KETURUNAN

Istilah-istilah kekerabatan dalam hubungan keturunan suku Iau tercantum dalam Tabel 2.

Tabel 2. Istilah-istilah kekerabatan dalam hubungan keturunan suku Iau

| Dialek Iau | Bahasa Indonesia |
|--------------|---------------------|
| <u>e9</u> | eyang (Kakek/nenek) |
| <u>b16</u> | cucu |
| <u>a4</u> | bapak |
| <u>a6ty9</u> | ibu |
| <u>soe8</u> | paman |
| <u>so6</u> | anak |
| <u>boi9</u> | kakak |
| <u>y3</u> | adik |
| <u>au19</u> | saudara perempuan |
| | seorang laki-laki |
| <u>fvy6</u> | saudara laki-laki |
| | seorang wanita |
| <u>ai6</u> | saudara sepupu |

Dalam menjelaskan istilah-istilah keturunan ini penggunaan-penggunaan istilah-istilah akan dilihat dari mata si A.

Istilah e9 'eyqng' dipakai untuk semua orang yang berasal dari 2 generasi

diatas si A termasuk saudara-saudara kakek maupun nenek dan saudara-saudara sepupu mereka. Hubungan yang paling dekat adalah orang tua dari orang tua si A. Istilah bi6 'cucu' dipakai untuk semua orang yang termasuk 2 generasi dibawah si A. Hubungan paling dekat adalah anak dari anak si A. Ini termasuk cucu dari saudara-saudara dan sepupu-sepupu si A.

Istilah a4 'ayah' dipakai untuk bapak si A dan semua saudara-saudaranya, baik saudara laki-laki, perempuan maupun sepupunya. A6ty9 'ibu' dipakai untuk ibu si A dan semua saudara-saudara serta sepupu-sepupu yang perempuan. Soe8 'paman' dipakai untuk semua saudara-saudara dan sepupu-sepupu laki-laki dari ibu si A. So6 'anak' dipakai untuk semua anak si A maupun anak-anak dari semua saudara-saudara dan sepupu-sepupunya. So6 adalah istilah yang dipakai ,sebagai sebutan. Bila si A memanggil anaknya ia membedakan antara laki-laki dan perempuan. Af5 dipakai untuk memanggil anak perempuan. Fv3 dipakai untuk memanggil anak laki-laki. Panggilan untuk anak kecil atau bayi adalah a5si9 atau a5te9 untuk yang perempuan atau fv3si9 atau fv3te9 untuk yang laki-laki.

Istilah untuk saudara-saudara si A adalah boi9 untuk 'kakak' dan y3 untuk 'adik'. Kedua istilah ini dipakai untuk semua saudara-saudara dan sepupu-sepupu si A dari generasi yang sama. Hubungan yang terdekat adalah dengan setiap orang dengan siapa si A mempunyai orang tua, ayah atau ibu yang sama. Dalam pengertian yang sempit kata boi9 dipakai untuk saudara yang lahir sebelum si A dan y3 untuk saudara yang lahir sesudah si A. Tetapi dalam arti yang luas bukan umur yang menentukan pemakaian kata-kata boi9 dan y3. Pemakaian kata-kata ini akan menuruti kelahiran pasangan saudara yang mula-mula dalam rangkaian keturunan si A dengan saudara-saudara dekatnya. Jadi bila ada saudara si A yang umurnya lebih muda tetapi karena dia keturunan dari kakak eyang si A maka ia adalah boi9 'kakak' dari si A. Sebaliknya bila ada orang yang lebih tua dari si A tetapi karena dia keturunan dari adik eyang si A maka ia adalah y3 'adik' dari si A.

Ada istilah-istilah yang digunakan untuk menyebut saudara-saudara yang berlawanan jenis kelaminnya. Aui9 dan ai9 adalah istilah yang digunakan seorang laki-laki untuk menyebut saudara perempuannya. Fvy6 adalah istilah yang digunakan seorang wanita untuk menyebut saudara laki-lakinya. Istilah-istilah ini hanya digunakan ,sebagai sebutan ,bukan panggilan dan tidak tergantung pada umur.

Istilah ai9 'saudara sepupu' menunjukkan pada anak dari saudara laki-laki ibu atau anak dari saudara perempuan ayah. Seorang Iau dapat mengikuti suatu upacara khusus dengan salah seorang saudara sepupunya yang disebut ai9 dimana mereka saling menggosokkan tubuhnya dengan tanah liat. Upacara ini merupakan bagian dari pembentukan suatu hubungan pertukaran yang khusus. Sesudah upacara ini kedua saudara ini tidak lagi menggunakan istilah ai9 tetapi menggunakan istilah vy5.

ISTILAH-ISTILAH KEKERABATAN DALAM HUBUNGAN PERKAWINAN

Istilah-istilah kekerabatan dalam hubungan perkawinan suku Iau tercantum dalam Tabel 3.

Tabel 3. Istilah-istilah kekerabatan dalam hubungan perkawinan suku Tau.

| <u>Dialek Tau</u> | <u>Bahasa Indonesia</u> |
|-------------------|---|
| <u>be9</u> | ayah dari isteri dan saudara-saudaranya |
| <u>fu9</u> | ibu dari isteri dan saudara-saudaranya |
| <u>dv9</u> | suami anak perempuan dan saudara-saudaranya |
| <u>sae7</u> | ipar seorang laki-laki |
| <u>te7</u> | suami |
| <u>si6</u> | isteri |

Istilah be9 menunjukkan pada ayah dari isteri. Dalam arti yang luas istilah ini digunakan oleh seorang suami atau saudara-saudaranya untuk menyebut ayah isterinya atau saudara-saudara ayah isterinya. Istilah fu9 menunjukkan pada ibu dari isteri. Istilah ini dapat juga digunakan oleh seorang suami atau saudara-saudaranya untuk menyebut ibu dari isterinya atau saudara-saudara dari ibu isterinya. Dv9 adalah istilah yang digunakan oleh kedua orang tua seorang wanita untuk menyebut suami anak mereka serta saudara-saudaranya atau untuk suami anak perempuan saudara mereka serta saudara-saudaranya.

Istilah sae7 'ipar seorang laki-laki' menunjukkan saudara laki-laki seorang isteri atau suami saudara perempuan.

Istilah-istilah yang digunakan untuk suami dan isteri adalah te7 dan si6. Istilah-istilah ini khusus untuk suami dan isteri yang sebenarnya.

Semua istilah lain mengenai kekerabatan dalam hubungan perkawinan dinyatakan melalui suatu ungkapan atau dengan istilah yang digunakan sebelum nikah. Bila sebelum menikah seorang wanita memanggil ayah suaminya eyang (e9) maka ia tetap memanggilnya dengan sebutan tersebut setelah ia menikah. Bila terjadi suatu pernikahan antara dua orang yang dekat pertalian persaudaraannya seperti saudara laki-laki ayah dan anak perempuan saudara laki-laki maka si laki-laki tidak menggunakan istilah kekerabatan dalam hubungan perkawinan bagi orang tua isteri dan saudara-saudara orang tua isterinya. Istilah-istilah kekerabatan dalam hubungan perkawinan tak dapat digunakan bersamaan dengan istilah-istilah kekerabatan yang dekat sekali hubungannya.

PERI LAKU DALAM HUBUNGAN KEKERABATAN

Dasar untuk semua hubungan kekerabatan ialah membagi dan menukar. Luasnya hubungan seseorang dapat dilihat dari jumlah orang-orang yang menukar dan memberi barang padanya tetapi banyak dari hubungan-hubungan ini tidak aktif. Komentar seorang Tau mengenai keadaan seperti itu ialah "Ia diklasifikasikan sebagai ayah saya tetapi ia tidak pernah memberi sesuatu kepada saya. Jadi saya tidak memberi sesuatu kepadanya dan tidak menolongnya. Kami tidak saling memanggil menurut istilah kekerabatan bila kami berbicara". Dengan kata lain orang itu tidak merasa bertanggung jawab terhadapnya. Suatu hubungan yang tidak aktif dapat diaktifkan dengan mulai

memberi dan menukar. Dalam pengertian orang Lau mengenai kekerabatan bila seseorang menolak untuk menolong, tidak pernah memberi atau tidak pernah menjawab pertanyaan-pertanyaanmu ia tidak mengasihimu. Memberi sama dengan mengasihimu.

Secara ideal pandangan orang Lau mengenai hubungan kekerabatan mereka, baik secara keturunan maupun melalui perkawinan adalah hubungan kasih penuh perhatian dan pertolongan yang dinyatakan oleh kehidupan yang dipengaruhi oleh ketakutan akan guna-guna oleh mereka yang berada di luar ikatan kekerabatan ini. Sama seperti sanak saling memberi hal-hal yang baik, orang luar memberi hal-hal yang tidak baik. Seperti yang dikatakan orang Lau "Bila saudara saya meninggal dan saya berduka untuknya saya akan merasa lebih baik bila saya membuat orang lain berduka dengan saya." Dengan demikian ia menyerang suatu desa musuh sehingga orang lain akan berduka pula untuk saudaranya.

1. Hubungan Eyang dengan Cucu

Hubungan antara eyang dengan cucu dianggap sebagai hubungan yang penuh kasih sayang. Eyang-eyang sangat gemar akan cucunya dan membuktikannya dengan pemberian-pemberian yang banyak dan membagi-bagikan apa yang mereka miliki dengan cucu-cucunya itu.

2. Hubungan Orang Tua dan Anak

Orang tua memberi makanan dan perumahan, tempat perlindungan dan pendidikan dalam ketrampilan dan kelakuan seorang anak. Saudara orang tua dapat menolong dalam hal ini tetapi orang tua yang sesungguhnya yang bertanggung jawab.

Seorang ayah sedikit otoriter. Ia memarahi anak-anaknya dan mencegah perkelahian antara anak-anaknya. Orang tua jarang memaksa anak-anaknya untuk melakukan sesuatu bila mereka tidak mau meskipun mereka akan berusaha mendesak dengan memarahi anak-anak mereka. Sebagai rasa hormat, seorang ayah diminta pertimbangannya oleh anak-anak laki-lakinya sebelum mereka menolong sanak dalam proyek-proyek utama seperti menanam, membuat perahu atau membangun rumah. Bila perlu ia sendiri dapat mengharapkan pertolongan dari anak-anaknya untuk proyek-proyek yang serupa. Ia menasehati dan menolong putera-puteranya dalam hal pemotongan dan pembagian daging babi hutan yang telah mereka bunuh sehingga setiap sanak mendapat bagian yang merupakan haknya. Ia juga harus diminta pertimbangannya oleh puteranya dalam memilih seorang isteri dan ia mengatur perkawinan anak-anak puterinya.

Bila seorang sudah lanjut usianya anak mereka diharapkan untuk mengurus mereka. Seorang anak laki-laki yang baik menyediakan babi hutan yang banyak bagi orang tuanya sehingga ia akan kuat dan tidak cepat tua lalu mati.

Saudara-saudara orang tua membagi-bagi dengan bebas milik mereka dengan anak saudara mereka dan dapat pula mengurusnya untuk sementara. Sebaliknya, mereka dapat minta pertolongannya dalam membangun rumah, pembuatan perahu dan menanam. Bersama-sama dengan ayah dan saudara laki-lakinya saudara-saudara orang tua akan membala kematiannya atau menghukum jandanya bila ia terlalu cepat menikah. Setelah ia mati saudara laki-laki ibu dapat

mengambil alih tanggung jawab untuknya bila ia menjadi yatim piatu dan tidak mempunyai saudara yang lebih tua yang dapat merawatnya.

3. Hubungan Kakak Adik

Peranan kakak khususnya kakak laki-laki melengkapi peranan ayah. Kakak laki-laki bertanggung jawab untuk adiknya bila ayah meninggal. Ia mengurus makanan, pohon-pohon, kebun, rumah dan tanah yang ditinggalkan ayah untuk anak-anaknya. Bila seseorang bertindak asosial (seperti perzinahan) saudara-saudaranya akan menanggung malu pula sehingga seorang kakak mengatur dan menegor kelakuan yang buruk dari saudara-saudaranya.

Seperti dalam hubungan-hubungan kekerabatan yang lain hubungan kakak adik dicirikan dengan pemberian yang bebas dan pemakaian bersama dari barang-barang. Suatu ungkapan Iau mengatakan "kamu tidak akan memakan makanan sendiri, kamu harus membaginya". Saudara-saudara laki-laki saling membantu dalam kegiatan-kegiatan yang utama seperti membangun rumah, membuat perahu, menanam dan mempersiapkan kebun. Mereka berkelahi bersama-sama dan membalas dendam bila ada diantara mereka yang mati.

Hubungan kakak adik adalah sama kuat bagi saudara sekandung maupun saudara tiri yang besar dalam rumah yang sama. Keinginan untuk mengikuti saudara laki-laki dan menikahi wanita dari keluarga yang sama adalah pernyataan mengenai dekatnya ikatan kakak adik tersebut.

4. Hubungan Saudara Perempuan dengan Saudara Laki-laki

Hubungan antara saudara perempuan dengan saudara laki-laki dekat sekali. Ada suatu ceritera mengenai seorang laki-laki yang membunuh seseorang dan terpaksa melarikan diri ke hutan. Ia sampai ke suatu tempat yang banyak ikan dan babinya. Dalam waktu yang singkat langit-langit rumahnya terisi dengan daging asap. Waktu berlalu dan ia ingin pulang. Karena ia tidak tahu apakah aman baginya ia pulang dan bersembunyi di hutan dekat rumahnya. Ia menunggu sampai saudara perempuannya keluar untuk mencari tumbuh-tumbuhan yang merambat untuk mengikat ikan. Ia memberitahu kepada saudara perempuannya bahwa ia ada disitu dengan memegang ujung tumbuh-tumbuhan merambat yang dicari saudara perempuannya. Ia minta saudara perempuannya untuk mencari tahu baginya apakah keadaan aman baginya untuk kembali. Saudara perempuannya pulang dan duduk di sudut rumah lalu menangis. Suaminya menanyakan apakah isterinya telah melihat saudara laki-lakinya. Ia lalu mendekati keluarga dari orang yang dibunuh iparnya dan memastikan bahwa keadaan aman bagi iparnya untuk pulang.

Menurut kepercayaan orang Iau dulu orang yang sudah mati harus menyeberangi suatu sungai yang lebar dan buas untuk sampai ke tempat dimana orang mati tinggal. Bila seorang mati sampai di tepi sungai ini dan bila ia mempunyai saudara perempuan yang telah mendahuluiinya maka saudara perempuan ini akan mendengar panggilannya dan datang menjemputnya dengan perahu.

Dulu, biasanya seorang saudara laki-laki menolong saudara perempuannya sebelum dan sesudah ia menikah dengan tugas-tugas seperti mengumpul sagu. Saudara perempuannya akan meminta pertolongannya bila suaminya memerlukan pertolongan laki-laki itu. Seorang laki-laki sering menolong saudara perempuannya mengatasi hari-hari pertama pernikahannya. Karena seorang

perempuan menikah kira-kira pada umur 8 tahun ada kemungkinan besar bahwa ia mempunyai saudara laki-laki yang masih muda. Bila perempuan itu takut sama suaminya yang lebih tua umurnya ayahnya akan meminta saudara laki-lakinya untuk tidur dengannya dan suaminya sampai ia tertidur. Saudara laki-lakinya kemudian pergi dengan diam-diam. Saudara laki-laki perempuan itu juga menemaninya dia dan suaminya sepanjang hari sampai saudara perempuannya terbiasa dengan suaminya.

5. Hubungan antara Saudara Sepupu

Sama dengan hubungan-hubungan kekerabatan yang lain hubungan antara saudara sepupu adalah baik dengan saling memberi dan menerima. Tetapi mereka tidak diperbolehkan untuk saling memanggil atau menyebut nama. Hal ini tidak berlaku dalam hubungan-hubungan kekerabatan yang lain dan merupakan suatu bukti mengenai penahanan diri.

Hubungan antara saudara-saudara sepupu penuh keramahan. Istilah saudara sepupu digunakan pula antara orang-orang yang tidak mempunyai hubungan kekerabatan tetapi yang mau membentuk suatu hubungan yang ramah dan sukarela. Bersama-sama dengan sanak yang lain saudara sepupu dikatakan sebagai saling "mengikuti". Setelah mempelajari bahasa Iau penginjil Dani di Faui memilih istilah saudara sepupu untuk menerangkan hubungan antara Yesus dengan murid-muridnya.

Istilah vy5 digunakan untuk anak dari saudara perempuan ayah atau saudara laki-laki ibu yang khusus melalui upacara dimana mereka saling menggosok tanah liat di seluruh tubuh mereka. Hal ini terjadi dalam suatu upacara yang lebih besar artinya dan disebut 'di4si8'. Tujuan upacara ini ialah untuk memperoleh kuasa untuk menggunakan guna-guna terhadap lawan. Hubungan ini dapat dibentuk antara dua saudara sepupu semacam ini. Bisa laki-laki dengan laki-laki, perempuan dengan perempuan atau perempuan dengan laki-laki. Pemberian antara vy5 berbeda dengan pemberian antara sanak-sanak yang lain karena pemberiannya berlebih-lebihan. Bila seseorang memberi babi pada vy5-nya ia memberikan seluruh babi itu. Bila seorang wanita memberi sagu pada vy5-nya ia memberi dalam jumlah yang banyak.

PERI LAKU DALAM HUBUNGAN PERKAWINAN

Kira-kira 15 tahun yang lalu hubungan perkawinan dicirikan oleh beberapa hal yang dihindari. Orang-orang yang mempunyai hubungan perkawinan tidak diperbolehkan untuk memanggil dan menyebut nama kerabatnya.

Penghindaran yang paling besar adalah antara si A dan saudara-saudaranya dengan saudara-saudara isterinya dan mertuanya. Orang-orang Iau menggambarkan hubungan ini sebagai 'takut untuk saling melihat' dan 'malu'. Tidak ada komunikasi atau kontak yang langsung antara mereka. Semua komunikasi lewat seorang pengantara— biasanya isteri dan anak perempuan. Penghindaran yang paling besar adalah antara fu9 'ibu si isteri' dan dv9 'suami anak perempuan'. Bila karena suatu sebab mereka bersama-sama hadir di suatu tempat mereka harus saling membelakangi. Seorang wanita tidak diperbolehkan untuk melihat mayat mantu laki-lakinya. Dia harus duduk dalam rumah itu dengan membelakangi mayat itu.

Orang Iau menggambarkan hubungan antara ayah isteri dan suami anak perempuan sebagai 'agak lebih baik'. Meskipun mereka tidak dapat berkomunikasi secara langsung mereka tidak perlu saling membelakangi bila berada dalam satu rumah.

Ketidak leluasaan agak berkurang antara si A dan sanak segerasinya. 'Saudara-saudara perempuan isterinya dipanggil dengan istilah-istilah yang memberi keterangan seperti 'saudara perempuan isteri yang lebih tua' atau 'lebih muda' atau 'saudara perempuan ipar laki-laki'. Hubungan antara seorang laki-laki dengan sae7 'saudara laki-laki isteri' memperbolehkan komunikasi dan digambarkan sebagai suatu hubungan yang ramah. Hubungan ini tidak berubah sampai sekarang. Tetapi permohonan pertolongan seorang laki-laki pada saudara laki-laki isterinya biasanya dilakukan melalui isteri. Hubungan seorang laki-laki dengan saudara perempuan isterinya agak lebih banyak menunjukkan ketidak leluasaan karena ia tidak pernah berkomunikasi secara langsung dengannya. Ia berkomunikasi melalui anak iparnya atau isterinya. Misalnya bila ia mau memanggil saudara perempuan isterinya ia mengatakan pada anak iparnya "Sakedia, kamu dan ibumu kemarilah!"

Tanggung jawab antara sanak melalui hubungan perkawinan dan sanak melalui hubungan darah adalah serupa. Seorang laki-laki bertanggung jawab untuk menolong mertua laki-lakinya dengan membangun rumah, menanam kebun, mengumpulkan sagu, mengayuh atau menggalah perahu dan merawat mertuanya bila sakit. Ia juga bertanggung jawab untuk menyediakan babi hutan bagi mertuanya. Tanggung jawab antara ipar laki-laki adalah sama. Seorang laki-laki menolong saudara laki-laki isterinya dengan membangun rumah, menanam kebun dan membuat perahu. Ia juga turut mengambil bagian dalam membela kematian saudara laki-laki isterinya.

Mengenai hubungan suami isteri orang Iau mengatakan bahwa seorang isteri 'mengikuti suaminya'. 'Mengikuti meliputi' menemani suaminya ke kebun untuk mendapatkan sagu, sukun atau hasil-hasil kebun yang lain. Seorang isteri berjalan paling sedikit 6 kaki atau lebih dibelakang suaminya. Ia memasak makanan dan tinggal serumah dengan suaminya.

Hubungan suami isteri dipandang sebagai suatu hubungan yang dekat dan penuh kasih. Ada beberapa ceritera yang didapatkan sewaktu mengumpulkan data-data mengenai silsilah keluarga. Ceritera-ceritera ini menceriterakan mengenai kekasih masa kanak-kanak yang pada akhirnya menikah setelah mengatasi halangan-halangan. Di waktu yang lampau seorang isteri dapat dianggap berbahaya waktu dijadikan isteri melawan kehendaknya atau bila ia tertarik dengan orang lain. Ia dapat melaksanakan guna-guna terhadap suaminya.

Isteri-isteri yang keras kepala dihukum dengan berbagai cara. Seorang isteri yang baru yang menolak untuk pergi dengan suaminya dipaksa untuk makan kotoran manusia atau binatang. Suatu hukuman lain yang umum ialah dipukul dengan ranting-ranting yang muda dan lunak atau permukaan kulitnya dipotong-potong dengan pisau yang kecil. Seorang isteri yang dipergoki dalam perzinahan kakinya dapat dipanah. Seorang laki-laki menghukum isterinya sehingga roh isterinya tunduk dan menurut. Isteri-isteri dihukum bila saling berkelahi, bila bersungut-sungut pada suaminya karena isteri yang lain yang lebih disenangi, bila tidak menyediakan makanan bagi suaminya, bila melarikan diri atau bila berzinah.

PEMAKAIAN ISTILAH-ISTILAH HUBUNGAN MELALUI PERKAWINAN

Sejak agama Keristen diperkenalkan semua istilah hubungan melalui perkawinan kecuali sae7 'ipar laki-laki seorang laki-laki' tidak digunakan lagi. Hal ini dilakukan karena bertentangan dengan ajaran agama Keristen. Menurut orang-orang dengan cara inilah akhirnya larangan untuk berhubungan dengan sanak melalui perkawinan diputuskan.

Oleh penginjil Dani mereka diberitahukan bahwa kelakuan mereka terhadap sanak melalui perkawinan tidak sesuai dengan ajaran Injil. Mereka seharusnya saling bersuka cita dan berkomunikasi dengan bebas dan terbuka. Mereka setuju dan saling menegur untuk menghentikan penghindaran diri dengan sanak melalui perkawinan. Tetapi rupanya pada mula-mula semuanya merasa sulit untuk bertindak dulu. Pemimpin-pemimpin gereja yang masih muda adalah orang-orang yang pertama yang memutuskan larangan ini. Mereka berjabatan tangan dan berbicara dengan sanak mereka melalui perkawinan. Mereka menganjurkan yang lain untuk mengikuti contoh mereka tetapi banyak yang belum bisa melakukannya. Akhirnya mereka memutuskan untuk mengadakan pertemuan yang besar dimana mereka semuanya berjabat tangan dan berbicara yang satu dengan yang lain. Menurut mereka, sejak itu tidak ada lagi penghindaran diri dari sanak melalui perkawinan.

Penginjil itu menyuruh mereka untuk memanggil orang tua isterinya dengan sebutan 'ibu' dan 'bapak' dan suami anak perempuan mereka 'anak'. Sebenarnya dalam praktik orang-orang memanggil orang tua isterinya atau suami anak perempuan mereka dengan istilah kekerabatan yang menunjukkan pada hubungan keturunan dengan mereka.

RINGKASAN

Suku Lau mendiami daerah dataran bagian barat cabang sungai Van Daalen di Irian Jaya. Bahasa mereka adalah suatu dialek dari bahasa Turu, bernada dan termasuk bahasa non-Austronesia.

Secara tradisi orang Lau hidup dalam marga-marga patrilokal tetapi mereka tidak mempunyai ikatan keturunan yang kuat yang mengikat satu orang dengan yang lain. Pengertian orang Lau mengenai kekerabatan didasarkan melalui laki-laki dan wanita.

Dasar semua hubungan kekerabatan orang Lau baik melalui keturunan maupun perkawinan adalah pembagian benda-benda dan jasa-jasa. Penghindaran antara sanak melalui perkawinan telah diputuskan dalam tahun-tahun belakangan ini karena bertentangan dengan ajaran-ajaran agama Keristen.

A SURVEY OF SOME WEST PAPUAN PHYLUM LANGUAGES

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and
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A - Cognate Percentage and Vocabulary Size

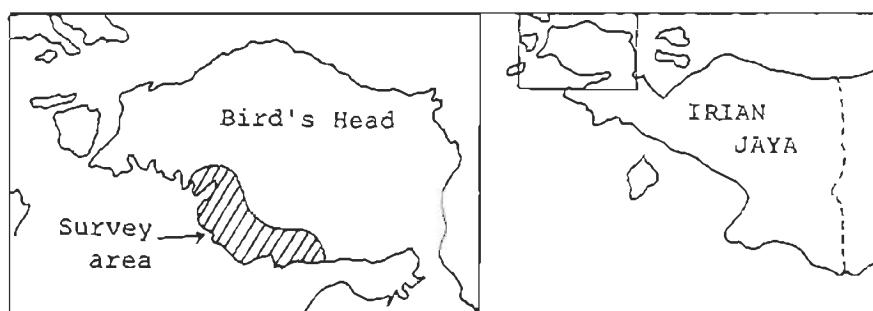
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C - Village and Population Lists

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E - Comparative Word Lists

1. INTRODUCTION. This paper is a report and analysis of the findings of a language survey conducted under the auspices of Cenderawasih University, Jayapura and the Summer Institute of Linguistics¹. The survey covered the western half of the Bird's Head as indicated on the map below. The following languages have been analysed in relation to each other from a synchronic perspective: Seget, Moi, Moraid, Kalabira, Tehit and Abun (previously known as Madik and Karon Pantai and also known as Yimbun).



Map 1. Survey Area

The purpose of the survey was to define the current language attitudes in the area, to identify where the language boundaries lie, and to update information already published (eg Voorhoeve 1975).

Another aim was to investigate possible areas for in-depth descriptive studies of individual languages by linguists working under the Cooperative Program Cenderawasih University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

1.1 PREVIOUS STUDIES. There have been a number of studies in both the individual languages and of the area as a whole (see bibliography). The most notable contribution is that by Voorhoeve (1975a & b). He produced a language map and listed other information about villages and dialects. However the dialect information was sparse and many villages listed no longer exist and new ones have been established. This study aims at clarifying the present language picture of the West Bird's Head. However it is not intended to be a definitive statement.

2. PROCEDURES

2.1 DATA COLLECTION. This paper is the result of a two week survey conducted in Kabupaten Sorong in the West Bird's Head during June 1986. Some information gathered in Sasanek and Teminabuan in another survey with G. Gravelle in March 1986 will also be incorporated.

The places named in Map 2 were visited for the purposes of gathering information. Information about the following languages was gathered: Moi, Seget, Kalabra, Moraid, Tehit and Abun (Madik and Karon Pantai).



Map 2. Areas Visited in the Survey

2.1.1 WORD LISTS. In each area visited word lists were elicited using the 209 UNCEN-SIL Word List (3/85). Indonesian was the language of elicitation. Certain words on the list were not well understood by most informants such as lemak 'fat (n)', abu tungku 'ash' and debu 'dust'. Also awan 'cloud' was often confused with langit 'sky'. Hati 'liver' proved difficult to elicit since it has a wide range of meaning. Also danau 'lake' was not easy for the informants to remember, possibly since there are few lakes in the area. Dengan 'with' was also difficult to elicit - it was often an affix rather than a separate word. Other words had a wide range of meaning and appeared to have many alternatives in the local language. For these reasons many lists have around 200 words suitable for comparison. In most cases word lists were elicited from a group of native speakers. See appendix B for a list of wordlists taken and appendix E for some comparative wordlists.

2.1.2 CAMAT SURVEY FORM. In the kecamatan centres information was collected from the camat or his assistant. The aim of this part of survey was to find out basic information relating to villages, populations and facilities available in each area. The camat's opinions about bilingualism in the area were also sought. The survey form was an effective tool in small kecamatans. This form is kept on file at the SIL offices in Jayapura.

2.1.3 NATIVE SPEAKER SURVEY FORM. This survey form was used to gather information from those who were born and lived most of their lives in a particular village and whose parents also came from the same village. The purpose of this survey was to gain an idea of where dialects are spoken and what surrounding languages can and can't be understood by the speakers of the informants' language. Also reported language use as well as a few cultural aspects were collected using this survey. This form is also at the SIL offices in Jayapura.

2.2 DATA ANALYSIS.

2.2.1 DETERMINING COGNATES. There are a number of methods for determining lexical similarity between two speech communities. These are outlined by Sanders (1977:34). Cognates, in this report, have been determined using the inspection method from a synchronic perspective. Therefore in this study two words are considered cognate if the percentage of phonetic similarity between them is determined to be 50% or greater.

2.2.2 CLASSIFICATION. Initially, classification of the West Bird's Head languages will be made lexicostatistically. Later, it will be modified or refined after considering grammatical and phonological features as well as reported intelligibility. Classification boundaries based solely on lexical similarity cannot be absolute, in that the percentage of similarity is subject to a number of variables. These variables include elicitation errors, variation in the semantic scope of some words and even the words chosen for comparison. Simons (1977:76) has a good discussion of the potential for error in lexicostatistics. Ezard (1977:63) makes

comparisons using different word lists and one conclusion that he draws is that a larger wordlist results in lower cognate figures. Therefore in this study cognate percentages are likely to be lower than if, say, the Swadesh 100 list was used. With the data collected we were able to compare about 90 of the Swadesh 100 list and found that on average the percentages were 5% higher for this shorter list than for the complete list of 200 words (see appendix A).

Another factor we need to consider is that classification boundaries such as in Voorhoeve (1975:16) are used for figures determined from a diachronic perspective. We posit that our results from a synchronic perspective would generally be lower than if a diachronic perspective is used. Using the latter method, words with less than 50% phonetic similarity could be considered cognate whereas the synchronic approach would not count such words as cognate. Our results are aimed at giving an indication of the level of mutual intelligibility between groups at this time rather than indicating historical connections. Thus we hesitate to use the boundaries as used for diachronically prepared results.

Therefore, for these reasons, our lexicostatistical results cannot be understood in the traditional way. Rather their usefulness is to give a broad indication of the relative proximity of relationship of the languages listed. The use of the terms phylum, stock, family and subfamily are not strictly based on percentage figures, but are more relative in conception.

3. GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE WEST BIRD'S HEAD LANGUAGES

3.1 INTRODUCTION. The language picture of the West Bird's Head needs to be seen from the perspective not only of lexicostatistics, but also of grammar and phonology. Following is an attempt to describe the analysis of the data collected under each of these headings and then to finally synthesise all the information and present a tree diagram showing language relations and an updated language map.

3.2 LEXICAL SIMILARITY. The word lists taken on the survey together with one from Brat were used to produce the following matrix (see appendix B).

Matrix 1 - West Papuan Phylum (partial) Lexical Similarity Percentages

Seget
 44 Moi
 22 42 Moraid
 17 33 54 Kalabra
 22 24 43 68 Salmit (Tehit)
 20 28 37 54 76 Sawiat (Tehit)
 16 23 31 44 64 75 Tehijit (Tehit)
 4 4 6 6 7 8 6 Brat
 4 5 6 4 4 3 4 6 Abun Ji
 6 5 8 4 5 5 6 8 76 Abun Tat

The above matrix reveals a sharp three way distinction between Abun, Brat and the group from Seget to Tehit. Abun Ji (Madik) and Abun Tat (Karon Pantai) are closely related and could be considered as dialects of the same language. Tehijit, Sawist and Salmit are linked through dialect chaining while there is also evidence of chaining at higher levels. This will be dealt with in more detail below in section 4.

3.3 PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

3.3.1 TONE. It became clear while taking word lists that the Abun language has at least two distinctive pitch levels. The informants were able to indicate which had a higher tone and which was lower. Examples elicited were,

| | |
|-----------|---------|
| <u>gú</u> | 'sky' |
| <u>gu</u> | 'heart' |
| <u>l</u> | 'wing' |
| <u>s</u> | 'sick' |

3.3.2 SYLLABLE LENGTH. Another noteworthy feature of the Abun language is that the percentage of monosyllabic words is significantly higher than other languages in the area. The table below reveals that the other languages surveyed are relatively similar to each other in this aspect - another feature tying them together. Indonesian has also been included to enable comparison with an Austronesian language. The columns in the chart refer to the number of syllables in a word. For example, 65% of Moi words have two syllables. These percentages are very approximate, being based on the first 100 words in the 209 word list.

Table 1 - Percentage Syllable Count

| Language | Syllable Count - Percentage | | | |
|------------|-----------------------------|----|----|----|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4+ |
| Abun Tat | 72 | 28 | - | - |
| Abun Ji | 66 | 34 | - | - |
| Moi | 25 | 65 | 9 | 1 |
| Seget | 24 | 62 | 14 | - |
| Moraid | 29 | 50 | 15 | 6 |
| Kalabra | 34 | 50 | 16 | - |
| Tehit | 16 | 64 | 20 | - |
| Indonesian | 5 | 90 | 5 | - |
| English | 74 | 24 | 2 | - |

3.3.3 NASALIZED VOWELS. Only the Moraid language appeared to have some nasalised vowels. For example,

| | |
|-------------|---------|
| <u>tēhē</u> | 'blood' |
| <u>mōhō</u> | 'wind' |
| <u>bū</u> | 'seed' |

3.3.4 PRENASALIZED STOPS. Prenasalized stops are a prominent feature of this area. However, in the Moi and Seget word lists no evidence of this is found. Examples of prenasalized stops are,

| | | |
|---------------|---------|----------|
| <u>nti</u> | 'fall' | (Moraid) |
| <u>ndabin</u> | 'sharp' | (Salmit) |
| <u>nggoro</u> | 'neck' | (Tehit) |
| <u>ndo</u> | 'good' | (Abun) |

Also in Kalabra the nasal component corresponds to an f-. For example,

| | | |
|-------------|--------|-----------|
| <u>fbot</u> | 'good' | (Kalabra) |
| <u>mbot</u> | 'good' | (Sawiat) |

3.3.5 VOWEL HARMONY. Moi can be distinguished from the other languages in the area in that it appears to have regressive vowel harmony in the nominative prefixes (see also Fautngil 1985:9,10). For example,

| | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| <u>tu-su</u> | 'I give' |
| <u>tu-golok</u> | 'I hit' |
| <u>te-galak</u> | 'I spear' |
| <u>te-gi</u> | 'I cough' |
| <u>te-peles</u> | 'I look for' |

It appears from these examples that the form of the prefix tV- becomes te- when the next syllable contains a front vowel and tu- when the next syllable contains a back vowel. However when the verb root begins with a vowel the rules operate in a different way. For example,

but tV- + gi = tegi 'I cough'
 but tV- + igi = tagi 'I stand'

An examination of the morphophonemic rules is beyond the scope of this paper.

3.3.6 SUMMARY. The following table summarises the previous discussion on the comparative phonology of the languages under consideration. (Note: x = no; - = insufficient data).

Table 2 - Phonological Comparisons

| Language | Tone | Average Word | Nasal | V | Prenasal | Stops | V Harmony |
|----------|------|--------------|-------|---|----------|-------|-----------|
| Seget | x | 2 syllables | x | x | | - | |
| Moi | x | 2 syllables | x | x | | y | |
| Moraid | x | 2 syllables | y | y | | x | |
| Kalabra | x | 2 syllables | x | | uses f | x | |
| Tehit | x | 2 syllables | x | y | | x | |
| Abun | y | 1 syllable | x | y | | x | |

This table shows that Abun is a significantly different language from the others considered. The existence of prenasalized stops in Moraid, Kalabra and Tehit makes a further division between this group and Moi and Seget.

3.4 GRAMMATICAL FEATURES

3.4.1 INTRODUCTION. A survey of the grammatical features helps us define how these languages are related to each other. In particular where lexicostatistics gives us one result, the study of a few basic grammatical features gives depth and more meaning to the lexicostatistical results.

3.4.2 WORD ORDER. All languages in this survey share a common word order, namely S V O. This compares to an S O V pattern in the languages in the south Bird's Head of the Trans-Papuan Phylum (Wurm 1982). They all have prepositions (as opposed to post) and they all have adjectives following the noun. In the case of Moi, Seget and Abun numerals follow the adjective, whereas for the other languages this order is reversed. For example,

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|----------|
| <u>keik</u> <u>ka</u> pele ali | 'two big houses' | (Moi) |
| house big two | | |
| <u>kei</u> <u>lo</u> <u>pe</u> le | 'two big houses' | (Moraid) |
| house two big | | |

3.4.3 VERB CONJUGATION. None of the languages surveyed use affixation on the verb to mark tense. An auxiliary is used to mark past or completive aspect (i.e. where Indonesian uses sudah) and future (akan) had no corresponding equivalent. Also indication of the negative is usually separate from the verb.

Affixation occurs in these languages in the form of nominative prefixes on the verbs signifying agreement with the subject. In the large majority of cases the morphological form of this prefix is similar to the form of the free pronoun (cf. Givon 1976). The following table shows the pronoun compared with the form of the prefix (the prefix being underlined).

Table 3 - Pronoun/Nominative Prefix

| Language | Person (Singular) | | |
|----------|-------------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| | First | Second | Third |
| Seget | <u>t</u> it | <u>n</u> an | <u>Ø</u> , gau |
| Moi | <u>t</u> it | <u>n</u> in | <u>n</u> in |
| Moraid | <u>t</u> et | <u>n</u> an | <u>Ø</u> , nen, <u>Ø</u> |
| Kalabtra | <u>t</u> it | <u>n</u> an | <u>w</u> -, nin, <u>Ø</u> |
| Sawiat | <u>t</u> et | - | <u>wo</u> |
| Tehit | <u>t</u> et | <u>n</u> en | <u>wo</u> |

The Abun language appears to be an exception in that Abun Tat has no prefixing at all while Abun Ji has some trace of it, but the prefixes could now have a different function in the language.

The relatively uncomplicated affixation in the languages surveyed contrasts to the languages of the south Bird's Head. Those languages together with the rest of the Trans-Papuan Phylum have relatively complicated affixation. The affixation of the languages in the West Papuan phylum as well as the word order is more Austronesian in nature (cf. Wurm 1982:58,64).

3.4.4 POSSESSIVES. These languages signify possession in two different ways. Firstly for Tehit, Kalabra, Moraid, Moi and Seget possessive prefixes are used. These prefixes have the same phonetic form as those used to signify subject agreement on the verb³. For example from the Moi language,

tit ta-keik 'my house' (Moi)
lps lps poss.pr.-house

tu-suwo 'my eye' (Moi)
lps poss.pr-eye

In the Seget language this prefix may be omitted with the resulting form being subject pronoun and noun.

For Tehit, Sawiat, Kalabra and Moraid the possessive prefix is not prefixed to the noun (as in the above examples) but it is incorporated into a distinct possessive pronoun. This pronoun consists of the possessive prefix plus the root. As the following examples show the possessive pronoun follows the noun. Examples are,

mbol te-dam 'my house' (Tehit)
house lps poss.pr.-root

mbol tet te-fen 'my house' (Sawiat)
house lps lps poss.pr.-root

keit te-tef 'my house' (Kalabra)
house lps poss.pr.-root

kei tit-i 'my house' (Moraid)
house lps poss.pr.-root

According to Flassy and Stokhof 1979:74 the possessive pronoun only occurs with nouns of a specific class. This class does not include those nouns which are considered part of a greater whole such as body parts, tree parts or even kinship terms. These nouns take the possessive prefix only. From the data that we gathered on this survey it seems that the distinction between nouns such as body parts and other 'non-possessed' nouns is a valid one but manifests itself in different ways in the languages surveyed.

Secondly Abun has a possessive auxiliary⁴ (possibly with the meaning 'have') as well as a suffix being attached to the noun. In addition possession for body parts has the simple structure of subject pronoun and then noun (as in Seget and Kalabra). Examples,

i bi nu-wi 'my house' (Abun Ji)
lps poss. house-poss.suf.

an bi nu-wi 'his house' (Abun Tat)
3ps poss. house-poss.suf.

an gro 'his eye' (Abun Tat)
3ps eye

3.4.5 COUNTING SYSTEMS. Both Abun and Seget have different counting systems to the other languages surveyed. All of the others use 5 as a base for building on to form the numbers 6 to 9. However Abun and Seget do not, instead they have suppletive forms. For example,

| | | |
|----------------|---------|----------|
| <u>mere</u> | 'one' | (Moraid) |
| <u>mtawere</u> | 'six' | |
| <u>ala</u> | 'two' | |
| <u>mtalo</u> | 'seven' | |
| <u>ali</u> | 'two' | (Seget) |
| <u>futu</u> | 'seven' | |

See appendix E for more examples.

3.4.6 SUMMARY. The following table summarises the similarities and differences in the grammatical features collected. (Note: # = numeral, - = insufficient information, x = no)

Table 4 - Grammatical Comparisons

| Language | Word Order | | Verb Affixation | | Possessives | | Counting | | | |
|----------|------------|---------|-----------------|--------|-------------|-----|------------|---|---|---|
| | SVO | Prep NP | Tense | Nom Pr | S+n | pro | pr aux/suf | S | | |
| Moi | y | y | na# | x | y | - | x | y | x | y |
| Seget | y | y | na# | x | y | y | x | y | x | x |
| Moraid | y | y | n#a | x | y | - | y | y | x | y |
| Kalabra | y | y | n#a | x | y | y | y | y | x | y |
| Tehit | y | y | n#a | x | y | - | y | y | x | y |
| Abun | y | y | na# | x | x | y | x | x | y | x |

Thus we can see that Abun, while having some similarities, has differences that put it in a separate category to the rest. Also Moi and Seget have some minor differences that are grounds for separating them from the other three languages.

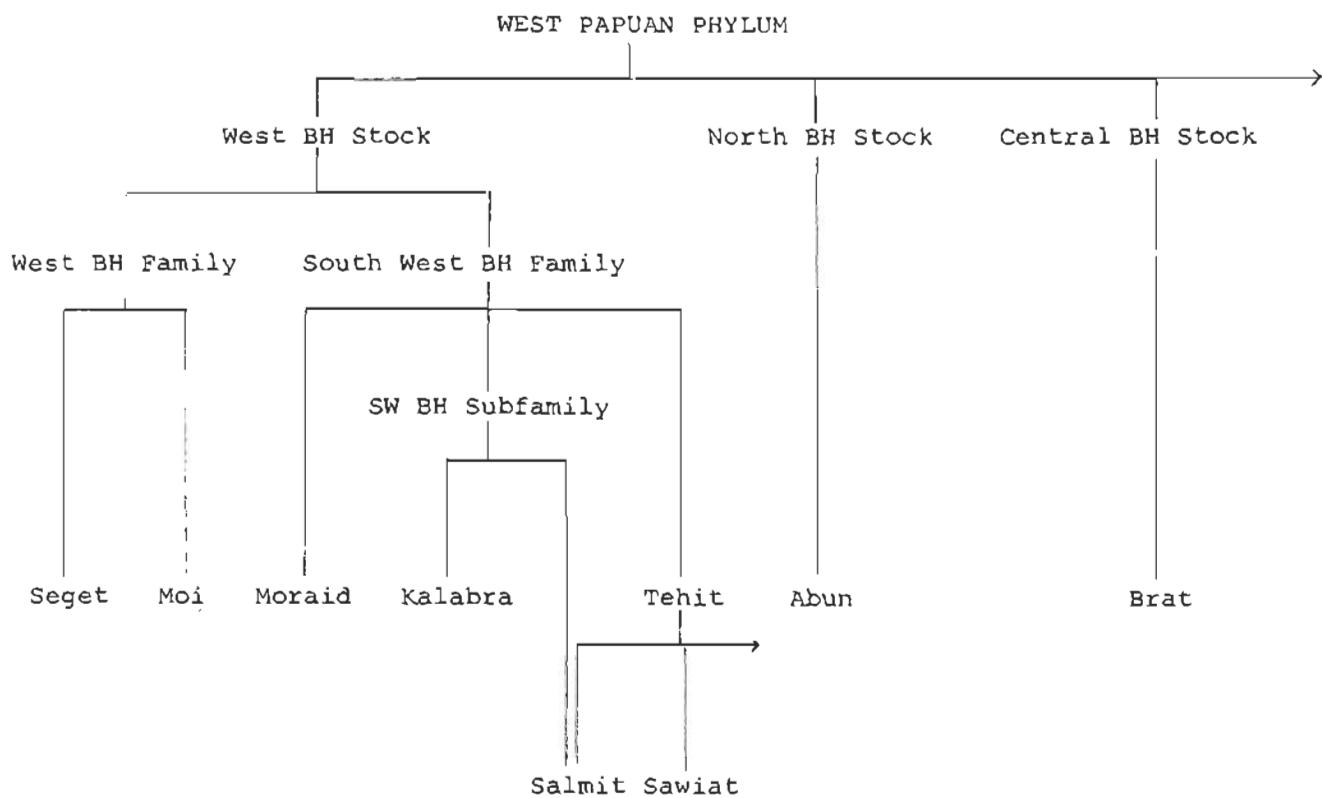
3.5 SUMMARY. The above discussion of grammatical and phonological features of these languages helps us to break the languages into groups and subgroups. The following distinct groups emerge: Abun, Moi/Seget, and Moraid/Kalabra/Tehit. The differences between Abun and the others are significant. Therefore we consider Abun to be a separate stock, not only on these grounds, but because the lexicostatistical results agree too. The other group, which has been called the West Bird's Head Stock, can be further divided into two families - the West BH Family (Moi and Seget) and the South West BH Family (Moraid, Kalabra and Tehit). The lexicostatistical results confirm this with the exception of the relationship between Moi and Moraid being closer - as part of the same family. However the phonological and grammatical features support the separate grouping of Moi and Seget from the rest. They have a difference in noun phrase word order compared to the South West Family and do not have a possessive pronoun like the South West Family members do. Moi and Seget are also distinguished from the other members of the stock in that they do

not have prenasalized stops. Moi has vowel harmony while Seget has a suppletive counting system.

The South West Family consists of the languages Moraid and Tehit and a subfamily consisting of Kalabra and the Salmit dialect of Tehit. The closeness of Kalabra and Tehit is also confirmed by their grammatical and phonological similarities.

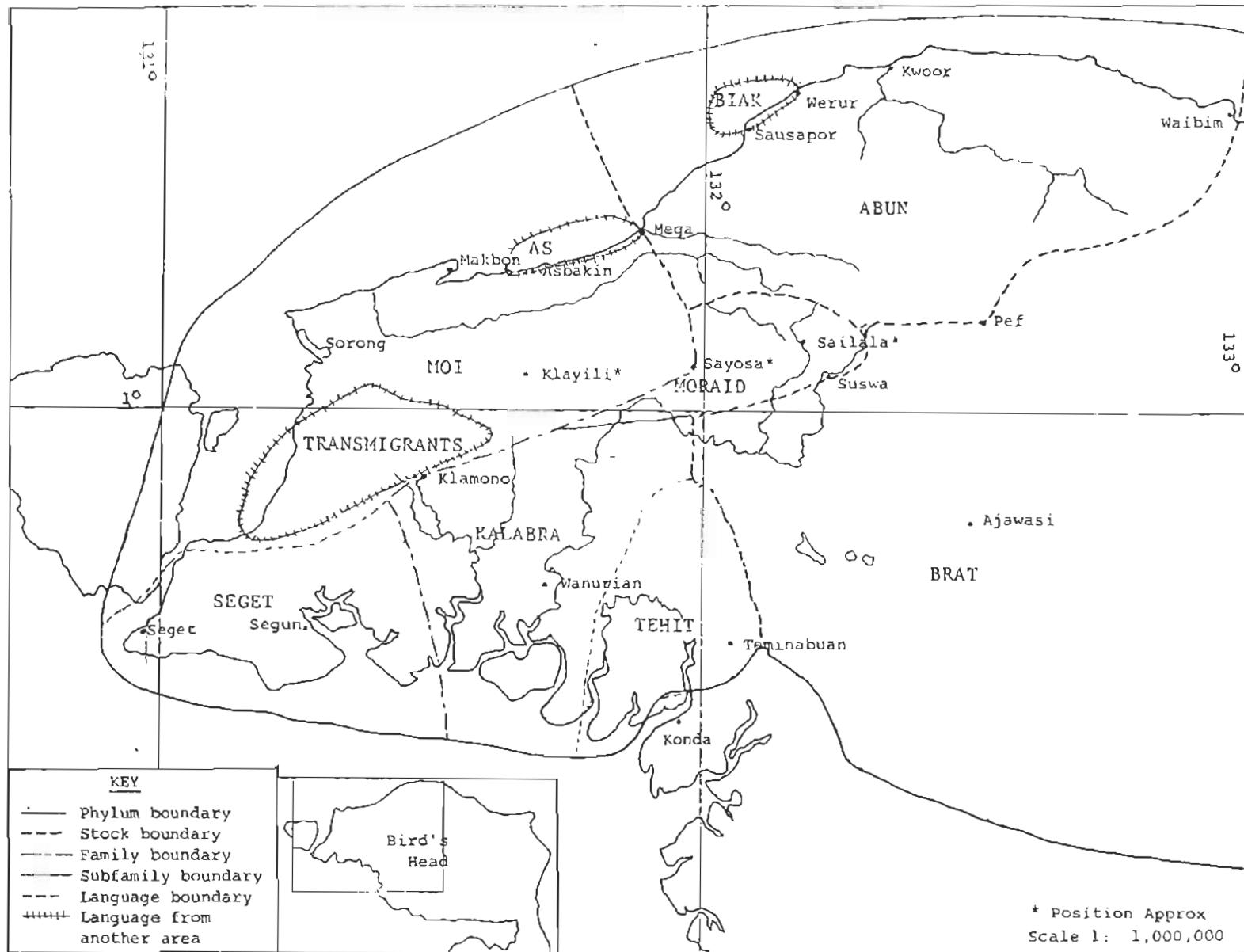
The tree diagram below summarises the relationships between the languages under consideration.

Diagram 1 - West Papuan Phylum Languages (partial)

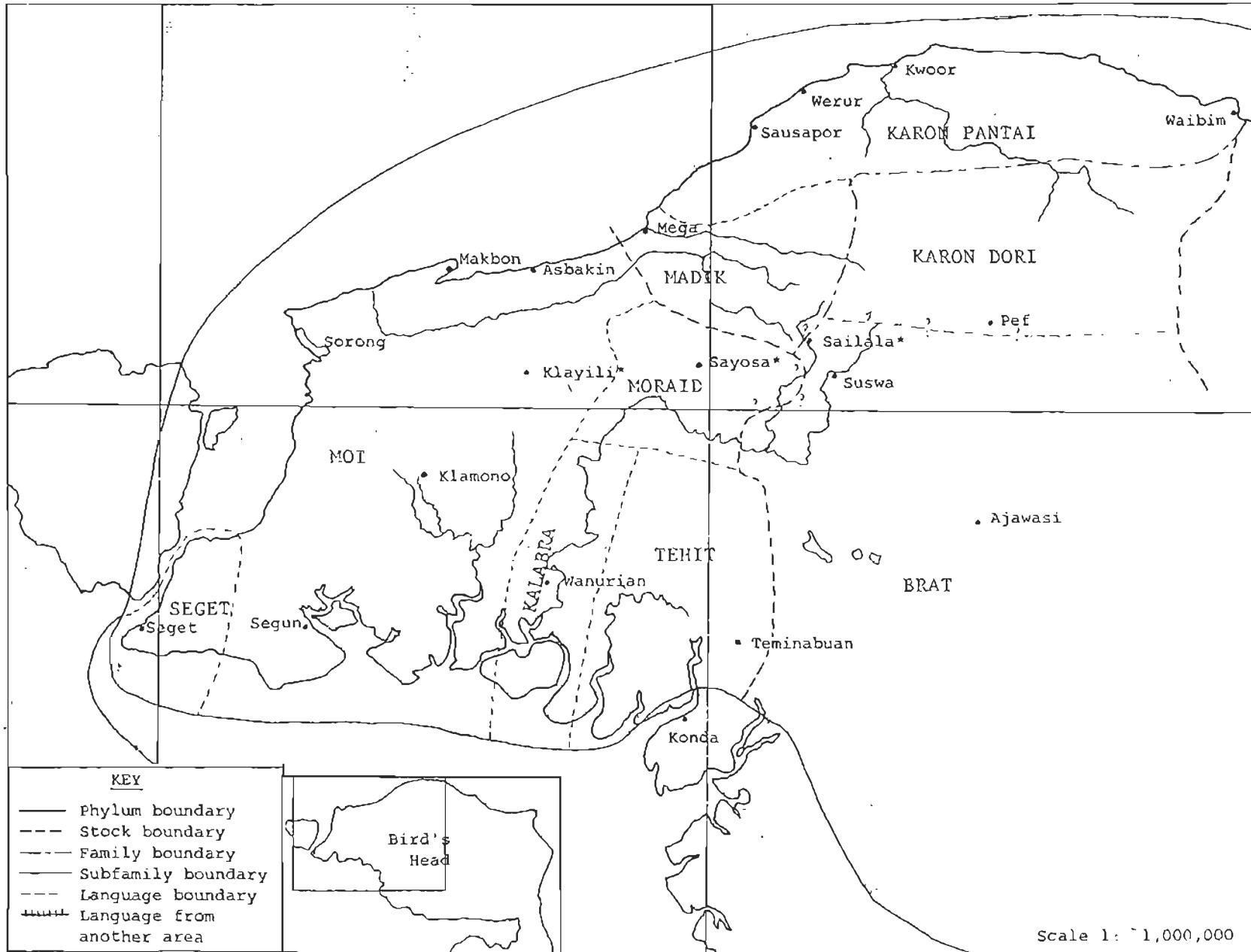


3.5.1 LANGUAGE MAP. The map below differs a little from Voorhoeve's 1975a:74. We have also included some additional information gathered about other language groups that have moved into the area. Some have been there for many generations - As and Biak, while transmigration centres are relatively recent - see section 6. In addition we have drawn Voorhoeve's language boundaries on Map 4 below as an aid for comparison. The differences can be summarised as follows:

1. Brat and Abun are shown as distinct stocks.
2. Moi and Seget are shown as a distinct family from Kalabra, Tehit and Moraid.
3. Kalabra is in a subfamily relationship with a dialect of Tehit.
4. Abun is the name for two languages previously listed as Madik and Karon Pantai.
5. Seget language is shown to include Segun Bay area, which was previously shown as part of the Kalabra language.
6. Biak, As and transmigrant areas have been marked.
7. Esaro is added, but cannot be classified since a word list was not elicited.



Map 3 - West Bird's Head Language Map



Map 3A - West Bird's Head Language Map (Voorthuizen 1975a 74)

4. WEST BIRD'S HEAD STOCK

4.1 INTRODUCTION. The languages of the West Bird's Head stock are related to each other through chaining at various levels. This can be represented in either of the following diagrams. Some things borne out by the diagrams are that Moi and Seget are relatively separate from the other languages and that there is chaining between Tehit - Sawiat - Salmit - Kalabra - Moraid, the chaining becoming further distant with each successive link. So Tehijit is mutually intelligible with Sawiat and Salmit, but not with Kalabra. However Sawiat and Salmit are mutually intelligible with Kalabra. There are also dialects of Kalabra that are understood by Moraid speakers.

4.2 WEST BIRD'S HEAD FAMILY. The WBH Family consists of two members (Moi and Seget).

4.2.1 MOI. The term Moi is often used in a very broad sense in the west Bird's Head to include most languages. Abun, Seget, Kalabra, As, Moraid, Mare (a dialect of Brat) have all been referred to as Moi. It seems to be used as a cover all term for 'language' by those who live around Sorong.

This section deals with what is called Moi asli, that is, the original Moi. There are roughly 4,600 speakers spread around Sorong (see appendix C) and in the interior. Moi was also used as a lingua franca in the area surveyed as well as on Salawati Island in the past. Moi has many dialects and minor differences within each dialect. The more important ones are,

Amber 'from the mountains'
Klasa 'head of a river'
Kelim 'interior'

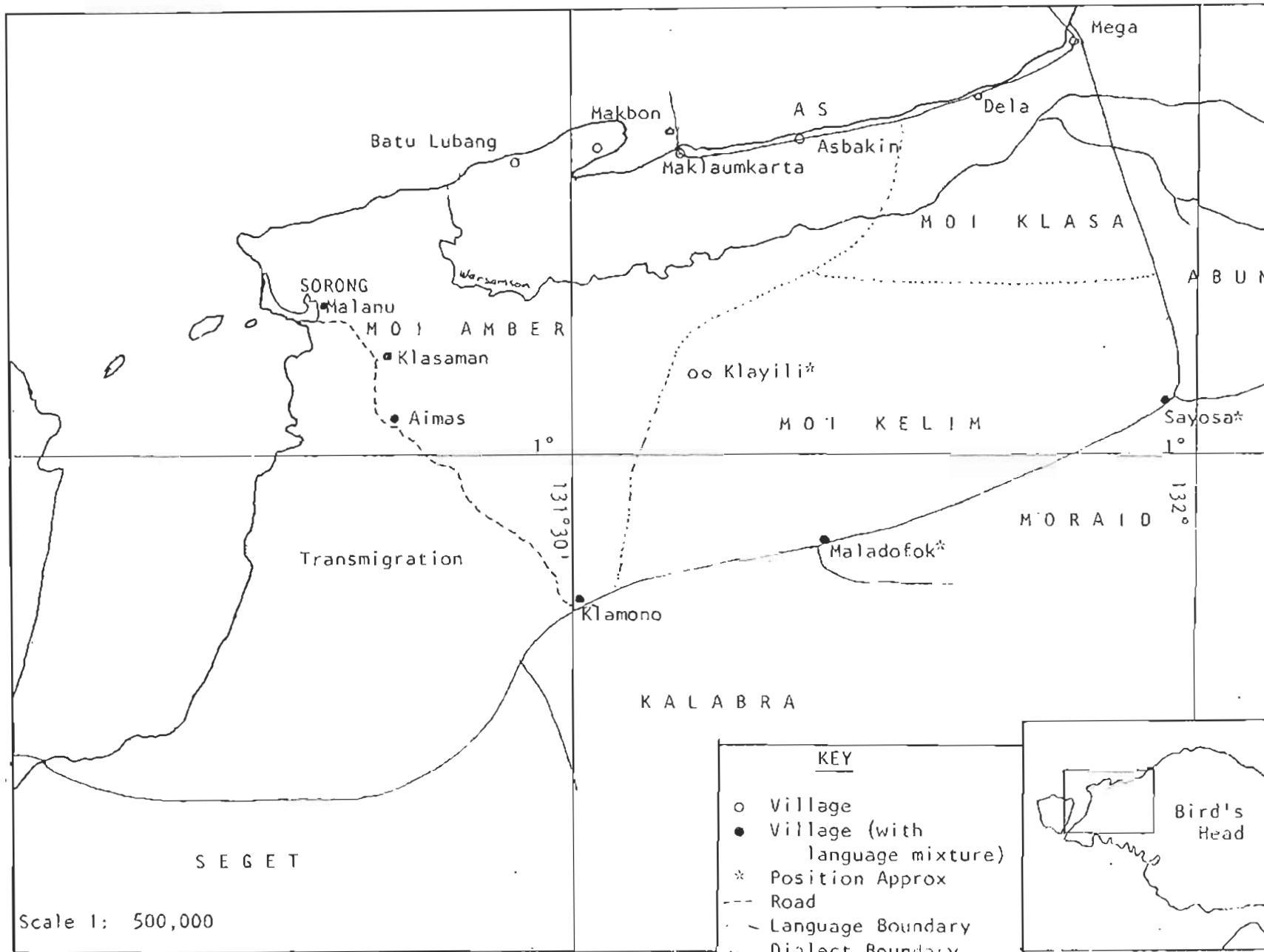
The map next page shows the locations of each of these dialects.

4.2.2 SEGET. Seget, also known as Moi Lemas or Segun, is used on the South West part of the Bird's Head by about 1,200 speakers. It is also used on the South Eastern tip of Salawati Island. We were unable to visit the area so all the information here comes from two informants we met while in Sorong.

There are two dialects of the Seget language, one around Seget and the other near Segun Bay. No lexical information was collected for the dialect spoken around Segun Bay, which may be known as Yauw. The location of the dialects are indicated on the map below.

Moi is the most closely related language to Seget and some older Seget people are reported to be able to speak Moi. There are many Indonesians from other provinces living in the Seget area. Almost half of the village of Seget come from outside Irian Jaya. Oil mining has brought many outsiders to the area. It was reported that most people know Indonesian and use it daily. However my informants reported that even in Duriankari on Salawati Island the children know Seget.

The village of Duriankari has three languages, Esaro, Inanwatan (or a dialect thereof) and Salawati (or Maden). However there is a lot of intermarriage between the people in this village and those in Seget. So much so that the people in Duriankari understand and speak Seget too. My informants had Esaro fathers and Seget mothers and were fluent in Seget but had almost forgotten Esaro. Fish and sago are the basic food items.

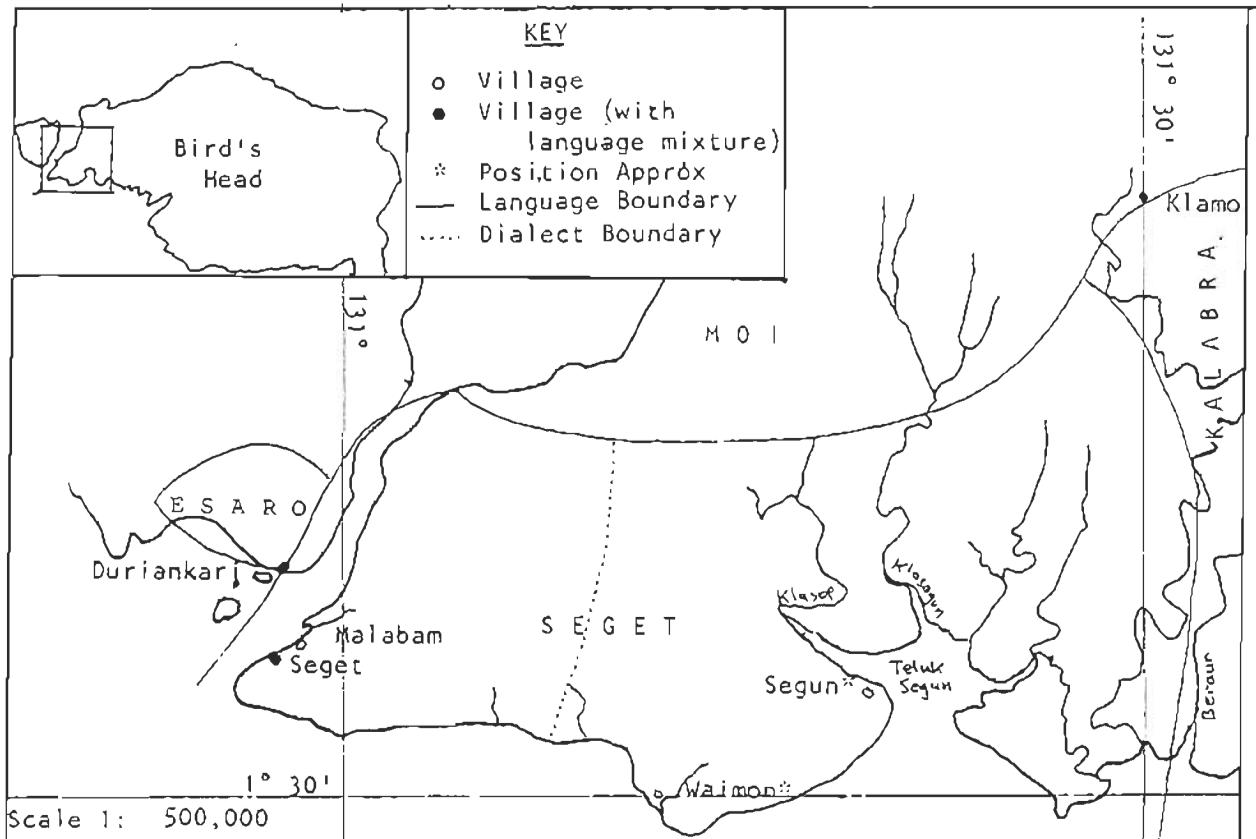


Map 4 - Moi Language Map

WEST BIRD'S HEAD SURVEY

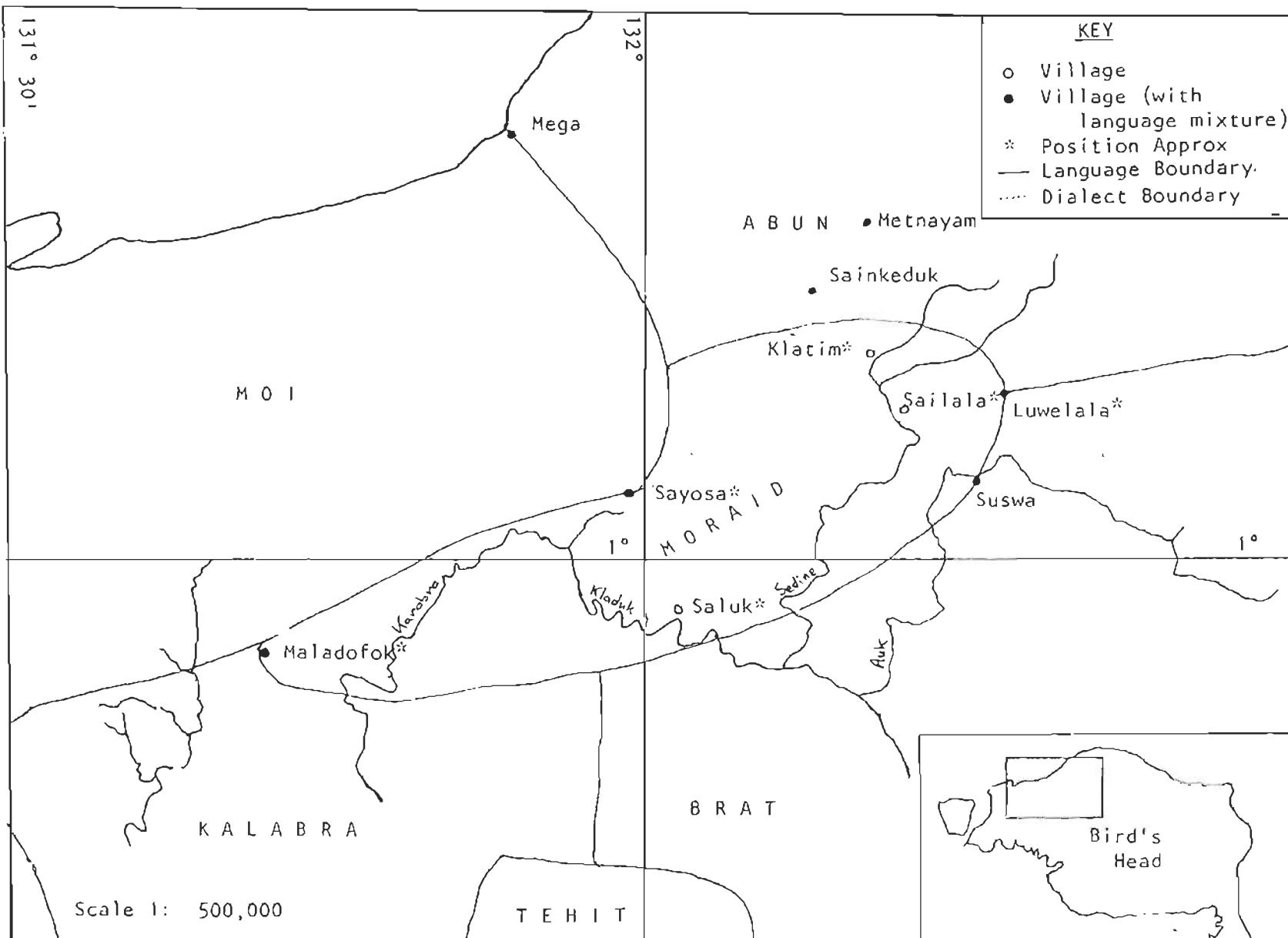
Transmigration settlements are planned for just north of Segun Bay where the smaller dialect is found.

4.3 SOUTH WEST BIRD'S HEAD FAMILY. The SWBH Family consists of three members - Moraid, Kalabra and Tehit. It consists of one subfamily (Kalabra - Salmit) and two languages (Tehit and Moraid).



Map 5 - Seget Language Map

4.3.1 MORAID. The Moraid language has about 1000 speakers (see appendix C) in the interior, south of the Moi and Abun languages and north of Brat and Kalabra. The meaning of Moraid is the 'Moi people in the interior'. They also call themselves the Koboro tribe. There are reported to be two dialects of Moraid, the names of which were not elicited. It seems reasonable to suppose that one dialect is more closely related to Kalabra. (See map next page) Moraid speakers are reported to be able to understand Moi, but Moi speakers cannot understand Moraid. We were not able to visit a Moraid village on our survey. Our informant, a Moraid speaker originally from Sailala, reported that Moraid is used in almost all daily encounters.



Map 6 - Moraid Language Map

Flassy and Stokhof (1979) regard Moi and Moraid as a single language. However this survey concludes that they are distinct. Lexically they are less than 50% cognate, phonologically Moraid has prenasalized stops and nasal vowels, while Moi has vowel harmony. Grammatically they have different noun phrase word order.

At present a transmigration centre is under construction near Sayosa. It is planned that transmigrants will shift into that area in 1988.

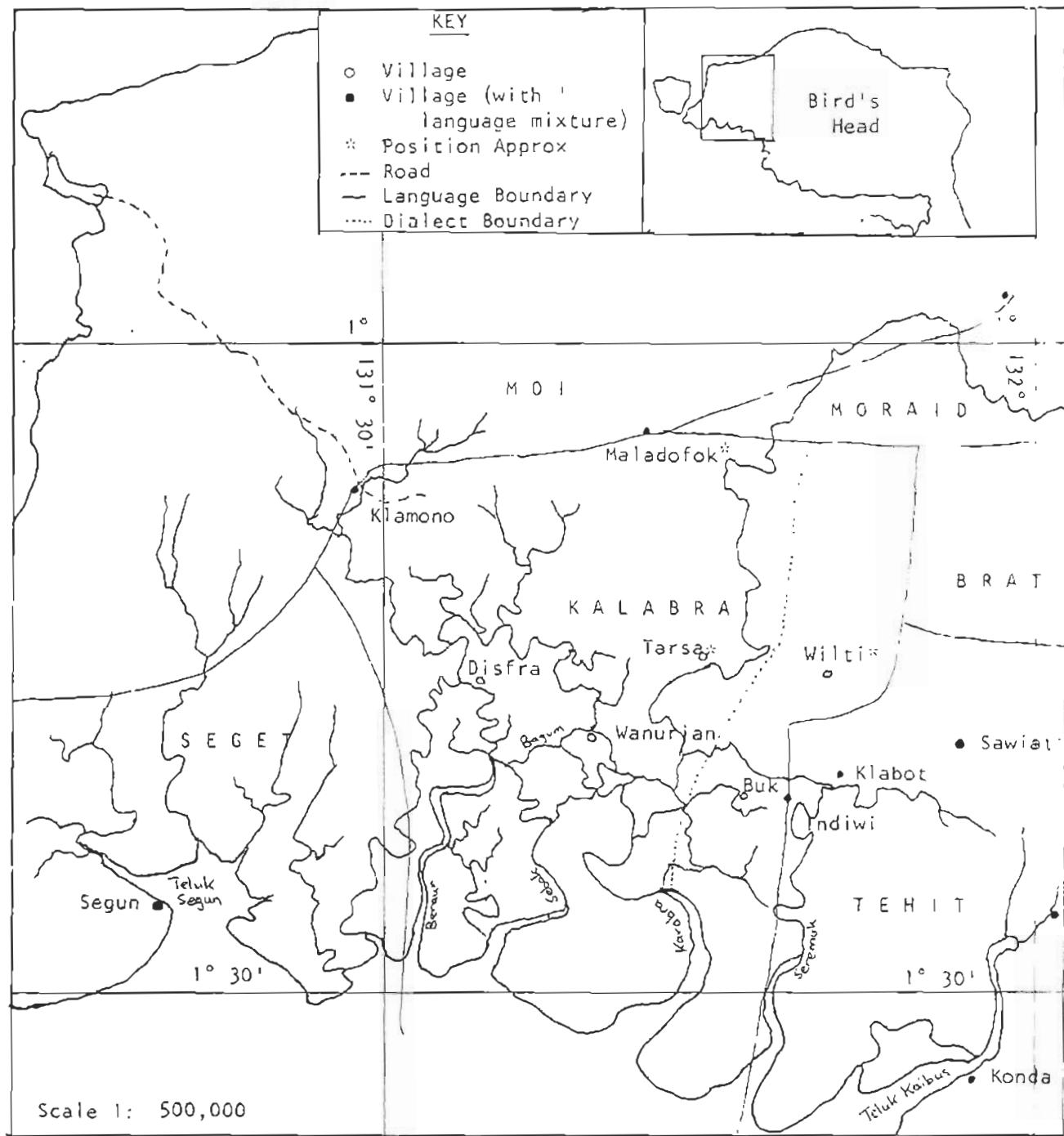
4.3.2 KALABRA. The Kalabra language has about 2,100 speakers (see appendix C) who live near the Kalabra river and tributaries. The people in Buk say that there is a dialect called Salmit and that in Wanurian Kalabra is a little different. After analysing the word lists taken it becomes evident that Salmit should be considered a distinct language and is a dialect of Tehit. This means that Kalabra has two dialects - one centred in Buk and one in Wanurian. There may even be a third one in Wilti. Lexicostatistical data reveals the following (Salmit has been included for comparison).

Matrix 2 - Kalabra Dialect Lexical Similarity

| Wanurian (Kalabra) | | |
|--------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 78 | Buk (Kalabra) | |
| 60 | 68 | Salmit (Tehit) |

Kalabra families have two houses, one in the village and one on top of a canoe. They use the 'house boat' to travel along the extensive network of waterways. They go sago pounding and catching fish for several days. They also cook and sleep on the boat during that time. The boats are only big enough for a small family to live in.

There is a cassette produced in the Kalabra language.

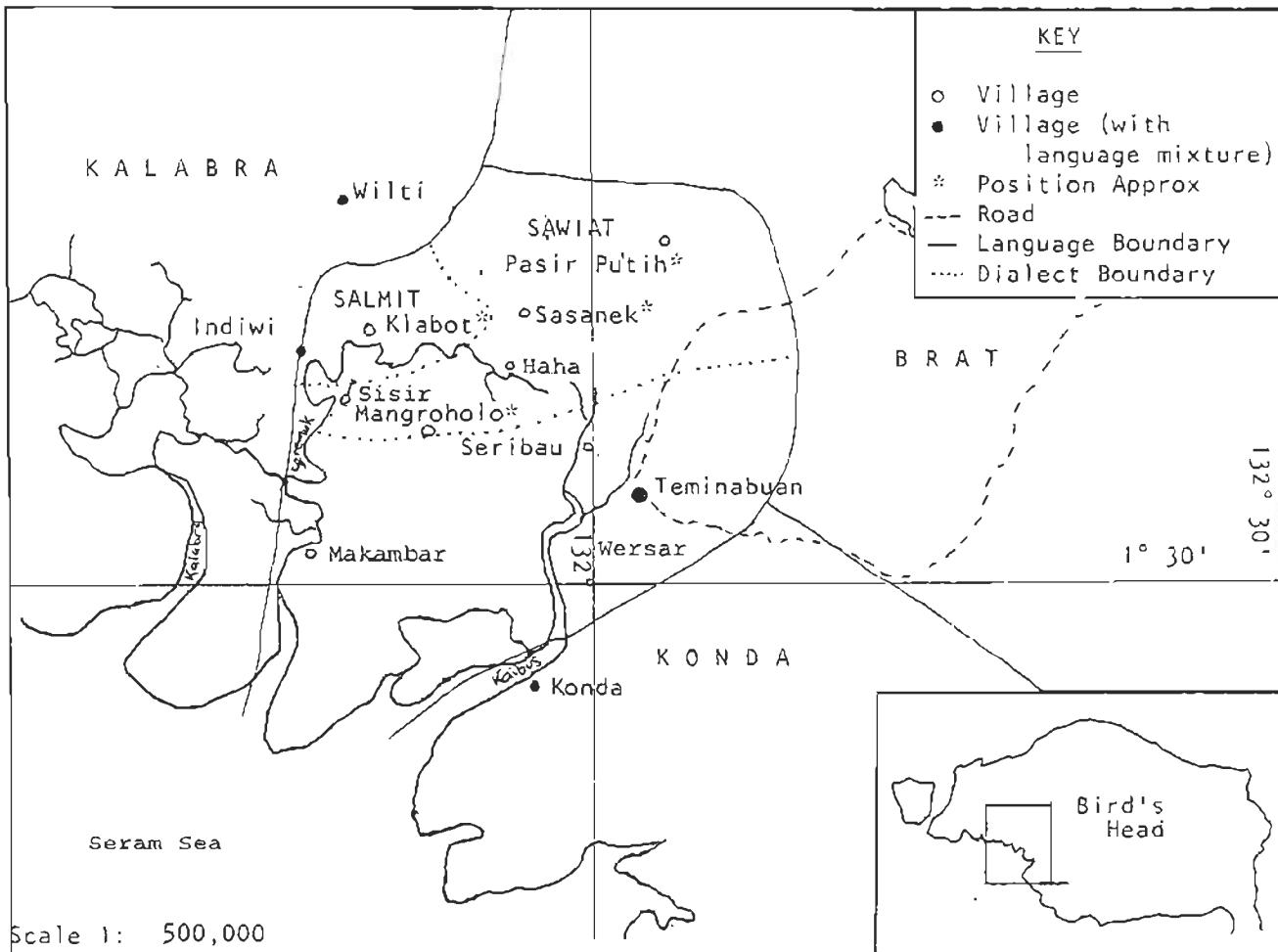


Map 7 - Kalabra Language Map

4.3.3 TEHIT. Tehit has about 8,800 speakers (see appendix C) around Teminabuan and north into the foothills. Tehit has at least three dialects each linked to each other. The people at Teminabuan report that there is one dialect which they call 'Tehit Gunung' while their dialect is called 'Tehit Pantai', making a mountain and coastal distinction. The people in the interior call their dialect Sawiat which is also the name of a group of six villages. The other dialect, Salmit is a dialect of Sawiat, but not of Tehijit as such. Lexically it is in the same subfamily as Tehit. Dialect chaining is evident here in the order - Tehijit - Sawiat - Salmit and from there carries on at the subfamily level to Kalabra and then at the family level to Moraid.

Matrix 4 - Tehit Dialect Lexical Similarity

| | |
|--------|------------|
| Salmit | |
| 76 | Sawiat |
| 64 | 75 Tehijit |



Map 8 - Tehit Language Map

Flassy has written copiously about his language, Tehit, sometimes together with Stokhof (see bibliography). Our survey has just covered three of the 11 dialects he suggests, though we are unsure on what basis he determines these 11 dialects. In the three we surveyed dialect chaining is evident. Salmit is close to being an intermediate step between Kalabra and Tehit. Actually Salmit speakers are bilingual in Kalabra and vice versa.

5. NORTH BIRD'S HEAD STOCK

5.1 ABUN. The NBH Superstock only consists of one member, the Abun language. There are about 2,900 speakers (see appendix C) along the north coast and interior, see the map below. Actually it is confusing to know what to call this language. In the past it has been broken into two languages, Madik and Karon Pantai. These names come from the surrounding groups, Moi call them Madik, Biak call them Karon, Mare call them Manif, others call them Yimbun. However they themselves use the name Yenden (ye 'people' and nden 'forest'). This name was elicited in both Sausapor and Kwoor, but we are unsure whether this is the tribal name just for the speakers of Abun Tat or for the whole group. In Mega people said the name for their language was Abun. In Kwoor it seemed that they said that this was their word for language, rather than the name for it. Other informants told us that Karon Pantai was really Abun Tat and Madik was Abun Ji. A speaker of Madik said initially that his language was Karon Rendah while Karon Pantai was Karon Tinggi, considering them as two variations of the same language. We have chosen to use Abun to try to avoid the complexities involved in using the names already used. Also it is a name that comes from the people themselves. Whatever name is chosen it is clear that the speech communities surveyed in this area are very similar. In Mega the speakers of Abun Ji said of those further east that their language is 'almost exactly the same'. Lexical, phonological and grammatical evidence supports that observation. The matrix of cognate percentages below shows that at the extremes the Abun dialects could be considered to be two separate languages whereas more thorough investigation reveals dialect chaining.

Matrix 4 - Abun Dialect Lexical Similarity

| | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| Sosian (Tat/Ji ?) | | | | | |
| 92 Metnayam (Ji) | | | | | |
| 83 88 Mega (Ji) | | | | | |
| 75 80 86 Sausapor (Je) | | | | | |
| 78 76 82 89 Kwoor (Tat) | | | | | |
| 77 74 82 86 93 Wau (Tat) | | | | | |

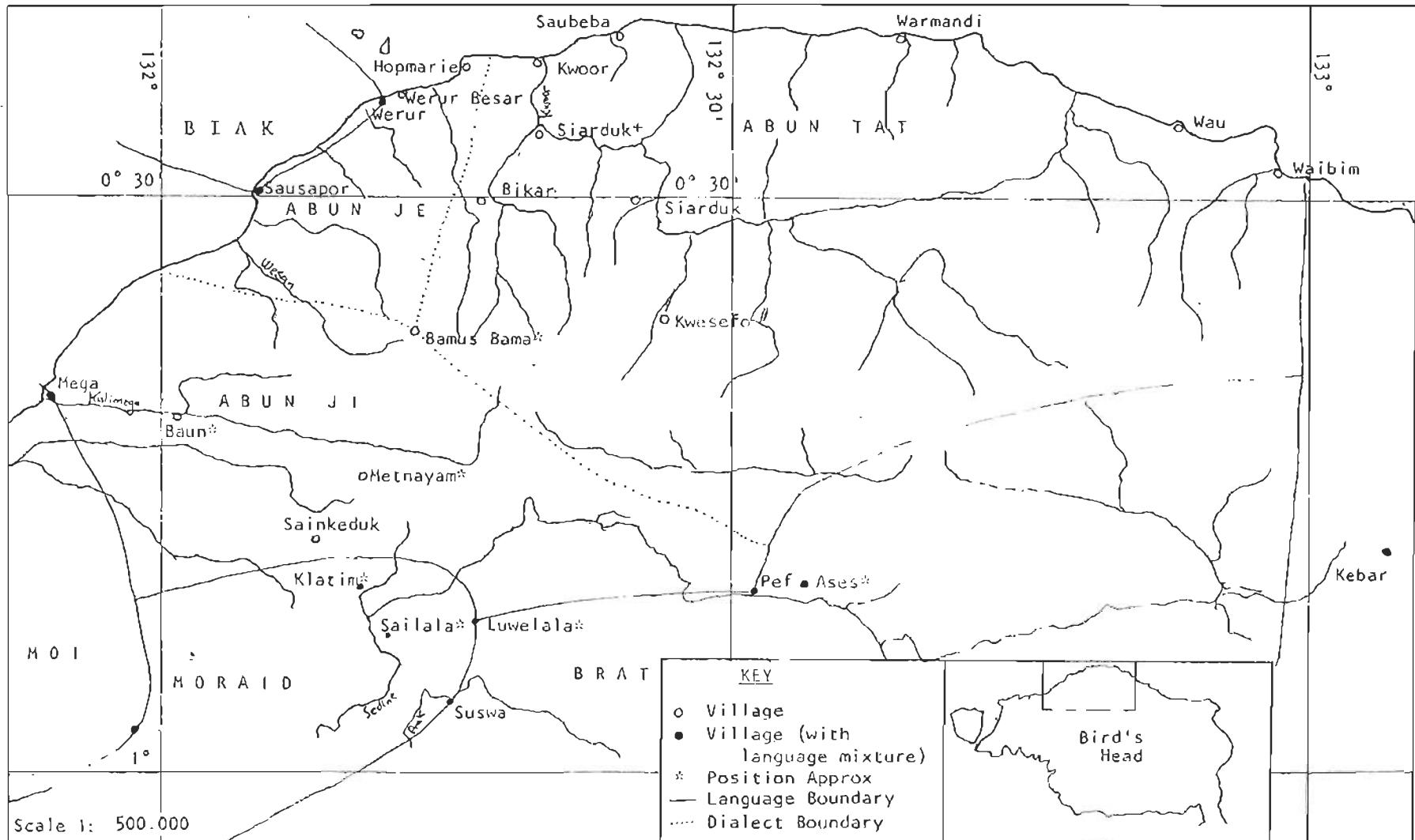
Overall three dialects were reported, namely Abun Ji, Abun Je and Abun Tat. Ji, Je and Tat are all words for the first person singular. Ji and Je merge together and then further east Je and Tat merge. (See the map next page) Most, if not all, speakers understand the differences between their dialect and the others. The Je dialect seems to be the least important. Informants both in Sausapor and Kwoor also gave an indication as to which dialect was preferred. They agreed that Abun in Sausapor was kasar 'coarse', while in Kwoor and eastwards it is halus 'refined'. That is, Abun Tat is considered as the more prestigious dialect. Comments in Mega were not forthcoming in this regard.

The Ji dialect has one consistent phonetic difference with Je and Tat. Ji uses a lateral /l/ where Je and Tat use a trilled /ɻ/. For example,

| Ji | Je/Tat | |
|--------------|---------------|----------|
| sul | sur | 'water' |
| <u>b</u> lip | <u>b</u> rip | 'tongue' |
| <u>lan</u> | <u>bi</u> ran | 'a fly' |

All dialects have at least two tones and also the dialects are, as expected, grammatically similar as discussed above.

From all reports the Yenden are the most culturally intact of all those surveyed. Originally they were nomadic, living in hamlets of one or two houses scattered over the slopes of the Tamru Ranges. Recently many have moved to the coast, but there is still 20% or more in the interior. Those in the interior still practice an animistic religion which includes training for adolescent boys for about one year in a special house and location away from everyone else. Also in the interior it is reported that cultural dances are frequent whereas on the coast they are about 2 - 5 times a year. Women are said to eat a particular type of leaf if they do not want to bear any more children. They do not like having more than 2 or 3 children. A type of cloth called kain timor is used in paying bride price.



Map 9 - Abun Language Map

+ Siarduk is being relocated closer to Kwoor.

// Kwesefo people are moving to Kwoor.

6. OTHER LANGUAGES IN THE WEST BIRD'S HEAD

6.1 AS. This language is found in the villages of Asbakin, Maklaumkarta and in Mega on the north coast. There are about 250 speakers (see appendix C). It is said to originate from Gag Island just west of Waigeo Island. After checking word lists in Wallace (1869) we discovered that As is more than 60% cognate with some languages on Misool Island. The As people have all become bilingual in Moi and Indonesian. Its main centre is in Asbakin.

6.2 BIAK. There are about 1,000 Biak speakers (see appendix C) in the Abun area. They have been there for many generations. Specifically they are in Sausapor (about half of the village) and in Werur Kecil (a Biak village). They are more fluent in Indonesian than the Abun speakers.

6.3 ESARO. There are about 100 Esaro (or Sailen) speakers who live in Duriankari on the south eastern tip of Salawati Island. It was reported that only the old people know the language and it was felt that it is nearing extinction. In the 1950's an American evangelist came through the area and made a record of sermons in the language and provided a grammophone for them to play it.

6.4 TRANSMIGRATION. The government transmigration program has changed the composition of the population in the Bird's Head. How this will affect the language picture is uncertain. The main area is shown in the map above. There are plans to open settlements in all areas of the Sorong district.

7. CONCLUSION

7.1 REVISED LANGUAGE PICTURE. The survey results generally confirm previous analysis of the area. Our analysis adds the following:

1. A subdivision in the West Bird's Head Stock between Moi/Seget and Moraid/Kalabra/Tehit.
2. Madik and Karon Pantai are one language. The people are called Yenden and the language name is Abun and it has three dialects.
3. There is dialect chaining in the dialects of Tehit surveyed. These come closer and closer to Kalabra.
4. The area of the Seger language should include Segun Bay.
5. Esaro and As have not been previously mentioned as being in the area to our knowledge.
6. The concentration of Biak speakers in Sausapor and Werur has been marked on the map.

7.2 GENERAL LANGUAGE VITALITY. Without a systematic objective type of test it is difficult to make conclusions about the vitality of each language. We have to rely on our observations (which were limited) and on what was reported to us. On the whole it is true to say that the degree of use of Indonesian correlates to the degree of education available, their proximity to the larger urban centres (Sorong and Teminabuan) and the group's attitude towards economic and social change. The sense of identity that their language gives is also a significant factor. Those groups we observed or were reported to have strong language use were Abun, Moraid, Kalabra, Tehit (particularly in the mountains) and Moi (in the interior). For most of these access is only by foot or boat, schools have only recently been opened and there has been little social and economic intercourse with Indonesians from other provinces.

7.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH. Further investigation is needed in the following areas:

1. To establish the lexical relationships between all the Tehit dialects and whether Kalabra is actually linked by a long dialect chain to Tehit.
2. To establish whether there is a third dialect of Kalabra at Wilti and what its relationship is to Tehit dialects.
3. To establish whether Moraid has two dialects as suggested.
4. To obtain a word list of Esaro and classify it.
5. The Moi information is deficient, in particular there is a lack of information about those who live in kecamatan Salawati (which includes part of the mainland). Population figures and dialects in this area are not known.

NOTES

1. We would like to acknowledge the assistance of many people and organisations. UNCEN-SIL made the survey possible with appropriate letters and funds. Others provided assistance along the way: government officials at each point including the Bupati at Sorong, Camats at Sorong, Mega and Sausapor and their assistants at Wanurian and Makbon; the guides (Nixon Klasman and Cornelius Mambrasar); the taxi and boat drivers : and most importantly all the native speakers who were so willing to help. Finally we are grateful for assistance in preparing this paper given by Dr. Peter Silzer and Dr. Larry Jones.
2. Voorhoeve (1975a:49) includes Amberbaken and Borai-Hattam as stocks of the West papuan Phylum. A consideration of these is beyond the scope of this paper.
3. If a system of prefixes is no longer in use for Abun then it is not surprising that no system of prefixes was found for possessives in Abun.
4. This data contrasts with that of Flassy and Stokhof 1979: 74 for Tehit.

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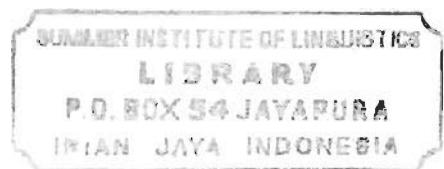
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APPENDIX - A

Cognate Percentages and Vocabulary Size

The following information was taken from the word lists gathered. The left hand figures are the percentages when about 90 of the Swadesh 100 word list words are compared. The other figures are from the comparison of about 170-200 words.

Moraid

| | | |
|----|----|--------------------------|
| 59 | 57 | Kalabra (Wanurian) |
| 60 | 54 | 84 78 Kalabra (Buk) |
| 43 | 39 | 64 60 69 68 Salmit |
| 44 | 37 | 59 51 60 54 81 76 Sawiat |

These results show that on average the differences are of the about 5%, supporting our contention that percentages are lower than when a bigger list than the Swadesh 100 is used.

APPENDIX - B

Word Lists Taken

Each word list was taken in the village where the language is spoken unless the 'Where Taken' column is filled in.

| Language | Village | Where Taken | Date | Reliability | Linguist |
|----------|-----------------------|-------------|---------|-------------|-----------|
| Moi | Maklaumkarta | Abepura | 22.3.86 | G | K. Berry |
| | Rufei | | 1.6.86 | VG | K. Berry |
| | Makbon | | 10.6.86 | VG | K. Berry |
| Seget | Seget | Sorong | 31.5.86 | G | K. Berry |
| Moraid | Sailala | Mega | 7.6.86 | VG | K. Berry |
| Kalabra | Wanurian | Klamono | 4.6.86 | VG | K. Berry |
| | Buk | Abepura | 13.3.86 | VG | K. Berry |
| Tehit | Indiwi | Buk | 3.6.86 | G | K. Berry |
| | Sasanek | | 27.2.86 | VG | K. Berry |
| | Kaibus | | 27.2.86 | G | K. Berry |
| Brat | Waigo | | 4.10.85 | G | B. Brown |
| Mare | Pef (partial) | | 5.11.85 | G | ? |
| Abun | Mega | Abepura | 22.3.86 | F | K. Berry |
| | Metnayam/Mega | | 8.6.86 | VG | C. Berry |
| | Warmandi | Sentani | 20.3.86 | F | A. Sumbay |
| | Sausapor | | 8.6.86 | VG | K. Berry |
| | Kwoor | | 9.6.86 | VG | K. Berry |
| | Werut Besar (partial) | | 10.6.86 | VG | K. Berry |
| As | Sosian | | 20.7.85 | G | J. Brown |
| | Mega | | 8.6.86 | G | C. Berry |

APPENDIX - C

Village and Population Lists

Many of the following figures are not as accurate as we would like. Where possible the source of the figures is from the village leaders (these are 1986 figures). Others come from the Statistics Office in Jayapura which are mostly 1985 figures. A third source was estimates by informants. In the last case we have put a ? after them. Where the Composition column is blank it means that just about all of the people in that village speak the vernacular. The estimated number of speakers has been rounded and an allowance for government employees from other areas has generally been made. Village names in capitals indicates a municipal centre (desa); lower case indicates a regular village (kampung).

| Language Dialect | | Village | Est. Speakers |
|------------------|------------|------------------|-----------------|
| | Name | Composition | Pop |
| Seget | Seget | 50% others | 1,000 |
| | Malabam | | 200 |
| | Duriankari | Salawati, Esaro | 400 |
| | | Inanwatan | |
| | Yauw | SEGUN | 450 |
| | | Waimon | 125 |
| | | | <u>100</u> |
| | | | <u>500</u> |
| | | | <u>1,200</u> |
| Moi | Amber | MAKBON | |
| | Asli or | Malauukarta | As (5 families) |
| | Besar | Batu Lubang | 1,171 |
| | | ASBAKIN | 496 |
| | | MALANU | 1,098 |
| | | KLASAMAN | Indonesians |
| | | AIMAS | 2,316 |
| | Klasa | KLAMONO | 984 |
| | | MEGA | 500 ? |
| | | 30% Abun, 10% As | 3,400 |
| | | and others | |
| Kelim | | DELA | 1,363 |
| | | SAYOSA | 395 |
| | | Maladofok | 380 |
| | | 35% Moraid, | <u>300</u> |
| | | 30% Kalabra | 100 |
| | | KLAYILI | 100 |
| | | | <u>250</u> |
| | | | <u>450</u> |
| | | | <u>4,600</u> |
| Kalabra | Buk | BUK | 474 |
| | | Wilti | 450 |
| | | Indiwi | 321 |
| | | 75% Tehit | 300 |
| | Wanurian | WANURIAN | 420 |
| | | | <u>100</u> |
| | | 640 | 850 |
| | | Tarsa | 500 |
| | | Disfra | 240 |
| | | Maladofok | 200 |
| | | 35% Moraid and | 200 |
| | | 35% Moi | |
| Mixture | KLAMONO | Moi, Indonesian | 300 |
| | | | <u>1,000</u> |
| | | | <u>300</u> |
| | | | <u>2,100</u> |

WEST BIRD'S HEAD SURVEY

59

| <u>Language Dialect</u> | | <u>Village</u> | | <u>Est. Speakers</u> | |
|-------------------------|--------|---|--|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| | Name | Composition | Pop. | | |
| Moraid | 1 | SAYOSA Saluk Maladofok | 25% Moi 160 35% Moi and 30% Kalabra | 380 160 300 | 280 150 100 |
| | 2 | SAILALA Klatim Luwelala | 5% Abun 140 50% Abun and 30% Mare | 280 140 160 | 270 140 20 |
| | ? | SUSWA | 80% Mare and 15% Abun | 382 | 20 |
| | | | | | 20 |
| | | | | | 1,000 |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Abun | Tat | KWOOR Siarduk Kwesefo Saubeba WAU Warmandi Waibim | | 821 | 800 |
| | Je | SAUSAPOR Bikar Werur Besar Hopmarie | 50% Biak | 1,000 50 200 100 | 200 400 50 200 |
| | Ji | PEF Bamus Bama Baun MEGA | 85% Mare | 415 250 125 838 | 50 250 125 200 |
| | | METNAYAM Sainkeduk SAILALA Luwelala | 60% Moi and 10% other (incl As) | 381 280 160 | 350 10 80 |
| | | SUSWA | 95% Moraid | 382 | 50 |
| | | Sosian | 30% Mare and 20% Moraid | ? | 1,150 |
| | | Temel | 80% Mare and 5% Moraid | ? | ? |
| | | | | | ? |
| | | | | | 2,900 |
| | | | | | |
| Tehit | Pantai | KAIBUS KOHOIN | Other Indonesians | 2,605 2,358 | 2,000 ? 1,600 ? |
| | Sawiat | SAWIAT | | 1,458 | 3,600 1,400 |
| | | PASIR PUTIH | | 787 | 700 |
| | | MANGROHOLO | | 625 | 600 |
| | Salmit | Indiwi | 25% Kalabra | 420 | 2,700 300 |
| | ? | Klabot | | 117 | 400 100 |
| | | SEREMUK | | 802 | 800 |
| | | WERSAR | | 807 | 800 |
| | | HAHA | | 551 | 500 |
| | | | | | 2,100 |
| | | | | | 8,800 |

| <u>Language Dialect</u> | <u>Village</u> | | | <u>Est. Speakers</u> | |
|-------------------------|----------------|-------------|-------|----------------------|--------------|
| | Name | Composition | Pop. | | |
| As | ASBAKIN | 70% Moi | 496 | 160 | |
| | Malaumkarta | | ? | 80 | |
| | MEGA | 60% Moi and | 838 | 60 | 300 |
| | | | | | <u>300</u> |
| Biak | SAUSAPOR | 50% Abun | 1,000 | 500 | |
| | WERUR | | 450 | 450 | |
| | WAU | 90% Abun | 239 | 20 | 1,000 |
| | | | | | <u>1,000</u> |

APPENDIX - D

Cassettes Published in West Bird's Head Languages

The following languages have a cassette published in their language. It may be sermons or it may be explanations that accompany a picture book, such as Kabar Baik.

Karon Pantai (Abun Tat)
Madik (Abun Ji)
Moraid
Kalabra
Moi
Karon Dori (Mare)
Bira (Inanwatan)

These are published by Lembaga Rekaman Injil, Jl. Marjuk 20, Bandung.

APPENDIX - E

Comparative Word Lists

The lists below represent a close approximation of phonic shape of the each word. We have used ' for a glottal stop, ng for the velar nasal, f for both voiceless bilabial and labio-dental fricatives, b for both voiced bilabial and labio-dental fricatives, sh for alveo-palatal fricatives, j for dz and c for ts.

The semantic scope of many words has been limited for greater consistency. For example wet (sand) means the meaning of wet is limited only to wet sand.

The word lists are presented in the following sections and alphabetically within each section.

| Nouns | Word Number |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Body Parts | 1 - 23 |
| Animate | 24 - 45 |
| Inanimate | 46 - 82 |
| Pronouns | 83 - 87 |
| Modifiers | |
| Numerals | 88 - 97 |
| Colours | 98 - 102 |
| Other | 103 - 137 |
| Verbs | 138 - 185 |
| Interrogatives | 186 - 187 |
| Locatives | 188 - 195 |

NOUNS**Body Parts**

| English | 1. abdomen | 2. back | 3. blood | 4. body hair |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Indonesian | perut | punggung | darah | bulu badan |
| Seget | kwei | kakudus | sedam | karagun |
| Moi | lan | hirbu | sedam | kesik gin |
| Moraid | seni | kelebu | hē | die |
| Kalabra | gasin | samkut | hen | dien |
| Salmit | okomat | samagut | hen | dien |
| Sawiat | komat | - | hen | gin |
| Tehijit | tomat | - | hen | gen |
| Abun Ji | yun | degulit | ndi' | engor |
| Abun Tat | on | ndaran | de | mgo |
| As | kenipu | ntau | lamash | pani pulu |

| English | 5. bone | 6. breast | 7. ear | 8. elbow |
|-------------------|----------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | tulang | susu | telinga | siku |
| Seget | dus | su | tukut | glen |
| Moi | kudus | su | toba' | nin sasi |
| Moraid | kodo | su | tepe | nisie |
| Kalabra | kudus | syo | difitlas | siya |
| Salmit | godis | sio | devit | asia |
| Sawiat | kodois | sho | teivit | naisha |
| Tehijit | honi | sho | kedebit | naishum |
| Abun Ji | dini | sus | tenabe | sim bi |
| Abun Tat | dini | sus | medabe | shim rit |
| As | tau | sus | tana | pa nemu |

| English | 9. eye | 10. finger | 11. hair (head) | 12. hand |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | mata | jari | rambut | tangan |
| Seget | si | cek dula | enselas | cek lam |
| Moi | suwo | nin towo | sagin | nin |
| Moraid | sobo | nitabo | sadi | defo |
| Kalabra | sifogo | min | sadien | defo |
| Salmit | sivun | min | sadin | latovo |
| Sawiat | sifun | tofo | sagen | - |
| Tehijit | sevun | nah kelili | sagen | nam |
| Abun Ji | lu' | supwa | sugwo | sim gan |
| Abun Tat | gero | shuku | sugo | shim |
| As | apu | mpaku | tupis | ampa |

| English | 13. head | 14. heart | 15. leg/foot | 16. meat/flesh |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Indonesian | kepala | jantung | kaki | daging |
| Seget | sadus | bok | cek agete | kam |
| Moi | safa | kasi | elik | kem |
| Moraid | sapa | kas | re | ke' |
| Kalabra | safas | kas | drit | fogut |
| Salmit | safas | gas | deip | fogot |
| Sawiat | safakus | aso | teit | fokot |
| Tehijit | sa | aso | deit | uwani |
| Abun Ji | esu | wabom | gwis | ku |
| Abun Tat | su | wabom | gwes | ku |
| As | tu | ako | gete | nwoana |

| English | 17. mouth | 18. nail (finger) | 19. neck | 20. nose |
|----------------|------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | mulut | kuku | leher | hidung |
| Seget | gif | cek kedefes | modu | ta' |
| Moi | gik | nin kidi | makudu | laba |
| Moraid | di | niki | mabu | drewan |
| Kalabra | defalk | gid | mak | drawad |
| Salmit | diakfalak | gidis | dioro | daweidi |
| Sawiat | get | kedi | duor | tawadu |
| Tehijit | get | - | goro | du |
| Abun Ji | asyo | ksupdis | sidim | wimbu |
| Abun Tat | sukwet | shuka bris | shidem | wim |
| As | lu | - | kaba | camu |

| English | 21. skin | 22. teeth | 23. tongue |
|----------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Indonesian | kulit | gigi | lidah |
| Seget | shek | gifek | dal |
| Moi | kesik | efek | adin |
| Moraid | pal | he | ad |
| Kalabra | falk | tela | men |
| Salmit | falak | intala | main |
| Sawiat | falek | hek | adel |
| Tehijit | falat | hek | kemal |
| Abun Ji | ida | syus | lip |
| Abun Tat | nda | shos | brip |
| As | nyanyi | lis | nareh |

Animate Nouns

| English | 24. bird | 25. cassowary | 26. child | 27. dog |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Indonesian | burung | kasuari | anak | anjing |
| Seget | klem | kable | mam | afu |
| Moi | kelem | bele | miye | ufun |
| Moraid | keli | mebo | odrebo | hō |
| Kalabra | klen | simat | tremia | hun |
| Salmit | kalen | simiat | dfevet | magan |
| Sawiat | kalen | simut | tefewet | hoin, mekan |
| Tehijit | kelein | simat | weit | megan |
| Abun Ji | ndam | nwamcol | fa | ndal |
| Abun Tat | ndam | - | pa | ndar |
| As | mani | manikwa | anuwe | mo |

| English | 28. father | 29. female | 30. fish | 31. fly |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Indonesian | bapak | perempuan | ikan | lalat |
| Seget | mamam | narigi | mongkla | mlit |
| Moi | mun | nelagi | umun | buluk |
| Moraid | nema | nurid | karuwa | sebar |
| Kalabra | ton | rid | armpiet | blit |
| Salmit | tono | nadli | erpait | bilit |
| Sawiat | tono | nadali | eren | sebar |
| Tehijit | tono | nangi | eren | mblit |
| Abun Ji | ai | nggan | wo | lan |
| Abun Tat | ai | nggon | boge | ran |
| As | mam | mobi | dun | yinang |

| English | 32. husband | 33. leech | 34. louse | 35. male |
|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | suami | lintah | kutu | laki-laki |
| Seget | manla | kwan | ut | nanla |
| Moi | delah | yuk | saiyam | nedela |
| Moraid | nabeli | dyu' | o | nudeli |
| Kalabra | mableio | jok | on | dele |
| Salmit | mabli | towan | hain | nadla |
| Sawiat | osimurian | - | - | nadala |
| Tehijit | mesemah | - | - | nandelah |
| Abun Ji | bije | skat | bedim | yekendik |
| Abun Tat | bia | skat | mim | yebris |
| As | ambi | yu | u | moman |

| English | 36. mosquito | 37. mother | 38. person | 39. pig |
|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Indonesian | nyamuk | ibu | orang | babi |
| Seget | gonof | mamen | nalaka | mon |
| Moi | bonos | teme | ne | baiik |
| Moraid | wo | nemi | nu | mbe |
| Kalabra | sinas | teme | no, notuhu | mekruk |
| Salmit | sinas | table | na | korik |
| Sawiat | ohus, sinas | teme | natoin | korik |
| Tehijit | keforin | teme | nadakoin | korik |
| Abun Ji | sungur | aut | kadik | nok |
| Abun Tat | sunggu | ami | yetu | nok |
| As | dawe | nen | mi | mo |

| English | 40. rat | 41. snake | 42. tail | 43. wife |
|----------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | tikus | ular | ekor | isteri |
| Seget | kola | waiyin | ywian | muarigi |
| Moi | mais, mofon | ubun | pien | lagi |
| Moraid | megi | luwie | peiya | tabeli |
| Kalabra | kus | luwa | fokales | mwasimian |
| Salmit | donsris | kelik | mgales | nadli |
| Sawiat | seris | luwa | mekales | osimurian |
| Tehijit | seris | kelik | mekain | mesemah |
| Abun Ji | segap | wis | ngo | bingon |
| Abun Tat | gap | kwis | nyo | bingon |
| As | antaki | kok | telamu | bi |

| English | 44. wing | 45. worm |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | sayap | cacing (tanah) |
| Seget | nulu | lit |
| Moi | puluh | lok |
| Moraid | bulu | hne |
| Kalabra | pelu | henet |
| Salmit | mul | hnait |
| Sawiat | - | hanait |
| Tehijit | - | henai |
| Abun Ji | ngami | sembal |
| Abun Tat | i | shumbar |
| As | nfayar | gili |

Inanimate Nouns

| English | 46. banana | 47. branch | 48. cloud | 49. egg |
|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Indonesian | pisang | cabang | awan | telur |
| Seget | kamuk | nelama | inegem | nevi |
| Moi | o | okma | mandek | tolok |
| Moraid | ku | masa | seneha | boho |
| Kalabra | ko | fsama | sun | pogo |
| Salmit | odi | nsadiatan | sawin | mesin |
| Sawiat | ogum | segatan | yik | mfokok |
| Tehijit | ogung | - | ik | mesen |
| Abun Ji | weo | wiguk | nyontem | bim |
| Abun Tat | weo | kwa | nyotem | bem |
| As | fun | libide | wonilas | talo |

| English | 50. fire | 51. fog | 52. fruit | 53. garden |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Indonesian | api | kabut | buah | kebun |
| Seget | yap | sagow | neka | korkwa |
| Moi | yak | wum | ali | kisik |
| Moraid | sal | ð | pega | dita |
| Kalabra | sal | sun | fiun | dotia |
| Salmit | sal | saul | mgan | biele |
| Sawiat | sala | - | makan | bileh |
| Tehijit | salam | - | makan | bilih |
| Abun Ji | but | duk | bu | be |
| Abun Tat | bot | duk | bo | nggwei |
| As | yap | temo | nepu | mim |

| English | 54. grass | 55. house | 56. jungle | 57. leaf |
|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | alang-alang | rumah | hutan | daun |
| Seget | - | saba | bwalo | nelas |
| Moi | senan lunu | keiik | malakilim | oklas |
| Moraid | - | kei | teli | pela |
| Kalabra | sawija | keit | sabra | las |
| Salmit | - | bol | sabra | nwelis |
| Sawiat | - | boło | - | las |
| Tehijit | - | mbol | - | melas |
| Abun Ji | is | nu | wimoke | kweinat |
| Abun Tat | un | nu | nden | nat |
| As | sarois | um | dam | nyanyu |

| English | 58. lightning | 59. moon | 60. mountain | 61. name |
|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | kilat | bulan | gunung | nama |
| Seget | lelek | wet | melasa | numu |
| Moi | lek | sena | mil | kedi |
| Moraid | el | wu | seba | nagadi |
| Kalabra | elk | mok | mela | nekadi |
| Salmit | felak | mok | mela | teked |
| Sawiat | felek | mok | sefa | nekeidi |
| Tehijit | - | senau | sofa | nakendi |
| Abun Ji | nowan | ena | buk | begun |
| Abun Tat | nowar | aiina | banbo | gum |
| As | aleo | pai | il | amkase |

| English | 62. night | 63. path | 64. rain | 65. roof |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | malam | jalan | hujan | atap |
| Seget | in | waren | unias | kate |
| Moi | leim | wo | u | kali |
| Moraid | tedol | wahalwulo | keji | dier |
| Kalabra | tedon | walhu | kegen | dier |
| Salmit | amuk | fanfele | pegien | kada |
| Sawiat | amuk | - | kaiyin | kate |
| Tehijit | amuk | ven | tohoin | hadi |
| Abun Ji | naro | us | ngobok | wan |
| Abun Tat | voru | os | nogi' | wan |
| As | up | adin | mai | tetes |

| English | 66. rope | 67. salt | 68. sand | 69. sea |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Indonesian | tali | garam | pasir | laut |
| Seget | kwi | gasi | kajabu | alegap |
| Moi | ki | gasi | baiin | tasik |
| Moraid | mo | gas | be | tes |
| Kalabra | mus | belen, kesern | paser | - |
| Salmit | amis | beleng seren | adiabi | adar |
| Sawiat | - | sira | kinti | seramuk |
| Tehijit | - | mblen | keinji | seiwan |
| Abun Ji | dyam | gasi | yin | sem |
| Abun Tat | jamtu | bok | jen | rut |
| As | wani | gasi, mashimpo | in | masi |

| English | 70. seed | 71. sky | 72. smoke | 73. soil/earth |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| Indonesian | biji | langit | asap | tanah |
| Seget | neun | inegem | nusugwan | sungge |
| Moi | pun | yuk | yasun | eges |
| Moraid | bū | yu | salmbu | bi' |
| Kalabra | fiun | jik | salbi | bet |
| Salmit | fun | dyik | salfi | bet |
| Sawiat | - | - | salbi | bet |
| Tehijit | - | - | mbi | mbet |
| Abun Ji | mlak | gu | botbuk | bul |
| Abun Tat | gero | gu | botbo | bur |
| As | nepu | langit | kapyas | gu |

| English | 74. star | 75. stone | 76. stick | 77. sun |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Indonesian | bintang | batu | tongkat | matahari |
| Seget | ton | kwat | tompe | tale |
| Moi | tuwon | kobak | tus | dive |
| Moraid | tū | am | tiji | til |
| Kalabra | twon | am'k | tegen | tilbia , |
| Salmit | tewon | amak | tiyen | telimedit |
| Sawiat | - . | udrin | deyen. | tali |
| Tehijit | - | amak | tiwen | tali |
| Abun Ji | bi | duk | kan | kam |
| Abun Tat | bi | jok | kwepu | kam |
| As | taun | pa | tush | nan |

| English | 78. thorn | 79. thunder | 80. tree | 81. water |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Indonesian | duri | guntur | pohon/kayu | air |
| Seget | nekenik | rugu | bwa | kala |
| Moi | okginik | lugu | ok | kala |
| Moraid | pedin | godru | ko | kala |
| Kalabra | dinik | rdiho | kut | kala |
| Salmit | dinik | erdi | mol | kala |
| Sawiat | - | erdi | wokoit | kala |
| Tehijit | - | - | wohoik | sei |
| Abun Ji | dyak | notuduk | pwi | syul |
| Abun Tat | jak | nogu | kwe | sur |
| As | nyala | aro | a | we |

| English | 82. wind |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | angin |
| Seget | neha |
| Moi | wo |
| Moraid | wōhō |
| Kalabra | kemun |
| Salmit | komin |
| Sawiat | kolmin |
| Tehijit | foron |
| Abun Ji | nabuk |
| Abun Tat | nofuf |
| As | wo |

PRONOUNS

| English | 83. I | 84. you (s) | 85. he/she | 86. we |
|----------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| Indonesian | saya | kamu | dia | kita |
| Seget | tit | nan | gau | wau |
| Moi | tit | nin | nin | mam, pap |
| Moraid | tet | nan | nen, o | pap |
| Kalabira | tit | nan | nin | mam |
| Salmit | tet | nan | nen | - |
| Sawiat | tet | - | wo | mam |
| Tehijit | tet | - | wo | - |
| Abun Ji | ji | nan | nan | men |
| Abun Tat | tat | nan | an | men |
| As | ane | awa | awa | kine |

| English | 87. they |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | mereka |

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| Seget | gai |
| Moi | neiye |
| Moraid | pap kadoa |
| Kalabira | meiyei |
| Salmit | nam |
| Sawiat | nam |
| Tehijit | nen |
| Abun Ji | je |
| Abun Tat | an sno |
| As | au fiwe |

MODIFIERS**Numerals**

| English | 88. one | 89. two | 90. three | 91. four |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | satu | dua | tiga | empat |
| Seget | meridis | ali | culu | fat |
| Moi | mele | ali | tuluk | fak |
| Moraid | mere | ala | telo | ha' |
| Kalabira | wmere | lok | tuluk | hat |
| Salmit | mares | laik | tolik | hat |
| Sawiat | umeres | lok | tolik | hat |
| Tehijit | meres | lak | tolik | hat |
| Abun Ji | dik | uwe | gri | at |
| Abun Tat | dik | we | gri | at |
| As | tem | lo | to | faat |

| English | 92. five | 93. six | 94. seven | 95. eight |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| Indonesian | lima | enam | tujuh | delapan |
| Seget | mafot | anim | futu | wolu |
| Moi | mafuk | matnamele | matnanali | matnautuluk |
| Moraid | ma'ha' | mtameri | mtalo | mtatuluk |
| Kalabra | mhöt | ntamere | ntalok | ntadulk' |
| Salmit | mahot | ntamere | ntalak | ntatolik |
| Sawiat | mahot . | ntamere | ntalak | matadolik |
| Tehijit | mahot | ntamere | matanali | manjolik |
| Abun Ji | memek | mukmat | mofit | mosunguk |
| Abun Tat | mek | mat | fit | mungwo |
| As | lim | wanom | fit | wal |

| English | 96. nine | 97. ten |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Indonesian | sembilan | sepuluh |
| Seget | si | utmere |
| Moi | matnanfak | fe |
| Moraid | mtanaha | gihar |
| Kalabra | mtanhac | gihar |
| Salmit | mtanhat | yahar |
| Sawiat | matanhat | yahar |
| Tehijit | manda'hat | yahar |
| Abun Ji | mosi | mosun |
| Abun Tat | musi | mushu |
| As | shin | efeh |

Colours

| English | 98. black | 99. green | 100. red | 101. yellow |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Indonesian | hitam | hijau | merah | kuning |
| Seget | kurum | bera | sedam | fafit |
| Moi | igik | bela | em | wa |
| Moraid | pedu | bera | pe'he' | pelebi |
| Kalabra | fdin | fbera | fhen | frhun |
| Salmit | mudin | ngera | when | meret |
| Sawiat | ogin | mbra | mehen | meri |
| Tehijit | mogin | mbera | mehen | meri |
| Abun Ji | te | skun | el | tli |
| Abun Tat | te | kur | er | kri |
| As | maten | blau | tlami | manis |

English **102. white**
Indonesian putih

| | |
|----------|--------|
| Seget | soko |
| Moi | so |
| Moraid | wesoko |
| Kalabra | felek |
| Salmit | melak |
| Sawiat | melek |
| Tehijit | meleh |
| Abun Ji | kwo |
| Abun Tat | kwo |
| As | bush |

Other Modifiers

| English | 103. all | 104. blunt (stick) | 105. cold (wind) | 106. different |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Indonesian | semua | tumpul | dingin | berbeda |

| | | | | |
|----------|-------------|------------|---------|----------|
| Seget | nendik | takabuk | mulum | osa |
| Moi | nendik | palabatun | wibli | pesah |
| Moraid | itabuadoa | perabutiye | belō | fowa |
| Kalabra | nsiyo kaide | fkedo | ngomon | fwat |
| Salmit | kadiokak | ndabin | nekomin | manombat |
| Sawiat | kaduakat | matdait | komin | - |
| Tehijit | horo | ndambin | komin | - |
| Abun Ji | ok | syun | ndot | seri |
| Abun Tat | - | shu | kedek | tepende |
| As | kubesi | talimka | meje | mishala |

| English | 107. dirty (hands) | 108. dry (grass) | 109. evil (person) | 110. few (stones) |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Indonesian | kotor | kering | jahat | sedikit |

| | | | | |
|----------|--------|-------|--------------|----------|
| Seget | - | okat | madi | ueiam |
| Moi | negbak | tie | bek | hiam |
| Moraid | ndaha | - | seki | yiwalo' |
| Kalabra | ndehan | fdrot | wside, wkrek | worokdet |
| Salmit | dahan | - | meterer | kaiyavet |
| Sawiat | dahan | seloh | uyaka | yuwalak |
| Tehijit | ndahan | mselo | huyaka | kiamerei |
| Abun Ji | dum | gu | mesi | neatgan |
| Abun Tat | dum | ho | mise | wogan |
| As | ladi | me | viga | ekeh |

| English | 111. full (bucket) | 112. good (person) | 113. heavy (stone) | 114. hot (wind) |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Indonesian | penuh | baik | berat | panas |
| Seget | bak | bot | disok | lobok |
| Moi | pofon | wobok | budisof | bolobok |
| Moraid | pōhō | bu | petiye | betaba |
| Kalabra | phon | fbot | ftain | tilbia |
| Salmit | whon | mbot | mitian | ntebat |
| Sawiat | mahon | mbot | seidik | autobat |
| Tehijit | mhon | - | mujan | melin |
| Abun Ji | bwot | ndo | di | kam |
| Abun Tat | ses | ndo | de | kam |
| As | fon | fi | mashon | manis |

| English | 115. large (dog) | 116. long (snake) | 117. many | 118. narrow (path) |
|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| Indonesian | besar | panjang | banyak | sempit |
| Seget | beten | kushek | neban | - |
| Moi | kampele | kawi | nimok | fogok |
| Moraid | pelebu | pelu | isauwa'ha' | feto'ho' |
| Kalabra | blebun | felis | worok | fadiak |
| Salmit | wfele | melis | worok | mo'fodik |
| Sawiat | mfele | melis | worok | - |
| Tehijit | mfle | melis | oro | rodot |
| Abun Ji | ce | bol | - | ngut |
| Abun Tat | shie | shu | mua | nggwot |
| As | kando | kai | wenah | mu |

| English | 119. new (house) | 120. not | 121. old (house) | 122. rotten (fruit) |
|-------------------|---------------------|----------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Indonesian | baru | tidak | lama | busuk |
| Seget | sagu | sede | don | sumu, madam |
| Moi | glibi | dau | ak | panuk |
| Moraid | bi | mede | imaha | mba |
| Kalabra | fifi | - | fhamat | fban |
| Salmit | moivi | medei | whomat | mban |
| Sawiat | mivi | medai | mehamat | - |
| Tehijit | maivi | desere | madrar | - |
| Abun Ji | be | ci | nyin | kwik |
| Abun Tat | be | nde | rok | kwik |
| As | gelau | linga | nam | amok |

| English | 123. same | 124. sharp (stick) | 125. short (snake) | 126. small (dog) |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Indonesian | sama | tajam | pendek | kecil |
| Seget | minisdi | minio | terep | olamyam |
| Moi | pisi | psela | kabiyam | giam |
| Moraid | fehi | beraseli | ramu | hoi |
| Kalabra | sidir | fat | fgateben | fwet |
| Salmit | msidier | ntasala | mgegeben | wasedik, mewet |
| Sawiat | - | tasela | mekaitben | muet |
| Tehijit | - | ndaslah | mutumah | uwet |
| Abun Ji | tepsiyu | ot | koi | gan |
| Abun Tat | - | ot | gon | wok |
| As | mish | tahi | kabu | gerom |

| English | 127. smooth (stone) | 128. sore (leg) | 129. straight (stick) | 130. swollen (leg) |
|----------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Indonesian | licio | sakit | lurus | bengkak |
| Seget | seri | sewe | dolot | tubuh |
| Moi | felefe | tagak | putusu | paging, sobo |
| Moraid | foli | to | potero | tebu |
| Kalabra | fkli | ftot | ftrot | pik |
| Salmit | mokoli | motot | ndrot | nfik |
| Sawiat | medelan | gaini | ntrot | wafak |
| Tehijit | msiuuk | tekanyi | wdrot | makfok |
| Abun Ji | rid | i | ri | gun |
| Abun Tat | krit | i | riroi | gun |
| As | merape | bisi | cemoro | malaba |

| English | 131. that | 132. thick (stick) | 133. thin (stick) | 134. this |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| Indonesian | itu | tebal | tipis | ini |
| Seget | gap | kodomat | lege | kop |
| Moi | anagi | towodo | mene' | kop |
| Moraid | onanafo | pokadeo | kemien | onesfo |
| Kalabra | sodonof | mefakfok | fmen | songgaf |
| Salmit | olefolanko | ndiakfun | men | olesoko |
| Sawiat | koit | megatak | melede | koit |
| Tehijit | - | mekondo | meleingi | - |
| Abun Ji | tetun | nit | ndi | teden |
| Abun Tat | motu | nit | nde | more |
| As | yafire | mitaro | dashish | inere |

| English | 135. truly/well | 136. wet | 137. wide |
|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| | (to speak) | (sand) | (path) |
| Indonesian | benar | basah | lebar |
| Seget | molo | sobam | beten |
| Moi | molo | kubuk | besinin |
| Moraid | bu | psul | kedi' |
| Kalabra | ftrot | fsok | pleibion |
| Salmit | mbot | nsemok | mpele |
| Sawiat | mbot | mesaret | - |
| Tehijit | mehinyo | seret | mfle |
| Abun Ji | sutur | ski | li |
| Abun Tat | sangget | sir | ere' |
| As | malo | malom | melapo |

VERBS

| English | 138. afraid | 139. ashamed | 140. bathe | 141. blow |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Indonesian | takut | malu | mandi | tiup |
| Seget | nalip | shimein | maref | segut |
| Moi | bawalo | maiyan | isili | ulu |
| Moraid | bakalo | main | asali | furut |
| Kalabra | elk | hesfe | betsier | fero |
| Salmit | aliak | hesfe | serik | verio |
| Sawiat | naiyak | hes | serik | heru'up |
| Tehijit | waliet | gele | sere | furio |
| Abun Ji | menyum | ndamen | syup | nyepuk |
| Abun Tat | nyu' | meen | desur | fuf |
| As | imshi | imi | isu | mush |
| English | 142. breathe | 143. come | 144. cough | 145. count |
| Indonesian | bernapas | datang | batuk | hitung |
| Seget | nehen | nama | lon | nof |
| Moi | en | feden | gi | wies |
| Moraid | nebar | nsi' | ndi | naharuwe |
| Kalabra | halia | henhoi | dia | hiruwe |
| Salmit | halie | nam | dihe | aher |
| Sawiat | haite | wo'hok | deiye | aher |
| Tehijit | huliap | naga | - | her |
| Abun Ji | mas | namu | tuk | ndik |
| Abun Tat | mas | namu | tuwu | ne |
| As | nina | cenema | manau | tem |

| English | 146. cry | 147. cut (grass) | 148. die | 149. dig |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | menangis | membabat | mati | gali |
| Seget | ni | fenes | igi | kade |
| Moi | ih | alili | igi | yen |
| Moraid | wi | sah | fid | ka |
| Kalabra | mur | gardian | fid | gak |
| Salmit | owo | - | agak | gak |
| Sawiat | ao | evik | ogok | gak |
| Tehijit | awa | efik | agak | u'hak |
| Abun Ji | owo | syapis | kwok | elow |
| Abun Tat | wo | ser | kwop | rom |
| As | tinish | - | mi | mkim |

| English | 150. dream | 151. drink | 152. eat | 153. fall |
|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Indonesian | mimpi | minum | makan | jatuh |
| Seget | malef | noko | te | tes |
| Moi | usinowo | no | na | holok |
| Moraid | som | noko | na | nti |
| Kalabra | sumuk | at | atkren | nti |
| Salmit | sorok | taka | tat | nti |
| Sawiat | samik | nako | tat | ndi |
| Tehijit | serot | na'o | nat | ndi |
| Abun Ji | seminda | nda | jit | gis |
| Abun Tat | semda' | nda | git | ges |
| As | ingil | inim | i | imdol |

| English | 154. flow (river) | 155. fly (bird) | 156. give | 157. hear |
|----------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Indonesian | mengalir | terbang | memberi | dengar |
| Seget | wasi | kwel | nit | kani |
| Moi | bis | filik | su | wani |
| Moraid | pedo | pehir | hena | win |
| Kalabra | flik | fir | henak | win |
| Salmit | sero | mesen | henap | nos |
| Sawiat | wudolou | - | henak | noso |
| Tehijit | masoro | - | shian | noso |
| Abun Ji | culu | namuk | nesyo | kenatuwa |
| Abun Tat | - | ok | tabi | tayam |
| As | wenish | napo | mbi | ino |

| | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| English | 158. hit | 159. hold | 160. kill | 161. know |
| Indonesian | pukul | pegang | bunuh | tahu |

| | | | | |
|----------|--------|---------|---------|-------|
| Seget | nala | gati | labu | nap |
| Moi | wolok | apti | nu | tek |
| Moraid | bie | abti | lewu | nu |
| Kalabra | bwia | slonti | bwiafid | nok |
| Salmit | mbal | slonti | wadi | nok |
| Sawiat | bau | selonti | - | nok |
| Tehijit | mba | sho | kalen | not |
| Abun Ji | mbwa | njun | ngu | njam |
| Abun Tat | sukwam | ndyom | gu | tayam |
| As | table | misyu | ibun | mun |

| | | | | |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| English | 162. live | 163. play | 164. pull | 165. push |
| Indonesian | hidup | bermain | menarik | mendorong |

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|-------|--------|--------|
| Seget | - | ferin | kulut | sadu |
| Moi | olom | bik | e.i | faiyin |
| Moraid | feru | be' | ki | skaiyu |
| Kalabra | fron | bet | kiliel | dik |
| Salmit | muli | bait | gei | godim |
| Sawiat | oron | bait | gen | - |
| Tehijit | moron | mbait | koin | - |
| Abun Ji | bau | yekum | tik | ndun |
| Abun Tat | bau | komo | tik | sutak |
| As | mwane | mbi | masala | guru |

| | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------------|
| English | 166. rub | 167. see | 168. seek | 169. scratch |
| Indonesian | menggosok | lihat | cari | garuk |

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|--------|----------|-------|
| Seget | sadi | folok | atung | gef |
| Moi | idi | owo | feles | igi |
| Moraid | ru | le | bakole | dik |
| Kalabra | - | semut | griwe | fdlik |
| Salmit | jian | sdimit | geriwai | dip |
| Sawiat | yan | hot | dihara | git |
| Tehijit | uwan | snot | hengi | gik |
| Abun Ji | nalur | name | naiculit | sya |
| Abun Tat | es | me | seret | bro |
| As | debi | idu | idufu | ika |

| English | 170. shoot (pig) | 171. sing | 172. sit | 173. sleep |
|----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Indonesian | memanah | menyanyi | duduk | tidur |
| Seget | fan | nulan | lomate | no |
| Moi | fan | kalinkala | olom | u |
| Moraid | fa | elmenani | sier | no |
| Kalabra | han | - | ser | nolek |
| Salmit | hanan | baren | lili | nas |
| Sawiat | hanah | serar | leili | nase |
| Tehijit | sinan | woloni ^h | leli | nase |
| Abun Ji | - | nenesuk | keja | eridah |
| Abun Tat | kunus | kos | kem | sem |
| As | - | umu | ba | menek |

| English | 174. speak | 175. spit | 176. split (wood) | 177. stab |
|----------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| Indonesian | bicara | meludah | membelah | tikam |
| Seget | - | kapte | arguk | nyat |
| Moi | mena | kusu | alfes | kalak |
| Moraid | sawakodre | doholie | nauteolah | neska |
| Kalabra | sir | difla | gafla | sega |
| Salmit | sadir | gofiliak | nalafalan | sgal |
| Sawiat | sadia | kadvi | - | segau |
| Tehijit | sanggir | gavijei | - | segah |
| Abun Ji | itamsuk | eskut | petui | ngat |
| Abun Tat | gesuk | skut | pet | gat |
| As | fia | kapi | - | ti |

| English | 178. stand | 179. stink | 180. suck | 181. throw (stone) |
|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| Indonesian | berdiri | berbau | isap | melempar |
| Seget | nagu | sumu | fadaf | nyat |
| Moi | suwon | pamuk | na, no | kelak |
| Moraid | helol | werno | na | gala |
| Kalabra | goro | fbantrie | nat | kelat |
| Salmit | goro | merunun | tat | gelat |
| Sawiat | koro | - | lolok | - |
| Tehijit | ngoro | - | so'on | - |
| Abun Ji | ti | basinim | ndise | am |
| Abun Tat | ti | kwik | tik | am |
| As | iso | amok | iasku | mti |

| English | 182. tie (rope) | 183. vomit | 184. walk | 185. wash (clothes) |
|----------------|----------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| Indonesian | mengikat | muntah | berjalan | mencuci |
| Seget | kugwa | loko | mu | bus, bam |
| Moi | sati | do | mu | suwo, ban |
| Moraid | ke | drie | nom | suwa |
| Kalabra | ket | dria | num | bis |
| Salmit | gait | dafidiak | tain | bacer |
| Sawiat | - | fetiak | nain | bashiar |
| Tehijit | - | vijek | nain | uwari |
| Abun Ji | yembut | mengwi | namu | menbansan |
| Abun Tat | far | kwi' | namu | mus |
| As | kali | inu | shem | sho |

INTERROGATIVES

| English | 186. what | 187. who |
|----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | apa | siapa |
| Seget | timiniwo | namenniwo |
| Moi | kamsaaba | nemsauwa |
| Moraid | kremoko | umho'moko |
| Kalabra | kreimangkaf | nomangkau |
| Salmit | niwitmo | namanen |
| Sawiat | nemitwo | nashiwoho |
| Tehijit | wetwa | shioma |
| Abun Ji | sumano | yuntomei |
| Abun Tat | sumane | yetone |
| As | mato | mimato |

LOCATIVES

| English | 188. at | 189. far | 190. in front | 191. inside |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Indonesian | di | jauh | di depan | di dalam |
| Seget | - | wabis | mata | weren |
| Moi | - | beis | pelabak | nunop |
| Moraid | - | welu | fera | pabero |
| Kalabra | fafoi | holo | tohofe | fekales |
| Salmit | maksui | melis | malgin | babri |
| Sawiat | - | melis | - | - |
| Tehijit | - | mulis | - | - |
| Abun Ji | motun | toku | git | mit |
| Abun Tat | - | shu | shio | mit |
| As | um | ilau | umta | umnulum |

| English | 192. left side | 193. near | 194. outside | 195. right side |
|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Indonesian | kiri | dekat | di luar | kanan |
| Seget | anawer | wodakafet | gule | ananeka |
| Moi | ankade | padawok | leiyop | ankalak |
| Moraid | niuwe | patap | batali | nitoko |
| Kalabtra | newet | nadefe | babri | netugu |
| Salmit | naweit | madeve | nsetelin | natokoin |
| Sawiat | fanawait | matarin | - | fanatoin |
| Tehijit | tenahweit | matarin | - | tenahte'hun |
| Abun Ji | sim jam | alu | monjot | sim je |
| Abun Tat | sim jam | karo | denden | sim ge |
| As | palpe | galis | umili | palfi |

A SURVEY OF THE SOUTH BIRD'S HEAD STOCK

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- A - Word Lists Taken
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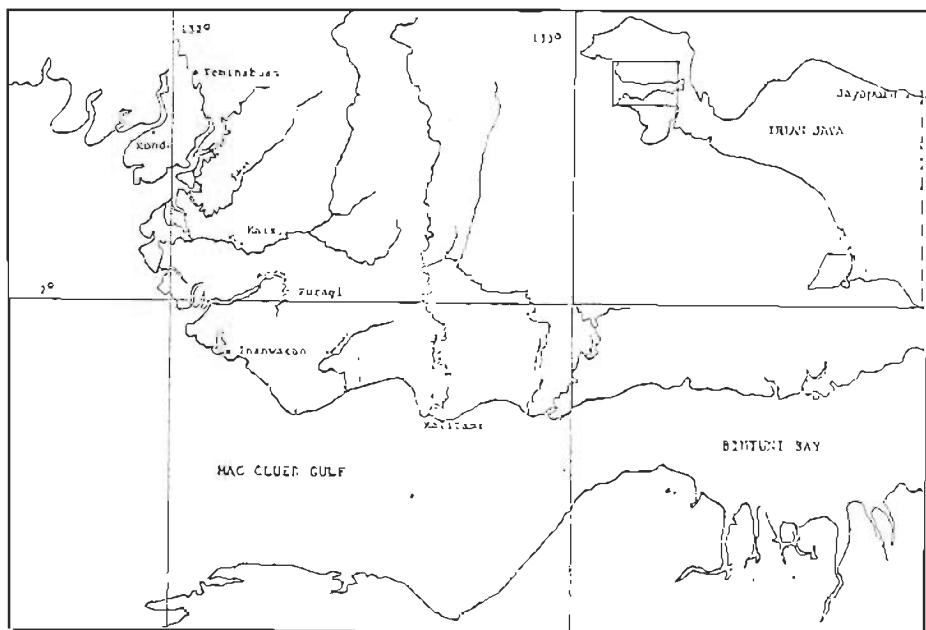
1. INTRODUCTION. This paper is a report of the findings of a language survey conducted under the auspices of Cenderawasih University, Jayapura and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The preceding map shows the area of the South Bird's Head that was surveyed. The villages marked were visited. The languages of the area consist of Konda (also known as Ogit), Yahadian (Mugim), Suabo (Inanwatan), Kais (Kampung Baru), Puragi, Kaburi, Kokoda (Kasuweri and Tarof), Kemberano (Arandai and Barau) and Dombano (Arandai). The purpose of the survey was to update and clarify the information already published (eg. Voorhoeve 1975a) and to assess the language vitality in the area.

1.1 PREVIOUS STUDIES. Voorhoeve 1975b has already established clearly that the south Bird's Head languages under consideration are part of the Trans-Papuan Phylum. Voorhoeve 1975a also includes a classification of the South Bird's Head Stock. Flassy and Stokhof 1979 have attempted to refine Voorhoeve's classification. Wurm 1982:199 lists that Cowan, Galis, Anceaux and Capell have also carried out work in the languages of this stock.

2. PROCEDURES

2.1 DATA COLLECTION. The data was collected in the villages shown in the above map during the first week of March 1986 with Gilles Gravelle. The UNCEN-SIL 209 Wordlist (3/85) was used and sociolinguistic information was collected during informal interviews. The word lists taken and used in this report are listed in appendix A. Comparative word lists are in appendix C.

2.2 DATA ANALYSIS. The degree of lexical similarity between the speech communities was determined using the inspection method from a synchronic perspective as outlined by Sanders (1977:34).



Map 1 - Villages Surveyed

3. GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE SOUTH BIRD'S HEAD STOCK

3.1 LEXICAL SIMILARITY. The following matrix is the result of the comparison of 11 word lists. Three of these came from earlier surveys by others (see appendix A). These three have only about 80 words and have been marked with an asterisk in the matrix. The other figures are the result of comparing between 130 and 180 words. The name of the village is listed with the language name in brackets after it if it differs from the village name.

Matrix 1 - South Bird's Head Lexical Similarity Percentages

Konda

| | |
|----|--|
| 62 | Mugim (Yahadian) |
| 13 | 13 Inanwatan (Suabo) |
| 10 | 11 17 Kais |
| 11 | 12 17 28 Puragi |
| 13 | 11 17 32 48 Kaburi |
| 8 | 10 18 28 34 46 Kasuweri (Kokoda) |
| 8 | 10 15 45 50 48 86 Tarof* (Kokoda) |
| 8 | 11 16 30 41 46 77 82 Negri Besar (Kokoda) |
| 7 | 14 14 41 30 38 55 70 71 Kalitami (Kemberano) |
| 8 | 13 18 41 38 37 53 67 60 86 Wariagar* (Kemberano) |
| 8 | 10 15 45 50 48 56 63 57 71 66 Tomu* (Dombano) |

The matrix shows that Suabo is distinct from all other languages. Together with Duriankere it forms one family. It was reported to us in Sorong in June 1986 that a dialect of Inanwatan was spoken in the village of Duriankari on the south east tip of Salawati Island. This is what Voorhoeve 1975a lists as Duriankere.

Konda and Yahadian form their own family within the South Bird's Head Stock. Voorhoeve 1975a also lists these two languages as a separate family.

The remaining languages can be broken into a group consisting of three separate languages (Kais, Puragi and Kaburi) and a subfamily consisting of Kokoda, Kemberano and Dombano. This analysis combines Voorhoeve's east and central subfamilies into one subfamily - which we have called the east subfamily.

Puragi and Kais cannot, at least lexicostatistically, be considered as a subfamily. Kaburi is another language on which we have not found any previous information. We assume that these speakers were previously included along with the Kokoda language. Our information shows this to be a distinct language.

3.2 GRAMMATICAL FEATURES. The languages of the South Bird's Head Stock have a complex morphological system with a tendency toward suffixation. There are, however, some prefixes used to indicate possession and, in some languages, an object marker.

3.2.1 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

3.2.1.1 GENDER. All languages in the stock except the Yabin Family appear to mark gender on human referents. For example,

| | | |
|----------------|----------|---------|
| <u>a' id-e</u> | 'father' | |
| <u>e' id-o</u> | 'mother' | (Suabo) |
| <u>rabin-e</u> | 'boy' | |
| <u>rap-o</u> | 'girl' | (Kais) |

Voorhoeve (forthcoming) has further examples of gender suffixes for male and female kinship terms.

3.2.1.2 NUMBER. In some cases a suffix to mark number is marked with some nouns. For the Kokoda and Kemberano languages this has the form -u. Examples from the Kokoda language are,

| | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|--|
| <u>tun-u</u> | 'hair' | |
| <u>retin-u</u> | 'teeth' | |
| <u>dabor-u tinan-u ogia</u> | 'two big dogs' | |
| dog-pl big-pl two | | |

This compares with dabora 'dog' and tinania 'big' when these words are elicited in isolation.

3.2.1.3 NOUN CLASSES. It appears as if there is a system of noun classes in the Kokoda language. We can tentatively label these as masculine and feminine with a possible third group which could be called neuter. However it should be noted that this is only a preliminary analysis of the limited data collected on this survey. More complete analysis could change some of these conclusions.

In Kasuweri and Negri Besar dialects the majority of the nouns end in the suffix -i or -o. Feminine words such as breast and egg end in -o as well as the word for garden, a traditional female domain. Thus we can classify these as female gender.

When comparing the body parts there is not a great deal of correspondence between the dialects. The suffixes -i and -a are variously used. The masculine form appears to be -i since it appears on words like 'male'. We conclude then that -a is a neutral form. It is interesting to note that of the non body part nouns collected only 'dog' (dabora) and 'salt' (tira) take the -a suffix.

It is possible that Kemberano also has a series of noun classes. For Kemberano the masculine suffix used for human referents is -e, and the feminine form is -o. In Kemberano a large number of nouns end in -e and a smaller number in -i (predominantly animate nouns). It is interesting to note that all nouns ending in the feminine gender suffix (-o) correspond to almost all in the Kokoda language. See the comparative word lists in appendix C. In both these languages the feminine group is the smallest. Voorhoeve (forthcoming) notes the possibility of gender classes for Arandai (Kemberano) to explain the reason why the numerals one and two have a different form when they modify a noun. For example,

pogi enat-i 'one pig'
 pig one-suffix

uroko enat-o 'one stone'
 stone one-suffix

For the Kais, Puragi and Kaburi languages there could be gender classes for nouns but the evidence we have is not conclusive.

3.2.1.4 NOUN PHRASES. In the Negri Besar dialect of Kokoda it is evident that the suffix -a or -ia was additional to gender suffixes. We have tentatively posited this as a noun phrase marker. Compare the following data,

nedi keni-a 'my house'
 my house-NP mkr

keni tinani-a 'big house'
 house big-NP mkr

The suffix appears on the final word of each noun phrase. In the Kasuweri dialect 'banana' was elicited as udi but when used in a sentence was given as udia. This suffix also appeared on many adjectives and at this stage its usage cannot be understood with certainty.

There is some variation within the noun phrase word order. The Yabin Family together with Kaburi and Kokoda have a noun + adjective + numeral order. Kais and Suabo have a noun + numeral + adjective order. Kemberano, on the other hand, has a number + noun + adjective order. Puragi permits both noun + numeral + adjective and numeral + noun + adjective, but has a preference for the latter.

3.2.2 POSSESSION. All the languages have a similar system of indicating possession. When a noun is a body part a possessive prefix is attached to the noun. At times the subject pronoun is also included. For example,

ni-buru 'my eye' (Konda)
pp(lps)-eye

nare n-epe 'my tooth' (Suabo)
lps pp-tooth

neri nai-magu 'my eye' (Kaiso)
lps pp-eye

The Konda language can omit the subject pronoun. It is unclear whether the other languages also can omit it.

For non body parts all of the languages have the structure of pronoun and noun. Examples,

| | | |
|--|------------|----------|
| <u>nedi keni-a</u> lps house-NP mkr | 'my house' | (Rokoda) |
| <u>nedi emo</u> lps house | 'my house' | (Puragi) |

However in the case of Kokoda and Kemberano a possessive pronoun distinct from the subject pronoun is used. For example,

| | | | |
|--|---------------|------------|-------------|
| <u>nene</u> | <u>oba</u> | 'my house' | (Konda) |
| lps | poss | pr | house |
| <u>(nene</u> 'my' compares with <u>negi</u> 'I') | | | |
| <u>nago</u> | <u>titare</u> | 'my house' | (Kemberano) |
| lps | poss | pr | house |
| <u>(nago</u> 'my' compares with <u>nedi</u> 'I') | | | |

3.2.3 WORD ORDER. All the languages in this survey share a similar word order - S O V (a feature of Trans-Papuan Phylum languages). This is in contrast to the neighbouring languages of Tehit and Brat where the order is S-V O. Two of the languages, Kaburi and the Kasuweri dialect of Kokoda had some examples of the S V O pattern. This could be due to the fact that Indonesian was used for elicitation or that they are not rigid in their word order due to the influence of their near neighbours' word order. Suabo frequently omits the subject.

All of these languages have postpositions which again contrasts with the languages of the West Papuan Phylum to the north where prepositions are used.

3.2.4 VERB MORPHOLOGY

3.2.4.1 INFLECTION. All the languages have suffixes to mark agreement with the subject with the exception of Konda and Yahadian. These suffixes are not attached directly to the root but follow the aspect suffix. The Suabo language appears to have an even more complex system. As well as the suffix there is also a prefix which on the basis of our limited data is difficult to analyse. One analysis is that the sentences elicited were transitive and it could be some kind of object marker. This analysis is feasible since Kemberano has prefix forms to indicate indirect object and the phonetic forms of this prefix are similar to the forms found in the Suabo language, namely n- (Suabo), na- (Kemberano) and m- (Suabo), mi- (Kemberano). For example,

itigi pugido m-eri-bi
3ps banana ?-eat-3ps agr (Suabo)
he/she eats bananas

nedi makanano moiga mi-kara
1ps banana 3ps ?-3ps indirect object
I give the banana to him (Kemberano)

3.2.4.2 ASPECT/TENSE. These languages do not appear to mark tense, however there are a range of aspect markers in all of the languages compared. For example, Konda has the suffix -ta for completive aspect. and -ne for action to take place in the future. This compares closely with the forms in Kemberano, -da for completive and -na for expected action. Suabo uses suffixes for aspect as well but the forms do not correspond with the other languages compared. Kais also uses suffixes which immediately follow the verb root to indicate aspect but their form is different from the other languages. Examples from Kais are,

| | |
|----------------------|----------------|
| <u>n - dah - bah</u> | 'I have eaten' |
| <u>eat-compl-lps</u> | |
| <u>n - dai-bah</u> | 'I will eat' |
| <u>eat-fut-lps</u> | |
| <u>n - dam - bah</u> | 'I am eating' |
| <u>eat-cont-lps</u> | |

All of the languages, except Konda, use a word comparative in meaning to the Indonesian word sudah to express completive aspect in conjunction with completive suffixes.

3.2.4.3 OTHER SUFFIXES. The East Subfamily showed evidence of a number of suffixes which in a limited survey of this type remain mysteries. There is a -ni suffix word final in Kais, Kemberano and Kokoda. Voorhoeve (forthcoming) also found this in his Kemberano data and postulated that it was a possible clause level suffix.

There is also a suffix -ena in Kokoda which could be interpreted as a future or present tense marker. The suffix -mena appeared in Kaburi in similar sentences.

3.2.5 NUMERALS. All languages in the survey with the exception of Kemberano have a counting system based on the numerals one to five. Kemberano has a full list of numbers from one to ten. Puragi has the number four as simply the number two reduplicated. See comparative word lists in appendix C.

3.2.6 SUMMARY OF GRAMMATICAL FEATURES. The main conclusion that we can draw about the languages surveyed is that they have a complex affixation system with the majority being suffixes. It is interesting to note that the languages of the South Bird's Head Family show striking similarity in the forms of the suffixes used, many phonetically 100% similar and on preliminary investigation appear to behave in an identical way. Although some of these languages, in particular Kais and Puragi, do not relate very highly lexicostatistically the grammatical features considered here show a much closer relationship. The differences between the languages in the South Bird's Head Family are mainly lexical, since they share a similar morphophonemic and syntactic system. In the table below x means no; y means yes, - means insufficient or inconclusive data and # means numeral.

Table 1 - Comparative Grammatical Features

| Language | Gender | Possession | | Word Order | | Inflection | Aspect | Numerals | |
|-----------|--------|------------|-----|------------|-----|------------|--------|----------|------------|
| | | pre | pro | S | NP | | | Suffix | Suppletive |
| Konda | x | y | y | SOV | na# | x | y | x | |
| Yahadian | x | y | y | SOV | na | x | y | x | |
| Suabo | x | y | y | (S)OV | n#a | y | y | x | |
| Kais | - | y | x | SOV | n#a | y | y | x | |
| Puragi | - | y | x | SOV | #na | y | y | x | |
| Kaburi | - | - | x | SOV | na# | - | - | x | |
| Kokoda | y | y | x | SOV | na# | y | y | x | |
| Kemberano | y | y | y | SOV | #na | y | y | y | |

The above table shows clearly the groups which these languages divide into. Konda and Yahadian form one family (which we will call the Yabin Family) with Suabo having some similarities with both this family and the South Bird's Head Family (consisting of Kais, Puragi, Kaburi, Kokoda and Kemberano). Gender, the use of possessive pronouns and no inflection are separating factors between the Yabin Family and the South Bird's Head Family. The noun phrase order appears to be random in that it does not line up with other features. Kokoda and Kemberano have some grammatical differences that confirm the lexicostatistical results, that they are indeed separate languages and not merely dialects.

3.3 PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES. The striking feature of these languages is that they generally do not allow word final consonants and there are very few consonant clusters. There are a few words that have word final consonants. In some cases these are borrowings from Indonesian. For example,

kakating 'kering' 'dry' (Puragi)

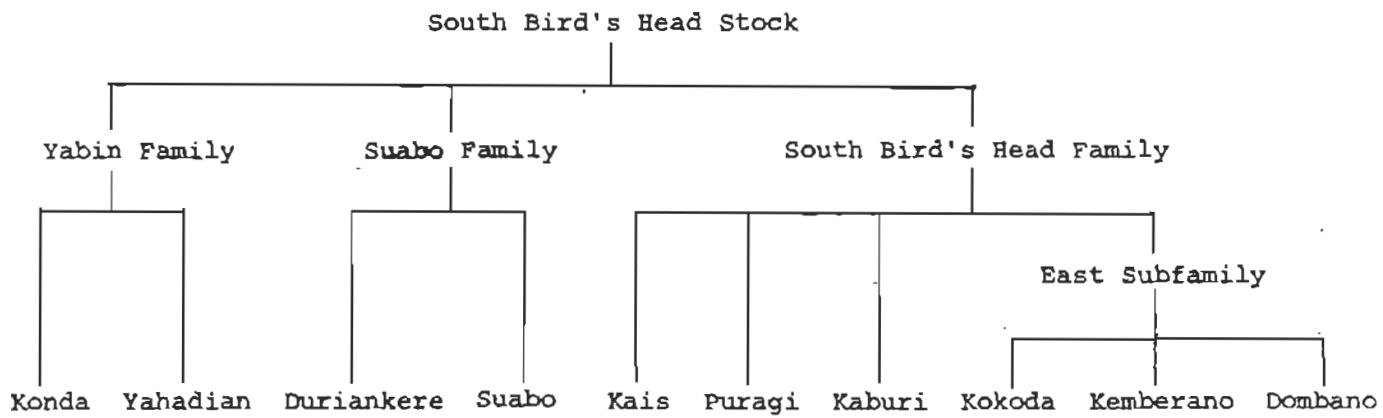
Overall the languages surveyed showed a simple VCV or CVCV syllabic structure. Consonant clusters are rare in these languages. There are some prenasalized stops. For example,

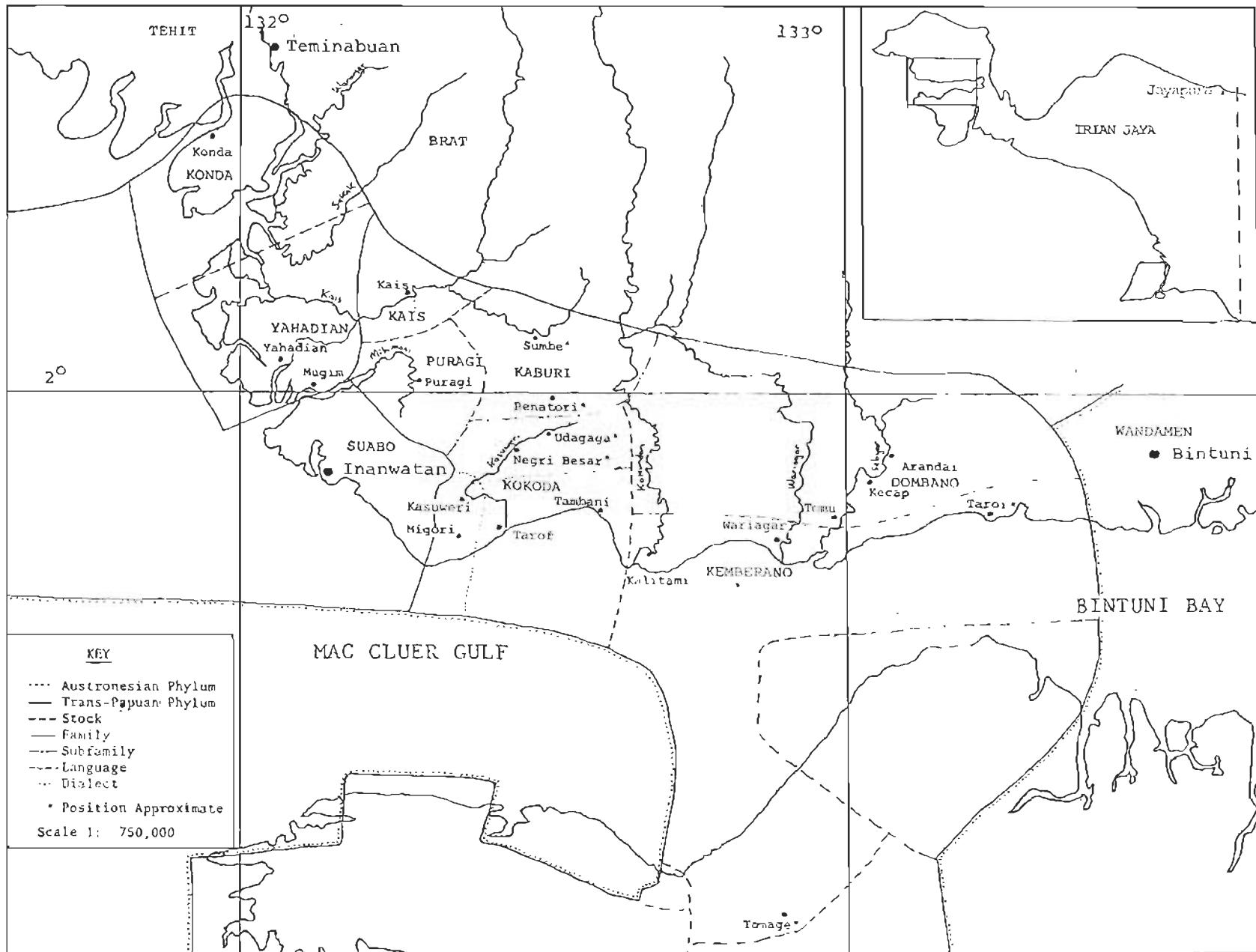
| | | |
|-----------------|---------|------------|
| <u>ndondono</u> | 'cough' | (Kais) |
| <u>nde</u> | 'they' | (Kais) |
| <u>mberemei</u> | 'shy' | (Yahadian) |

Some languages showed some CVV patterns. These patterns are not common and after analysis may not actually be syllabic.

3.4 SUMMARY AND MAP. The grammatical and lexicostatistical evidence agree in regard to the classification of the languages of the South Bird's Head Stock. Even a consideration of the subject pronouns yields the same result, namely three groups with one further subdivision. See map next page. The tree diagram below illustrates our conclusions regarding the classification of these languages.

Diagram 1 - South Bird's Head Stock Tree Diagram





Map 2 ~ South Bird's Head Stock Language Map

4. SOUTH BIRD'S HEAD LANGUAGES

4.1 YABIN FAMILY

4.1.1 KONDA. The Konda language of about 500 speakers (see appendix B for more details about the villages and population for this and the following languages groups) is centred in the village of Konda. It borders on the Tehit language to the north west. Tehit speakers call this language Ogit. The people call themselves Yabin-Konda. There is some intermarriage with Tehit speakers, but the two languages are not mutually intelligible. Some have learnt Tehit, most can speak Indonesian, but it was reported that Konda is still the main language used in the home.

4.1.2 YAHADIAN. The Yahadian language has about 500 speakers. It is also known as Yabin-Yahadian. Yahadian is spoken in the area south east of Konda and west of Puragi.

4.2 SUABO FAMILY

4.2.1 SUABO. The Suabo language has about 1,000 speakers centred around Inanwatan. They are also referred to as the Mirabo or Iagu by the Puragi people. Due to the early influence of Malayu as a trade language most people seem to be fluent in Indonesian. Inanwatan has a mixture of language groups including Kokoda, Kais, Puragi and Suabo making it necessary for Indonesian to be used frequently. The existence of the junior high school is the main reason that there is a mixture of language groups in Inanwatan. It was reported that most still use Suabo in their own family and social settings but that the children are tending to use Indonesian more than Suabo.

4.2.2 DURIANKERE. The Duriankere language is spoken in the village of Duriankari on the south east tip of Salawati Island. Informants in Sorong report that there are less than 100 speakers. It may be a dialect rather than a separate language. We do not have sufficient data to make a judgement.

4.3 SOUTH BIRD'S HEAD FAMILY. This family consists of three languages (Kais, Puragi and Kaburi) and the East Subfamily (Kokoda, Kemberano and Dombano).

4.3.1 KAIS. The Kais Language has about 700 speakers who live in Kais along the banks of the Kais river. Previously this language was known as Kampung Baru, but Kais is the name the people use themselves. The language is not mutually intelligible with any of the surrounding languages. Some are able to speak Yahadian and most can speak Indonesian. It was reported that while children prefer to use Indonesian, Kais is used in most family and social contexts by the older people.

4.3.2 PURAGI. The Puragi language has about 700 speakers, the majority of whom live in Puragi situated on the banks of the Mitimani river. It was reported Indonesian is widely used by all age groups, but Puragi is used in the home particularly by the older people.

4.3.3 KABURI. The Kaburi language has about 600 speakers and is situated north of the Kokoda language. It was reported that all age groups could understand Indonesian. This language has not been noted in any previously published information to our knowledge. The data only comes from one informant who was interviewed in Kalitami.

4.3.4 EAST SUBFAMILY. Our data shows that there are probably three distinct languages - Kokoda, Kemberano and Dombano. Kokoda has three dialects. However Voorhoeve (forthcoming) considers this subfamily as one language with 5 dialects. He calls it Arandai. He has also used different names; for Kemberano he has used Wariagar (the name of a village and river); for Dombano he has used Sebyar (a river name). He has also combined Negri Besar and Kasuweri and used the latter to name it. However on the basis of our data there are at least two distinct languages and probably three. We have used the names that the people use for their language thereby replacing Arandai.

4.3.4.1 KOKODA. The Kokoda language is the largest in the South Bird's Head Stock with about 3,700 speakers and three dialects. The dialects are known as Komudago (Kasuweri), Maritinani (Negri Besar) and Tarof. See the map above for the location of each dialect. Appendix B has village and population details. It was reported that Kasuweri is considered more prestigious than Tarof. Indonesian is widely understood, but Kokoda is used in most daily encounters.

4.3.4.2 KEMBERANO. The Kemberano language has more than 1,400 speakers. It has previously been called Arandai, but the name Kemberano has been consistently recorded by three independent researchers (de Jong 1956, Walker 1978 and the present research). It is interesting to note that the de Jong word list comes from the Bomberai peninsula adjacent to Kalitami. The language in that area was previously known as Barau, but it is clearly the same language as is spoken at Kalitami. His list of 68 words is more than 85% cognate with ours from Kalitami. Kemberano speakers appear to be bilingual in Indonesian, but they use their own language in the home and most social settings.

4.3.4.3 DOMBANO. The Dombano language could have about 1,000 speakers. Population figures are uncertain. The language is reported to be in daily use. It was previously known as Arandai. Kemberano and Dombano could be two dialects of one language. More evidence is needed to establish whether they are two separate languages or not.

5. CONCLUSION. The languages of the South Bird's Head Stock manifest a complexity in affixation - a feature of languages of the Trans-Papuan Phylum. Our analysis of the languages of this stock gives some details of the affixes, but still many are unresolved. An interesting feature of these languages is that even though there are many grammatical similarities, they are lexically very different. This survey adds the following, among other things, to the language picture of the South Bird's Head:

1. Language group preferred names have been used.
2. Kokoda is shown as one language instead of two (Kasuweri and Tarof) as in previous analysis.
3. Kaburi is included.
4. Population figures have been updated.
5. Kemberano and Dombano replace Arandai and Barau.
6. Gender and other grammatical features have been shown to exist in some of these languages.
7. The simple syllabic structure of these languages has also been noted.

The language groups in this area have for some time been trading with Amboin and East Timor. For this reason the trade language, Malayu, is well understood. Malayu is slowly being modified to conform with Indonesian. All evidence gathered points to a stable bilingualism in most places. However in Inanwatan, the municipal centre and some other areas children are beginning to prefer to use Indonesian over the vernacular. These conclusions regarding bilingualism are tentative due to a lack of adequate testing methods.

Further research needs to be carried out to clarify the nature and location of the Kaburi language. Also a larger word list from Dombano is needed to establish more clearly whether it is a distinct language from Kemberano.

NOTES

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A more extensive bibliography can be found in Wurm 1982.

APPENDIX - A

Word Lists Taken

Each list was taken in the village named unless otherwise indicated in the 'Where Taken' column.

| Language | Village | Where Taken | Date | Reliability | Linguist |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|---------|-------------|-------------|
| Konda | Konda | | 28.2.86 | VG | K Berry |
| Yahadian | Mugim | Kais | 28.2.86 | G | G Gravelle |
| Kais | Kais | | 28.2.86 | VG | K Berry |
| Puragi | Puragi | | 28.2.86 | VG | K Berry |
| Saubo | Inanwatan | | 28.2.86 | VG | K Berry |
| Kokoda | Negri Besar | Inanwatan | 28.2.86 | VG | G Gravelle |
| Kokoda | Kasuweri | Inanwatan | 1.3.86 | VG | K Berry |
| Kokoda | Tarof | ? | ??.56 | ? | J C Anceaux |
| Kemberano | Kalitami | | 1.3.86 | VG | K Berry |
| Kemberapo | Wariagar | | 23.5.78 | G | R Walker |
| Kaburi | Rambor | Kalitami | 1.3.86 | VG | G Gravelle |
| Dombano | Tomu | | 23.5.78 | G | M Werner |

APPENDIX - B

Languages, Villages and Populations List

The following population figures were mainly drawn from the 1980 census. Those with a ? are informants estimates. The village names in capital letters are municipal centres, while those in lower case are smaller villages. Where one population figure has been given the smaller ones have been included in with the municipal centre.

| Language | Dialect | Villages | Population | Est. Speakers |
|------------------|----------|---|--------------------------|---------------|
| Konda | | KONDA Mitimani Ginuni | 598 | 500 |
| Yahadian | | MUGIM + ? | 539 | 500 |
| Saubo | | INANWATAN Sege Tapin Basam | 1,678 | 1,000 |
| Kais | | KAIS | 786 | 700 |
| Puragi | | PURAGI Esogu Saga Bedari | 797 | 700 |
| Kaburi | | BENATORI - KAMBOR SUMBE? Purai Benawa Hamanu | 393 283 600 | |
| Kokoda | Tarof | TAMBANI SITAROF | 189 586 | 700 |
| | Kasuweri | KASUWERI | 665 | |
| | Negri | MIGORI NEGRI BESAR | 461 1,652 | 1,000 |
| | Besar | UDAGAGA | 625 | 2,000 |
| | | | | 3,700 |
| Kemberano | | KALITAMI WARLAGAR TAROI Tomage | 527 600? 300? ? | 1,400+ |
| Dombano | | TOMU KECAP ARANDAI | 200+? ? ? | 1,000? |

APPENDIX - C

Comparative Word Lists

The lists below represent a close approximation of the phonic shape of each word. We have used ' for a glottal stop, sh for the alveo-palatal fricative, ng for the velar nasal, f for both voiceless bilabial and labio-dental fricatives, b for both voiced bilabial and labio-dental fricatives, j for dz and c for ts.

The semantic scope of many words has been limited for greater consistency. For example wet (sand) means the meaning of wet is limited only to wet sand.

The word lists are presented in the following sections and alphabetically within each section.

| Nouns | Word Number |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Body Parts | 1 - 23 |
| Animate | 24 - 45 |
| Inanimate | 46 - 82 |
| Pronouns | 83 - 87 |
| Modifiers | |
| Numerals | 88 - 97 |
| Colours | 98 - 102 |
| Other | 103 - 137 |
| Verbs | 138 - 185 |
| Interrogatives | 186 - 187 |
| Locatives | 188 - 195 |

NOUNS**Body Parts**

| English | 1. abdomen | 2. back | 3. blood | 4. body hair |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Indonesian | perut | punggung | darah | bulu badan |
| Konda | toro | - | uwa | gigusu |
| Yahadian | tor | butu | guan | gusi |
| Suabo | biri | - | aru'i | ragarare |
| Kais | minu | - | amaso | kararo |
| Puragi | naivi | - | apa'a | kararu |
| Kaburi | kohe'a | - | amaha | - |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | kote | - | raro | kumi |
| Negri Besar | kote | - | apataiya | - |
| Kemberano | kotene | - | apatei | kəraro |

| English | 5. bone | 6. breast | 7. ear | 8. elbow |
|----------------|----------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | tulang | susu | telinga | siku |
| Konda | torone | su | pueri | rebututu |
| Yahadian | turung | sur | peh | rewucucu |
| Suabo | to'e | do | 'ere | lebuti |
| Kais | toko | riro | kidabu | tuguno |
| Puragi | tifotoma | di'i | erawa | meugedo |
| Kaburi | to'ah | jizo | kerawa | - |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | toka | didu | kera | tuguo |
| Negri Besar | tokaiya | didomo | kera | - |
| Kemberano | toke | dido | kera | tugere |

| English | 9. eye | 10. finger | 11. hair (head) | 12. hand |
|----------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | mata | jari | rambut | tangan |
| Konda | buru | rebuadedo | nama | rebu |
| Yahadian | bur | defo | hebir | re |
| Suabo | rabui | ge'are | saredi | ebe |
| Kais | magu | negainu | sinu | embiko |
| Puragi | imagu | forugigaru | waini | bora |
| Kaburi | amiagu | ibara | wahid | mekepa |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | mago | kepo | tun | bora |
| Negri Besar | maga | kapaya | tunu | bora |
| Kemberano | magu | kepo | tunu | bore |

| English | 13. head | 14. heart | 15. leg/foot | 16. meat/flesh |
|----------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Indonesian | kepala | jantung | kaki | daging |
| Konda | torone | anggaro | be | nyamuk |
| Yahadian | wehe | medengga | be | - |
| Suabo | se | bitarare | 'epe | utabu'i |
| Kais | kabo | firare | mekepo | fuko |
| Puragi | koibi | nabiauri | ora | tinamafui |
| Kaburi | wa'ava | biraiji | mohivu | hamu |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | kaba | biradi | toro | vavuki |
| Negri Besar | kaba | biradia | toraiya | - |
| Kemberano | kabe | birare | toro | ovuke |

| English | 17. mouth | 18. nail (finger) | 19. neck | 20. nose |
|----------------|------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | mulut | kuku | leher | hidung |
| Konda | pat | buafine | soburu | mogoi |
| Yahadian | pa | - | soma | nggomeng |
| Suabo | ebe | ge'arasio | burate | bitobi |
| Kais | kamaubu | siko | lotatakoror | mitubu |
| Puragi | aiba | gesanusidano | wa'a | miobi |
| Kaburi | ava | - | atata | witofa |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | tado | ku | tata | jara |
| Negri Besar | gania | - | tata | yara |
| Kemberano | gane | ti | tate | dara |

| English | 21. skin | 22. teeth | 23. tongue |
|----------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Indonesian | kulit | gigi | lidah |
| Konda | giri | nama | runama |
| Yahadian | git | nam | ronang |
| Suabo | gido | pe | videri |
| Kais | riko | reseinu | nuno |
| Puragi | dinatai | amanu | nuni |
| Kaburi | akai | amanu | nuni |
| Kokoda | | | |
| Kasuweri | akaii | risinu | nini |
| Negri Besar | nakaya | retinu | nini |
| Kemberano | akane | retin | nune |

Animate Nouns

| English | 24. bird | 25. cassowary | 26. child | 27. dog |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Indonesian | burung | kasuari | anak | anjing |
| Konda | - | bediso | paiya | ajia |
| Yahadian | a. | daji | perabu | ja |
| Suabo | durebo | esawarido | oto'orabe | wevaote |
| Kais | karinu | bamuso | əmari | ropo |
| Puragi | kanyinyi | iro | avara | roga |
| Kaburi | konini | - | avara | eroga |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | kanenu | nimado | akotaya | dabora |
| Negri Besar | kaneni | nimado | natibis | dabora |
| Kemberano | kanine | nimando | akote | rokei |

| English | 28. father | 29. female | 30. fish | 31. fly |
|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Indonesian | bapak | perempuan | ikan | lalat |
| Konda | wawo | wa | bano | apudo |
| Yahadian | ade | beri | bano | puci |
| Suabo | a'ide | badau | uto | bobooi |
| Kais | ai | rapo | sakaro | kareinu |
| Puragi | ade'e | ravo | bibe'a | mourai |
| Kaburi | a.'a | ravu | hamaru | erititia |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | aye | ravau | koinaminye | kararen |
| Negri Besar | ayera | agenu | koinamini | kararen |
| Kemberano | ai | kerinu | popai | kararene |

| English | 32. husband | 33. leech | 34. louse | 35. male |
|----------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | suami | lintah | kutu | laki-laki |
| Konda | mureto | - | - | sorame |
| Yahadian | murete | - | - | ruatino |
| Suabo | avai'i | - | - | badai |
| Kais | amagode | odo | - | iyare, rabine |
| Puragi | amago | - | - | ravini |
| Kaburi | rarihen | mioto | - | rafini |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | naviniya | - | - | nabiniya |
| Negri Besar | nabinia | - | - | nabini |
| Kemberano | rabine | - | - | rabine |

| English | 36. mosquito | 37. mother | 38. person | 39. pig |
|----------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Indonesian | nyamuk | ibu | orang | babi |
| Konda | anine | wamo | yebeno | mba |
| Yahadian | nine | mame | misaroti | momo |
| Suabo | sesege | e'ido | mesidawo | bido |
| Kais | kinamo | nau | kaiso | autu |
| Puragi | komomo | ato'o | dane'i | vou'i |
| Kaburi | - | a.'o | daneta | taba'ah |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | kivino | ayo | danesia | tabai |
| Negri Besar | titimaro | bienom | danetia | tabai |
| Kemberano | kivino | ajo | danetu | pohei |

| | | | | |
|----------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| English | 40. rat | 41. snake | 42. tail | 43. wife |
| Indonesian | tikus | ular | ekor | isteri |
| Konda | seratiyo | uso | rosora | wameta |
| Yahadian | acaci | usi | erosa | wameta |
| Suabo | ate | medo | gusi | ava'o |
| Kais | korombi | gidu | rukau | amago |
| Puragi | adi'i | geidi | revai | amagodi |
| Kaburi | woini | koizo | wera'ai | amagu |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | konasiya | tamedido | erukaiya | kenumo |
| Negri Besar | konati | tamedido | erwai | keenumo |
| Kemberano | kovita | ore | bekire | kerinu |

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| English | 44. wing | 45. worm |
| Indonesian | sayap | cacing (tanah) |
| Konda | - | sanaito |
| Yahadian | giat | taminggin |
| Suabo | - | medo |
| Kais | - | gamaro |
| Puragi | - | hano'iri |
| Kaburi | metoro | - |
| Kokoda | | |
| Kasuweri | - | sineketa |
| Negri Besar | tunumo | - |
| Kemberano | - | orogigitu |

Inanimate Nouns

| | | | | |
|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|
| English | 46. banana | 47. branch | 48. cloud | 49. egg |
| Indonesian | pisang | cabang | awan | telur |
| Konda | mofo | papa | ojenamu | wu |
| Yahadian | romino | papa | ujanang | w. |
| Suabo | fugido | - | sarido | gu'o |
| Kais | rauminu | - | saninggo | uku |
| Puragi | amimi | - | manino | vuko |
| Kaburi | hamimo | - | - | uko |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | udi | - | amana | ukwo |
| Negri Besar | udia | - | amanaia | ukwo |
| Kemberano | makanano | - | kate | oku |

| English | 50. fire | 51. fog | 52. fruit | 53. garden |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Indonesian | api | kabur | buah | kebun |
| Konda | juwa | - | winoi | kau |
| Yahadian | cua | jemborui | noi | baboro |
| Suabo | ma'apo | - | eribo | kebou |
| Kais | geriko | - | fuko | kako |
| Puragi | kadiva | - | oge | hauro |
| Kaburi | ga'ewa | - | kaba | hamimo |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | mukupi | - | buki | kobomo |
| Negri Besar | ineta | - | bukia | koboumo |
| Kemberano | inete | - | ovuku | kombome |

| English | 54. grass | 55. house | 56. jungle | 57. leaf |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | alang-alang | rumah | hutan | daun |
| Konda | - | oba | - | weri |
| Yahadian | - | o. | tawo | vir |
| Suabo | - | me'aro | - | dado |
| Kais | - | maro | - | runu |
| Puragi | - | eino | - | beroni |
| Kaburi | - | keini | utanu | erona |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | - | keni | - | wasikai |
| Negri Besar | - | kenia | anodaia | nonia |
| Kemberano | - | titare | - | rone |

| English | 58. lightning | 59. moon | 60. mountain | 61. name |
|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | kilat | bulan | gunung | nama |
| Konda | - | suro | baco | runu |
| Yahadian | - | suro | orang | irueng |
| Suabo | - | mo'o | tirido | arer |
| Kais | - | mokwo | faitike | nyio, ranyio |
| Puragi | - | maninako | sirio | naiti |
| Kaburi | uraga | ehaino | - | ne'i |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | - | puruno | siriomo | nanaiya |
| Negri Besar | - | puruno | tsrio | nanai |
| Kemberano | - | purunuh | keni | anade |

| English | 62. night | 63. path | 64. rain | 65. roof |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | malam | jalan | hujan | atap |
| Konda | baburute | omu | ajaro | si |
| Yahadian | baburtin | - | juari | si |
| Suabo | niro | uvo | parato | erero |
| Kais | aupu | aumu | fote | kerainu |
| Puragi | muarini | aumi | parato | avani |
| Kaburi | erini | - | hamanaha' | awanagu |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | pasierai | biasia | manino | sirau |
| Negri Besar | muekaraia | - | uragai | awani |
| Kemberano | patire | - | urange | avano |

| English | 66. rope | 67. salt | 68. sand | 69. sea |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Indonesian | tali | garam | pasir | laut |
| Konda | - | abukoro | adiya | sunu |
| Yahadian | ori | - | oja | subu |
| Suabo | - | muera | mido | gobo |
| Kais | - | sira | igai | sawano |
| Puragi | - | muodono | mioni | tuano |
| Kaburi | wokooya | dirau | mutah | - |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | - | sira | rebini | tawake |
| Negri Besar | wudia | tira | kebaraia | tuane |
| Kemberano | - | araja | kembare | kenabe |

| English | 70. seed | 71. sky | 72. smoke | 73. soil/earth |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| Indonesian | biji | langit | asap | tanah |
| Konda | - | - | cosat | ta |
| Yahadian | bur | ujenang | cuaha | ta.a |
| Suabo | - | - | gera | bodo |
| Kais | - | - | rosainu | kereko |
| Puragi | - | - | kukubi | bodonah |
| Kaburi | - | uraga | kukubi | kere'ah |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | - | - | kukubi | bodono |
| Negri Besar | benai | amanaiia | kukubi | kaburo |
| Kemberano | - | - | rawane | obore |

| English | 74. star | 75. stone | 76. stick | 77. sun |
|----------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | bintang | batu | tongkat | matahari |
| Konda | - | baco | ana | cí |
| Yahadian | cuo | paco | - | ti. |
| Suabo | - | beto | odo | tegi |
| Kais | - | faitu | kokopo | tefe |
| Puragi | - | be'ono | kowdi | egedi |
| Kaburi | turuvi | ura'uh | - | gozai |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | - | ureko | kodi | egediya, itaine |
| Negri Besar | turubi | oreko | - | itaine |
| Kemberano | - | ureko | kode | ítani |

| English | 78. thorn | 79. thunder | 80. tree | 81. water |
|----------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Indonesian | duri | guntur | pohon/kayu | air |
| Konda | bibol | - | amuso | abuwa |
| Yahadian | - | - | vi | sede |
| Suabo | - | - | a'i | sa |
| Kais | fifo | - | keiminu, mamo | sau |
| Puragi | biabani | - | mama | atona |
| Kaburi | piaha | refofedafa | kímini | ha'aci |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | - | - | kemini, kaiya | taii |
| Negri Besar | - | - | etamai | - |
| Kemberano | - | - | kemine | taii |

| English | 82. wind |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | angin |
| Konda | babaco |
| Yahadian | rua.a |
| Suabo | tiviro |
| Kais | gafifire |
| Puragi | amerpuro |
| Kaburi | orovorove |
| Kokoda | |
| Kasuweri | roforofoi |
| Negri Besar | roboroboi |
| Kemberano | medide |

PRONOUNS

| English | 83. I | 84. you (s) | 85. he/she | 86. we (incl) |
|-------------|---------------|-------------|------------|---------------|
| Indonesian | saya | kamu | dia | kita |
| Konda | nenggi | - | egi | - |
| Yahadian | nenegi | eregi | migigi | mite |
| Suabo | nare, nai'iti | iti | itigi | - |
| Kais | neri | eri | ideri | - |
| Puragi | nedi | - | nide | - |
| Kaburi | neri | - | ide | zeza |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | nedi | edi | nige | - |
| Negri Besar | neiga | eiga | igera | ni.gə |
| Kemberano | nedi | ari | moiga | - |

English 87. they
Indonesian mereka

| | |
|-------------|----------|
| Konda | woigi |
| Yahadian | miginegi |
| Suabo | itiga |
| Kais | nde |
| Puragi | nidau |
| Kaburi | idau |
| Kokoda | |
| Kasuweri | eiga |
| Negri Besar | igaumo |
| Kemberano | marogaru |

MODIFIERS

Numerals

| English | 88. one | 89. two | 90. three | 91. four |
|-------------|----------|---------|--------------|--------------|
| Indonesian | satu | dua | tiga | empat |
| Konda | mutu | irege | odriorge | adenggose |
| Yahadian | mucu | irege | oriage | desese |
| Suabo | mutero | eribo | eribonakware | eriboeritare |
| Kais | onate | uge | ugosona | kaisifa |
| Puragi | mo'onata | oge | aruve | ogeoge |
| Kaburi | ma'aja | uge | aruwe | ijati |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | onasia | ogia | aria | hidasa |
| Negri Besar | onatia | ogia | aria | idaci |
| Kemberano | anate | oge | aroe | idate |

| English | 92. five | 93. six | 94. seven | 95. eight |
|-------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Indonesian | lima | enam | tujuh | delapan |
| Konda | derebuyeni | adenamumutu | adenamuirege | adenamuorioge |
| Yahadian | - | - | - | - |
| Suabo | nevokago | arabubu | nevugago- erigare | nevugago- erinaguare |
| Kais | rembikaisine | rembikaisine- onate | rembikaisine- uge | rembikaisine- ugosona |
| Puragi | nefauraita | nebora aidabo'- onada | nebora aidabo'- oge | nebora aidabo'- aruwe |
| Raburi | seboraera'eja- ma'aja | - | - | - |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | yoboraraga- nera | yoboraraga- eketoonasia | yoboraraga- eketoogia | yoboraraga- eketoaria |
| Negri Besar | yobororagane | - | - | - |
| Kemberano | rade | gendio | aratate | wotate |

| English | 96. nine | 97. ten |
|-------------|--------------------------------|--------------|
| Indonesian | sembilan | sepuluh |
| Konda | adenamuadeng- goshier | derebrege |
| Yahadian | - | - |
| Suabo | nevugagoeri- dare | nevusugerivo |
| Kais | rembikaisine- rafarokaisifa | membotete |
| Puragi | nebora aidabo'- ogeoge | neboru |
| Kaburi | - | -- |
| Kokoda | | |
| Kasuweri | yoboraragane- hidasa | tobusia |
| Negri Besar | - | - |
| Kemberano | tapute | tobute |

Colours

| English | 98. black | 99. green | 100. red | 101. yellow |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Indonesian | hitam | hijau | merah | kuning |
| Konda | musege | - | afage | ariye |
| Yahadian | - | - | - | - |
| Suabo | udagibo | - | ne'aragibo | kuni |
| Kais | rififine | - | bendaro | - |
| Puragi | bi'abi'aini | ijo'a | memuri | gugama |
| Kaburi | kozuri | - | kababa | - |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | pasipasei | sitani | katubaiya | tasiriya |
| Negri Besar | rivirivini | - | mokuri | ididiri |
| Kemberano | komkake | - | katumba | kunikuni |

English**102. white**

Indonesian putih

| | |
|-------------|------------|
| Konda | terage |
| Yahadian | gieng |
| Suabo | marusau |
| Kais | pasi |
| Puragi | ke'oni |
| Kaburi | kapika'ini |
| Kokoda | |
| Kasuweri | kabiya |
| Negri Besar | awienia |
| Kemberano | gerate |

Other Modifiers

| English | 103. all | 104. blunt (stick) | 105. cold (wind) | 106. different |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Indonesian | semua | tumpul | dingin | berbeda |
| Konda | mademcere | pashiye | abace | - |
| Yahadian | wite | - | odane | gite |
| Suabo | tetevo | topidovebe | orebe'o | nagavo |
| Kais | ifo | pipi | kimididi | meresiya |
| Puragi | e'emu'a | topi'o | robo'o | - |
| Kaburi | ata'atu | tori'i | - | onai |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | tumunia | topikiya | sigaiya | - |
| Negri Besar | ebeumo | toikia | raboroboi | anaraga |
| Kemberano | goine | tembike | titiga | - |

| English | 107. dirty (hands) | 108. dry (grass) | 109. evil (person) | 110. few (stones) |
|-------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Indonesian | kotor | kering | jahat | sedikit |
| Konda | bibile | sowo | megino | - |
| Yahadian | be | suai | mengginoge | nogosia |
| Suabo | gigio | me'esebe | madai | sararo |
| Kais | ikikak | kaisi | imusine | ugetcia |
| Puragi | kamoianitu | kakairing | tesi | keke''u |
| Kaburi | - | hahaul | hahi'i | tukuaza |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | kamoii | wereai | tasikiya | kokonumo |
| Negri Besar | - | werea | tatiki | kokonu |
| Kemberano | - | vevere | tatike | kokovedie |

| English | 111. full (bucket) | 112. good (person) | 113. heavy (stone) | 114. hot (wind) |
|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Indonesian | penuh | baik | berat | panas |
| Konda | apice | soboro | berete | sebuto |
| Yahadian | csie | sobore | berete | sepute |
| Suabo | mesebe | sowate | nurugeto | metatararita |
| Kais | kauranu | nimo | ramaininu | sasi |
| Puragi | dobwerabanu | nasi | raberrano | tateran |
| Kaburi | wihirazi | boinini | aramenu | memugi |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | hitova | nigeiya | utatumo | uderiya |
| Negri Besar | ica | nigei | utati | uderea |
| Kemberano | vitiviti | nige | aramani | karijai |

| English | 115. large (dog) | 116. long (snake) | 117. many | 118. narrow (path) |
|-------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| Indonesian | besar | panjang | banyak | sempit |
| Konda | nogo | oropaiyo | bereto | bityeiye |
| Yahadian | noge | ropaine | noge | - |
| Suabo | aidow | girebo | use'evo | nesiroro |
| Kais | mafado | kupo | madamo | rigaufifi |
| Puragi | maga | geidi | muro | genani |
| Kaburi | mahe'a | hu'eto | taragu | - |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | sinani | ekaboiya | tumunia | tokuni |
| Negri Besar | tinania | ekaboi | udumi | - |
| Kemberano | tininei | kambe | kopani | ogarer |

| English | 119. new (house) | 120. not | 121. old (house) | 122. rotten (fruit) |
|-------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Indonesian | baru | tidak | lama | busuk |
| Konda | adipia | siye | arapia | - |
| Yahadian | ji | gaga | rage | berege |
| Suabo | i'o | ogaura | erevo | - |
| Kais | iso | doma | nudu | - |
| Puragi | ito | e'iyobo | nodo | - |
| Kaburi | bohi | e'ibera | togoi | - |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | boisiya | bebegiya | togoiya | - |
| Negri Besar | boiitia | ewama | togoia | makwarea |
| Kemberano | boite | meni | tokaude | - |
| | | | | |
| English | 123. same | 124. sharp (stick) | 125. short (snake) | 126. small (dog) |
| Indonesian | sama | tajam | pendek | kecil |
| Konda | - | paiyo | tepe | piceiye |
| Yahadian | umade | - | tepe | abuge |
| Suabo | muterovo | gagemo | dove | nesirori |
| Kais | ramaisusuno | aginu | tini | akote |
| Puragi | - | age'we | kama'eい | ke'itai |
| Kaburi | erereha | degezeni | ma'itazo | tu'ku'a'i |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | - | agisiya | isikiya | tokuni |
| Negri Besar | reta | agitia | - | tokuni |
| Kemberano | - | anggeti | witege, bakumi | agare |

| English | 127. smooth (stone) | 128. sore (leg) | 129. straight (stick) | 130. swollen (leg) |
|-------------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Indonesian | licin | sakit | lurus | bengkak |
| Konda | asiserere | nesuja | soye | ba' |
| Yahadian | sisire | nigige | catone | - |
| Suabo | mesiwarebe | notepe | o'obo | mesesebé |
| Kais | porudamo | dudouno | turubibi | yayafairu |
| Puragi | wateteian | bada'ane | kebebi | biarapani |
| Kaburi | - | taviarava | ravaiya | - |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | biribiririnya | ututukena | nawaraga | tabwen |
| Negri Besar | biribiri | - | nawara | - |
| Kemberano | tetera | kananbete | rawarara | ewadah |

| English | 131. that | 132. thick (stick) | 133. thin (stick) | 134. this |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| Indonesian | itu | tebal | tipis | ini |
| Konda | oto | adono | araraiye | mo |
| Yahadian | nggawo | nai' | abuge | wu |
| Suabo | urausoi | aidow | nesirori | urasai |
| Kais | indama | suino | farike | indomo |
| Puragi | dai'ika | amau'au | rere'i | gai'a |
| Kaburi | - | omotate | awaihi'i | - |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | memainigera | amotesia | dobeiya | nia |
| Negri Besar | - | amototi | dobei | - |
| Kemberano | moigare | amototo | amorena | migare |

| English | 135. truly/well (to speak) | 136. wet (sand) | 137. wide (path) |
|----------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Indonesian | benar | basah | lebar |
| Konda | igisige | usire | omunego |
| Yahadian | obore | birah | noge |
| Suabo | miroaibere | maigobo | aidavo |
| Kais | kaunimo | saihumo | dabino |
| Puragi | tute'i | rupi | mago |
| Kaburi | tawum | hiririarafa | - |
| Kokoda | | | |
| Kasuweri | tasiya | siririya | sinaniya |
| Negri Besar | ta.tia | tiriria | - |
| Kemberano | wani | tiriri | tinenei |

VERBS

| English | 138. afraid | 139. ashamed | 140. bathe | 141. blow |
|----------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Indonesian | takut | malu | mandi | tiup |
| Konda | erigiya | igiaranaye | acua | tyu |
| Yahadian | geriane | mberemi | tsua | tsiwi |
| Suabo | negiarasape | - | apaura | uduera |
| Kais | rabutaba | nainaremataba | ukage | fufuwe |
| Puragi | igavarau | ariararbo | wapave | wepabe |
| Kaburi | ari'e | maruerapu | uape | wuepwe |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | areiyaba | kekyeraba | upapaiena | ubepiraba |
| Negri Besar | areaaba | pupuai | upape | ubepie |
| Kemberano | areda | - | ukape | puebei |

| English | 142. breathe | 143. come | 144. cough | 145. count |
|----------------|---------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Indonesian | bernapas | datang | batuk | hitung |
| Konda | sese | imo | adoso | migese |
| Yahadian | sese | amu | doso | gise |
| Suabo | eso | mora | mo'o'ovo | nevoera |
| Kais | fesi | mawe | ndondono | gisige |
| Puragi | nemumigarauvo | mave | papauvi | rakapubei |
| Kaburi | herara'eh | mawe | dodonege | mhighe |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | evakuredeiya | moi | dedonedeiya | mesidava |
| Negri Besar | weranaibie | moi | dodonae | meibe |
| Kemberano | omute | mave | dondone | metimbe |

| English | 146. cry | 147. cut (grass) | 148. die | 149. dig |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | menangis | membabat | mati | gali |
| Konda | cibi | tasufe | jua | seri |
| Yahadian | tsibie | bagoraní | jua | biare |
| Suabo | meraritapi | ne'ugesá | merubi | nara |
| Kais | senggitaba | - | soufana | rakawe |
| Puragi | kaura'o | terarani | tauanedo | abeiabei |
| Kaburi | ga'wapa | kerejerafa | diediega | awe'e |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | nareiya | peseraba | diniya | ariiyagarabsa |
| Negri Besar | narea | pecai | dímia | kabeai |
| Kemberano | rarija | pipawe | tauda | ribobe |

| English | 150. dream | 151. drink | 152. eat | 153. fall |
|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Indonesian | mimpi | minum | makan | jatuh |
| Konda | urono | no | no | nure |
| Yahadian | - | a.no | a.no | nure |
| Suabo | mesevavo'orabe | nira | nira | noura |
| Kais | raiifaietifana | kurewe | ningge | weretanu |
| Puragi | ininaru | ureve | nige | abu'ani |
| Kaburi | wanafinara'en | gure'e | nige | edefa'e |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | mimiyadava | uraba | niba | apuraba |
| Negri Besar | mimiadaba | upe | nibe | apua |
| Kemberano | mimina | upei | nimbei | abuda |

| English | 154. flow (river) | 155. fly (bird) | 156. give | 157. hear |
|----------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Indonesian | mengalir | terbang | memberi | dengar |
| Konda | ababaraini | - | rebunu | neimacita |
| Yahadian | a'anta | buewo | erenu | - |
| Suabo | sameturerebe | - | merah | netovove |
| Kais | - | - | wingge | - |
| Puragi | adonadebeirani | - | meige | obo'ani |
| Kaburi | uga'upamia | wieraji | gowe | tovorafa |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | no'eria | - | medava | toboraba |
| Negri Besar | torera | gia | mebe | toboraga |
| Kemberano | tororiji | - | mimbei | tovove |

| English | 158. hit | 159. hold | 160. kill | 161. know |
|----------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Indonesian | pukul | pegang | bunuh | tahu |
| Konda | batanya | amere | o'wo | netiye |
| Yahadian | towere | mure | o | netsie |
| Suabo | obora | dirara | mutarura | nepareyabe |
| Kais | shiage | gungge | koge | odaba |
| Puragi | jiave | ginobe | kove | totor'a'an |
| Kaburi | vebe'e | geno'e | ko'e | hohotaina |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | aboraba | caraba | koraba | navareiya |
| Negri Besar | aboi | ta.wa | koiya | navarea |
| Kemberano | tyepei | gonawei | kope | navare |

| English | 162. live | 163. play | 164. pull | 165. push |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Indonesian | hidup | bermain | menarik | endorong |
| Konda | bitene | edame | wigine | - |
| Yahadian | beritaino | osumani | berianggine | uracire |
| Suabo | - | e'era | atara | - |
| Kais | maumaune | himingge | wautiwe | - |
| Puragi | tumurani | dira'o | wida'o | - |
| Kaburi | hamodin | zi'ipe | gegige'a | girime |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | meregediya | sitareiya | nokodeiya | - |
| Negri Besar | momona | titarea | biewe | mitoi |
| Kemberano | memene | kokongabei | yiripei | - |

| English | 166. rub | 167. see | 168. seek | 169. scratch |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Indonesian | menggosok | libat | cari | garuk |
| Konda | jiji | tisi | memare | arisene |
| Yahadian | - | cahaní | bateré | ereße |
| Suabo | goveda | norabe | eraresepe | o.ra |
| Kais | sige | etefaba | seike | wundana, wungge |
| Puragi | i'ige | ve'ani | irave'e | volge |
| Kaburi | kohige. | wetiafo | 'ahetafo | - |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | siporiya | esaba | katoraba | odaba |
| Negri Besar | tikiewe | etiaga | nogape | - |
| Kemberano | tipowei | etepei | kartuwe | woiombe |

| English | 170. shoot (pig) | 171. sing | 172. sit | 173. sleep |
|----------------|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Indonesian | memanah | menyanyi | duduk | tidur |
| Konda | perame | sowane | nade | nare |
| Yahadian | tainape | magorang | nade | gudo |
| Suabo | neragosa | kerafomerarita | u'ura | nera |
| Kais | timewe | amuiindowe | amungge | raige |
| Puragi | - | obena | amuge | inave |
| Kaburi | adurafa | - | amuge | ina'e |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | teraba | gareiya | amude | inaiena |
| Negri Besar | adipa | gogogwai | amube | inai |
| Kemberano | pakare | boronboro | rombe | reminawe |

| English | 174. speak | 175. spit | 176. split (wood) | 177. stab |
|----------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| Indonesian | bicara | meludah | membelah | tikam |
| Konda | susene | depawoi | - | uname |
| Yahadian | simine | - | - | umbrame |
| Suabo | sero'eru | movitopidera | - | tirasereija |
| Kais | taingge | mbotunosipana | - | digawe |
| Puragi | avuneianu | bode'a | - | kerave |
| Kaburi | hana'arafo | butiri pue'e | - | kera'e |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | neniyaba | peraba | - | oraba |
| Negri Besar | nenipe | - | kabeai | kerai |
| Kemberano | taninipe | botirei | - | veipei |

| English | 178. stand | 179. stink | 180. suck | 181. throw (stone) |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| Indonesian | berdiri | berbau | isap | melempar |
| Konda | nende | - | sopo | - |
| Yahadian | nende | - | abiapo | - |
| Suabo | idira | - | tutura | - |
| Kais | irewe | - | tuwewe | - |
| Puragi | ideve | - | uragave | - |
| Kaburi | ije'e | - | gure'e | - |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | idete | - | pieraba | - |
| Negri Besar | idepe | - | pierwe | - |
| Kemberano | yepei | - | piebei | - |

| English | 182. tie (rope) | 183. vomit | 184. walk | 185. wash (clothes) |
|-------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| Indonesian | mengikat | muntah | berjalan | mencuci |
| Konda | - | oto | mani | subwa |
| Yahadian | - | oto | mane | - |
| Suabo | - | i'ora | sera | sivara |
| Kais | - | ikona | owe, saisierna | subuwe |
| Puragi | - | vioraba'e | riavamu | rogorabo |
| Kaburi | baba'e | i'ope | owai'iji | kafo'e |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | - | ikoraba | notuwari | tobwereiya |
| Negri Besar | wotoi | ikoi | notoa | togwewe |
| Kemberano | - | ikoi | notuwari | tavoowiwe |

INTERROGATIVES

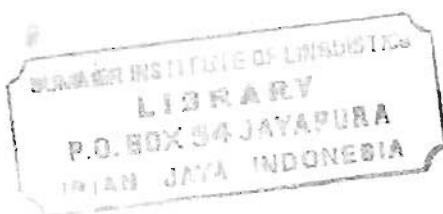
| English | 186. what | 187. who |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | apa | siapa |
| Konda | onoma | emegi |
| Yahadian | nomago | memagi |
| Suabo | arterevo | evetio |
| Kais | nakamu | ranyio |
| Puragi | niga'inu | imai |
| Kaburi | iganamu | imah |
| Kokoda | | |
| Kasuweri | igaumo | imanara |
| Negri Besar | igaumo | imanara |
| Kemberano | oka | nemai |

LOCATIVES

| English | 188. at | 189. far | 190. in front | 191. inside |
|-------------|---------|----------|---------------|-------------|
| Indonesian | di | jauh | di depan | di dalam |
| Konda | - | tyunye | - | - |
| Yahadian | - | aisage | - | - |
| Suabo | - | ese'o | - | - |
| Kais | - | nanama | - | - |
| Puragi | - | ova | - | - |
| Kaburi | - | kanaha | - | - |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | - | nuakaiya | - | - |
| Negri Besar | - | noakaiya | - | - |
| Kemberano | - | nuake | - | - |

| English | 192. left side | 193. near | 194. outside | 195. right side |
|-------------|----------------|-----------|--------------|-----------------|
| Indonesian | kiri | dekat | di luar | kanan |
| Konda | deribuyuwore | aferege | - | deribuca |
| Yahadian | - | aisasi | - | - |
| Suabo | eduduri | ebaro | - | serorosoaro |
| Kais | doduru | sauba | - | netu |
| Puragi | didora | namebora | - | ne'uni |
| Kaburi | zezora | kohipe | - | zetuni |
| Kokoda | | | | |
| Kasuweri | dedora | yakibiya | - | netuniya |
| Negri Besar | dedoraia | yebati | - | yetunia |
| Kemberano | tadore | ragagade | - | metuwe |

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