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Lampungic Languages: Looking for New Evidence of Language Shift in Lampung and the Question of Its Reversal*

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The Lampungic languages are spoken mainly in Lampung Province and parts of South Sumatra Province, Indonesia. Gunarwan (1994) reported that Indonesian was encroaching upon the Lampungic languages in the home domain. However, Gunarwan conducted his research in urban areas, whilst most native speakers of Lampungic languages still live in outlying villages. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to examine patterns of language use by native speakers in areas where the population is predominantly Lampungic.

This study uses sociolinguistic survey techniques and interviews, and also makes use of the concept of language choice, especially of domain. In addition, I also discuss the recent selection of Lampung as a language for use in local language education, and the impact this might have on reversing language shift. In actuality, however, Lampung Province is a multi-ethnic society. As a result, the other language groups in Lampung Province become INVISIBLE GROUPS, or groups which are not politically acknowledged.

1. Introduction

1.1. Setting and background

Basically, Lampung is a geographical area and one of the provinces in Sumatra, Indonesia. However, the term is now also used to refer to a certain language and ethnic group. A question arises, however, as to who can be considered to speak a Lampungic language and who are eligible to be called Lampungese people. Up to now, some people say that the Lampungese are people who are the descendents of Lampungese in Lampung and the Lampungic language is the language used and spoken by the residents who are considered ‘the natives’ of Lampung Province.

In actuality, however, there is no similarity between language boundaries and the administrative borders established by the government. For example, even though Komering speakers live in South Sumatra Province, Walker (1975) classified Komering as a subdialect of the Pesisir dialect of the Lampung language. Similarly, Mitani (1980) classifies Kayu

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Agung as a subdialect of the Abung Lampungic dialects, when in fact speakers of the Kayu Agung 'language' at present also live in South Sumatra Province. These cases show that there is no similarity between language boundaries and the administrative borders of local government. The question is therefore: Should the speakers of the Kayu Agung and Komering 'languages' be considered Lampungese?

It seems that the naming of ethnic group affinity according to language is not the same as the result of classification of languages and dialects proposed by linguists. The natives of Kayu Agung, Kayu Agung Asli, Komering, Daya, and Ranau classify themselves in accordance with their own 'language varieties'. Meanwhile, Lampungese living in Lampung Province consider themselves to be Lampungese. They characterize themselves as two groups, the Lampungese belonging to the *Saibatin* tradition and those who adhere to the *Pepadun* tradition (Puspawidjaja 1982:8).

There are differences between the two groups. The Pepadunese allow for the possibility for a member to upgrade his position to become the leader of the group, which is locally called *penyimbang*. For example, from being the *penyimbang* of the group or the village he can become the *penyimbang* of the clan through various tribal requirements. They live in the eastern and central parts of Lampung Province. Meanwhile, Lampung society which holds to the *Saibatin* traditions only allows someone to be elevated to the position of *penyimbang pekon* and does not allow for someone to become *penyimbang* of the clan because the *penyimbang* of the clan inherits his position through his lineage. They live in the western and southern parts, especially on the coast and islands, so that they are often called the *Lampung Pesisir* 'Coastal Lampung' community.

Lampung as a province comprises not just the native Lampung population. The Lampung administration has illustrated the diversity of the Lampungese by creating a symbol for Lampung Province. In this symbol is written *Sang Bumi Rua Jurai*, meaning that Lampung society is composed of two origins, namely the native Lampung people (the receiving community) and those from outside Lampung. The symbol of Lampung Province also illustrates divergent traditions of the Lampung people, namely Lampungese who follow the *Pepadun* tradition and those who adhere to the *Saibatin* tradition.

It is difficult to accurately estimate the total population of native Lampung people because so far no census data has been released in Indonesia which classifies people according to their ethnic identity. Because of this, there is no indication of the division between the native population and newcomers. A publication by the Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (Department of Education and Culture) (1978:25) states that according to the 1974 census, the population of Lampung Province was 3,141,939 people. Of that number, the native Lampung people were estimated to total 500,000 people. Based on that, the native Lampung population was estimated to comprise less than twenty percent of the total population. However, Puspawidjaja (1982:8) states that according to the 1980 census, the total population of Lampung Province was 4,624,238 people, of which sixty-five percent were *pendatang* 'outsiders'. Therefore, native Lampung people were estimated to comprise thirty-five percent of the total population. That estimate is supported by Levang and Prayoga (2003:31), who state that according to the 1980 census, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, and Balinese are mother tongues of seventy-eight percent of villagers in Lampung Province. This means that three-quarters of the Lampung population comes from Java, Madura and Bali, while the rest are native Lampungese.

Further, Levang and Prayoga (2003:32) state that in spite of the fact that the Lampungese people are a minority in their own province, they play a pivotal role in administration. There are many villages mostly inhabited by Javanese who choose the regent from among the

native Lampung people with one goal: to settle land disputes. In fact, the Local Representative Assembly at the provincial and district levels as well as local administrations and the courts have been dominated by native Lampungese. In 1985, for instance, sixty-seven out of seventy-six subdistricts in Lampung Province were headed by a native Lampung person, six by persons from elsewhere in Sumatra, and only three by Javanese.

Is that matter related to language? It is. In the era of local autonomy after the New Order government, the regions began searching for their identity. One of the easiest aspects claimed in ethnic identity is language. Therefore, in order to maintain the Lampungic language as the people's local ethnic identity, the National Department of Education has made local language materials with local content a part of the school curriculum which must be taken by all the students, regardless of their ethnic origin.

1.2. The problem

As a result of such factors, there are some phenomena which collide and generate problems. First, the 'native' Lampungese are not dominant numerically, because they comprise only about twenty percent of the total population of Lampung Province. The rest, about eighty percent in number, are transmigrants from Java, Sunda, Bali and other ethnic groups. This means that the Lampungic languages in their linguistic context encounter other language communities, such as Javanese, Sundanese and Balinese, which are far more dominant numerically. In addition, Indonesian is the language of education. Meanwhile, speakers of the Komering subdialect of Lampung living in South Sumatra Province also encounter the use of Palembang Malay, besides Indonesian and other ethnic languages. Consequently, the Lampungese people live in a multiethnic and multilingual region. Such conditions result in language competition. An important question is: Are the Lampungic languages undergoing shift, particularly in remote villages where residents are predominantly native speakers of a Lampungic language?

Second, as an effort to maintain Lampungic languages, the Lampung administration and the National Department of Education have made the Lampungic language part of the local curriculum from elementary through senior high school in Lampung Province. Another goal of this policy is to help define Lampung's identity and ethnic symbol. As local autonomy has taken root in the post-New Order era, the Lampungic language has become a compulsory subject for all students. In actuality, however, upwards of eighty percent of the population of Lampung Province come from Java, Sunda, Bali, and other areas which have their own ethnic languages, and their children certainly have rights to study their own languages. For that reason, is it true when people think that the Javanese have 'dominated' Lampung, including in the matter of language? What about the rights of majority children who are transmigrants and who are forced to learn other ethnic languages, even though those languages are neither their first language nor their own ethnic identity?

1.3. Previous research in Lampungic sociolinguistics

The Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (1978:68) stated that Lampungic languages were (in the 1978 context) only used in limited contexts, namely, in the home, in villages inhabited by native Lampungese, and during traditional village consensus

meetings. Most of the young Lampung men in large cities did not use their local language any more and only used Indonesian.

Gunarwan (1994) states there are indications that on the whole the use of the Lampung language is indeed on the decline. In terms of diglossia, the findings show that leakage does exist in the domestic domain of Lampung language use, meaning that the Lampung language is being encroached upon by Indonesian. The same thing is also shown by Gunarwan (2001) who states that a number of Lampungic young men tend to use Indonesian language at home instead of Lampungic. However, it is worth noting that the research conducted by Gunarwan focused on the population in urban areas. In addition, Gunarwan's research was not conducted among speakers of the Komerling subdialect located in South Sumatra Province.

2. Research methodology

Our own field research was conducted based on the RAPID APPRAISAL RESEARCH model. It is often called first-level survey. Its objective is to appraise at a glance the language situation, ethnolinguistic groups, and degrees of multilingualism. 'The key objective of this (method) is to formulate hypotheses to be tested in a more in-depth survey or language assessment' (Wetherill 1997). This research used questionnaires as the instrument. Due to this, the data compiled is survey data. However, the survey done did not use Fasold's theory completely. Fasold (1984:215) states that 'the thing to look for is age-distribution numbers. If older speakers report more use of one language and younger speakers more use of another one, this can be an indication of shift.' Therefore, this research did not use the total number of language choice distributions based on age. Moreover, it does not have an implicational scale. It only emphasizes the analysis on language domains: home, neighborhood, trading, education, traditional ceremonies and religion.

Based on the presumption that there is a widespread Lampungic language cluster, the questionnaire was administered in twenty-seven villages considered to be native Lampungese villages, some of which were located in remote areas. The twenty-seven villages were Kayu Agung Asli, Paku, Pulau Gemantung, Adumanis, Perjaya, Damarpura, Tihang, Gunung Terang, Pilla, Tapak Siring, Negeri Ratu, Buay Nyerupa, Kota Besi, Mesir Udik, Banjar Ketapang, Negeri Kepayungan, Sukaraja, Sukanegeri Jaya, Kandang Besi, Tengkujuh, Jabung, Nibung, Nyampir, Terbanggi Besar, Blambangan Pagar, and Ujung Gunung. The first eight are administratively located in the districts of Ogan Komerling Ilir and Ogan Komerling Ulu Selatan, South Sumatra Province.

3. Results of data analysis

The analysis of the data was conducted for each domain of use. The domains of use data are explained below.

3.1. Language use in domestic domains

The language used in everyday life around the home is one hundred percent Lampungic. In some families, however, findings indicate that they speak a mix of Indonesian and Lampungic languages. The evidence is shown in the following table.

Table 1. The use of language in the home domain

Total Responses	Lampung	Indonesian	LWC or Arabic	Mix of Languages
54	54	–	–	6: occasional Indonesian language

Table 1 shows that all the subjects use Lampungic in their family interactions, but there are only six subjects who reported that they also occasionally speak Indonesian.

3.2. Language use in the neighborhood domain

This study was administered in some remote areas where the residents are predominantly native Lampungese. It is, therefore, assumed that these native Lampungese live side by side with other Lampungese, but there is some possibility that they live with speakers of other languages such as Javanese, Sundanese and Balinese.

Table 2. The use of language in the neighborhood domain

Total Responses	Lampung	Indonesian	LWC or Arabic	Mix of Languages
54	45	–	–	9: including Lampung, Indonesian, and others

The table shows that in the neighborhood domain, there are some subjects who speak Indonesian and other languages whenever they interact with their neighbors. This is understandable because not all groups of subjects live in isolation from other ethnic groups. Some of them live with Javanese, Sundanese and so forth, inducing them to become multilingual. They even use certain languages, for example Javanese, when they talk to Javanese people. It means that they are able to speak the language of these settlers.

3.3. Language use in the trading domain

The term TRADING in this paper refers to trading on a small scale, such as in the daily and weekly markets. Markets are the places where various ethnic groups gather to transact business, and where they have interactions in various languages.

Table 3. The use of language in the trading domain

Events	Total Responses	Lampung	Indonesian	LWC or Arabic	Mix of Languages
At the daily markets	21	5	3	1: Indonesian and Palembang Malay	12: including Lampung, Indonesian, Palembang Malay, and others
At the weekly markets	47	18	8	2: Palembang Malay	19: including Indonesian, Palembang Malay, Lampung, and others

The table indicates that there is some tendency of the native Lampungese to speak a mixture of languages including Lampungic, Indonesian, Palembang Malay and others, such as Javanese. This is understandable because markets are the places where a lot of ethnic groups meet since not all villages have their own market.

3.4. Language use in the education domain

The use of language in education is divided in various categories: the use of language in teaching the first grade of elementary school, the use of language in general, and the use of language during recess. The results show that various languages are used, but with Indonesian predominating.

Table 4. The use of language in the education domain

Events	Total Responses	Lampung	Indonesian	LWC or Arabic	Mix of Languages
Teaching first grade	19	–	12	–	7: Indonesian and Lampung
Teaching at school	46	1	38	1: Indonesian and Palembang Malay	6: Indonesian and Lampung
Children playing together at recess	50	28	4	2: Palembang Malay	16: including Indonesian, Palembang Malay, and Lampung

In this domain, not all teachers can use Lampungic because not all teachers are Lampungese. Some of them are Javanese and their background influences the use of language at school. Besides, the students who have just recently enrolled in the first grade are not native Lampungese. As a result, teachers just use Indonesian immediately in the

first grade even though government policy permits the local language to be used as the language of instruction in transition classes.

Meanwhile, unofficial interactions outside class indicate an increase in the use of a mixture of languages: Indonesian, Palembang Malay and Lampung. This is seen in the evidence of code-switching uttered by students and their peers and this code-switching depends on their peers' ethnic group.

3.5. Language use in traditional ceremonies

The traditional ceremonies are connected with the cultural values of the society and these are usually the ceremonies of the human life cycle such as birth, marriage and death. In general, these traditional ceremonies are conducted in the local languages. The data gathered from the native Lampungese, however, show a different phenomenon. They use Indonesian and mix languages such as Palembang Malay, but the use of Lampung predominates.

Table 5. Language use in the domain of traditional ceremonies

Total Responses	Lampung	Indonesian	LWC or Arabic	Mix of Languages
54	39	7	–	8: including Indonesian, Palembang Malay, and Lampung

Based on the table above, the use of those languages raise some questions. The traditional ceremonies are rich in the local cultural values which are not found in the other languages' traditions, but the evidence shows the use of other languages, such as Indonesian, Palembang Malay and Lampungic in the ceremonies. Further study is needed regarding the change of cultural identities occurring in Lampungese society.

3.6. Language use in the religious domain

Religion determines the use of language as a means of communication. The Lampungese who are majority Muslim tend to use Arabic and Indonesian when participating in religious ceremonies. This is shown in Table 6.

The use of a mixture of languages is understandable since there is no translation of the Al Qur'an in Lampungese but only in Indonesian and the source language used is Arabic. This mixture of Arabic and Indonesian will perforce be used in various religious ceremonies.

Table 6. Language use in the religious domain

Events	Total Responses	Lampung	Indonesian	LWC or Arabic	Mix of Languages
Prayer (assumed corporate)	51	9	5	23: Arabic 3: Indonesian and Arabic	11: Indonesian, Arabic, and Lampung
Sermon (at the mosque)	51	4	30	11: Indonesian and Arabic	6: including Indonesian, Palembang Malay, Lampung, and Arabic
Religious ceremonies	14	5	5	–	4: including Indonesian, Lampung, Arabic, and Javanese

4. Discussion

The previous analysis indicates that there are working divisions in the use of languages in various domains. Native Lampungese use the Lampungic languages in the low domains such as the home and traditional ceremonies. Meanwhile, they use Indonesian in high domains. This distribution indicates a situation of diglossia.

In a situation of stable diglossia, the roles of every language are relatively constant, but the analysis of language use of the native Lampungese indicates that the domestic domains, which are the last place of endangered language preservation, has demonstrated some use of the Indonesian language. In the neighborhood domain, the native Lampungese use a mix of languages. This, however, cannot be considered to indicate a shift in the use of the Lampungese languages because Lampungic still predominates in the domestic areas. The condition can be regarded as diglossia leakage, which means that the domestic domains that are supposed to be the base camp of the first language are repressed by the use of another language, in this case Indonesian.

Based on the classification of the language functions by Edwards (1985:17), there are communicative and symbolic functions, and at the level of symbolic functions, the native Lampungese have started to mix languages. This is seen in traditional ceremonies. The use of languages in the adaptable moments is the use of hidden instrumental functions (Edwards 1985:19) which can group people ethnically. This can be seen as strong evidence for diglossia leakage.

This raises some issues of concern among the stakeholders, the Lampungese academics and policy makers in the provincial administration. As stated above, the majority of policy makers in Lampung administration are Lampungese people. With the support from academics, the Lampung administration through the policy of the National Department of Education has made the Lampungic languages part of the materials in the school curriculum. This is official for all schools in Lampung from elementary through senior high school.

Indeed, such an effort cannot be regarded as a primordial move because this effort is a kind of rights protection attached to ethnic identities. The policy, however, may create problems later on. First, Lampungic languages are not the only languages used in Lampung Province. The Komerling subdialect speakers in South Sumatra Province are also

speakers of Lampungic. However, they inhabit regions in different provinces. Can the locally constructed curriculum be mandated for them? If yes, more problems arise because of the dialect differences. Will the Lampungic speakers of the Komerling subdialects be forced to use and learn another dialect in order to get good scores in school?

Second, language is not meant for communication solely but has other functions in symbolizing the collective and ethnolinguistic identity of the Lampungese people. By imposing Lampungic language as the only local language used in schools, the implications are that policy makers will imagine that Lampung residents are a homogeneous ethnic community. The fact, however, is that Lampung is a multiethnic society. The use of Lampungic languages as a symbol, therefore, represents the power of ethnicity, and this is demonstrated in the curriculum. This makes the other ethnic groups INVISIBLE. This policy can be considered a political identity.

If the policy is not revised, there will be some accusations towards some people and departments in presenting something for the sake of cultural hegemony over other ethnicities. One of the steps to be taken is to allow Lampungic to remain part of the local content in the educational curriculum. However, it must not become a compulsory subject which must be taken by students whose native language is not Lampungic. Meanwhile, students whose native language is Lampungic are required to take the subject. It is more appropriate to implement these ideas in the era of freedom and peaceful pluralism by casting away unfairness and including the various languages in the identity of each group. It is better to implement it rather than to destroy the languages and identities of non-native Lampungese children.

In addition, efforts to reverse any perceived early stages of Lampungic language shift can also be conducted by using some of the positive attitudes of Lampungic native speakers. Some of their dreams are to be able to read and write in Lampungic. One of the ways of doing this may be through the presence of media, even though it will be practically difficult to implement because its presence is not in a socio-cultural form but integrated in a socio-economic system. The authority of the local government, however, can assist the media in any language shift reversal project without censoring the news in the media. If the media does exist and is widely accepted, Lampungic native speakers will be able to read and write in their own language like Sundanese and Javanese communities, by having a few monthly magazines in their local language.

5. Concluding remarks

This research is different from that conducted by Gunarwan (1994) because this research was conducted in rural areas which are predominantly Lampungic, while Gunarwan's study was conducted in urban areas. However, the findings of this research confirm the findings from Gunarwan's study, which states that there is diglossia leakage and a presumption of Lampungic language shift.

One of the efforts made by Lampung administrations through the National Department of Education was to begin a project to reverse language shift by inserting Lampungic language into the local curriculum. This effort might be regarded as cultural hegemony by presupposing homogeneous Lampung residents, whereas the residents of Lampung province are multiethnic, with eighty percent being settlers. An account, therefore, must be taken of the language rights of non-native Lampungese children.

An effort, therefore, must be made to help prevent the shift of Lampungic languages. One of the possible efforts is issuing a magazine in Lampungic whose target readers are

Lampungic native speakers. In addition, the heads of the ethnic groups should be the pioneers in using the Lampungic languages in every ceremony and the languages should be spoken completely in family interactions. These efforts, however, will not work if Lampungic native speakers do not have positive attitudes and high loyalty towards their own languages.

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Bitter or Sweet? The Vital Role of Sociolinguistic Survey in Lampungic Dialectology

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The speech varieties of the Lampungic cluster of southern Sumatra are listed as nine separate languages in the 15th edition of the Ethnologue (Gordon 2005). This paper seeks to clarify the number of languages and their grouping within the cluster in light of research such as Walker (1975) and Mitani (1980). The sociolinguistic survey methods used during recent research among the Lampungic peoples are described, including a Rapid Appraisal Recorded Text Test (Stalder 1996, O'Leary 1994). The conclusions of this sociolinguistic analysis are then compared with the results of other linguistic survey techniques used to study the Lampungic cluster. The author examines the divergent conclusions that can be drawn from one survey method over against another, attempting to draw conclusions from the whole corpus of available information. Finally, the implications of this sociolinguistic survey to mapping out the languages of these descendants of Si Pahit Lidah 'Bitter Tongue' are presented.

1. Background

Previous research among the Lampungic speech varieties of southern Sumatra has yielded a significant variety of conclusions regarding the number of languages and dialects within the cluster and the relationship among those speech varieties. Most of this research, however, has focused not on the Lampungic cluster as a whole, but on one or more speech varieties within the cluster. Consequently, the research done in each area has used neither the same methods of investigating language identity nor the same criteria for defining languages, clusters or groups of dialects. Furthermore, works that have looked at the whole Lampungic cluster or large parts of it have normally used an approach that measures similarities and differences among speech varieties according to one set of criteria only, such as lexicostatistics or clan histories.

Without a clear, overall understanding of the relationships between speech varieties, governmental authorities and other institutions interested in local language development and education will be unable to maximize the existing similarities to save time and resources. Likewise, it will be nearly impossible to minimize difficulties in language development resulting from differences between the various speech varieties within the cluster if a comprehensive overview of the cluster's internal similarities and differences is not conducted beforehand.

Toward this end, a broad linguistic and sociolinguistic survey of the entire Lampungic cluster was conducted between 2003 and 2005 by SIL International Indonesia Branch in cooperation with the Center for the Study of Humanities and Cultures of the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (PMB-LIPI). This research was designed to holistically answer questions about language identity and dialect clustering, as well as to train members of SIL and LIPI

in various language survey methods. These language surveys have employed a number of language survey tools, as described below.

By looking at the relationships between speech varieties from a number of angles, a more complete picture of the linguistic and sociolinguistic situation of the Lampungic cluster has emerged. This paper supports the argument that studies leading toward language identification will yield more complete results if a number of sociolinguistic factors are combined with linguistic factors in comparing speech varieties.

Rapid Appraisal research constituted the overall framework of this survey. Rapid Appraisal research is limited in scope and depth, mainly because it is limited in time. The goal is to gain a broad and basic understanding of large areas in short amounts of time. This research is foundational and is meant to be followed by more focused, in depth research and analysis.

This paper attempts to explain the Lampungic speech varieties in light of sociolinguistic data gathered during the field investigation mentioned above. The current paper expands upon sociolinguistic data and analysis presented in brief in Anderbeck, Hanawalt and Katubi (2005), which gives a treatment of the cluster more in the light of historical comparative and lexicostatistical analyses. A full treatment of the LIPI-SIL survey of the Lampungic speech varieties will be available in Hanawalt, Tarp and Husain (forthcoming).

In this investigation, our definition for LANGUAGE is borrowed from the 15th edition of the *Ethnologue*:

‘Not all scholars share the same set of criteria for what constitutes a ‘language’ and what features define a ‘dialect’. The *Ethnologue* applies the following basic criteria:

- Two related varieties are normally considered varieties of the same language if speakers of each variety have inherent understanding of the other variety at a functional level (that is, can understand based on knowledge of their own variety without needing to learn the other variety).
- Where spoken intelligibility between varieties is marginal, the existence of a common literature or of a common ethnolinguistic identity with a central variety that both understand can be a strong indicator that they should nevertheless be considered varieties of the same language.
- Where there is enough intelligibility between varieties to enable communication, the existence of well-established distinct ethnolinguistic identities can be a strong indicator that they should nevertheless be considered to be different languages.’ (Gordon 2005:8)

2. Previous Lampungic research

A work that has contributed to the higher classification of the Lampungic varieties is Dyen (1965). On the basis of shared lexical items he classifies the Lampung group as a member of the MALAYIC subfamily, which was in turn under the SUNDIC family. It was in his work that the term Sundic was first used to describe the Malayic and Lampungic families.

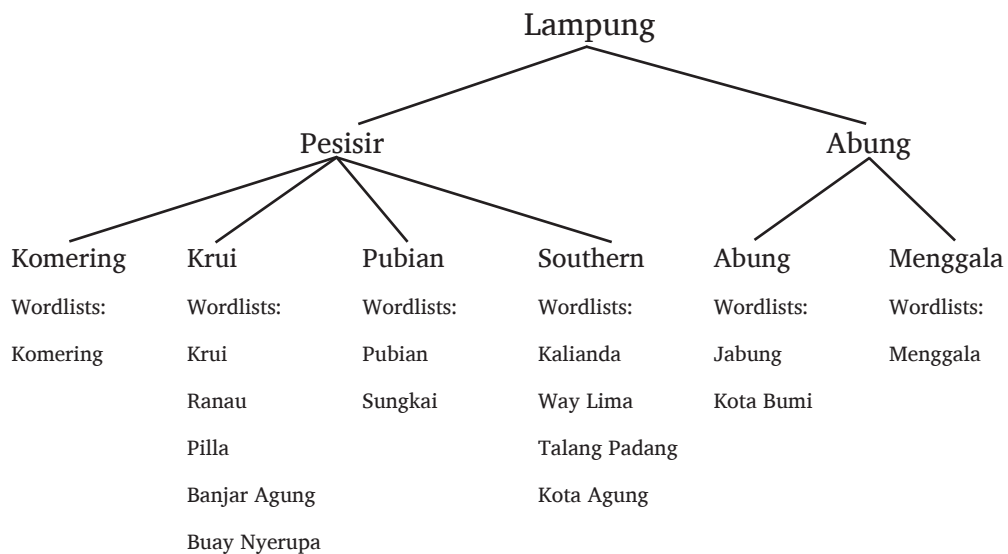
Ross (1995) gives twenty-four groups for the Western Malayo-Polynesian languages. Ross notes, ‘Group 18 contains only Lampung, of extreme south-east Sumatra. Although it has been suggested in the past that it belongs to the Malayic group, current opinion regards it as not yet classified (Blust, pers. comm., Nothofer 1985)’ (1995:78).

Adelaar (2005), starting from Ross's (1995) internal classification of the Western Malayo-Polynesian region, makes several adjustments to it to come up with a configuration of Western Malayo-Polynesian languages. He also places Lampung in its own branch, parallel to Javanese and Malayo-Sumbawan among many others.

Anderbeck (this volume) delineates a list of phonological innovations that establishes Lampungic as a distinct subgroup vis-à-vis other Western Malayo-Polynesian languages, such as geographically contiguous Malay dialects. He demonstrates that Ranau and Kayu Agung, both of whose status has been disputed in the past, should be considered Lampungic.

Walker (1975) approaches the entire Lampungic cluster from a lexicostatistical perspective. Figure 1 illustrates the internal classification of the Lampungic speech varieties according to Walker's lexicostatistical analysis.

Figure 1. Walker's classification of Lampungic subgroups and dialects



Mitani (1980) classifies the cluster's internal relationships through some degree of historical comparative investigation; he also sees two major groups, Nyo and Api, but he denotes Komerling as a language distinct from Lampung Api. He also notes the local accounts that the Kayu Agung group migrated into the area more recently from eastern Lampung. Udin et al. (1990:xiv) give a map of the dialects of the Lampungic group, after quoting the general consensus that the Lampung language consists of two main dialects, Api (Pesisir) and Nyo (Abung and Tulangbawang). Their map groups the Lampung subdialects in this way, noting that the following subdialects share more similarities than differences:

- 1) Kayu Agung and Komering Ilir
- 2) Komering Ulu and Ranau
- 3) Way Kanan (Jelma Daya)
- 4) Sungkai
- 5) Pesisir Krui and Belalau
- 6) Pesisir: Semangka, Pesisir Teluk, Meninting, and Melinting
- 7) Pubian
- 8) Abung
- 9) Tulangbawang

The classification of Komering as a separate language or as a dialect of a larger Lampung language has been disputed by various sources. For example, Foley (1983) lists Komering as a language distinct from Lampung, whereas Fernandes and Sudirman (2002) take issue with this decision and claim that Komering should be listed as a dialect of equal status to the other Lampungic speech varieties.

According to the 15th edition of the *Ethnologue*, the Lampungic cluster consists of nine languages subdivided into two groups: Abung and Pesisir (Gordon 2005:435-7). The *Ethnologue* listing attempts to synthesize the conclusions of several researchers including Walker (1975) and Mitani (1980) to create the language inventory they have published. Their reason for placing Ranau in the Abung group is unclear. Gordon (2005), however, removes Ranau from the list of Malay dialects, as was the case in previous editions. Gordon's (2005) classification is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. *Ethnologue* 15th edition entries for the Lampungic cluster (Gordon 2005)

Grouping		Variety	Ethnologue Code
Lampungic	Pesisir	Komering	KGE
		Krui	KRQ
		Lampung	LJP
		Pesisir, Southern	PEC
		Pubian	PUN
		Sungkai	SUU
	Abung	Kayu Agung	VKY
		Abung	ABL
		Ranau	RAE

Works dealing with individual isolects include Walker's (1976) description of the Way Lima dialect of southern Lampung Province and Abdurrahman and Yallop (1979) on Komering. Since 1985, almost twenty articles and monographs have been published on what the authors call Lampung dialects in conjunction with the Indonesian government's Center for the Establishment and Development of Language (Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa). Of these, Aliana et al. (1986) describe thirteen speech varieties within Lampung Province. This work includes estimated population data and Swadesh

100 word lists for all thirteen varieties. They perform a type of lexicostatistical analysis on the data which reports the number of Swadesh 100 words in each speech variety which hold basically the same form across most or all of the varieties. The percentage of such items that have a similar or identical form across the different varieties is given for each speech variety. Though they suggest possible subgroupings or lexical similarity based upon this data, we see it as being more useful in pointing toward the most central variety in Lampung Province. Their results demonstrated that Talang Padang had the highest number of such similar words at 76 percent, while the variety they call Jabung had the fewest such words at 41 percent, followed closely by the Nyo varieties (1986:65).

A sociolinguistic study on language shift in Lampung may be found in Gunarwan (1994). Gunarwan concludes that language shift to Indonesian is taking place in some of the domestic domains of life in Lampung communities.

Lampungic-Indonesian dictionaries include Noeh and Fadilah (1979), Hadikusuma (1994) and Junaiyah (2001).

3. Research sites

Our research teams visited twenty-seven Lampungic sites in the provinces of South Sumatra and Lampung. This included sites along the Komering River in South Sumatra Province, in the Lake Ranau region around the border of South Sumatra and Lampung, and throughout most of Lampung Province. The locations of these research sites are shown in Table 2 and in the accompanying Map 1. The codes listed in the table and on the map are used throughout this paper in referring to specific LIPI-SIL research sites. These codes are designed to follow the name of the local speech variety, as opposed to the village name.

Table 2. LIPI-SIL Lampungic research sites and codes

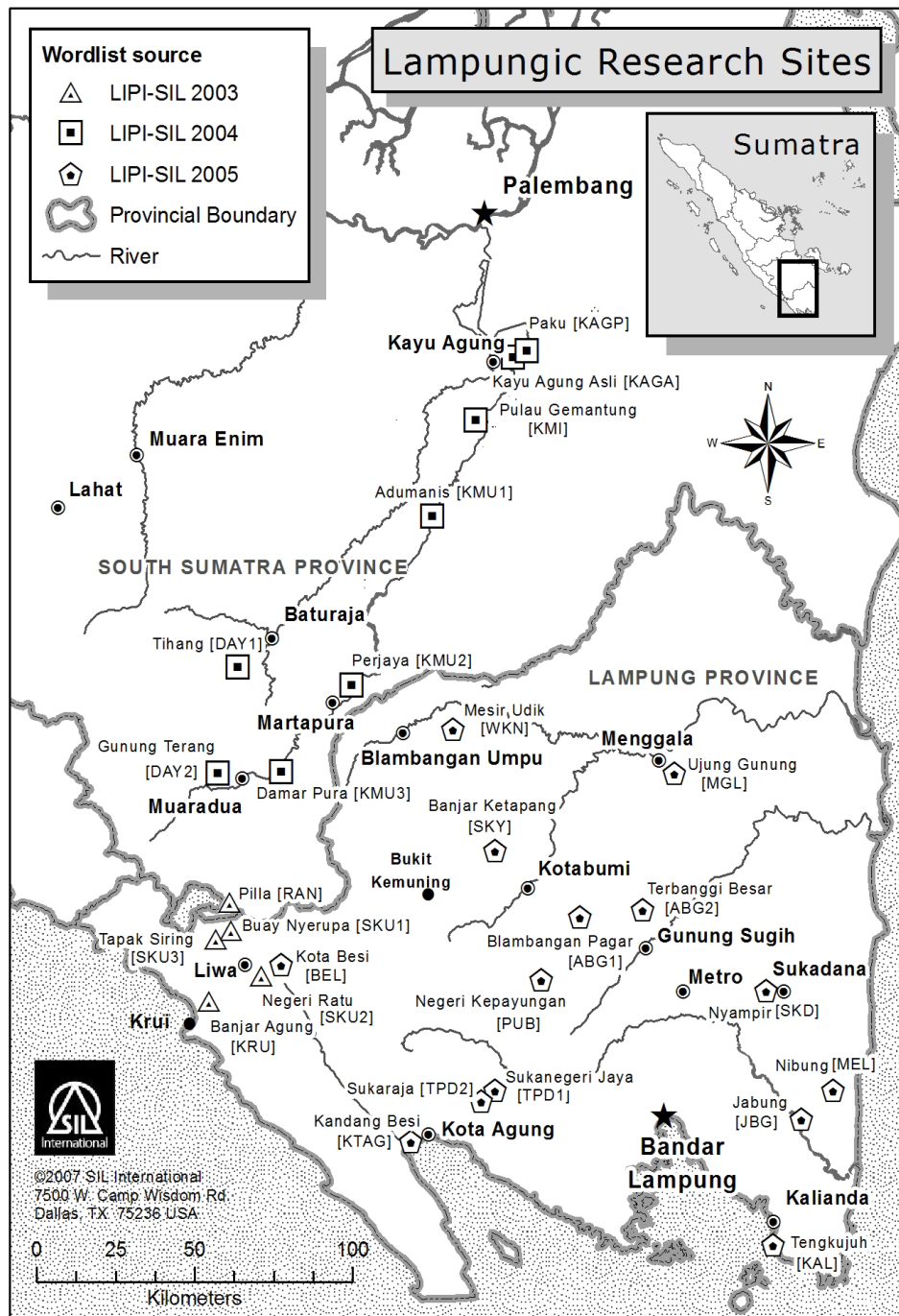
Code	Village	Speech variety	Major dialect subgroup	Subdistrict	Regency
KAGA	Kayu Agung Asli	Kayu Agung Asli	Kayu Agung Asli	Kota Kayu Agung	Ogan Komering Ilir
KAGP	Paku	Kayu Agung/Kayu Agung Pasar	Kayu Agung	Kota Kayu Agung	Ogan Komering Ilir
KMI	Pulau Gemantung	Komering Ilir	Komering	Tanjung Lubuk	Ogan Komering Ilir
KMU1	Adumanis	Komering Ulu	Komering	Cempaka	Ogan Komering Ulu Timur
KMU2	Perjaya	Komering Ulu	Komering	Martapura	Ogan Komering Ulu Timur
KMU3	Damarpura	Komering Ulu	Komering	Simpang	Ogan Komering Ulu Selatan
DAY1	Tihang	Daya	Daya	Lengkiti	Ogan Komering Ulu
DAY2	Gunung Terang	Daya	Daya	Buay Sandang Aji	Ogan Komering Ulu Selatan
RAN	Pilla	Ranau	Ranau	Banding Agung	Ogan Komering Ulu Selatan

Code	Village	Speech variety	Major dialect subgroup	Subdistrict	Regency
SKU3	Tapak Siring	Lampung Pesisir/ Sukau	Api	Sukau	Lampung Barat
SKU2	Negeri Ratu	Lampung Pesisir/ Sukau	Api	Sukau	Lampung Barat
SKU1	Buay Nyerupa	Lampung Pesisir/ Sukau	Api	Sukau	Lampung Barat
KRU	Banjar Agung	Lampung Pesisir/Krui	Api	Pesisir Tengah	Lampung Barat
BEL	Kota Besi	Lampung Peminggir/ Belalau	Api	Batu Brak	Lampung Barat
WKN	Mesir Udik	Lampung Api/Way Kanan	Api	Bahuga	Way Kanan
SKY	Banjar Ketapang	Lampung Api/ Sungkai	Api	Sungkai Selatan	Lampung Utara
PUB	Negeri Kepayungan	Lampung Api/Pubian	Api	Pubian	Lampung Tengah
TPD2	Sukaraja	Lampung Pesisir/ Talang Padang	Api	Talang Padang	Tanggamus
TPD1	Sukanegeri Jaya	Lampung Pesisir/ Talang Padang	Api	Talang Padang	Tanggamus
KTAG	Kandang Besi	Lampung Pesisir/Kota Agung/Semangka	Api	Kota Agung	Tanggamus
KAL	Tengkujuh	Lampung Pesisir/ Kalianda/Rajabasa	Api	Kalianda	Lampung Selatan
JBG	Jabung	Lampung Jabung	Jabung	Jabung	Lampung Timur
MEL	Nibung	Lampung Nyo/ Melinting	Nyo	Gunung Pelindung	Lampung Timur
SKD	Nyampir	Lampung Nyo/ Abung/ Sukadana	Nyo	Bumi Agung	Lampung Timur
ABG2	Terbanggi Besar	Lampung Nyo/Abung	Nyo	Terbanggi Besar	Lampung Tengah
ABG1	Blambangan Pagar	Lampung Nyo/ Abung/ Kotabumi (?)	Nyo	Abung Selatan	Lampung Utara
MGL	Ujung Gunung	Lampung Menggala (Nyo)	Nyo	Menggala	Tulang Bawang

Notes:

1. Under 'Speech variety', the most general but local name is used. A '/' between two entries denotes alternate names for the local speech variety.
2. 'Major dialect subgroup' is as reported locally.
3. In Indonesian, 'subdistrict' is *Kecamatan*.
4. In Indonesian, 'regency' is *Kabupaten*.

Map 1. LIPI-SIL Lampungic research sites



4. Sociolinguistic survey tools used

In order to more completely and accurately understand the complexities of inter-dialectal relationships within the Lampungic cluster, we have employed a number of different sociolinguistic and linguistic research tools within a Rapid Appraisal survey framework. The aspects of these tools that relate to language identity and dialectology are discussed here; in addition, these tools also seek to gain a basic grasp of language use in specific domains and language attitudes. Katubi (this volume) investigates some of the aspects of language shift and language vitality found through this research. A fuller explanation together with templates for each tool listed here may be found in Hanawalt, Tarp and Husain (forthcoming).

As is demonstrated below, the use of multiple tools to gain an understanding of the language and dialect distribution within an area is more desirable than simply relying on the results of a single tool.

4.1. Sociolinguistic questionnaires

4.1.1. *Procedure*

Sociolinguistic questionnaires help answer questions regarding language use and vitality, language shift, dialectology, and language attitudes.

Administering these questionnaires in a group format allows the researchers to gather the opinions of several people at once, as well as gather the group consensus—which is a good indicator of popular sentiments and attitudes. It also reduces the need for a rigorous screening process of informants, as would be necessary for questionnaires given to individuals. Some questionnaires, however, effectively represent the responses of one individual who may have been the most vocal or most respected member of the group. We asked that volunteers for this questionnaire be native to the village and speak the vernacular as their first language.

We also used maps of the area as a reference during questionnaire sessions. The groups pointed out where the same, similar or different language varieties are spoken on the maps, or in response to place names mentioned by the researcher. Not all questions were asked in all locations; some questions were added during later stages of the survey.

4.1.2. *Presentation of results*

4.1.2.1. *Language choice*

Table 3 through Table 5 display the results obtained for the question of what language people from the site surveyed use when they meet a stranger who speaks the dialect in question. See Table 2 for research site codes; other abbreviations introduced in these tables include PL (Palembang Malay), BI (Indonesian, Bahasa Indonesia), BL (Lampung, Bahasa Lampung, always referring to the dialect of that locale), Kom (Komerling) and Meng (Menggala). The terms ‘Pesisir Barat’, ‘Pesisir Tanggamus’ and ‘Pesisir Selatan’ in Table 4 are included to point out that each of these local speech varieties falls within what the people of Lampung call the Pesisir area; the names given to the groupings used here are offered for clarification and do not represent alternate speech variety names used locally. A formula such as ‘2/2=BI 1/2=Kom/BL’ is to be read as both of the two groups of

informants from this locale reported that they use Bahasa Indonesia, while one group out of the two reported that they also use Komering/Lampung.

Table 3. Language choice in inter-ethnic or inter-dialectal situations: South Sumatra Province

Sites surveyed ↓	Kayu Agung Asli	Kayu Agung	Komering Ilir	Komering Ulu	Daya	Ranau	Lampung Pesisir
KAGA	—	—	PM	PM	PM	—	BI
KAGP	Kayu Agung	—	PM	PM or BI	—	—	BI
KMI	1/2 = BI or Kom/KAA	BI	1/2 = PM	1/2 = BI or Kom 1/2 = PM/Kom	1/2 = PM 1/2 = BI or Kom/ Daya	—	2/2 = BI 1/2 = Kom/BL
KMU	—	PM or BI	Komering	Komering	3/4 = Kom/Daya 1/4 = BI or PM	—	2/3 = BI 1/3 = Kom
Daya	BI	BI or PM	Daya/ Kom	3/3 = Daya/Kom 1/3 = or BI	—	Daya/ Ranau	3/3 = BI 2/3 = Daya/BL
RAN	—	—	—	Ranau/Kom	1/3 = Ranau; 2/3 = BI	—	Ranau

Notes:

1. 'KMU' combines research sites KMU1, KMU2 and KMU3 (see Table 2). Mitani mentions a fourth sub-dialect, Komering Buay; however, our research did not confirm its existence. The word *buay* is the local word for Indonesian *marga* 'clan'.
2. 'Daya' combines research sites DAY1 and DAY2 (see Table 2).

Table 4. Language choice in inter-ethnic or inter-dialectal situations: Lampung Province

Sites surveyed ↓	Major subgroup	Way Kanan	Pesisir Barat	Sungkai	Pubian	Pesisir Tang.	Pesisir Sel.	Jabung	Sukadana	Abung	Menggala
WKN	Api	BL	BI	—	—	—	BI	—	BI	BL	Meng
Pesisir Barat	Api	—	BL	—	BL	—	—	—	—	—	2/3 = BI 1/3 = BL
SKY	Api	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	BL
PUB	Api	—	BI	BL	—	BI	—	—	—	BI	—
Pesisir Tanggamus	Api	—	BL	BL	BL	BL	BL	BI	BI	BI	2/3 = BI 1/3 = BL
Pesisir Selatan	Api	—	—	BI	BI	—	—	BI	—	BI	—
JBG	Jabung	BI	—	—	BI	—	BL	—	BI	BL	Meng
MEL	Nyo	—	BI	—	—	BI	BI	—	BL	BL	BI
ABG1	Nyo	2/3 = BI 1/3 = BL	BI	BI	BI	BI	BI	BL	2/3 = BL 1/3 = BI	2/3 = BL 1/3 = BI	BL
MGL	Nyo	—	BL	—	—	—	BL	—	BL	—	—

Notes:

1. 'Pesisir Barat' is a geographic cover term which includes research sites SKU3, SKU2, SKU1, KRU and BEL (see Table 2).
2. 'Pesisir Tanggamus' is a geographic cover term which includes research sites TPD2, TPD1 and KTAG (see Table 2).
3. 'Pesisir Selatan' is a geographic cover term which includes research site KAL (see Table 2).

Table 5 unites the responses from several areas into single categories and reports the broad patterns in responses found throughout the groups.

Table 5. Language choice in inter-ethnic or inter-dialectal situations: between provinces

Sites surveyed ↓	Ranau	Komering/Daya	Lampung Pesisir (Api)	Lampung Nyo
Ranau	Ranau	2/4 = Ranau/Komering 2/4 = BI	BL	2/3 = BL 1/3 = BI
Komering/ Daya	Daya/Ranau	12/19 = Kom or Daya 4/19 = LWC and/or own language 3/19 = LWC-BI or BP	4/8 = BI 3/8 = BI and/or own language 1/8 = own language	—
Lampung Pesisir (Api)	BI	3/4 = BI 1/4 = BL	14/20 situations = BL 6/20 = BI	12/17 situations = BI 5/17 = BL
Lampung Nyo	BI	3/6 = BL 3/6 = BI	25/30 situations = BI 5/30 = BL	15/19 situations = BL 4/19 = BI

4.1.2.2. Language similarity mapping

Boone and Stalder (2003) note that any two speakers of the same or related varieties may delineate either a wide or narrow area where their speech variety is spoken, based on their personal language and ethnic attitudes. Linguistic and social awareness also vary between speakers, and influence their perspective on linguistic boundaries. Keeping the above principle in mind, the emic mapping of dialects below cannot be considered a quantitative description of where these varieties are spoken. Emic understanding of dialectology in this area is probably also connected to clan distinctions. The following maps describe the emic perspective of the respondents, in response to two questions: 'Where is the language and dialect spoken exactly the same as yours?' and 'Where do the people speak a dialect that is a little different from yours, but still easily understood?'

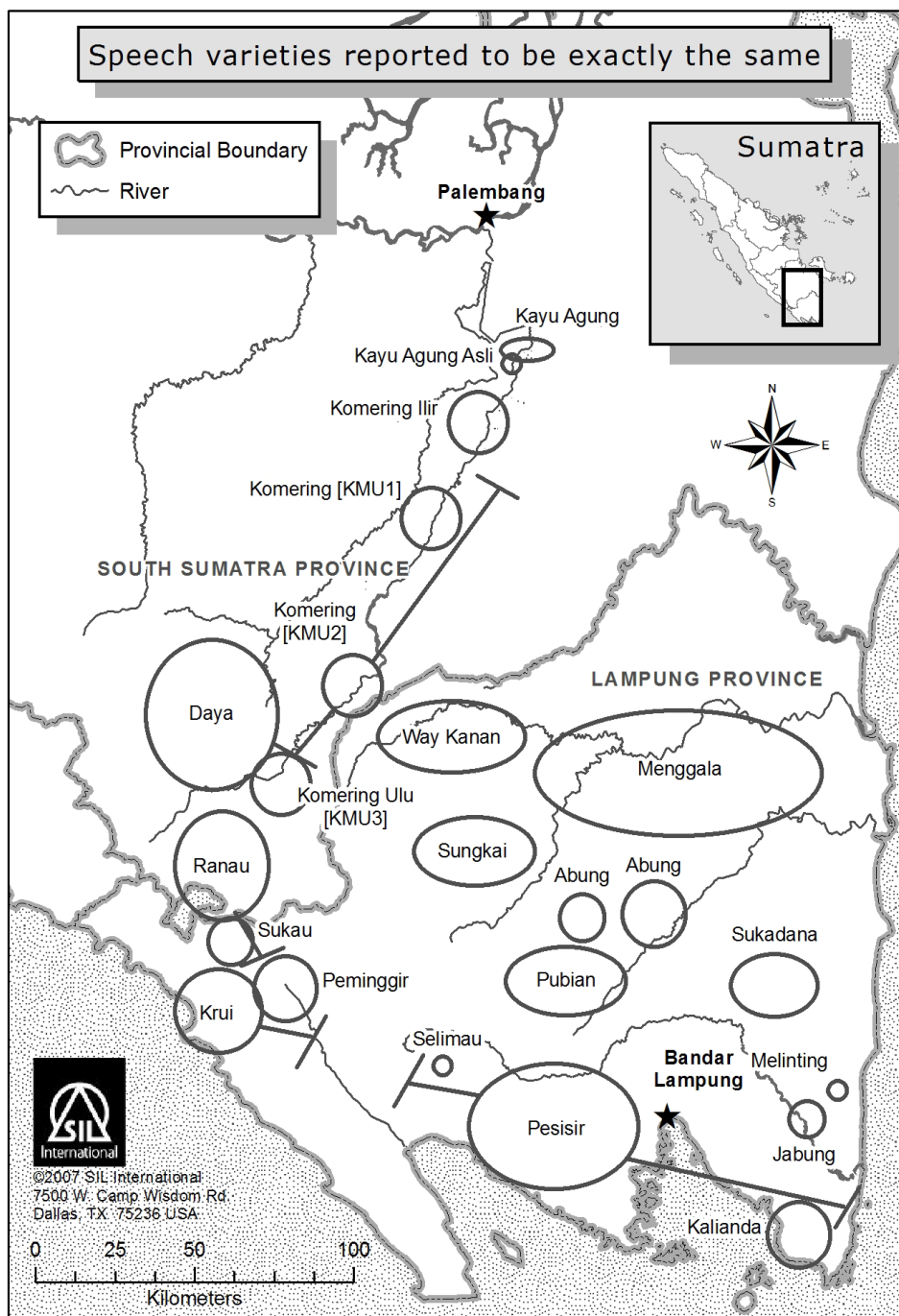
4.1.2.3. Ethnic identity

Understanding emic ethnic identification can give clues to dialect and language boundaries. Respondents were asked the question: 'Do you originate from the same ethnic group as group ____?' or the variant, 'Did your ancestors originate from the same ethnic group as group ____?'

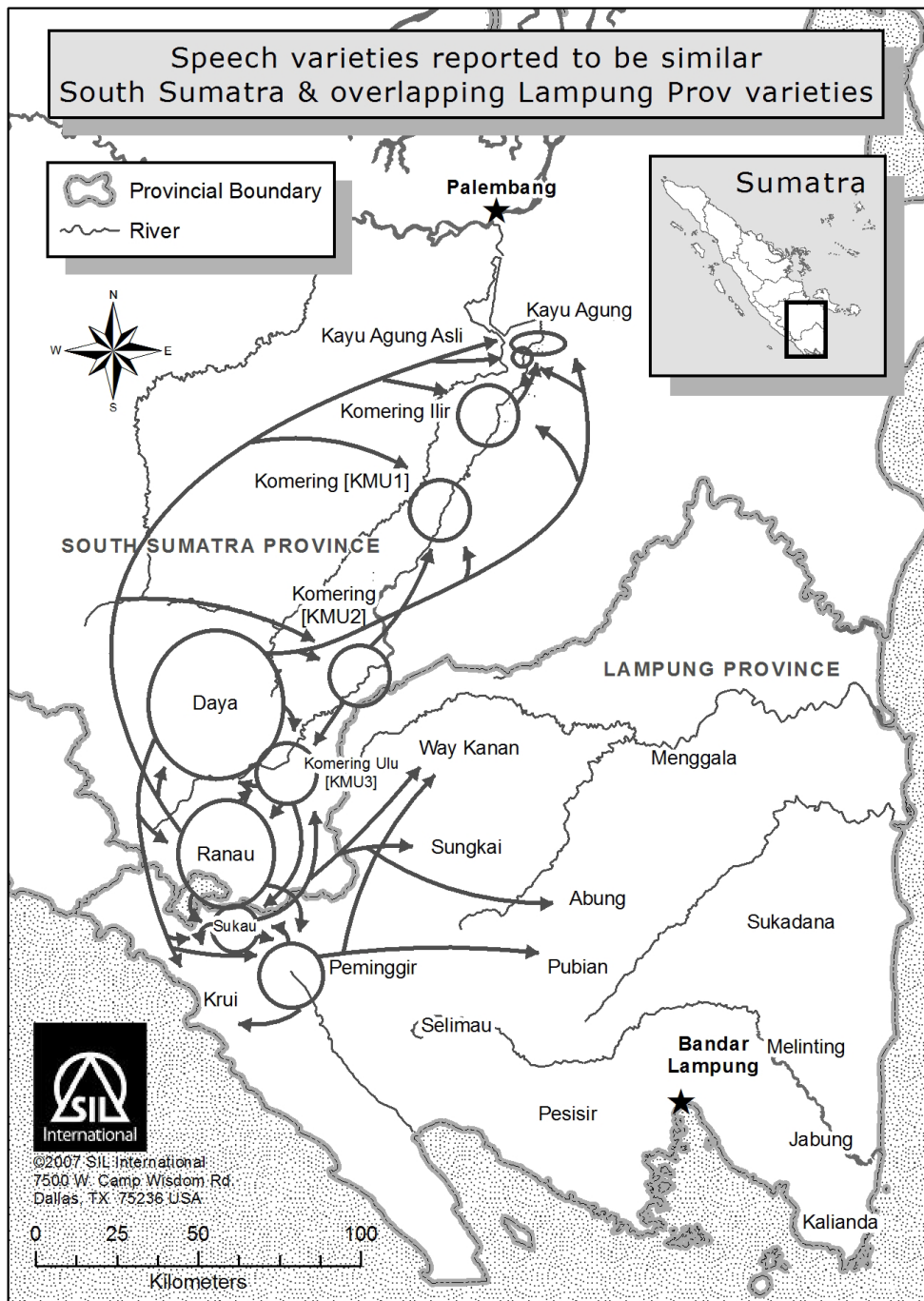
In general the Lampungic groups of South Sumatra identify ethnically with each other and with the Pesisir people in Lampung Province. The scope of ethnic inclusion varied from the all-inclusive KMI, to those in KMU1, who only identified ethnically with other Komering.

The group interviewed in KMI showed the most perspicuous understanding of ethnic relations, claiming relation to the Kayu Agung Asli, all Komering, Daya and Lampung Pesisir. They did not include Kayu Agung in the list, which lines up with the theory that the Kayu Agung people originally migrated from a Nyo area of Lampung, and are therefore more distinct from the Api dialect chain to which Komering and Kayu Agung Asli link.

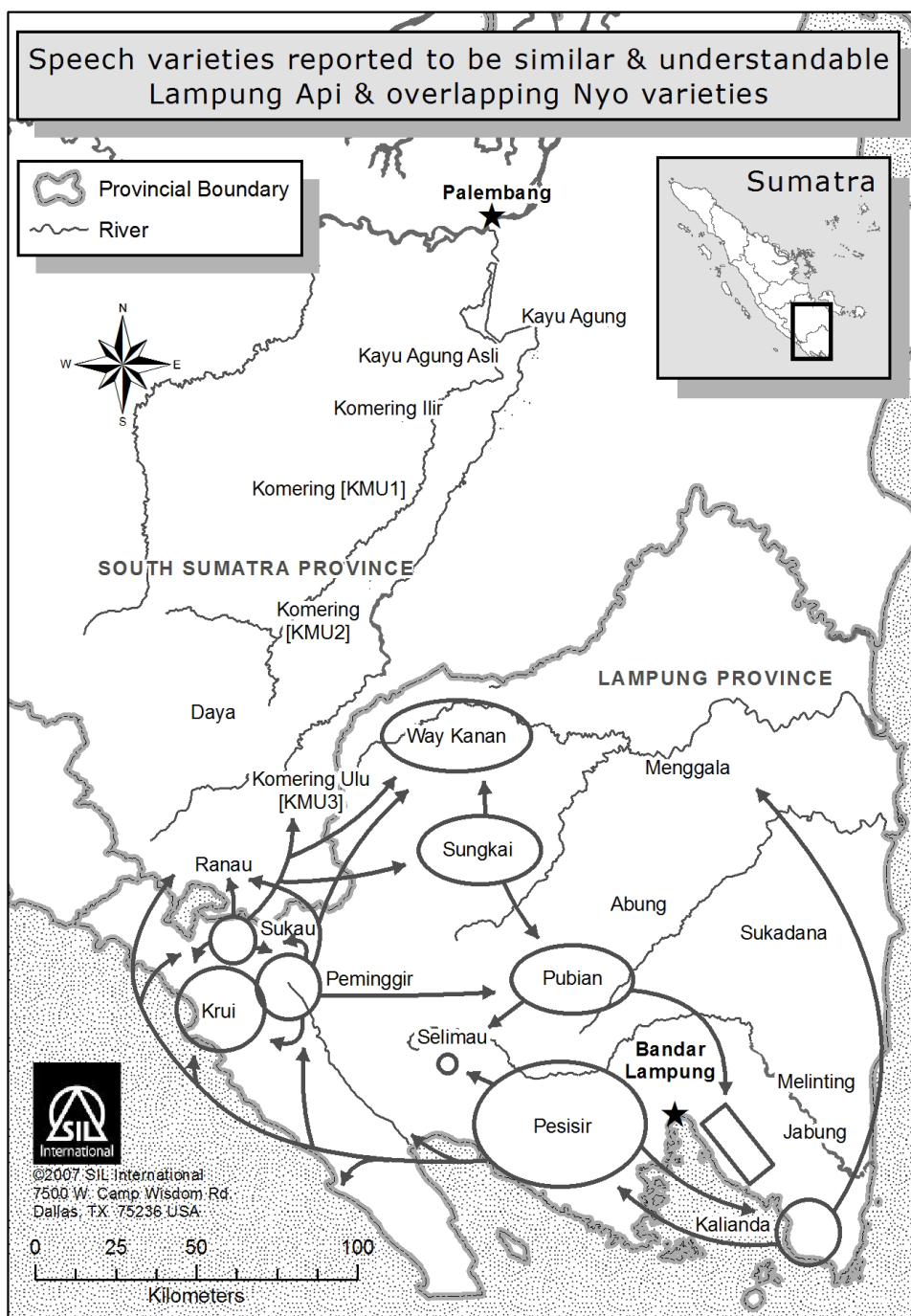
Map 2. Areas where the speech variety is reported to be exactly the same



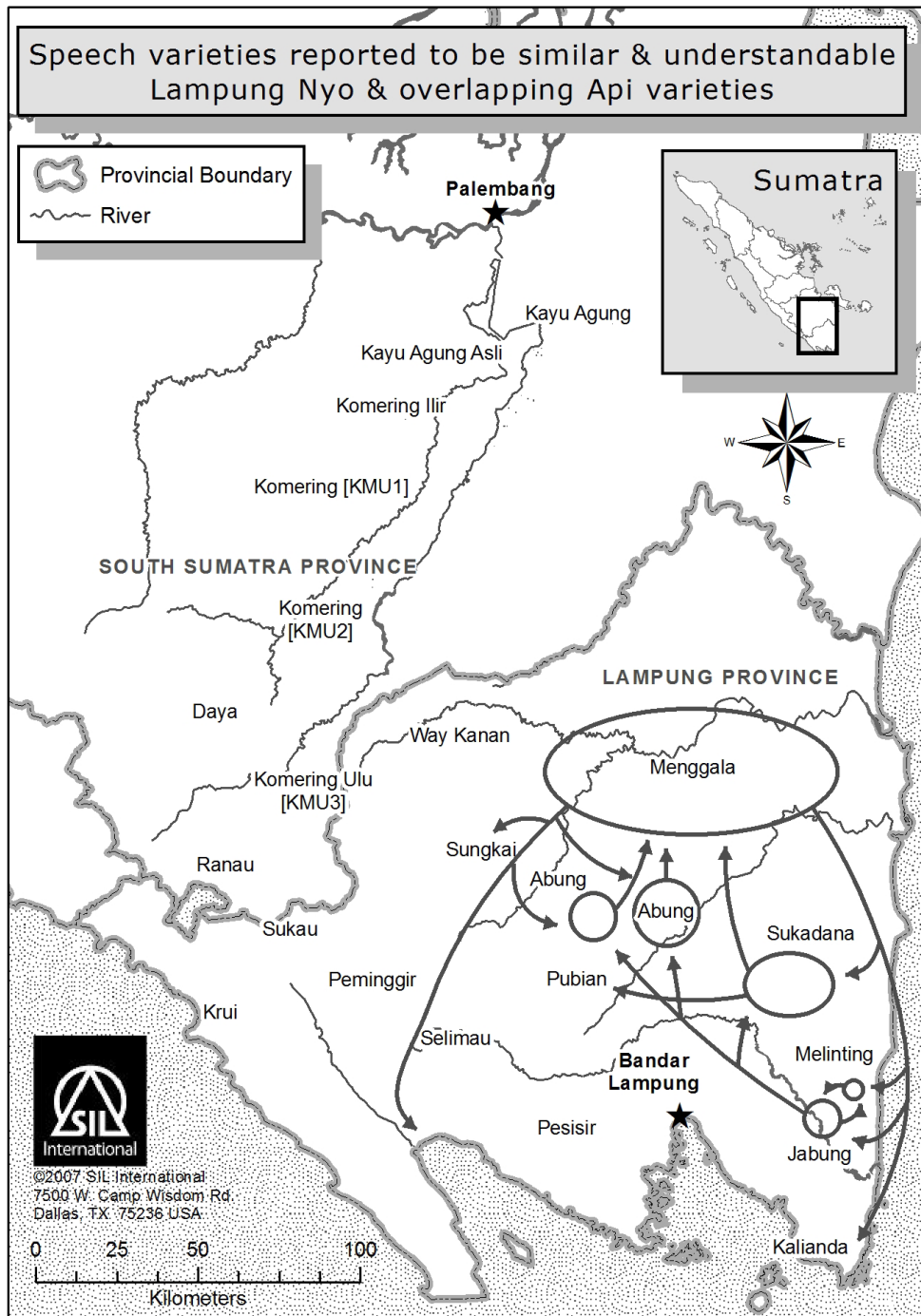
Map 3. Areas where the speech variety is reported to be similar and understandable:
South Sumatra Province and overlapping Lampung Province varieties



Map 4. Areas where the speech variety is reported to be similar and understandable: Lampung Api and overlapping Nyo varieties



Map 5. Areas where the speech variety is reported to be similar and understandable: Lampung Nyo and overlapping Api varieties



However, those interviewed in Kayu Agung Asli and Kayu Agung identified ethnically with each other. This could be explained by their long history of interaction, and the fact that they have been geographically cut off from other Lampungic groups by interposing Malay groups. The Kayu Agung only identified ethnically with Kayu Agung Asli. Some Kayu Agung Asli interviewed also identified ethnically with Komering.

Those in Ranau identified with Lampung Pesisir, but not with Abung or Menggala, and not with any groups down the Komering River.

The Daya didn't connect with anyone downriver from them, either; only with the Ranau and Lampung Pesisir.

In Lampung Province, there is general ethnic solidarity across the two main dialect and *adat* ('tradition') divisions. They all consider themselves Lampungese, and, therefore, related; except that an apparent degree of exclusivity causes those in MEL and SKD to only identify with Sukadana. JBG's choice to identify with Way Kanan and Kota Bumi, but not with Kalianda, could be explained in terms of shared *adat* with those more western groups and JBG's claim that they originally came from the Way Kanan area.

Those interviewed in PUB were strong to assert that the Komering people are ethnically related to the Lampungese.

In this case, the most distinct lines are drawn around Kayu Agung. There are vague ties between Kayu Agung Asli and Komering; but the Kayu Agung people do not connect with anyone outside their subdistrict. One piece of information that we failed to ask concerned any ethnic connection between the peoples along the Komering River and the Nyo groups in Lampung. It should be noted that answers to a questionnaire like this vary sometimes even within one group, depending upon the knowledge and opinions of those present.

4.1.3. *Interpretation of results*

Although responses to sociolinguistic questionnaires varied considerably from place to place, some general responses can assist us in confirming the subgrouping of the Lampungic cluster presented thus far. First, data relating to language choice in inter-variety contact situations (cf. Table 3) point to the general existence of an internally related chain in the western part of Lampung Province, extending down the Komering River in South Sumatra Province. Likewise, evidence for a subgrouping of varieties in eastern Lampung Province is also present.

Maps 2 through 5—based upon informants' responses regarding which speech varieties are similar and understandable to them—show us that the eastern Lampungic varieties do not consider the South Sumatra Province varieties nor most of the western Lampung Province varieties to be similar. The case is the same in the other direction, with the exception of two groups of the western Lampungic chain that are located nearest the geographic center of the chain, i.e., Sukau and Peminggir. Menggala also named two of the southern groups in the western Lampungic area as having a similar dialect (but cf. §4.2.2 below). With a couple exceptions, the notion of the two Kayu Agung groups perceiving themselves and being perceived as distinct (except by Daya and one Komering group) is also supported by the responses elicited for these questions (cf. Map 3). Finally, it is significant to note that the groups in the center of the western Lampungic area—Sukau and Peminggir—named both the Komering River varieties as well as the southern Lampung Province varieties as being similar. The Komering River varieties and the southern Lampung Province sites, on the other hand, did not consider each other's speech to be all that similar.

Ethnic identity responses were mixed from one place to another and even within one village, but some general patterns can also be seen here. Informants in most of the Komering varieties identified ethnically within their clans only, but a few included Kayu Agung Asli (not Kayu Agung), Daya and Lampung Pesisir. This supports the existence of a chain of speech varieties in the western Lampungic area, as mentioned above, together with the exclusion of the eastern Lampungic varieties from that chain. Regarding Kayu Agung, those in Kayu Agung Asli and Kayu Agung identified ethnically with each other, but only the Kayu Agung Asli identified with the Komering. This still leaves us with a more loose relationship between Kayu Agung and the rest of the western Lampungic chain. Some informants pointed out that the Kayu Agung people are thought by many to have migrated some time ago from somewhere in the Lampung Nyo area, which is also attested by Mitani (1980).

4.2. Rapid Appraisal Recorded Text Test

4.2.1. Procedure

The Recorded Text Test (RTT) is based on the assumption that a person's ability to retell a story heard in another speech variety corresponds to his or her ability to comprehend that speech variety. The original methodology for the RTT is described in Casad (1974). In practice, this tool can differentiate between very low levels of comprehension in the second language (L2) and moderate/high levels of comprehension. It cannot reliably distinguish between and within moderate and high levels of comprehension of the second language. O'Leary (1994) describes various aspects of the limitations of use of the RTT in language research and language program planning.

For our Rapid Appraisal survey of the Lampungic cluster, the original RTT was modified significantly (cf. Stalder 1996) in order to make the test more efficient for our purposes; we were simply trying to gain a preliminary understanding of whether speakers of the main, reported dialect groups could in fact comprehend the other main dialects or not. Thus, the collection of texts was done on a less rigorous scale, and a group setting was used instead of testing individuals. In brief, the Rapid Appraisal RTT (RA-RTT) requires a group of subjects to listen to a recorded story in another speech variety and retell it segment by segment, paraphrasing it in their mother tongue or into a language of wider communication (LWC).

Three stories were recorded. One story was told in the Menggala dialect (Nyo, or eastern Lampungic). Two stories were told by speakers from Talang Padang (Api, or western Lampungic in Lampung Province), though from slightly different sub-varieties. One of these Api stories was in a high register, the other in mid to low register (everyday speech).

These stories were then tested in nine Api villages and in three Nyo villages, using the results of previous research and personal interviews to determine which varieties were of the Api group and which were of the Nyo group. Respondents heard the stories in the vernacular and retold the stories in Indonesian. This method of RA-RTT test taking shows the respondents' general ability to understanding the text given.

4.2.2. Presentation of results

The RA-RTT is not designed to be a quantitative test. We have determined in many instances that the variation seen in the results and the appearance of unpredictably high scores in certain areas was most likely the result of two main factors. First, most of the

informants for this test were men who were in positions of leadership, almost all of whom had fairly frequent contact now or in the past with speakers of the speech variety in question. The second major uncontrolled factor affecting these test results was the less-than-desirable quality of the RTT from the Talang Padang (Api) area. Based upon many informants' comments, we believe that the poor quality of the recording (significant background noise and fast speech) affected their comprehension of the text.

Table 6 presents a summary of the results of the RA-RTT in terms of a qualitative evaluation of observed and reported comprehension of the texts. The symbol \emptyset corresponds to low comprehension of the recorded text. Areas with high comprehension of the respective text are denoted with the symbol \checkmark . The symbol \approx shows the areas where the comprehension was somewhere in between.

Table 6. Summary of RA-RTT results

Test site	RA-RTT version			
	Talang Padang (TPD1)		Menggala (MGL)	
	Researcher's observations	Informants' self-evaluation	Researcher's observations	Informants' self-evaluation
SKU1 (Sukau)	Got the main points; missed many details \approx	Said they understood all of it \approx	Got many main points of the story; missed some details \emptyset	Claimed a wide range of comprehension depending on person \emptyset
KRU (Krui)	Got some main points but missed others \approx	Said they understood all of it \approx	Missed a great deal of the main points \emptyset	Some said they understood it all, some women said they didn't understand any of it \emptyset
BEL (Liwa)	Got the main points but missed many details \approx	Said they understood all of it, but that there were some slang words they didn't know \approx	Got the main points of the story; missed some important details \approx	Said they could understand about 75 percent of the story \approx
WKN (Way Kanan)	Got the main points and all the details \checkmark	Said they understood all of it \checkmark	Got the main points and most details, but several informants had more difficulty than others \emptyset	Said they understood the whole story but that it was significantly different speech; older people wouldn't be able to understand very much \emptyset
SKY (Sungkai)	Got most of the main points; many people seemed confused with certain sections \approx	Said they understood most of the story \approx	Got the main points of the story and most details \checkmark	Said they understood everything except one word \checkmark

PUB (Pubian)	Got the main points but missed some details ≈	Said they understood it but that the recording was unclear ≈	Got the main points of the story and most details ≈	Men said they understood all of it, but that older women would only get half of it ≈
KTAG (Kota Agung)	Got most of the main points of the story ≈	Said they understood all of it ≈	Got most of the main points; had trouble with some details ≈	Said they understood about half of it ≈
TPD1 (Talang Padang)	Home town test √	√	Got most of the main points; missed a few important details ∅	Said that those who had never left the village would only understand a little bit ∅
KAL (Kalianda)	Got all the main points but missed some details ≈	Said they understood most of the story ≈	Understand most elements of the story (possibly tied to acquired intelligibility) ≈	Said they understood the whole story ≈
JBG (Jabung)	Got the main points but missed many details, after two or three hearings ∅	Said they understood most of it but that there were many words they didn't know ∅	Understood every detail of the story √	Said that the speech is different from their own, though they understood all of it √
MEL (Melinting)	Got the main points only after hearing it four or five times ∅	Said they understood only a little, only a few words they recognized ∅	Understood every detail of the story √	Said they understood it all and that children would also understand it √
SKD (Sukadana)	Got the main points but very few details ∅	Said they understood only a little ∅	Understood every detail of the story √	Said it was easy for them to understand √
ABG1 (Abung)	Got the main points, but with difficulty ∅	Said they understood some scattered words in the story ∅	Understood every detail of the story √	Said they understood it all and that less-traveled people would get all of it √
MGL (Menggala)	Got the main points, but very few details ∅	Said they understood about half of it ∅	Home town test √	√

4.2.3. Interpretation of results

The results displayed in Table 6 demonstrate wide variation in the groups' abilities to comprehend the texts. Some general and useful statements can be made, however. The

most striking piece of evidence for comprehension and lack of comprehension may be seen in the results for the Nyo groups plus Jabung. They were able to understand the Menggala (Nyo) text very well, but they all had great difficulty with the Api text. This points to a high degree of uniformity in the level of comprehension of at least that one Api variety, and it points to the fact that at least Menggala is understood well throughout the whole Nyo area, plus Jabung.

The results in the Api areas were less homogenous. Comprehension of the Menggala text was good in some areas, and poor in others, not corresponding in any apparent way to geography. Information gathered in interviews, however, points to the likelihood that this high comprehension results from acquired intelligibility, as the Menggala people are well-known throughout the province and have established entire villages in other parts of the Lampungic region.

Most notable of the comprehension abilities within the Api area is that the various Api speakers overall did not perform as well at comprehending one of the Api speech varieties as the Nyo people did at comprehending the Nyo variety Menggala.

In the Api case, this could be simply due to lack of close contact between many of the ethnic groups and the fact that they are separated by significant geographical distance. In the Nyo case, this could be due to much greater contact between the groups, or at least between Menggala people and other groups. On the other hand, it could be the result of the relatively higher number of shared linguistic and lexical features briefly described below.

5. Linguistic survey tools used

As mentioned above, not only sociolinguistic elements were taken into consideration in this language survey. An historical comparative analysis and lexicostatistical analysis were also done on word lists collected during the survey. These two aspects of our analysis of the Lampungic cluster are only mentioned in broad outline below. A complete treatment of the data leading to the conclusions presented here may be found in Anderbeck, Hanawalt and Katubi (2005) and in Hanawalt, Tarp and Husain (forthcoming). An initial reconstruction of Proto-Lampungic is postulated in Anderbeck (this volume).

Although word lists were available for some sites from other researchers, the quality of these word lists and purpose for their collection varied. Thus we found it necessary to re-collect word lists in some locations in order to fill in missing data for our analysis.

5.1. Historical comparative phonological analysis

A historical comparative analysis allows for the grouping of speech varieties based on shared phonological innovations; the mutual absence of a particular innovation, however, does not constitute grounds for grouping two speech varieties together. We do not attempt to construct a lower-order subgrouping of Lampungic varieties but rather demonstrate the most likely similarities that emerge from our analysis. The findings in this section are an outgrowth of comparative studies done by White (n.d.) and Anderbeck (this volume).¹

¹ Because of time constraints, an in depth comparison of morphology and syntax is typically not included in a Rapid Appraisal survey.

First, we posit a western Lampungic subgroup which exhibits the innovation of ultimate $*ə > o$ —those groups along the Komering River in South Sumatra, the western mountains and western coast of Lampung Province and the southern and western inland sections of Lampung Province (including Jabung), possibly also including Menggala and Sukadana from the Lampung Nyo area. Thus only the Abung and Melinting varieties are excluded from this subgroup.

Fortunately, the uncertainty regarding whether Abung and Melinting fit into this first subgroup can be sufficiently answered by looking at a combination of other innovations. A second subgrouping of the four varieties in the Lampung Nyo area can be made based upon several innovations. First, the case of nasal deletion in nasal consonant clusters at syllable boundaries supports this subgroup, plus Jabung (though more evidence is needed in the case of Melinting). Second, the nearly absolute deletion of Proto-Lampungic word-initial $*h$ is another phonological change that is found only in these four eastern Lampungic varieties, plus Jabung again. A fourth phonological innovation that corresponds very clearly to the four Nyo varieties plus Jabung is the change of word-final $*a > o$. Finally, word final $*o$ (from earlier $*a$) together with $*i$ and $*u$ were diphthongized. This change to final diphthongs is not the case in Jabung, however.

Within this subgroup, the evidence in Menggala related to the innovation of slightly higher realizations of the diphthongs discussed above helps us to possibly separate out Menggala as a subgroup of its own.

The phonological changes presented above point to the existence of a subgroup consisting of the four varieties of the Nyo group, together with Jabung.

The historical comparative evidence that penultimate $*ə > o$ helps us group Kayu Agung, Kayu Agung Asli and the Komering River varieties together.

A separate innovation which may allow Kayu Agung to effectively stand by itself separate from all other varieties is the innovation in all varieties except Kayu Agung of debuccalization. Subgroupings are not made based upon retentions (or the absence of an innovation), but in this case the fact that Kayu Agung alone has retained final voiceless consonants is nevertheless very interesting.

One further subgrouping can potentially be made, though the evidence for this is not as strong. The western mountain and coastal varieties Krui, Ranau and Sukau all exhibit the fortition of final $*h$ and the less systematic deletion of initial $*h$. This is deemed not as strong of a basis for labeling them as a separate subgroup, but it is at least a clue calling for further investigation into that possibility.

5.2. Lexicostatistical analysis

Our lexicostatistical analysis allows us to make some statements about the synchronic situation among the Lampungic dialects. First, we see that it is possible to state that lexically, there are two general subgroups within the Lampungic cluster which internally share higher degrees of lexical similarity between varieties. One of those is an eastern subgroup. This corresponds to what is referred to locally as the Lampung Nyo speech varieties—Menggala, Kotabumi, Sukadana and Melinting.

The second subgroup will be referred to as the western subgroup, although it stretches from north to south in the shape of an arc, as described above. This includes all the other varieties not included under the eastern subgroup—from Kalianda and Jabung in the south to Kayu Agung and Kayu Agung Asli in the north.

In general, we find a loose chain of dialects running from Kalianda in the south, through central and western Lampung and down the Komering River. It is beyond the scope of lexicostatistics, however, to make any lower-level dialect divisions within this chain.

One very interesting case, though, is that of Jabung, which does not display this same high degree of lexical similarity with its immediate neighbors in the western subgroup. Instead, it shares the highest degrees of similarity with speech varieties located much further north in that subgroup—corresponding nicely with local reports that the Jabung people had migrated from that interior western area some time ago.

Overall, our lexicostatistical analysis agrees with Walker (1975), except that it appears his site ‘Jabung’ corresponds to our site ‘Nibung/MEL’ (Melinting dialect) a few kilometers away from Jabung, whereas our ‘Jabung/JBG’ and ‘Jabung dialect’ correspond to a significantly divergent group of three villages centered in the town Jabung.

6. Synthesis of results

Three sets of evidence suggest that the Nyo, or eastern Lampungic subgroup, is much more homogenous than the remaining groups are with each other. First, the historical comparative analysis yields a number of innovations that link the Nyo varieties together. Next, the lexicostatistical analysis also links them more closely together lexically than many areas are to each other in the remainder of the speech varieties. Finally, the Nyo RA-RTT text comprehension for the Nyo speakers was much higher and more consistent than the Api speakers’ comprehension of the Api text. This subgroup is further attested by the language similarity maps presented above, where the majority of Nyo sites named other Nyo sites as being very similar in speech, but excluded for the most part the remainder of the speech varieties.

The Nyo varieties aside, the homogeneity and interrelatedness of the remainder of the Lampungic varieties is much more at issue. Above we stated that it is far more desirable to use a number of tools to determine the language and dialect situation in a given area, as opposed to using one tool only. A number of examples from this western side of the Lampungic cluster will suitably illustrate and support this claim.

While lexicostatistics may provide some idea that these western groups somehow ‘belong together’, nothing firm can be concluded from lexicostatistics about whether this constitutes one language or not. (Again, in this paper the definition of language found in Gordon 2005 is being used.)

Next, the historical comparative method permits us to nicely group together the Nyo varieties along a number of shared innovations; however, this does not hold true at all for the remaining varieties. We are left with only one solid subgrouping (Kayu Agung and Kayu Agung Asli with the Komering River varieties) and a small number of other, more tenuous possibilities.

If we were simply to stop there, using either one or both of the linguistic methods of analysis, we would not only fall far short of answering all the points in our adopted definition of what is a language but would also end up completely ignoring a wealth of information provided by the native speakers’ own perception of their languages.

In turning to our interpretations of results for the non-Nyo varieties, we see some conflicting conclusions. On the one hand, the non-Nyo speakers in Lampung Province see themselves as all speaking something called Api, which they consider by and large to be a single language (*bahasa*); and for the most part they claim that the local varieties are

mutually intelligible. When faced with a real-life example of such a variety in the form of a brief, recorded story, however, many of these same individuals who claimed to be able to understand all the other Api varieties really could understand only a part or very little of the example given.

Such a discrepancy points out two important issues related to language identification and other aspects of sociolinguistic survey. First, how do we know that the respondent has the same thing in mind when we ask him or her questions about a particular speech variety? It is possible that he or she is thinking of something completely other than what the researcher has in mind; or that the respondent has never had any real exposure to the variety in question, but answers based on a desire to please the researcher or to avoid losing face.

Second, we must be aware that answers given about how many distinct languages there are in a cluster may be the product of generations of passive knowledge rather than active experience. Such knowledge may not always reflect reality; the answer may be found to be quite different if the person is asked about the same speech variety a week after living in that other variety's homeland for the first time.

For this reason a battery of tools or tests is needed, preferably including something like the RA-RTT, which places a real example in front of the respondent, allowing him or her to give a response that corresponds to his new, though somewhat artificial, firsthand experience with the speech variety in question.

Unfortunately, the RA-RTT has not yet been employed for the South Sumatra Province part of the survey. Thus, a significant piece of information about intelligibility between the speech varieties there and elsewhere is still missing. Looking at the evidence in hand, however, does help us come to a better understanding of these groups' relationship to the whole. Our historical comparative analysis leads us to group together all the varieties labeled Komerling, plus the two Kayu Agung varieties. Further, our language similarity maps help us see that the groups at the 'ends' of these non-Nyo areas (the Komerling River groups and the southern Lampung Province groups) do not consider themselves to be all that similar in language—though they are aware of some ethnic ties. By contrast, the non-Nyo groups in the geographic center (such as Peminggir and Sukau) consider the groups to both the north and south of them to be similar. Such evidence points to the existence of a sort of dialect chain among the non-Nyo varieties. Based on the evidence presented here, this chain seems to have two sections that overlap in the middle, namely a southern section (southern, central and western Lampung Province) and a northern section (central and western Lampung Province and the South Sumatra Province varieties).

Our ethnic identity questions together with interviews with native speakers must be compared with the facts presented above. As far as language identity is concerned, both the Daya and Kayu Agung groups assert a more separate ethnolinguistic identity which must not be ignored.

7. Conclusions

7.1. Comparison with previous research

The general consensus of most researchers is that the entire Lampungic cluster can be divided into two large subgroups—Lampung Api (Pesisir) and Lampung Nyo.

The Lampung Api subgroup contains many speech varieties or more local clusters of speech varieties, which for the purposes of this paper have been termed local speech varieties. Most past research, including Walker (1975) and Mitani (1980), agree that the Komering varieties are linguistically a part of the Lampung Api subgroup. A few other researchers, such as Foley (1983), treat Komering as a separate language parallel to Lampung. Our research confirms the existence of two or three main subgroups within the Lampungic cluster.

Within the Lampung Api subgroup, most researchers recognize bundles of speech varieties of different sorts, usually referring to these regional clusters as ‘dialects’. The most clearly distinct of these dialects seem to be Komering, Sungkai and Pubian. Other groups seem to be less clear in terms of a locally accepted name and delineation of the extent of their dialect, with most of these being centered around a particular town or region (e.g., Krui and Kalianda). Other researchers obtained names related to clan (*marga*) backgrounds (e.g., Bengkulah, Meninting).

Within the Lampung Nyo group, two groups noted as dialects are Abung and Tulangbawang (Menggala). Our research also confirms the existence of two such dialect groups, both in linguistic as well as in sociolinguistic terms.

Our findings differ considerably with those of Aliana et al. (1986) as to the areas inhabited by some speech varieties. For instance, Aliana et al. (1986:48) claim that the Jabung ‘subdialect’ is spoken in eleven subdistricts, while village leaders in Jabung claim that their speech variety is only spoken in three villages. We postulate that this and similar discrepancies may be due to a difference in how dialect names were elicited.

7.2. Language mapping²

The evidence presented in this paper leads us to three main possibilities for presentation of the Lampungic speech varieties, in light of the three criteria found in our definition of language (cf. §1).

In the first option, the Lampungic cluster could be listed simply as one language—a large, interconnected cluster of dialects with some clear subgroupings. This option would be based primarily on the view that the Lampungic varieties are structured in two dialect subgroups. Though low, there is some level of comprehension between the two clusters. Additionally, there is a clear sense, especially among speakers in Lampung Province, that all Lampungic speakers speak the same language, albeit with significant regional differences. Calling this language ‘Lampung’ would lead to several problems, however. First, this would immediately suggest to the hearer that this language is confined to Lampung Province, which is clearly not the case. Second, we anticipate that there would be local resistance to the use of the term ‘Lampung’ in areas outside Lampung Province to refer to local speech varieties, such as in the Komering River valley. Nevertheless, there is some understanding among Komering and Kayu Agung leaders that they are ethnically related to the Lampung people of Lampung Province. As the Kayu Agung people are located along the Komering River, we submit that it would be sufficient to list them as a dialect under a broader name that encompasses Komering. In this option, we suggest the name LAMPUNG-KOMERING to refer to the entire language cluster.

² The language maps displayed in this paper make no claim as to real or imagined ethnic or political boundaries. Maps in this paper were created using ArcGIS software, which was kindly donated by Environmental Systems Research Institute (ESRI). Permission to reproduce these maps in any print, electronic or other media must be obtained in writing from SIL International.

The second option would be to list the cluster as two main languages—an eastern Lampungic cluster (LAMPUNG NYO) and a western Lampungic chain (LAMPUNG API-KOMERING), with each main speech variety listed as a dialect underneath one of these two entries. In this terminology, CLUSTER refers to a group of dialects that share a very similar degree of intelligibility and other similarities with each other; whereas a CHAIN is defined as a group of dialects that are connected but in a more linear fashion—a given variety is most closely related to its immediate neighbor, but less so to another variety further away. This option would see the clear distinction and low intelligibility between the eastern and western sections of the Lampungic cluster as significant enough to label them as two separate languages (groups of dialects). In this scenario, Kayu Agung would be listed as part of the Lampung Api-Komering language due to its ethnic affinity to the Kayu Agung Asli, which is a variety very closely related to Komering. Jabung would also be grouped with the Lampung Api-Komering group because of historical-comparative similarities and ethnic affinity with the interior western Lampungic chain—places such as Sungkai and Way Kanan. This option would not go so far, though, as taking into consideration many of the inter-variety attitudes and other ethnic identity statements of the informants in some of the groups, as called for in the *Ethnologue*'s third criterion for labeling a group of speech varieties as a language.

Such attitude and affinity statements would be taken into account in a third option, where the Lampungic cluster would be listed as three, four, or five languages. The eastern Lampungic cluster would still be listed as the LAMPUNG NYO language, with its dialects of Abung, Tulangbawang, Sukadana and Melinting. The western Lampungic chain could be broken down into two or three languages—chains of dialects—beginning with the distinction above of one large chain in Lampung Province, but including Ranau and probably Daya, which we could call LAMPUNG API. The Daya seem to relate more to the Lampung Pesisir groups south of them than to the Komering right beside them—though they do appear to have intelligibility in both. Thus Daya would probably be best grouped with the Lampung Api rather than as a part of the Komering dialect chain. A separate dialect chain called KOMERING would comprise the closely related speech varieties along the Komering River—all the Komering varieties, Kayu Agung Asli and Kayu Agung. Kayu Agung Asli should be included in the Komering dialect chain based upon historical-comparative and ethnic affinity ties to the Komering. However, the Kayu Agung people are more difficult to place in the Komering chain on the grounds of a lack of ethnic affinity. Ethnic affinity is a major criterion for grouping varieties together into languages, thus it may be necessary to consider Kayu Agung a separate language possibly originating in the eastern Lampungic cluster, with close ties now to Kayu Agung Asli due to a long period of proximity. In that case, it may be best to keep it as one language but label this chain 'Komering-Kayu Agung'; alternately, we could separate them out as two languages: 'Komering' with a dialect Kayu Agung Asli, and 'Kayu Agung'. In this approach Kayu Agung Asli would specifically need to be mentioned in order to avoid confusion with what is meant by the label 'Kayu Agung'. The final speech variety that is difficult to place is Jabung. It seems clear that Jabung is more comparable to the interior western Lampungic groups linguistically (Way Kanan, Sungkai and Pubian); the sociolinguistic analysis regarding Jabung is divided, however. The RA-RTT comprehension data and sociolinguistic questionnaires point to Jabung's much greater ability to understand Lampung Nyo speech. However, the interviews also reveal that the Jabung people came from Way Kanan in interior western Lampung at some time in the past. Long contact with their present Nyo neighbor has made them more accustomed to Nyo speech than to the western Api speech. As far as classification as a separate language or as a dialect of one of the other groups, it may be best to list Jabung within the Lampung Api

cluster as a more distant variety which has incorporated many features found in the Lampung Nyo cluster. However, on the basis of the Jabung informants' statements that they speak Lampung Jabung (as opposed to Nyo or Api), it could be argued that they are sufficiently different linguistically from both groups to warrant listing them as a separate language on language identity grounds. A display of this third option with three Lampungic languages may be seen in Map 6. This constitutes our recommendations to the *Ethnologue* editors for redrawing the map of the Lampungic cluster languages and adjacent languages. Language boundaries shown below for other languages outside the Lampungic cluster are simply taken from the existing *Ethnologue* mapping data. Discussion of the language boundaries for those languages is beyond the scope of this paper.

This survey also included an investigation of the Haji/Aji people of South Sumatra Province, listed in Gordon (2005:436) as a dialect of Malay. Anderbeck (2005) uses the comparative method to determine the origin of lexical stock and phonological innovations and retentions in Haji, concluding that Haji originated from a Malay parent language but has since borrowed significantly from Lampungic. Anderbeck (2005) thus argues that Haji should be listed as a separate language. The locations of the Haji language are shown in Map 6.

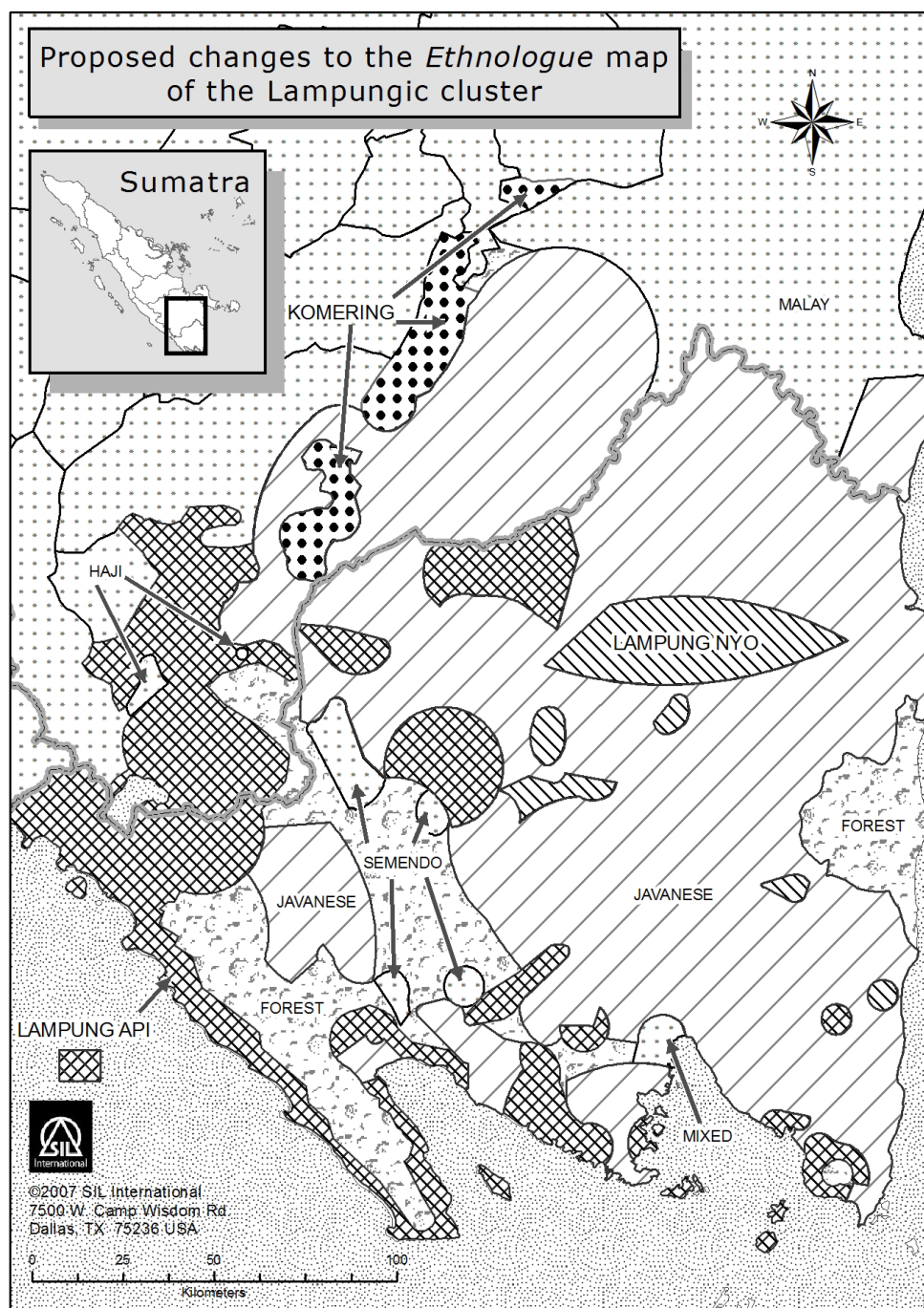
7.3. Call for further research

Further research into intelligibility is necessary within the western Lampungic chain. The varieties within South Sumatra Province were not included in the RA-RTT testing, thus no direct testing of their comprehension of each other or of varieties in Lampung Province has yet been carried out. Also, there were some quality problems with the text used in the RA-RTT recording, which may or may not have affected comprehension of the RA-RTT text. It would be desirable to test intelligibility of other speech varieties within the western Lampungic chain, as well. Within the eastern Lampungic cluster research should be done to determine whether there is reciprocal intelligibility of the other speech varieties, as only Menggala was used in the RA-RTT testing.

A better understanding of how the setting, question ordering and methodology of administering sociolinguistic questionnaires affects responses would potentially allow us and other researchers to enhance our ability to obtain good, emic responses from local participants. Minimizing the effect of the instrument while at the same time obtaining useful information must be pursued further.

Language mapping in Sumatra and elsewhere should be considered critically in terms of how best to represent the language inventory. Finding a balance between a useful way to display languages on a map and accurately representing current sociolinguistic realities presents an ongoing challenge. Further study into the possibilities and benefits of various ways of representing the linguistic and sociolinguistic diversity within Sumatra is necessary. Of particular concern is how best to map areas of heavy transmigration and areas where there is a significant mixing of ethnic groups in alternating villages.

As summarized in §2, some investigations into specific aspects of some of the Lampungic varieties have been conducted. Further investigation should be undertaken into aspects of the phonology, grammar, discourse, semantics, sociolinguistics and other domains among the varieties of Lampungic spoken in the two provinces.

Map 6. Proposed changes to *Ethnologue* map of the Lampungic cluster

Abbreviations

BI	Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia)	RA-RTT	Rapid Appraisal Recorded Text
BL	Lampung (Bahasa Lampung)		Test
Kom	Komering	RTT	Recorded Text Test
Meng	Menggala	PM	Palembang Malay
LWC	Language of Wider Communication		(For research site codes, see Table 2)

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An Initial Reconstruction of Proto-Lampungic: Phonology and Basic Vocabulary*

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Lampungic isolects such as Komering, Pubian and Lampung are spoken by approximately one and a half million people in the western Indonesian provinces of Lampung and South Sumatra. Differing subgrouping hypotheses for Lampungic have been posited, whether with Malayic, or Malayo-Javanic, or, most recently, as an isolate within Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP).

*Drawing on a recent dialect study as well as earlier sources, this study is an initial attempt to provide parameters for understanding the place of Lampungic within WMP. Specifically, it is a reconstruction of the phonology and basic vocabulary of what is called Proto-Lampungic (PLP). A principled distinction is made between pre- and post-PLP innovations. The result is a bundle of features which together can be used to define a Lampungic subgroup and to distinguish it from its neighbors. The most important of these diagnostic features involve reflexes of PMP *R, *d and *j.*

Although Lampungic is one of the most phonologically conservative WMP languages, its lexicon has absorbed myriad loanwords, particularly from Indonesian and Sumatran Malay.

1. Introduction

Lampung is a set of related Austronesian language varieties spoken by approximately one and a half million people on the southern part of the island of Sumatra. There are many unanswered questions about the history of the Lampung people and their language: How long has this group been where it is? Does their language contain any evidence of past migrations, and if so, from where? What relationship does Lampung have with other Austronesian languages including its neighbors?

This comparative study does not answer all the questions above, but is aimed at providing initial parameters for understanding the history of the Lampung (LP) language or languages. Namely it is a reconstruction of parts of the phonology and lexicon of Proto-Lampungic (PLP), including how it developed from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP), and how it changed into the various forms we find currently.

* Many people have contributed in one way or another to the development of this paper. I wish to thank the Indonesian Institute of Sciences for providing visas and permissions for this research, SIL International for providing the funding, my SIL colleagues who collected much of the data used herein, Chad White who wrote much of the first draft of this paper, and the Lampungic-speaking people who were so generous with their time and help, even protecting us from being robbed of our survey equipment! I would like to single out my friend Mas Ali from Menggala, Lampung, as someone who went above and beyond to help us dig deeper into the secrets of his language.

1.1. External classification

Dyen's *A Lexicostatistic Classification of the Austronesian Languages* (1965) was one of the first to tackle the classification of Lampungic (LP). Under his SUNDIC HESION he put the Javo-Sumatra Hesion, Sasak, Balinese, the Malayic Hesion, and the Dayak Subfamily among others. He originally grouped LP under the MALAYIC HESION along with Madurese, Achehnese, Minangkabau, and Kerinci (1965:26). Since Dyen's research the term MALAYIC has been constricted to apply only to Malay dialects and their close kin like Iban (Adelaar 1992). Also, being that Dyen's classifications were based on lexicostatistics and given the large amount of Malay borrowings in LP, it has since become clear to scholars that LP is not as closely related to Malayic as would be implied by lexicostatistics.

Malcolm Ross (1995:78) gives twenty-four groups for the Western-Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) languages. He writes, 'Group 18 contains only Lampung, of extreme south-east Sumatra. Although it has been suggested in the past that it belongs to the Malayic group, current opinion regards it as not yet classified (Blust, pers. comm., Nothofer 1988).' Adelaar (2005a) brings forward Ross's classification of LP without further comment.

The question therefore remains relatively unexplored whether LP can be subgrouped with Malay or with any other language below the (Western) Malayo-Polynesian level.

I attempt to demonstrate in this paper that the defining characteristics of Lampungic are:

- 1) loss of PMP **h* in all positions with some irregular retention word-initially;
- 2) PMP **q* > PLP **h*;
- 3) retention of PMP **w*;
- 4) very limited medial nasal excrescence;
- 5) limited consonant cluster reduction;
- 6) merger of PMP **R* and **r* in word-initial position;
- 7) syncope of PMP **R* in CaRaC environments;
- 8) non-initial PMP **(e)R* > PLP **y*;
- 9) conditioned merger of PMP **j* and **d* with PLP **r*;
- 10) retention of PMP **z* as PLP **j*;
- 11) retention of the PMP four-vowel system, and of diphthongs **-ay*, **-aw* and **-uy*;
- 12) shift in some instances of PMP **-ay* and **-aw* to *i* and *u* respectively (irregular areal feature);
- 13) PMP **-iw* > PLP **(y)u*;
- 14) epenthetic semivowel *w* or *y* inserted between low-high vowel combinations;
- 15) Nothofer's (1985:294) SYSTEM 3 PAN numeral system.

The question is also raised below whether any of Adelaar's (2005a) twenty-two other WMP subgroups shares enough of these features to make a convincing case for merger with another subgroup or for positing a shared intermediate node under WMP.

1.2. History and ecology of Lampung language

Comparative linguistics, archaeology and other disciplines have given us an understanding of the origins and general migration patterns of early Austronesian-speakers and approximately when they began to move into the regions we now call island Southeast Asia. It is thought that these speakers brought agricultural technology with

them, which allowed them (or at least their languages) in many cases to overwhelm the earlier inhabitants of the areas they entered. Bellwood (1999) believes that the lowland areas of Sumatra were probably quite thinly populated due to their unsuitability for foraging prior to the advent of agriculture, so it may not have been too difficult for groups like Lampung-speakers to establish themselves in this new territory without enduring the type of language interference we see in, say, eastern Indonesia.

However, history gives us a picture of substantial later contact between Lampung and other language groups including Javanese (JAV), Sanskrit (SKT), and, of course, Malay (MAL). In fact, for most of the past two millennia Lampung must have been under at least some level of domination by either the Malay ‘port authorities’ to its north like Srivijaya, or the agrarian Javanese kingdoms to its south and east. I argue in this paper that it is Malay influence which is of the highest degree in Lampung vis-à-vis the other potential donor languages. Sumatran Malay-speaking groups border and partially surround Lampung. Additionally, in modern times we have Indonesian, the national language. In his 1976 grammar of Way Lima, Lampung, Walker writes ‘The influence of the Indonesian/Malay language on Lampung is pervasive. Contacts with Malay go back hundreds of years. In the past decades the influence of the national language is even stronger, affecting the phonology, the grammar, and the lexicon of Lampung.’ Sections 4 (PLP lexicon) and 5 (Changes from PMP to PLP) give substantial attention to the thorny issue of teasing out Malay borrowings from what is truly Lampungic.

1.3. Internal classification

On the basis of compared sound systems, lexicon, sociolinguistic attitudes, and reported and measured intelligibility, Hanawalt et al. (In progress) conclude that LP can be divided into three major dialect clusters:

- 1) Lampung Api;
- 2) Komering;
- 3) Lampung Nyo.

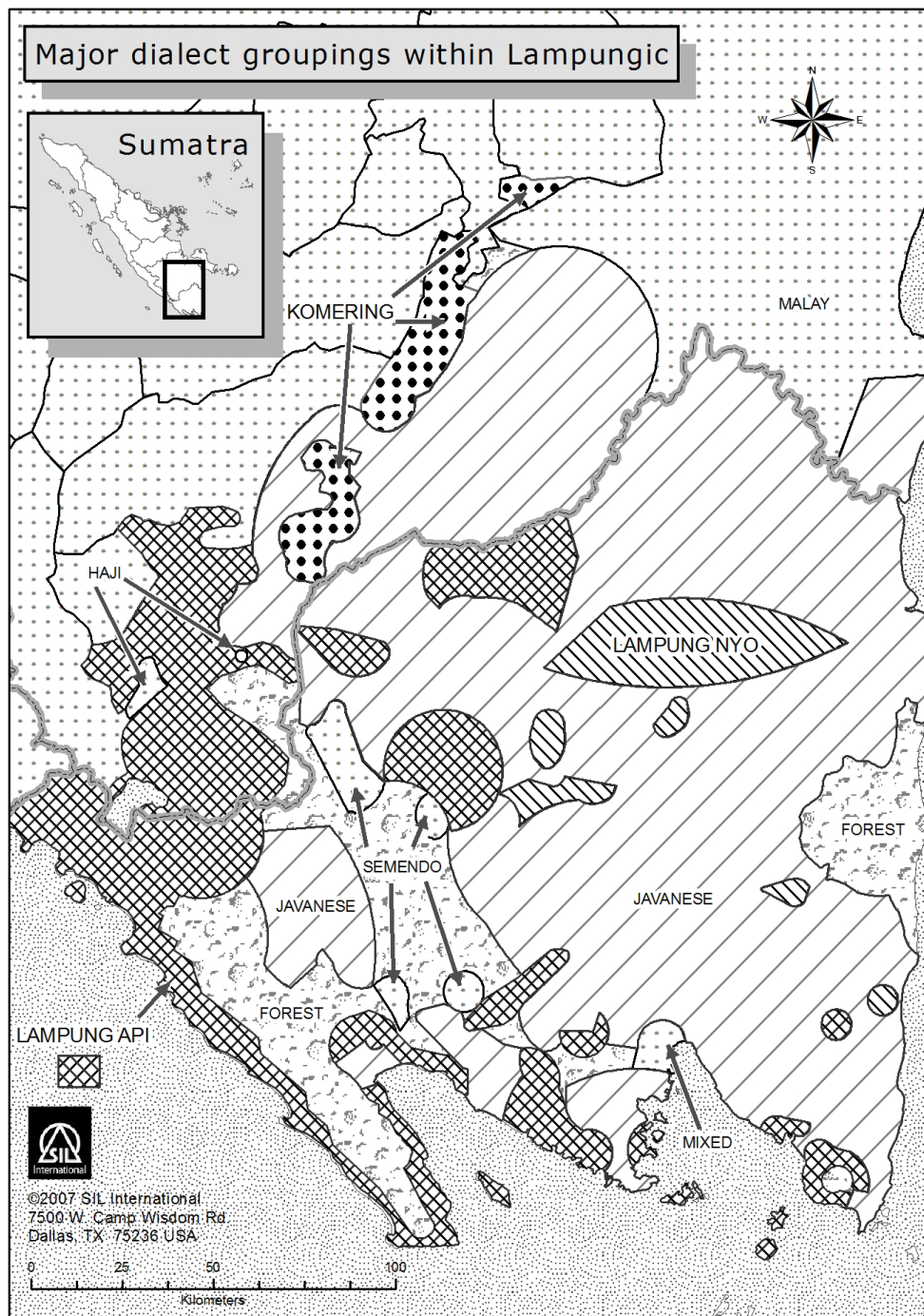
LAMPUNG API and NYO are named after their respective words for ‘what’, while KOMERING is the name of the river which forms the homeland of the northernmost dialect cluster. Lampung Api (henceforth Api) is also often referred to as PESISIR, meaning ‘coastal’, while Nyo is often referred to as ABUNG, which is an important ethnonym within the Nyo grouping. See Map 1 for a visual illustration of their locations.

There are not many strong linguistic differences between Api and Komering; their relationship is more of a language chain than two completely separate clusters. The starkest differences are between Nyo and the rest of LP. Dialect differences are discussed in further detail in §3.4.

1.4. Previous research

Hanawalt et al. (In progress) lay out in detail the various linguistic and sociolinguistic studies that have been done on Lampungic isolects, so that is not repeated here. I just mention studies that have been of particular benefit to this historical-comparative look. Pre-1950s research on Lampung was detailed in Voorhoeve’s (1955) *Critical Survey of*

Map 1. Major dialect groupings within LP



Studies on the Languages of Sumatra, beginning with van der Tuuk in the 1860s. Reportedly there is a grammar of Komering and a few dictionary manuscripts, but I have not had access to these works. From the same time period but more accessible are the so-called Holle Lists (Stokhof 1987), a compilation of word lists gathered mostly around the turn of the twentieth century. Among these lists are four Lampungic word lists, with a fifth ‘pretender’ identified as ‘Nasal’ discussed below.

More recently, there have been four dictionaries made available in some form, including one Komering-to-Indonesian dictionary (Gaffar et al. n.d.) and two others focused on the Nyo dialect group (Junaiyah 1985 and Hadikusuma 1994). Noeh and Fadilah (1979) is the most comprehensive of the four and provides information on a few different Api groups as well as Nyo. The other three are not very comprehensive; Hadikusuma helpfully includes some information from fourteen dialect areas but is the thinnest of the bunch. I relied on two phonological descriptions, one of a Lampung Api area called Way Lima (Walker 1976) and the other of Komering (Abdurrahman and Yallop 1979). Arguably the most helpful resource for this study was Walker’s (1975) *A Lexical Study of Lampung Dialects*, which included twelve word lists and an initial discussion of internal dialect divisions based on lexicostatistics. As part of a larger work on the people and agriculture of Sumatra, Yasuyuki Mitani (1980) wrote on the language varieties of South Sumatra Province. In his paper he commented on Walker’s classification of the Lampung dialects and offered a theory of the history of the Lampung dialects. Unfortunately he did not publish most of the data upon which his conclusions were based. Aliana et al. (1986) describe thirteen speech varieties within Lampung Province using lexicostatistics to determine the most central variety. Also informative is Hadikusuma et al.’s (1996) *Adat Istiadat Daerah Lampung* (Custom and Tradition in the Lampung Area) which discusses some of the ethnic divisions and their backgrounds.

Most of the data used in this paper were gathered by SIL personnel from 2003 to 2005. Linguistic instruments included a 350-item word list, a sentence elicitation list, and targeted phonological and historical-comparative elicitation. Section 2.1 gives greater detail on the WHERE and WHY of data sources used in this paper.

1.5. Dialectology

Dialectology is concerned with defining dialect boundaries and developments within the language family. Collins (1989:237) says it this way: ‘The task of the dialectologist is to identify the splits which have yielded the contemporary network of dialects. In other words, delineating the history of a language, its diffusion, and its diversification, is the goal of dialectology.’

There are two basic models that have been followed to explain such splits: the tree model and the wave model. The tree model assumes a sharp division has occurred by a separation or migration of the language community. The wave model sees innovations like pebbles dropping into a pond of water. The ripples that are created move ever outward creating ‘a welter of isoglosses that crisscross one another’ within the area (Chambers and Trudgill 1998:91). This is sometimes referred to as diffusion.

This comparative study is firmly set within a dialectological framework. In a reconstruction of a language such as Lampung, where the entire language community lives within a single (albeit large) geographical area, one can expect to see substantial diffusion of linguistic innovations across dialect areas. The better the sampling, of both innovative and relic dialect areas, the further back in history one is able to go with a

reconstruction, and the greater one's ability will be to accurately generalize to the whole language group.

1.6. Comparative method

This study employs the historical-comparative method to discover innovations within Lampung and retentions from PLP. In the comparative method we find regularly recurring phoneme correspondences that occur across sets of cognate forms found in the speech varieties being studied. These regular phoneme correspondence sets give an indication of what the original sound in the proto-language was. Establishing a set of these sounds we can begin to form the phonology and lexicon of the proto-language. Working from the proto-language back to the present day forms of the language we can see where changes have taken place (innovations) and where the segment has stayed the same (retentions). It is those retentions and innovations that help us determine the language classification and define dialect boundaries.

What I am seeking to define, through the use of the comparative method, is a significant intermediate stage between Proto-Malayo-Polynesian and the present where Lampung had differentiated itself from its (Western) Malayo-Polynesian kin but not yet undergone major internal dialectal differentiation. I label this stage Proto-Lampungic. That there ever was a stage where Lampung existed as an undifferentiated entity is a significant assumption, but we can see below that it holds up rather well as a working hypothesis.

1.7. WordCorr

Mechanical processing of the approximately 6500 Lampungic lexemes gathered was done with a computer program called WordCorr. It allows the user to keep track of the huge amounts of data involved with historical comparative linguistics, gives a structure for the data to be entered uniformly, and allows the user to manipulate and organize data according to several different analytical viewpoints. Several different language projects can be worked on at once within WordCorr as well and passed to other linguists for review and comments. It is able to generate an exhaustive list of correspondence sets along with any conditioning environments a linguist wishes to posit, along with reconstructions of all the words used for comparison.¹ I used WordCorr to keep track of correspondence sets, to help me find the regularly recurring changes from Proto-Lampungic to modern Lampungic isolects, and to reconstruct PLP phonemes and word forms.

I shall now briefly detail the steps I went through in processing the data. After the word lists had been gathered and keyboarded, they were placed together in an Excel template, then processed with a program called PalmSurv Converter (<http://sourceforge.net/projects/psconverter>) to get into a form which could be imported (data and metadata) into WordCorr.

The next step was to decide which lists would be included in the analysis and in which order. This is called a VIEW; decisions made related to this are discussed in §2.1. One of the decisions which had to be made was the THRESHOLD percentage at which WordCorr would include correspondence sets for analysis. For example, in a collection of ten lists, for the gloss 'lightning' there may be three different cognate sets, one with five representatives and the others with just a few. The default percentage in WordCorr is set at 50%, which

¹ For a more complete description of WordCorr see <http://wordcorr.sourceforge.net>.

basically means only one correspondence set per gloss will be selected for analysis. Given the large number of word lists in this collection and a desire to be as thorough as possible, I set the Threshold at 10%. At 10%, the threshold caught for analysis any word with at least three reflexes. This seemed appropriate given that my goal was not simply to reconstruct a proto-language but also catch and analyze reflexes of higher-order reconstructions, primarily Proto-Malayo-Polynesian. This requires a larger filtered data set.

Once the cognates are set into groups, the next task was to ALIGN them so that, in a word like *rua* ‘two’, the reflexes of **r* lined up with each other, **u*, **a*, etc. Once the segments are lined up, I assigned a protosegment to each correspondence set of each cognate group, and an environment, like word-final, intervocalic, etc. Upon completing that task for all 350 glosses, I was able to look at all the correspondence sets together and REFINE my analysis, grouping or splitting environments or protosegments and noting any irregularities. For example, when I observed that reflexes of **ə* in ultimate syllables behaved a certain way sometimes but differently in others, I was able to look at all the examples together and determine that a further conditioning environment needed to be specified to explain the extant reflexes. (This particular example is discussed in §3.4.1.)

Finally, I was able to export my analyses, which appear, after a bit of massaging, in the data sections of this paper.

2. Lampung today

2.1. Data sources

The primary data sources for this study, besides those mentioned in §1.4, are twenty-three word lists, some of which are 350 items in length, others 200. See Table 1 for details, including the order in which the data in later sections is presented, and the short names by which the data points are referenced in the remainder of the paper. Map 2 shows much of the same information in visual form.

One may notice that many of the SIL word list sites are also sites of lists from Walker (1975) and wonder why we revisited those sites. This following in Walker’s footsteps, so to speak, was deliberate, because Walker’s lists (excepting Way Lima) were not elicited by him, a trained linguist, but were rather produced by native speakers from those areas but living elsewhere, written in orthographic script. So one could say that the later SIL lists from these areas are simply a refinement and check on the earlier work.² The exception to this pattern is Way Lima, where Walker himself had done extensive fieldwork, and we did not sample there. The SIL teams also sampled several areas from where Walker had not published lists. I am confident that the lists used in this study provide a fairly comprehensive geographical representation of the multiplicity of LP isolects.

One potential ‘data point’ needs to be mentioned here. One of the Holle lists (Stokhof 1987:143–157) is from the Nasal River in Bengkulu bordering the Krui area of Lampung. While the language variety represented by this list, gathered in 1895, at first blush seems to be Lampungic, I argue in §6.1 that it is most likely NOT, but does contain a very high number of Lampung loanwords including some archaisms useful for this reconstruction. As such, the NASAL list is occasionally used as a data source.

² The SIL teams did other work in these areas including sociolinguistic questionnaires, sociolinguistic observation, recorded text testing, etc. See Hanawalt (this volume) and Hanawalt et al. (In progress) for further details.

Table 1. Word list sites

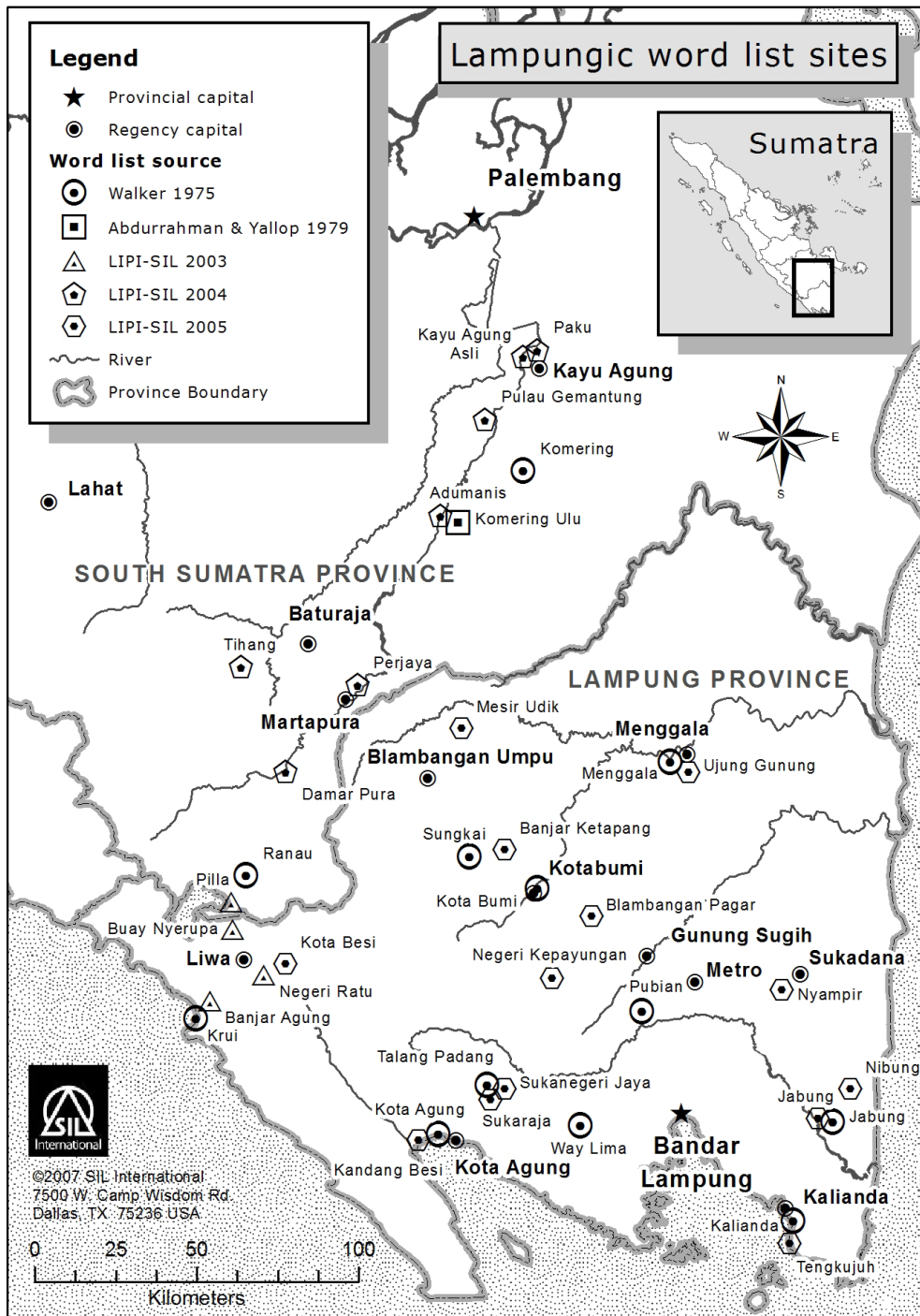
	Village	Short name	Dialect (Subdialect)	Source	Length
1	Kayu Agung Asli	KAAAsli	Komering (Kayu Agung Asli)	SIL	350
2	Adumanis	Kom-Adu	Komering (Ulu)	SIL	350
3	Pulau Gemantung	KomIilir	Komering (Iilir)	SIL	350
4	Perjaya	Kom-Jaya	Komering (Ulu)	SIL	350
5	Dampapura	Kom-Dpur	Komering (Ulu)	SIL	350
6	Tihang	Daya	Komering (Daya)	SIL	350
7	Pilla	Ranau	Api (Ranau)	SIL	350
8	Buay Nyerupa	Sukau	Api (Sukau)	SIL	350
9	Banjar Agung	Krui	Api (Krui)	SIL	350
10	Kota Besi	Belalau	Api (Belalau)	SIL	350
11	Mesir Udik	WayKanan	Api (Way Kanan)	SIL	350
12	Kandang Besi	KotAgung	Api (Kota Agung)	SIL	200
13	Sukanegeri Jaya	TalaPada	Api (Talang Padang)	SIL	200
14	Way Lima	WayLima	Api (Way Lima)	Walker	200
15	Banjar Ketapang	Sungkai	Api (Sungkai)	SIL	200
16	Negeri Keparungan	Pubian	Api (Pubian)	SIL	200
17	Tengkujuh	Kalianda	Api (Kalianda)	SIL	200
18	Nibung	Melintin	Nyo (Melinting)	SIL	200
19	Jabung	Jabung	Api (Jabung)	SIL	200
20	Paku	KAPend	Nyo (Kayu Agung Pendatang)	SIL	350
21	Nyampir	Sukadana	Nyo (Abung/Sukadana)	SIL	350
22	Blambangan Pagar	KotaBumi	Nyo (Abung/Kotabumi)	SIL	200
23	Ujung Gunung	Menggala	Nyo (Menggala/Tulang Bawang)	SIL	350

2.2. Phonology

This section summarizes the phonology of the Lampungic speech varieties based upon our research.³ Some selected differences with and between the two phonologies published by Walker (1976) and Abdurrahman and Yallop (1979) are also discussed briefly. It should be noted that Walker's phonology was based on data from Way Lima, a village from the southern (Api) part of the region, while Abdurrahman's is from a village in the Komering area. The phonology presented here attempts to look at the whole cluster of Lampungic speech varieties at once, thus variations between this presentation and what is actually found at any given location will differ to a small degree.

³ This section is taken near-verbatim from Hanawalt et al. (In progress) which functions as a sort of umbrella report for other subsidiary papers.

Map 2. LP word list sites



2.2.1. Consonants

Table 2 displays the consonant phoneme inventory of Lampung.

Table 2. Basic consonant phonemes of the Lampungic cluster

	Labial	Alveolar/Apical	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	/p/, /b/	/t/, /d/		/k/, /g/	/ʔ/
Fricatives		/s/, (/z/) ⁴		/r/	/h/
Affricates			/c/, /j/ ⁵		
Nasals	/m/	/n/	/ɲ/	/ŋ/	
Liquids		/l/			
Semivowels	/w/		/y/		

Voiceless stops occur in word-initial, word-medial, and word-final position. Word-final stops are generally unreleased. Voiced stops generally do not occur word-finally.

There seems to be only moderate evidence for a phonemic glottal stop.

/r/ has a range of phonetic realizations but is most often a velar or uvular fricative [x], [ɣ], [χ], [ʁ]. **There is minor disagreement between the two earlier phonologies about /r/**, described as an apical trill by Abdurrahman and as a voiceless velar fricative by Walker. Walker stated that this phoneme (written as /x/ in 1976 and as /r/ in his 1975 word lists) occurs in all major environments and is sometimes voiced intervocally. Walker (1976:3) noted that [r] (apical trill) ‘occurs in unassimilated loanwords’ and alternates with [x] in many cases.

The nasals occur in word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions, with the exception of /ɲ/, which does not occur word-finally.

/l/ occurs in word-initial, word-medial, and word-final position.

/w/ and /y/ occur word-initially and word-medially and, depending on one’s analysis, word-finally as part of diphthongs discussed below. Both phonemes occur word-medially in positions where they are not considered as transitions from [u] and [i] respectively.

2.2.1.1. Gemination

Gemination, particularly consonant gemination, is a prominent feature in Lampung. It is not easy to generalize except to say that gemination happens most frequently in Nyo, less so but still frequently in Api, and almost never (at least as we and others have transcribed it) in Komering. Our informants often did not agree among themselves which lexemes exhibit gemination but one can see that the phenomenon as we documented it clusters around specific lexemes. Several cases each of gemination are recorded for every consonant in medial only position (either between vowels or as part of a consonant cluster) except /ɲ/, /ŋ/, /s/, /w/ and /y/. Gemination is most frequently associated with one of two related environments: 1) penultimate schwa; and 2) reduction of voiceless nasal-stop clusters to the stop component. In this case other vowels are in some isolects

⁴ /z/ only occurs in loanwords.

⁵ In this paper, [c] and [j] are used to represent the IPA affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] respectively.

neutralized to schwa. Gemination therefore can be significant for reconstruction. See the case of *pəkʊl* ‘roof’ (§4.2.9).

2.2.1.2. *Metathesis*

Metathesis seems to have been a fairly common process in Lampungic. From the correspondence sets can be counted at least twenty lexemes in which metathesis occurred in one or more of the Lampungic isolects. It most frequently occurred with consonants, e.g. **rihu?* ‘cloud’ > *hiru?* and **gəlar* ‘name’ > *gəral*, but also with vowels, often with some fairly complex transformations, e.g. **siwa* ‘nine’ > *suay* and **lahia* ‘ginger’ > *liha*. A few instances of metathesis can be attributed to PLP; see §5.4.

2.2.2. *Vowels*

Table 3 displays the vowel and diphthong phonemes found in the Lampungic speech varieties.

Table 3. Basic vowel and diphthong phonemes of the Lampungic cluster

	Front unrounded	Central unrounded	Back rounded
Close	/i/		/u/
Mid	(/e/)	/ə/	(/o/)
Open		/a/	
Diphthongs	/ay/ /aw/ /uy/		

Abdurrahman posits the phoneme /o/ for Komering. However, we submit that most if not all occurrences of [o] in Komering can be more accurately analyzed as allophones of /ə/. See §3.4.1 for more information.

Walker posits the phoneme /e/ in addition to /i/ and /ə/ for Way Lima. Our preference, however, is to reanalyze most occurrences of [e] as allophones of /i/. Walker apparently did not preserve the distinction between [ə] and [e] in his word lists, as both phones are written using *e*. In addition, the examples he gives in his phonology for /e/ are likely all borrowed words.

Vowel sequences do occur, but a syllable break always occurs between them in our data. Such sequences are distinguished from the diphthongs /aw/, /ay/, and /uy/.

A more comprehensive phonology of the cluster or of its individual speech varieties is beyond the scope of this paper. However, the reader is referred to the above works or others cited in Hanawalt et al. (In progress).

3. Proto-Lampungic phonology and subsequent sound changes

As previewed in §1.3 above, various factors point to recognizing three dialect areas: Lampung Api, Komering and Lampung Nyo. Rather than a strict lower-order

subgrouping of Lampungic varieties, I believe that the pattern of innovations seen in Lampung is indicative of a DIALECT NETWORK evincing an uneven diffusion of features across a contiguous geographical area. That having been said, there are significant sound changes which support these groupings, such as the realization of *ə in ultimate and penultimate environments, reflexes of vowels before medial NS clusters, reflexes of *h, sporadic penultimate high vowel lowering, reduplication patterns, and the development of diphthongs from final open vowels. Other sound changes either crosscut these groupings or have a more limited distribution, such as debuccalization, vowel lowering in closed final syllables, and reduction of medial consonant clusters. Other sporadic changes which happen broadly throughout the LP area, such as gemination and metathesis, have already been discussed above.

Understanding these changes is not only important for dialectology, but is also crucial for discriminating between inherited vocabulary and loan words. Understanding changes which have occurred in the daughter languages is also precursor to the presentation of PLP reconstructions and reflexes in §4.

3.1. PLP word structure and phonotactic constraints

The most common PLP word form was a disyllabic CV.CVC form as in **bakas* ‘man’. CV.CV as in **batu* ‘stone’ was common as was CVC.CVC, (**canduy* ‘machete’) with the central cluster being a homorganic nasal and consonant at the syllable break. Other less common reconstructed forms were:

- V.CVC (**ajin* ‘wind’)
- CVC.CV (**punti* ‘banana’)
- CV.VC (**buaʔ* ‘hair’); high-high or high-low combinations only
- V.CV (**asu* ‘dog’)
- CVC (**bah* ‘below’)
- CV (**di* ‘in’); rare

There may have been other patterns, but they were much rarer than those above. Onsets were typically maximized, although as shown above, V syllables did occur. CC patterns did not occur word-initially or word-finally. When they occurred word-medially, they were nearly universally a nasal followed by a homorganic obstruent as in **punti* above. The only evident exceptions to this pattern were for reduplicated stems like **təktək* ‘cut’ or originally polymorphemic words like **raŋ-laya* ‘road’. Monosyllabic forms also occurred as in the CV and CVC examples above, but they were few in number. Three and more syllables did occasionally occur; see below for additional discussion.

3.1.1. Disallowed vowel sequences

PLP disallowed low-high (e.g. **a* + **u* or **a* + **i*) medial vowel sequences. Instead, an epenthetic semivowel homorganic to the ultimate vowel (**w* or **y*) was inserted and the final vowel neutralized to *ə. See Table 4.

Table 4. Disallowed medial vowel sequences

gloss	PMP	medial form	PLP
‘far’	* <i>ma-zauq</i>	** <i>jauh</i>	* <i>jawəh</i>
‘other’	* <i>laqin</i>	** <i>lahin</i> > ** <i>lain</i>	?* <i>layən</i>
‘thirsty’		** <i>haus</i>	?* <i>hawəs</i>
‘sea’	* <i>lahud</i> ‘towards the sea’	** <i>laut</i>	?* <i>lawət</i>

3.1.2. Trisyllabic PLP lexemes

It is very difficult to obtain conclusive sets of trisyllabic etyma and thus a clear picture of phonotactic constraints, if any, operating in the antepenultima. Lampung is quite conservative, especially in terms of retaining consonants, yet there is a strong pressure towards disyllabicity, so one will see phenomena like PLP **hatəluɣ* ‘egg’ > *tahluɣ* (including metathesis). It is rare to have more than two or three words in a cognate set which retain a consistent vowel in antepenultimate position. The pressures of historic processes in Lampung isolects therefore make it difficult to reconstruct antepenultimate vowels for Proto-Lampungic. If there were sets of trisyllabic etyma, they were often polymorphemic which can confuse existing phonotactics. Nevertheless, all four vowels have been (sometimes tenuously) reconstructed in antepenultimate position.

3.2. PLP consonant phoneme summary

Proto-Lampung (PLP) had nineteen consonant phonemes with fairly even distribution. The only difference in the inventory from Table 2 above is the lack of the loan phoneme /z/. There were voiced and voiceless labial, apical, velar and glottal stops and a pair of voiced and voiceless palatal affricates. The voiced stops and affricates did not occur word-finally, glottal stops occurred only in morpheme-final position, and semivowels **w* and **y* were restricted to medial and (in the case of **w*) initial position.

There was a full set of nasals from labial to velar and three fricatives which were alveolar, velar, and glottal. The velar fricative was voiced by default (see below under **r* for explanation) while the alveolar and glottal fricatives were voiceless. There was an alveolar liquid and also two semivowels.

Compared to their manifold expressions in Sumatran Malay (cf. McDowell and Anderbeck In progress), modern reflexes of phonemes like **s*, **h* and **r* in Lampungic are remarkably stable. The phoneme **s* has rarely been elided or weakened to *h*. Even in word-final position, the most dramatic thing that has happened to **r* in most Lampungic isolects is devoicing. Only in Menggala and KAPend do we see frequent elision of **r* or change to a vowel diphthong. See §3.4.3 and §3.4.4 for a discussion concerning **h*, which has undergone the most variation.

3.3. PLP vowel phoneme summary

PLP had four vowel phonemes and three diphthongs. The vowels had a balanced distribution with one front vowel, two central vowels and one back vowel. All the vowels were unrounded with the exception of the back vowel. Table 5 gives the vowel phonemes reconstructed for PLP.

Table 5. Vowel phonemes of PLP

	Front unrounded	Central unrounded	Back rounded
Close	*i		*u
Mid		*ə	
Open		*a	
[Diphthongs *aw, *ay, *uy]			

PLP *a, *i and *u formed the nuclei of open and closed, penultimate and ultimate syllables.

PLP *ə occurred in the same environments but excluding final open syllables. (See §4.2.2 for a possible modern-day exception.)

Last we have three diphthongs *aw, *ay and *uy that occurred only in word-final position (or occasionally stem-finally but word-medially).

See above for a discussion on vowels in antepenultimate syllables.

In general one could say that ultimate closed vowels are more unstable in their reflexes than in penultimate or word-final position. Perhaps the most common vowel mutation is the lowering of ultimate high vowels in nasalized syllables which has occurred sporadically in all isolects but most noticeably in Nyo (§4.2.4). Another common mutation is for the *o* reflex of ultimate *ə to be raised to *u*.

3.4. Discussion of individual sound changes and dialect groupings

3.4.1. Realization of *ə in ultimate position

The form that ultimate *ə has taken in many of the LP speech varieties provides a measure on which to make a large dialect grouping. This realization of *ə in the ultimate syllable is demonstrated in Table 6.⁶

Table 6. Examples of ultimate *ə > [o]

gloss	PLP	Melintin (Nyo)	Krui (Api)	KAAAsli (Komerling)
‘earth’	*tanəh	tanəh	tanoh	tanoh
‘itch’	*gatəl	gatəl	gatol	gatol
‘sit’	*həjəŋ	m-əj:əŋ	m-əjoŋ	m-ojoŋ
‘suck’	*hisəp	isəp	ŋ-isop	hiso?

Ultimate *ə > *o* consistently in the varieties shown in Map 3, forming a chain from Kayu Agung in the north curving westward and ending at Kalianda in the south. This chain includes the areas in Walker’s PESISIR group, plus the area Jabung.

⁶ For the purpose of clarity, some details of phonetic transcription have been omitted from the data presented in these and following examples.

Our data show that three Nyo varieties sampled exhibit a related shift only in specific environments. In Menggala this change follows a clear pattern: **ə* when followed by oral consonants is reflected as *ə*; before non-oral consonants (/h/ and /ʔ/), **ə* appears as *o*. Sukadana shows the same split as Menggala, but in non-oral environments the reflex is *a* rather than Menggala's *o*. Kotabumi (in Walker's list) consistently shows a split in environment and reflexes identical to Sukadana. In Melintin there is no split; all **ə* are reflected as *ə*. The first two examples in Table 7 show the **ə* reflex in environments before non-oral consonants; the third and fourth examples are in an environment before oral consonants.

Table 7. Examples of split ultimate **ə* realization in Nyo areas

gloss	PLP	Melintin	Sukadana	Kota Bumi (Walker)	Menggala
'smoke'	<i>*hasəp</i>	<i>asəʔ</i>	<i>asaʔ</i>	<i>asaʔ</i>	<i>asoʔ</i>
'near'	<i>*parəʔ</i>	<i>paʔəʔ</i>	<i>paʔaʔ</i>	<i>paʔaʔ</i>	<i>paʔoʔ</i>
'black'	<i>*harəŋ</i>	<i>aʔəŋ</i>	<i>aʔəŋ</i>	<i>aʔəŋ</i>	<i>aʔəŋ</i>
'sea'	<i>*lawət</i>	<i>lawət</i>	<i>lawət</i>	<i>lawət</i>	<i>lawət</i>

Interestingly, the Blambangan Pagar (SIL's KotaBumi) word list taken in 2005, which is approximately ten kilometers from the city of Kota Bumi (and was considered to be the center of the same speech variety by the locals) shows an even more complex split. As with the four isolects above, basically all of the Blambangan Pagar oral environments reflect [ə]. But there is an additional split WITHIN the non-oral environment conditioned by the penultimate vowel; one could call it a dissimilation rule: if the penultimate vowel is *ə*, the ultimate vowel will be reflected as [a]. With other vowels in the penult (*i*, *u* or *a*), generally [ə] will appear. In phonological notation, the pattern in Kota Bumi is something like this:

/ə/ → [ə]/_C^[+oral]#
 → [ə]/V^[-ə](C)_C^[-oral]#
 → [a]/V^[+ə](C)_C^[-oral]#

The examples in Table 8 demonstrate these various realizations.

Table 8. Examples of ultimate **ə* in non-oral environments in Blambangan Pagar (KotaBumi)

gloss	PLP	Melintin	Sukadana	Blambangan Pagar (KotaBumi)
'smoke'	<i>*hasəp</i>	<i>asəʔ</i>	<i>asaʔ</i>	<i>asəʔ</i>
'earth'	<i>*tanəh</i>	<i>tanəh</i>	<i>tanah</i>	<i>tanəh</i>
'husk of rice'	<i>*huət</i>	—	<i>uaʔ</i>	<i>uəʔ</i>
'cut/hack'	<i>*pələʔ</i>	<i>pələʔ</i>	—	<i>pələʔ</i>
'hungry'	<i>*ma-bətəh</i>	—	<i>bətah</i>	<i>bətah</i>

3.4.2. Realization of penultimate *ə

Many varieties also display a uniformly different realization of *ə as *o* in the PENULTIMATE syllable, as demonstrated in Table 9.

Table 9. Examples of penultimate *ə > [o]

gloss	PLP	Krui	Kom-Adu	KAPend	KAAAsli
‘sand’	*hənaɣ	həni	honi	honi	honi
‘pestle’	*həlu	həlu	holu	holu	holu
‘worm’	*gəlaŋ	gəloŋ	goloŋ^s	goloŋ	goloŋ
‘six’	*ənem	ənom	n:om	onom	onom
‘tongue’	*əma	m:a	m:a	ome	ome

As shown in Map 3, this change basically occurs in the varieties along the Komerang River, from Adumanis downstream through both Kayu Agung Asli (‘Native Kayu Agung’) and Kayu Agung Pendatang (‘Immigrant Kayu Agung’; Paku village). All remaining varieties retain /ə/.

Kom-Adu (Adumanis) and KomIlir (Pulau Gemantung) show some transitional effects between the dialects evincing *o* and those evincing *ə* in penultimate position (see Table 6). While they reflect *o* in CVC syllables (e.g. *holu* ‘pestle’ < *həlu), in VC syllables Kom-Adu and occasionally KomIlir reflect *ə* (most frequently represented phonetically by *ø* plus gemination of the following consonant, e.g. *m:a* ‘tongue’ < *əma). Thus KAAAsli, KAPend and, to some extent, KomIlir are the clearest witnesses for word-initial *ə.

The Krui isolect frequently raises penultimate *ə to *i*, e.g. *tilu* ‘three’ < *təlu.

3.4.3. Deletion of initial *h

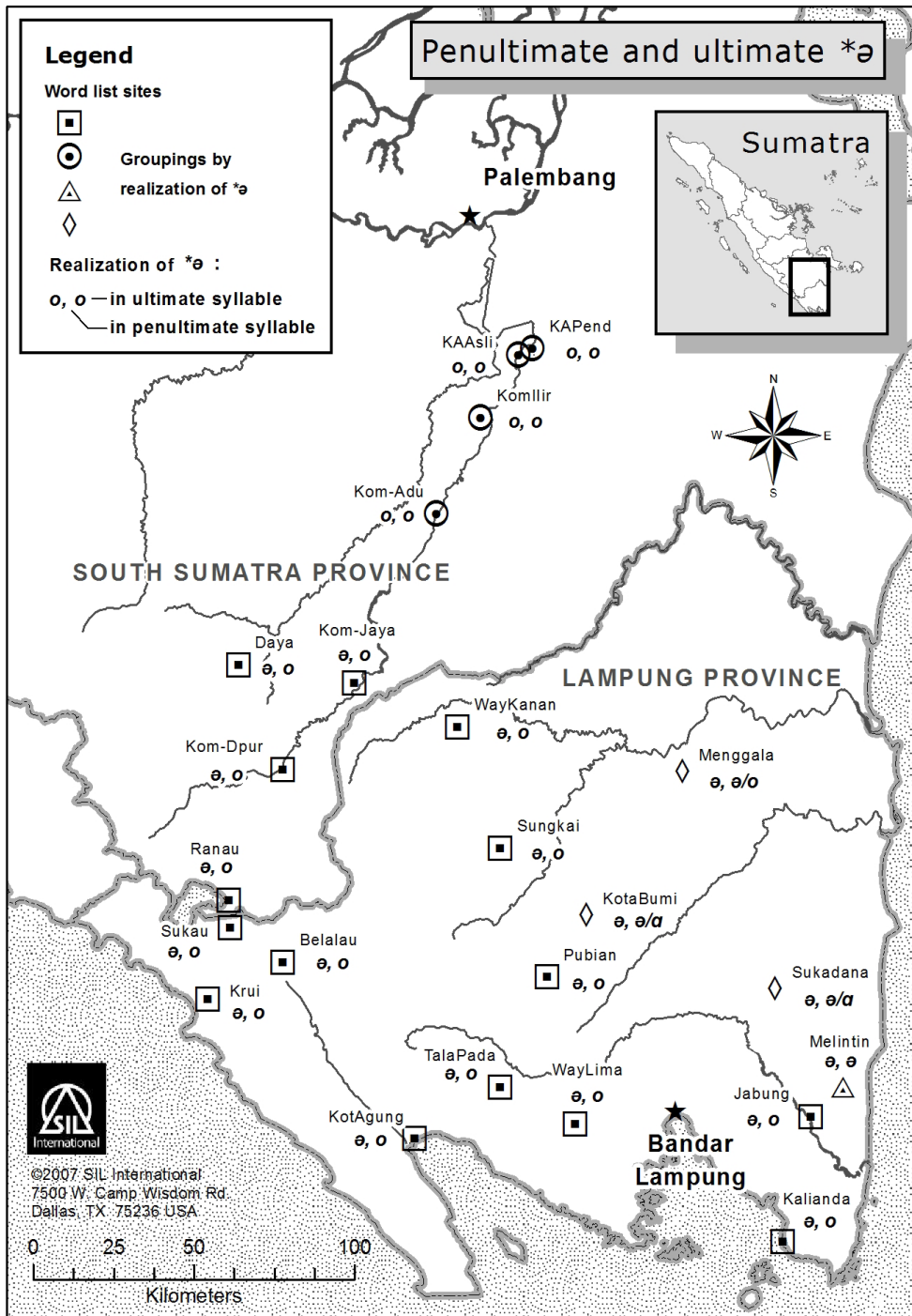
There are two main clusters, each consisting of a few speech varieties, which exhibit loss of *h at the beginning of a word, as in Table 10.

Table 10. Word-initial *h deletion

gloss	PLP	KomIlir	Krui	Menggala
‘head’	PMP *qulu > PLP *hulu	<i>hulu</i>	ulu	ulew
‘smoke’	PMP *qasep > PLP *hasəp	<i>haso?</i>	aso?	aso?

One group exhibits loss of initial *h* in almost every instance. This first group includes the Nyo group plus Jabung. The second group of speech varieties that elides *h does so only part of the time but in the same words as other members of the group. This group could be labeled the Krui subgroup of Api and is represented by the data points of Ranau, Sukau and Krui. As Map 4 displays, the members of each of those groups share close geographic proximity one with another. Sporadic loss of initial *h occurs in some other varieties as well.

Map 3. Penultimate and ultimate *ə



3.4.4. Fortition of final **h*

**h* also undergoes fortition (strengthening) word-finally, as in Table 11. Like the second set of speech varieties noted above which lose initial **h* some of the time, this group which also strengthens final **h* consists of Ranau, Sukau and Krui. Sporadic fortition of final **h* also occurs in other varieties.

Table 11. Word-final **h* fortition

gloss	PLP	KAPend	Sukau
‘hungry’	<i>*ma-bətəh</i>	<i>mbətəh</i>	<i>mətɔx</i>
‘fat (n.)’	<i>*tabəh</i>	<i>tabəh</i>	<i>tabox</i>

3.4.5. LP reduplication patterns

Section 4.2.7 is a discussion of reduplicated stems which have been reconstructed for PLP, and the forms of reduplication in CVC stems produced in different dialects. In this section on LP dialects, the following summary table will suffice.

Table 12. CVC reduplication in LP dialect groups

Isolects	CVC reduplication	PLP example	dialectal expression
Komering + KAPend	full	<i>*ŋalŋal</i> ‘chew’	<i>ŋal-ŋal</i>
Api (Belalau, KotAgung, Sungkai, Pubian)	CV	<i>*ŋalŋal</i> ‘chew’	<i>ŋa-ŋal</i>
Api (Krui cluster)	Cə	<i>*ŋalŋal</i> ‘chew’	<i>ŋə-ŋal</i>
Nyo	Cu	<i>*paŋpaŋ</i> ‘branch’	<i>pup:əŋ</i>

3.4.6. Reassignment of vowels preceding nasal-stop clusters

The vowel environment preceding medial nasal-stop (NS) clusters is rather like Jack Sprat and his wife. Some areas allow no schwa, while others tend to reassign all other vowels to ***ə* in the same position. All Api isolects fit into the former category, so **kəmbaŋ* ‘flower’ becomes *kumbaŋ* or *kambaŋ*. This prohibition of schwa is absolute as far as shown by the available data. In the former category, those reassigning other vowels to ***ə*, most prominent are the Nyo varieties of Menggala, KAPend, and Melintin, and also Jabung, the Api isolect with many Nyo features. Hence, **induk* ‘mother’ becomes KAPend *on^{do}o?*, while **tundun* ‘back’ becomes *tənun* in Jabung and Melintin. This reassignment is not an absolute rule but a strong tendency in Nyo, and rare elsewhere.

The combination of these two countervailing innovations makes reconstructing vowels preceding medial NS clusters problematic. The Komering varieties are seen as the most conservative in this environment and are used as primary evidence to support the specific reconstructions treated in §4.

3.4.7. Reflexes of final open vowels in Nyo and Kayu Agung

A few distinct but related processes occur with final open vowels in LP isolects. First, LP final open **a* mutates in two regions: in Kayu Agung **a* > *e*, e.g. *lage* ‘fight’ < **laga*, and in Nyo **a* > *o*, e.g. *lago*. Other isolects retain **a* without change.

Second, in Nyo only, all final open vowels, including **o* (< **a*), undergo diphthongization. Hence *o* > [əɔ], or some similar diphthong, **i* > [əy] and **u* > [ew]. This is illustrated in the examples in Table 13.

Table 13. Development of final diphthongs

gloss	PLP	other isolects	Sukadana	Menggala
‘five’	<i>*lima</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>liməɔ</i>	<i>lemow</i>
‘forget’	<i>*lupa</i>	<i>lupa</i>	<i>lupəɔ</i>	<i>lopow</i>
‘wood’	<i>*kayu</i>	<i>kayu</i>	<i>kay^o</i>	<i>kayew</i>
‘head’	<i>*hulu</i>	<i>(h)ulu</i>	<i>ul^o</i>	<i>ulew</i>
‘man’	? <i>*laki</i>	<i>laki</i>	<i>lakəy</i>	<i>lakəy</i>
‘ring’	<i>*ali</i>	<i>ali</i>	<i>aləy</i>	<i>aləy</i>

These final diphthongs are found in Menggala, KotaBumi, Sukadana and Melintin. Map 5 displays the distribution of these diphthongs, as well as the related realization of word-final open **a*.

Diphthongs in Menggala should probably all be considered non-phonemic, since they disappear non-word-finally. See Table 14.

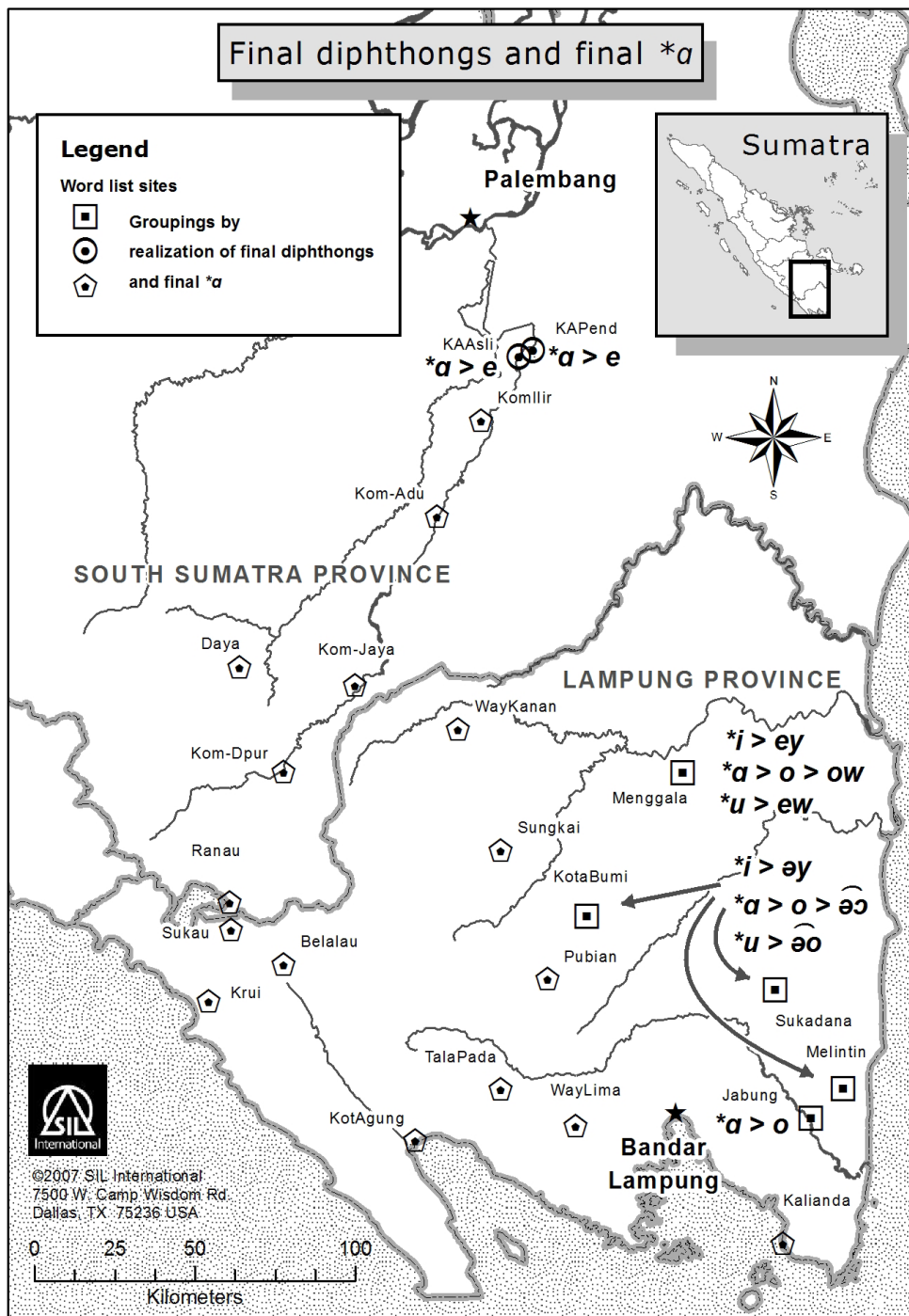
Table 14. Final diphthongs and bound morphemes in Menggala

PLP	Menggala free form	Menggala bound form
<i>*mati</i> ‘die’	<i>matəy</i>	<i>mati-matəy</i> ‘?’
<i>*buru</i> ‘hunt’	<i>burew</i>	<i>buru-burew</i> ‘quickly’
<i>*mata</i> ‘eye’	<i>matow</i>	<i>mato-matow</i> ‘eyes’

It is not clear whether or not the same phonetic alternation occurs in KotaBumi, Sukadana and Melintin, but it seems likely that it does.

3.4.8. Sporadic **r* lenition/fortition in Nyo and KAPend

The speech variety KAPend (‘Immigrant Kayu Agung’) has a rather unique status, reflecting two different dialectal sources. Oral history holds that the KAPend group migrated from the Nyo area sometime in the distant past (Mitani 1980). When one looks at their speech, the most obvious similarities are with its neighbor, Kayu Agung Asli (‘Native’ Kayu Agung). These two varieties share the highly salient **-a* > *e* shift as well as many unique lexical items. However, Mitani documents a number of unique lexical items shared by KAPend and the Nyo area, less expected given the

Map 5. Final diphthongs and final **a*

geographical separation. In addition to the lexical evidence, I offer phonological evidence linking KAPend with Nyo sites, particularly Menggala and Melintin. Table 15 gives some examples of an irregular sound change affecting some words: **-r* (following non-high-front vowels) > *w*. Other varieties consistently conserve *r* in this and other environments.

Table 15. Irregular **r* > *w* in KAPend, Nyo

gloss	PLP	KAPend	Menggala	Melintin
‘name’	<i>*gəlar</i>	<i>golow</i>	<i>gəlew</i>	<i>gəlaw</i>
‘come’	<i>*məgər</i>	<i>mogo</i>	<i>məgew</i>	<i>məgəg</i>
‘fly (v.)’	<i>*hambur</i>	<i>habo</i>	<i>hambor</i>	<i>m-abo</i>

The claims of a Nyo origin for KAPend can therefore be further substantiated.

The KAPend variety takes the change well beyond the environment discussed above, however. First, the change **r* > *w* also sporadically occurs in penultimate environments, e.g. **sərəp* ‘needle’ > KAPend *sowop*, **turuy* ‘sleep’ > KAPend *tuwoy*. Second, preceding **i* in both penultimate and ultimate syllables, **r* > KAPend *y*, e.g. **kunjir* ‘yellow’ > *kunoy*, **iruj* ‘nose’ > *iyuj*. This second change occurs in all available reflexes.

KAPend also occasionally elides initial **r* in approximately 25% of available reflexes, e.g. **ma-rayəŋ* ‘skinny’ > KAPend *ayəŋ*.

Menggala, instead of weakening initial **r*, consistently (75% of available reflexes) strengthens it to *g*, e.g. *gayəŋ* ‘skinny’, *gabay* ‘afraid’ < **ma-rabay*. This also occurs with loanwords.

TalaPada and KotaAgung occasionally devoice **r*, particularly in medial position. Other than the innovations discussed above, there are no other noteworthy innovations with PLP **r*.

3.4.9. Debuccalization

A phonological change happening on an irregular but very frequent basis in LP is DEBUCCALIZATION—the process in which an oral consonant, in LP’s case a final voiceless stop, becomes a glottal stop. Debuccalization frequently occurs in all varieties of Lampungic EXCEPT KAPend. Table 16 illustrates this phenomenon. This change is attested in the cases of **p* > ʔ and **t* > ʔ. It is also seen in the case of **k* > ʔ, but the attestations are less consistent.

Table 16. Examples of debuccalization

gloss	PLP	KAPend	KAAAsli	KotaBumi
‘bitter’	<i>*ma-pahit</i>	<i>pahit</i>	<i>pahiʔ</i>	<i>pahiʔ</i>
‘smoke’	<i>*hasəp</i>	<i>hasop</i>	<i>hasoʔ</i>	<i>asəʔ</i>
‘needle’	<i>*sərəp</i>	<i>sowop</i>	<i>soboʔ</i>	<i>səbəʔ</i>
‘husk of rice’	<i>*huət</i>	<i>huot</i>	<i>huoʔ</i>	<i>uəʔ</i>

Debuccalization also occasionally happens with loanwords, e.g. *ura?* ‘vein’ < MAL *urat*.

My practice with reconstructing etyma which seem to have undergone debuccalization is, if there is at least one reflex which retains the final oral stop, it is reconstructed as such. If no final oral stops occur in the correspondence set, a final glottal stop is reconstructed, unless there is external evidence for an oral stop. In the case of available external evidence, both the oral and glottal stop are placed in parentheses, e.g. **huri(p?)* ‘live’ < PMP **qudip*.

3.4.10. High vowel lowering

**u* is frequently lowered in ultimate closed position in KAAsli, e.g. *sunɔ?* ‘boil’ < PLP **sunut*. (Also see §4.2.4 for a discussion of more widespread ultimate high vowel lowering in nasalized environments.) Both high vowels **u* and **i* are frequently lowered in penultimate and ultimate closed syllables in Menggala. The most consistent trigger is a penultimate high vowel followed by *a* in the ultima, e.g. Menggala *nogal* ‘dibble stick’ < PLP **tugal*.

There is a subset of lexemes where penultimate high vowels are consistently retained only in the Komering area; in other areas the high vowels are reinterpreted as ***ə*. See §4.2.4 for further discussion.

3.4.11. Nasal consonant cluster reduction

Reflexes of nasal-stop consonant clusters are for the most part unremarkable (i.e. the nasal followed by a homorganic stop, both of relatively equal prominence), but there are two principled exceptions. First, if the cluster includes a VOICED stop, e.g. **indu?* ‘mother’, if one of the members is to be elided or weakened it will be the stop. See Table 17.

Table 17. Examples of **NS* > N with voiced stops

gloss	PLP	WayKanan	Jabung	Melintin	KAPend
‘white’	<i>*ma-handa?</i>	<i>handa?</i>	<i>an^da?</i>	<i>n^da?</i>	<i>han^da?</i>
‘mother’	<i>*indu?</i>	<i>indu?</i>	<i>nu?</i>	<i>nɜu?</i>	<i>on^do?</i>
gloss	PLP	KomIlir	WayKanan	KAAsli	
‘to boil (water)’	<i>*ruŋga?</i>	<i>ɸuŋga?</i>	<i>ɸuŋga?</i>	<i>ɸuŋa?</i>	

Second, in all other cases of syncope (clusters with voiceless stops, voiced and voiceless affricates, liquids), it is the nasal which is lost, often with neutralization of the preceding vowel to schwa and/or a geminate stop. For example, **punti* ‘banana’ in some Nyo varieties is reflected as *pəti*. Elision of the nasal in these environments is substantially more common than the elision of voiced stops. This consistent pattern has led me to realize that certain correspondence sets were unlikely. For example, I had earlier grouped *timbu?* and *cibuk* ‘dipper’ but it seems prudent to separate them because the stop is voiced.

Both of these sets of changes (loss of voiced stops, loss of nasals) occur most frequently in the Nyo cluster.

3.4.12. LP sound changes in the context of southern Sumatra

It is important to ask the question, which of the changes discussed above have corollaries in neighboring (non-LP) speech varieties. While there is no shortage of loanwords in LP isolects, particularly from MAL, sound changes with clear connection to the outside are surprisingly few. Final **-a* mutation, shown to be an areal feature by Tadmor (2003), affects the two Kayu Agung isolects and Nyo. Interestingly, the Kayu Agung isolects mutate **-a > e* even though they share the city of Kayu Agung with the Teloko Palembang dialect, in which **-a > o*. The closest MAL isolect which shares the **-a > e* change is the Pegagan dialect of Musi thirty kilometers to the northwest (McDowell and Anderbeck in process). The Nyo isolects change **-a > o*; as Menggala is an old port city on the Tulangbawang River, perhaps it was influenced by the Malay of the dominant port to its north, Palembang.

It seems the phonology of LP, particularly the Api varieties around the capital and the port of Bandar Lampung, has been influenced by the SI split in high vowels (cf. Adelaar 1992:42ff), creating pairs of high and mid-high vowels in the front and back, *i, e, u* and *o*.

Nyo isolects show another possible areal feature, which is the loss of initial **h*, endemic in Sumatran Malay but relatively rare in LP isolects. However, this is a very natural and unsurprising change.

The weakening of voiced stops in NS clusters is a possible areal phenomenon, although in MAL this occurs in a geographically separate area from the Musi basin north through upstream Jambi (Anderbeck 2003). Less likely as a shared change is the loss of nasals prior to voiceless stops, which occurs in the MAL dialects Pekal and Rawas. However, a connection between the innovation in LP and MAL seems unlikely since in MAL this change does not involve changes to the vowel or gemination, both prominent aspects of the change in LP.

See §4.3.2 for a brief treatment of irregular *r* reflexes in the context of Sumatran MAL.

One innovation, not discussed above because of the lack of dialectal variation, is the variable change of PMP diphthongs **-ay* and **-aw* to *i* and *u* respectively. Adelaar (2005b) attributes this to an areal phenomenon affecting Western Indonesian languages such as Malay, Javanese, and Sundanese, and his list can be expanded to include Lampung. See §4.2.8 and §5.2.2 for further discussion.

In §5, various changes from PMP to PLP are discussed, including merger of PMP **j* and **d* and later weakening to **r*, PMP **R* to *ø* and **y*, etc. It is not out of point to note here that many of these changes have correlates in other nearby languages, whether they be MAL, JAV or SUN. This subject is taken up again in §6.2, 6.6, 6.7 and 7.2.

3.5. Evidence for individual consonant phonemes

The following two sections give evidence for individual consonant and vowel phonemes. If the reconstruction of a phoneme is straightforward, a few examples are given without further discussion. Comments on specific reconstructions are reserved for §4.

3.5.1. PLP **b > all isolects b*

**buluŋ* ‘leaf’ KAAAsli Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung KAPend KotaBumi *buluŋ*. Kom-Adu KomIlir Sukadana *buluŋ*. Menggala *boluŋ*.

**babuy* ‘pig’ KAAsli Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Krui Belalau KAPend Menggala *babuy*. Kom-Adu WayKanan Sukadana *babuy*.

3.5.2. PLP **p* > all isolects *p*

See the discussion on occasional final debuccalization in §3.4.9.

**pədam* ‘sleep’ Kom-Dpur Sukau Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian *pədom*. Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala *pədam*. Ranau Krui Jabung *pədom*. Kom-Jaya *pədom*. Daya *pədoum*. Kalianda *pədom*.

**lapah* ‘to walk/go’ Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala *lapah*. Ranau Sukau *lapax*. KAPend *mapah*. KAAsli *məlapah*.

**hatəp* ‘roof’ KAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda *hato?*. Sukau Krui *hats?*. KAPend *hatop*. Ranau *hətək*. Jabung *atə?*.

3.5.3. PLP **d* > all isolects *d*

**dada* ‘chest’ Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan *dada*. KAAsli KAPend *dade*. Menggala *dadow*. Sukadana *dadʷ*.

**puda?* ‘face’ KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Belalau WayKanan Sukadana *puda?*. Krui *buda?*. Menggala *poda?*. Daya *poda?*.

**gundəŋ* ‘tail’ Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Pubian Kalianda Sukadana *gundəŋ*. Sungkai *gu^dndəŋ*. Jabung *gun^dəŋ*. Menggala *gəndəŋ*.

3.5.4. PLP **t* > all isolects *t*

See the discussion on occasional final debuccalization in §3.4.9.

**tikus* ‘rat’ KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Jabung KAPend KotaBumi Menggala *tikus*. Sukadana *tikus*. Melintin *tikus*.

**kutu* ‘lice’ KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung KAPend *kutu*. Sukadana KotaBumi *kut^o*. Menggala *kutew*. Melintin *kutu*.

**punti* ‘banana’ KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui WayKanan KAPend *punti*. Belalau *puti*. Sukadana *putəy*. Menggala *pətəy*.

?**lawət* ‘sea’ KomIlir Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Sukau Krui WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Pubian Kalianda *lawo?*. Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala *lawət*. WayLima *laok*. Belalau *lao?*. KAPend *lawot*. KAAsli *lawut?*. Ranau Jabung *lawə?*.

3.5.5. PLP *g > all isolects g

Voiced stops are sporadically weakened or elided in nasal-stop clusters See §3.4.11.

**gundan* ‘tail’. See **d* above.

**pagas* ‘stab’ Kom-Adu KomIlir Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung KAPend Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala *pagas*.

**runga?* ‘boil water’ KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan *ɸunga?*. Krui *yonga?*. Ranau Sukau *yunga?*. Kom-Adu *ɸonga?*. KAAsli *ɸūŋa?*.

3.5.6. PLP *k > all isolects k

**kudul* ‘dull’ KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Pubian Jabung Menggala *kudul*. Melintin KAPend Sukadana KotaBumi *kudul*. Sungkai Kalianda *kudu^l*.

**bakat* ‘root’ Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung *baka?*. Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala *waka?*. WayLima *bakak*. KAAsli *ˀbaka?*. KAPend *wakat*.

**tunju* ‘fire place’ KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Krui Belalau WayKanan *tunju*. Sukadana *tuk*o*. Menggala *təkew*.

Distinguishing between final **k* and **?* in Proto-Lampungic is not an easy task. The difficulty lies in that **?* basically only occurs word-finally,⁷ but **k* often is reflected as [ʔ] in word-final position. It is unclear in general whether **k* is reflected as [ʔ] because of allophonic alternation, or phonemic reassignment, or because of debuccalization which is common in final stops (§3.4.9). To confuse the issue further, some areas (e.g. Ranau) exhibit STRENGTHENING of final glottals. For example, **sərəp* ‘needle’ is debuccalized in most LP areas including Ranau, but the modern Ranau reflex is [sərok].⁸ Strengthening cannot be ruled out in many other cases of final [k]. Nevertheless, here are some strands of evidence for distinguishing them:

- 1) at least one minimal pair *bala?* ‘disaster’ and *balak* ‘big’ (although the former is probably a MAL loan);
- 2) difference in **ə* behavior in Menggala (§3.4.1);
- 3) sometimes [k] shows up in some varieties word-finally. For example, in two of fourteen available areas, we see [gəruk] ‘fat’, while the remaining areas have a final glottal stop.

My rule of thumb for reconstructing **k* in final position was, if any area (excepting the Way Lima list which does not distinguish between *k* and *?*) had [k] I would reconstruct *k*, and otherwise reconstruct *?*. But it should be noted that,

⁷ **?* also can occur morpheme-finally in the middle of words but modern-day reflexes are rare. See §3.5.7.

⁸ Ranau also often strengthens **h* to [x], e.g. [rax] ‘blood’ < PLP **ərah*.

although my reconstructions differentiate between **p*, **t*, **k* and **ʔ* in word-final position, it is impossible in many cases to say with certainty which is the correct reconstruction for PLP.

**balak* ‘big’ KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala *balak*. KAPend *balok*. Sukau *balaʔ*.

**biluk* ‘to turn’ KAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau KotAgung Pubian Jabung KAPend *biluk*. Krui Belalau Kalianda *biluʔ*. Melintin *bilok*.

3.5.7. PLP **ʔ* > *all isolects ʔ*

See the discussions above regarding debuccalization and distinguishing between glottal stop and other final stops.

**piʔpiʔ* ‘lip’ WayKanan KAPend *piʔpiʔ*. Sukadana *pupɪʔʔ*. Menggala *pəpɪʔʔ*. Melintin ‘mouth’ *pəpɪʔʔ*. Kom-Jaya *piʔpiʔ*.

**pələʔ* ‘to cut/hack’ Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau KotAgung TalaPada Pubian Kalianda *pələʔ*. Sukau Krui Jabung *pələʔ*. WayLima *məlok*. KotaBumi *pəlaʔ*. Melintin *pələʔ*.

3.5.8. PLP **m* > *all isolects m*

See the discussion above regarding consonant cluster reduction.

**mata* ‘eye’ Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda *mata*. KAAsli KAPend *mate*. Jabung KotaBumi *matɔ*. Menggala *matow*. Sukadana *matʔɔ*. Melintin *matʔɔ*.

**lima* ‘five’ Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan WayLima *lima*. KAAsli KAPend *lime*. Menggala *lemow*. Sukadana *limʔɔ*.

**timbuʔ* ‘dipper’ KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Dpur *timbuʔ*. Menggala *təm^{bu}ʔ*. Sukadana *tmbuʔʔ*.

**tajəm* ‘sharp’ KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Belalau KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda KAPend *tajəm*. KotaBumi Menggala *tajəm*. Melintin Sukadana *tajəm*. WayLima *tajum*. Krui *tajam*. Ranau WayKanan Jabung *tajəm*.

3.5.9. PLP **n* > *all isolects n*

See the discussion above regarding consonant cluster reduction.

**ma-nipis* ‘thin’ Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau WayKanan Sungkai Pubian Jabung *nipis*. KAAsli KAPend Belalau KotAgung TalaPada KotaBumi Menggala *tipis* (backformation). Kalianda Melintin Sukadana *ipis*. KomIllir Daya *nipis*. Krui *manipis*.

**inum* ‘drink’ KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung KAPend Sukadana KotaBumi *ɲinum*.

**uncal* ‘deer’ Kom-Jaya Ranau Sukau Krui WayKanan *uncal*. Belalau *ucal*. Sukadana *ucal*.

**ipən* ‘tooth’ KAAAsli KomIlir Kom-Adu Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda *ipən*. Kom-Jaya Ranau Sukau Krui WayKanan Jabung *ipən*.

3.5.10. PLP **ɲ* > all isolects *ɲ*

**ɲiʔɲiʔ* ‘mosquito’ Melintin *ɲiʔiʔ*. KAPend *ɲēʔɲēʔ*. Sukadana *ɲĩɲēʔ*. KotaBumi *ɲĩɲĩʔ*. Menggala *ɲəɲeʔ*.

**ɲak* ‘T’ Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Sukau Belalau WayKanan KotAgung Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala *ɲaʔ*. KAAAsli KomIlir KAPend *ɲaʔ*. TalaPada WayLima *ɲak*. Krui *ɲaʔku*. Ranau *ɲaku*. Daya *ɲaʔ*.

3.5.11. PLP **ŋ* > all isolects *ŋ*

**ŋəluh* ‘dry (object)’ Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan Sungkai Pubian *ŋəluh*. Kom-Adu *ŋolu*. KAAAsli *ŋōluh*. KomIlir *ŋəluh*. Kom-Jaya *ŋəluh*.

**biji* ‘night’ KAAAsli KomIlir Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Belalau WayKanan Sungkai Pubian *dəbiji*. Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Sukau Krui WayKanan *dibiʔi*. KotAgung TalaPada Kalianda *dabiʔi*. KAAAsli KAPend *debiʔi*. WayLima Jabung *biji*. Melintin *biŋəy*. Sukadana *dibiŋəy*. KotaBumi Menggala *dəbiŋəy*.

**rungaʔ* ‘boil water’; **gundəŋ* ‘tail’. See **g* above.

**bətəŋ* ‘belly’ KAAAsli KAPend *botoŋ*. Kom-Jaya TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda *bətoŋ*. Jabung *bətəŋ*. Melintin Sukadana WayKanan KotaBumi Menggala *bətəŋ*.

3.5.12. PLP **l* > all isolects *l*

**ma-luniʔ* ‘small’ Sukau Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala *luniʔ*. WayLima *lunik*. Krui *maluneʔ*.

**buluŋ* ‘leaf’ KAAAsli Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung KAPend KotaBumi *buluŋ*. Kom-Adu KomIlir Sukadana *buluŋ*. Menggala *boluŋ*.

**kudul* ‘dull’. See **k* above.

3.5.13. PLP **c* > all isolects *c*

**cakat* ‘climb’ KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala *cakaʔ*. KAPend *cakat*. Ranau *cəkəʔ*.

**kaci* ‘dog’ Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Krui Belalau TalaPada WayLima Kalianda *kaci*. Sukau *kacʰi*.

**uncal* ‘deer’. See **n* above.

3.5.14. PLP **j* > all isolects *j*

?**jahat* ‘bad’ KAAAsli KomIlir Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Daya Ranau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Pubian Kalianda KAPend Menggala *jahat*. Kom-Dpur *jaha?*. Jabung *jahat*. Sungkai *jəhat*.

**ma-hujaw* ‘green’ Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian *hujaw*. Ranau Sukau Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi *ujaw*. KAAAsli KAPend *hujow*. Krui *mahujaw*. Menggala *ojaw*.

3.5.15. PLP **s* > all isolects *s*

**sagu* ‘sago’ KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KAPend *sagu*.

**basəh* ‘wet’ KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda KAPend Menggala *basəh*. WayKanan Jabung *basəh*. Ranau *basəx*. Sukadana *basah*. Melintin KotaBumi *basəh*.

**tikus* ‘rat’. See **t* above.

3.5.16. PLP **r* > all isolects *r*

See §3.4.8 regarding occasional lenition/fortition, particularly in KAPend and Menggala.

**rəni?* ‘small’ Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sungkai *bəni?*. Kom-Adu KomIlir KAPend *boni?*. Ranau *yəni*. KAAAsli *bone?*. Kalianda *bəni?*.

**iruj* ‘nose’ Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi *isuj*. Ranau Sukau Krui *iyuj*. Menggala *esuj*. Daya *hisuj*. WayLima *iruj*. KAPend *iyuj*. KAAAsli *isəj*. Kom-Jaya *isəj*.

**hambur* ‘fly (v.)’ KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sungkai Kalianda *hambox*. WayKanan *hambəx*. Belalau KotAgung TalaPada Pubian *hambox*. WayLima Sukadana *hambor*. Ranau Krui Sukau *kambəy*. Melintin *mab^o*. KAPend *məhabo*. KAAAsli *məhambox*. Menggala *təmbəx*. Menggala *təmbəx*.

3.5.17. PLP **h* > Nyo and Jabung \emptyset in initial position, other isolects and positions *h*

See §3.4.3 and §3.4.4 for sporadic exceptions to **h* > *h* (lenition and fortition). Also note that word-initial **h* tends to disappear in many isolects when a nasalizing prefix is attached.

**hulu* ‘head’ KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian KAPend *hulu*. Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Kalianda Jabung *ulu*. Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi *ul^o*. Menggala *ulew*.

**tahi* ‘excrement’ Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau *tahi*. KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir KAPend *tahi?*. Sukadana Menggala *tahəy*. WayKanan *tahi*.

**uyah* ‘salt’ Kom-Jaya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi *uyah*. Menggala *oyah*. Sungkai *uyah bukuh*.

3.5.18. PLP *y > all isolects y

**uyah* ‘salt’. See **h* above.

3.5.19. PLP *w > all isolects w

PLP **w* is regularly reflected as *w*. However, in five correspondence sets PLP **w* is sometimes reflected instead as *b*: *wakat/bakat* ‘root’ (PMP **wakat*), *wayət/bayət* ‘vine, creeper’ (PMP **waRej*), *bawa?/baba?* ‘skin’ (no known ancestral form), *awan/aban* ‘cloud’ (PMP **hawan*; doublet also exists in MAL), *lawah/labah* ‘spider’ (PMP **lawaq*). Table 18 lists these five correspondence sets of PLP **w*; see Table 1 for the names of the data points which correspond to the numbers in the first row. Even if we ignore the row for ‘spider’ due to the probable MAL loan *labah* in site 1, among the remaining four items there is no discernable geographical pattern.

Table 18. *w/b* irregularity

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
‘root’	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>
‘vine’		<i>b</i>												<i>b</i>		<i>b</i>							<i>w</i>
‘cloud’	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>w</i>				<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>b</i>			<i>b</i>		<i>b</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	
‘skin’		<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
‘spider’	<i>b</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>

**walu* ‘eight’ KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KAPend *walu*. Menggala *walew*. Sukadana *walʔ*.

**kawil* ‘fish line’ KAAsli Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Belalau WayKanan KAPend Sukadana Menggala *kawil*. Kom-Adu KomIlir *kawil*. Sukau *uya? kawil*. Krui *ṇawil*.

3.6. Evidence for individual vowel phonemes

The structure of this section follows that of the individual consonant descriptions (§3.5). One example from each relevant environment is given.

3.6.1. PLP *i > Menggala e in closed syllables, all other isolects i

See §3.4.10. Additionally, there is a slight tendency in several varieties for ultimate **i* to be lowered prior to **r*, **h* and **ʔ* (post-velar obstruents). Examples: [beɾbeɾ] ‘lip’,

[hʉe?] ‘live’, [ʉneh] ‘rainbow’. See also §3.4.7 regarding reflexes of *i in final open syllables in Nyo.

*ipən ‘tooth’. See *n above.

*lima ‘five’. See *m above.

*ma-luni? ‘small’. See *l above.

*kaci ‘dog’. See *c above.

3.6.2. PLP *u > *Menggala o in closed syllables, other isolects u*

See §3.4.10 regarding vowel lowering in Menggala and elsewhere, as well as §2.2 regarding neutralization of vowels preceding gemination. See also §3.4.7 regarding reflexes of *u in final open syllables in Nyo.

*uyah ‘salt’. See *h above.

*ma-hujaw ‘green’. See *j above.

*tuŋku ‘fire place’. See *k above.

*tundun ‘back’ Kom-Dpur Ranau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Pubian KotaBumi *tundun*. Kom-Dpur Daya *tundu^dn*. Melintin *tənuⁿ*. Jabung *tənu^dn*.

3.6.3. PLP *ə > ə, o, a depending on isolect and environment

See §3.4.1 and §3.4.6 regarding reflexes of *ə in LP.

*hənay ‘sand’ Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui WayLima Sungkai Kalianda *həni*. Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Pubian *həni*. KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir KAPend *honi*.

*pələ? ‘to cut/hack’. See *ʔ above.

*batəŋ ‘belly’. See *ŋ above.

3.6.4. PLP *a > a except final open position in Kayu Agung and Nyo

See §3.4.7 regarding reflexes of final open *a in KAPend, KAAsli and Nyo.

*apuy ‘fire’ KAAsli Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda KAPend Menggala *apuy*. Kom-Adu KomIlir WayKanan Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi *apuy*.

*galah ‘neck’ KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung KAPend Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala *galah*.

*laga ‘fight’ Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Sukau Belalau WayKanan *laga*. Daya *laga*. KAAsli *lage*. Menggala *lagow*. Sukadana *lag^oɔ*.

3.6.5. PLP *uy > all isolects uy

*apuy ‘fire’. See *a above.

3.6.6. PLP *ay > all isolects variably ay, i

Some lexemes reconstructed with *ay have become *i*, sometimes universally, sometimes in some dialect areas but not in others; see §5.2.2.

*buluŋ cambay ‘betel leaf’. KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Krui Belalau WayKanan buluŋ cambay. KAAsli Kom-Adu Sukau Krui Sukadana Menggala cambay. Sukau bulun ni cambay. KAPend buluŋ camay.

*hanay ‘sand’. See *a above.

3.6.7. PLP *aw > all isolects variably aw, u

Some lexemes reconstructed with *aw have universally become *u* in modern LP isolects; see §4.2.8.

*ma-hujaw ‘green’. See *j above.

*sapaw ‘hut in field’ KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau KAPend sapu. Sukadana sap^o.

4. PLP lexicon

As much as possible I attempted to make this an internal reconstruction, relying on evidence within Lampungic rather than higher-level reconstructions. However there were times where the internal evidence was ambiguous and in those circumstances I looked to higher-level reconstructions, or failing that, reflexes in other languages, to serve as tie-breaker.

4.1. PLP lexical reconstructions

Presented immediately below is the list of PLP reconstructions produced from the word lists. The order of the list follows the Basic Austronesian Word List (Blust 1981, 1999; see also Adelaar 1992), with additional items ordered alphabetically after that. Next to the PLP reconstruction is a field for higher-level (or related) reconstructions, if they are deemed to be cognate with the PLP form. (In cases where a connection to the higher-level reconstruction is tenuous at best, the higher form is preceded by ‘cf.’.) By default these are Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) reconstructions; if other, they are marked. Sources for the higher-level reconstructions are as follows (forms in curly brackets are their representation in the table below): Blust (1999) {B1}, Blust (Austronesian Comparative Dictionary, n.d.) {B2}, Adelaar (1992) {A1}, Adelaar (2005b) {A2}, Wolff (2003) {W}, Zorc (1971) {Z1}, and Zorc (1995) {Z2}.

Following the number, gloss and protoforms, the right-most field is a listing of the cognate group, in a format identical to that in §3.4. If daughter forms have a different gloss than the default, the variant gloss is listed after the specific isolect label and before the reflex, e.g. KAPend ‘puppy’ *kuyu*.

Note that reconstructions do not regularly include verbal or nominal affixes unless they were invariably attached to the lexeme, in which case the affix is hyphenated. As has been done for PMP, the adjectival prefix **ma-* has been reconstructed in cases where there is an extant witness (e.g. **ma-panas* ‘hot’). A comparative study of the bewildering variety of LP affixes has been left for another time, but see §4.2 for a few additional comments.

One will notice that often more than one reconstruction is given for a particular gloss. As discussed in §1.7, every lexical set with at least three attestations was preliminarily reconstructed. The benefit was that even rare sound correspondences were brought to light. But with twenty-three word lists and substantial dialectal variation, it was often not an easy task to determine which was the ‘bona fide’ LP reconstruction. A two-step process was used to narrow the field. First, if a higher-level reconstruction with the same gloss was available, that reconstruction was chosen over the others. Second, for competing reconstructions which were unattested by higher-level reconstructions, preference was given to sets involving the greatest geographical distribution, preferably spanning all three dialect clusters (Komerling, Api and Nyo). Reconstructions chosen through this process are considered the primary reconstruction and marked in **bold**; non-primary reconstructions may still be valuable for comparison with other languages and are accordingly not regularly deleted but instead shown in regular type. Where two competing forms are reconstructed and both are considered equally valid etyma, both are marked in bold. Exceptions to the patterns discussed here are noted below in §4.2.9.

Words that seem to be loans have been assigned to one of two categories: HIGH and MODERATE likelihood of being borrowed. Those for which there is strong evidence of borrowing (e.g. MAL *kiri* ‘left’) have been excluded from the reconstructions, while those for which a non-LP origin is merely suspected are included in the list of reconstructions but marked with *??* (e.g. *??dayuŋ* ‘canoe paddle’). Both categories of words, and the specific reasoning for their suspected non-native status, are presented below in Table 23.

Reconstructions requiring further comment are marked with a superscript ‘c’ before the asterisk (e.g. *^c*gabus* ‘wipe’) and discussed in §4.2 below.

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
1	‘hand’	<i>*puŋu</i>	cf. <i>*puŋu</i> ‘bunch, cluster (of grain, etc.)’ {B2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya WayKanan Sungkai Pubian Jabung KAPend <i>puŋu</i> . Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi <i>puŋ^o</i> . Menggala <i>puŋew</i> .
1	‘hand’	<i>^c*culut</i>		Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada Kalianda <i>culu?</i> . WayLima <i>culuk</i> . KAPend ‘hand (someone)’ <i>culut</i>
2	‘left’	(loan)		(< MAL <i>kiri</i>)
3	‘right’	(loan)		(< MAL <i>kanan</i>)
4	‘leg’	<i>^c*kukut</i>		Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Kalianda <i>cukut</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya WayKanan Sungkai Pubian Melintin Jabung KAPend Menggala <i>kukut</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
5	‘walk/ go’	* <i>lapah</i>	* <i>lampaq</i> {B2}	Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>lapah</i> . Ranau Sukau <i>lapax</i> . KAPend <i>mapah</i> . KAAsli <i>məlapah</i> .
6	‘road/ path’	* <i>raŋ-laya</i>	* <i>zalan</i> + * <i>Raya</i> ‘big’ {B1}	KomIllir Kom-Adu Kom-Dpur <i>ɤaŋɤaya</i> . KAAsli <i>ɤəŋɤaye</i> . Kom-Jaya Daya Kom-Dpur <i>ŋəɤaya</i> . Sukau <i>ɤɔlaya</i> . Krui <i>yaŋlaya</i> . WayKanan TalaPada Pubian <i>ɤaŋlaya</i> . Sungkai <i>raŋlaya</i> . KotAgung <i>ɤəŋlaya</i> . Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi <i>ɤaŋlayo</i> . Menggala <i>ɤaŋlayow</i> . KAPend <i>laŋlaye</i> . WayLima <i>raŋ</i> . Ranau <i>ɤəŋɤəŋ</i> . Melintin <i>ɤaŋan</i> .
7	‘come’	* <i>ratəŋ</i>	* <i>dateŋ</i> ‘arrive’ {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung <i>ɤatoŋ</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui <i>ɤatoŋ</i> . WayLima <i>ratoŋ</i> .
7	‘come’	* <i>pəgər</i>		Sukadana KotaBumi <i>məgəɤ</i> . KAPend <i>məgɔ</i> . Menggala <i>məgew</i> . Jabung <i>məgəɔ</i> .
8	‘turn’	* <i>biluk</i>	* <i>biluk</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Jaya Daya Ranau Sukau KotAgung Melintin Jabung KAPend <i>biluk</i> . Krui Belalau Kalianda <i>bilu?</i> . Kom-Adu Pubian <i>bubiluk</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>mbiluk?</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>əmbiluk?</i> .
8	‘turn’	* <i>simpaŋ</i>		WayKanan KotaBumi <i>ŋipaŋ</i> . Menggala <i>ŋepaŋ</i> . KomIllir <i>ŋimpaŋ</i> .
9	‘swim’	* <i>laŋuy</i>	* <i>laŋuy</i> {B1}	Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>laŋuy</i> . Jabung <i>blaŋöy</i> . Kom-Adu KomIllir <i>bulaŋuy</i> . Krui <i>laŋoy</i> . WayKanan <i>laŋuy</i> . Ranau <i>ləŋuy</i> . KAAsli <i>melaŋoy</i> . KAAsli <i>məlaŋoy</i> .
9	‘swim’	* <i>naŋuy</i>	* <i>naŋuy</i> {B1}	Melintin Sukadana KAPend KotaBumi <i>naŋuy</i> . Menggala <i>naŋoy</i> .
10	‘dirty’	* <i>ma-kamah</i>	cf. * <i>cemeD</i> {B1}	KAAsli Pubian Jabung KAPend Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>kamah</i> . WayKanan <i>kaməh</i> .
10	‘dirty’	* <i>ma-kama?</i>	cf. * <i>cemeD</i> {B1}	Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Kalianda Menggala <i>kama?</i> . Krui <i>makama?</i> .
11	‘dust’	* <i>habuk</i> (cf. 146. ‘ashes’)	* <i>qabuk</i> {Z2}	KotAgung Kalianda <i>ɤəɤbu?</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>halpu?</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>haləpu?</i> . WayKanan <i>hapok</i> . Ranau <i>həɤbu?</i> . Sukau <i>ɤəɤbu</i> . Daya <i>ɤəhbu?</i> . KotAgung <i>ɤəɤbuk</i> . TalaPada <i>ɤəɤbu?</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
12	'skin'	* <i>bawa?</i>		Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima 'skin (of fruit)' Sungkai Pubian Jabung <i>bawa?</i> . Kalianda Melintin KAPend Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>baba?</i> . Krui <i>bawa</i> .
12	'skin'	?* <i>kulit</i>	* <i>kulit</i> {B1}	KAAAsli <i>kulit</i> ?. KotaBumi <i>kuli?</i> . WayLima <i>pəkulik</i> .
13	'back'	* <i>tundun</i>	cf. Minangkabau <i>tundun</i> 'nape of the neck'	Kom-Dpur Ranau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Pubian KotaBumi <i>tundun</i> . Kom-Dpur Daya <i>tundu^dn</i> . Melintin <i>tən:un</i> . Jabung <i>tənu^dn</i> .
13	'back'	* <i>kuyun</i>		WayKanan Sungkai Sukadana <i>təkuyun</i> . Kom-Adu KomIllir <i>kəuyun</i> . Menggala <i>kuyun</i> . KAAAsli <i>kəuyun</i> . KAPend <i>tan̄kuyun</i> .
14	'belly' (cf. 'full stomach')	* <i>bətəŋ</i>	* <i>beteŋ</i> {B2}	TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>bətəŋ</i> . Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>bətəŋ</i> . KAAAsli KAPend <i>botoŋ</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>bətəŋ</i> . Jabung <i>bətəŋ</i> . WayKanan <i>bətəŋ</i> .
15	'bone'	* <i>tuhəlan</i>	* <i>tuqelan</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau WayKanan Sungkai Pubian KAPend <i>tuhlan</i> . KotAgung KotaBumi <i>tukan</i> . Sukau Krui <i>təlan</i> . TalaPada <i>talən</i> . WayLima <i>təhlan</i> . Belalau <i>təhulan</i> .
15	'bone'	* <i>baluŋ</i>	JAV id.	WayLima Kalianda Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>baluŋ</i> . Jabung <i>balu^gŋ</i> . Melintin <i>baluŋ</i> .
16	'guts'	* <i>tinahi</i>	* <i>tinaqi</i> {B1}	Sukau Belalau KotAgung 'belly' <i>tənai</i> . KomIllir 'belly' <i>tanihī</i> . Kom-Adu 'belly' <i>tanihī</i> . Melintin <i>tənah̄s̄y</i> . Menggala <i>tənāh̄s̄y</i> . Jabung <i>tənah̄y</i> . Krui 'belly' <i>tənay</i> . Sukadana <i>tənəh̄y</i> . KotaBumi <i>tənəh̄y</i> . Ranau 'belly' <i>tənzy</i> .
16	'guts'	* <i>isaw</i>	* <i>isaw</i> {B2}	Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>isau</i> . Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan Jabung <i>isaw</i> . Ranau <i>isəw</i> .
16	'guts'	* <i>isi bətəŋ</i>	* <i>isi?</i> 'flesh, contents' {B2}	KAAAsli KAPend <i>isi botoŋ</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>isi bətəŋ</i> .
17	'liver'	* <i>hatay</i>	* <i>qatay</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda KAPend <i>hati</i> . Melintin Menggala <i>atəy</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi <i>atəy</i> . Jabung <i>ati</i> .
18	'breast'	* <i>susu</i>	* <i>susu</i> {B1}	KAAAsli KomIllir KAPend KotaBumi <i>susu</i> . Menggala <i>susew</i> . Sukadana <i>sus^o</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
18	'breast'	^c * <i>əmah</i>		KotAgung TalaPada <i>m:ah</i> . Pubian Kalianda <i>ṁah</i> . WayKanan <i>mē?</i> . Belalau <i>mah</i> . Jabung <i>mēh</i> . Melintin <i>mēh</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>imē?</i> .
19	'shoulder'	^c * <i>pinpiŋ</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan KAPend <i>pinpiŋ</i> . WayKanan Sungkai Pubian <i>pimpiŋ</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi <i>pup:ŋ</i> . Jabung Menggala <i>pəpiŋ</i> . KomIlir <i>pimpiŋ</i> ⁸ .
19	'shoulder'	* <i>layan</i>		Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada Kalianda <i>layan</i> .
20	'know'	(loan)		(< MAL <i>tahu</i>)
21	'think'	(loan)		(< AR/MAL <i>pikir</i>)
22	'afraid'	* <i>ma-rabay</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi <i>ʁabay</i> . Melintin Menggala <i>gabay</i> . Sukau <i>muyabay</i> . Krui <i>mayabay</i> . Belalau <i>məʁabai</i> . WayLima <i>rabai</i> . KAPend <i>abay</i> . Ranau <i>ʁəbɜy</i> .
23	'blood'	^c * <i>ərah</i>	* <i>daRaq</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi <i>ʁah</i> . Krui WayLima <i>rah</i> . Sukau Menggala <i>yah</i> . KAPend <i>əʁah</i> . KAAsli <i>ɔrah</i> . Melintin <i>əʁah</i> . Ranau <i>ʁəx</i> .
24	'head'	* <i>hulu</i>	* <i>qulu</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Daya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian KAPend <i>hulu</i> . Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Kalianda Jabung <i>ulu</i> . Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi <i>ulʰo</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>hulu</i> . Menggala <i>ulew</i> .
25	'neck'	* <i>galah</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung KAPend Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>galah</i> .
26	'hair'	^c * <i>buə(kʔ)</i>	* <i>buhek</i> {B1}	Sukau Belalau KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Jabung KAPend Menggala <i>buo?</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>buo?</i> . Kom-Dpur Krui <i>buwo?</i> . KAAsli Daya <i>buwə?</i> . WayLima <i>buok</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>buo?</i> . Sukadana <i>buwa?</i> . Ranau <i>buwə</i> . Melintin <i>buw?</i> . KotaBumi <i>bua?</i> . WayKanan <i>buo?</i> . Kalianda <i>uwo?</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
27	'nose'	^c * <i>iruŋ</i>	* <i>ijuŋ</i> /* <i>ujuŋ</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Dpur Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi <i>isuŋ</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui <i>iyuŋ</i> . Menggala <i>ekuŋ</i> . Daya <i>hiŋuŋ</i> . WayLima <i>iruŋ</i> . KAPend <i>iyuŋ</i> . KAAsli Kom-Jaya <i>isuŋ</i> .
28	'breathe'	* <i>həŋas</i>		Krui KotAgung TalaPada <i>mahəŋas</i> . Kom-Dpur Belalau Pubian <i>məhəŋas</i> . Ranau <i>muhəŋas</i> . Sukau <i>muxəŋas</i> . KomIllir <i>mahōŋas</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>məŋas</i> . Kom-Adu <i>məhəŋas</i> . Daya <i>məhəŋas</i> . Sungkai <i>məhiŋas</i> . Kalianda <i>məŋas</i> . WayLima <i>mahəŋas</i> .
29	'sniff/ smell'	^c * <i>arə(kʔ)</i>	* <i>hajek</i> {B1}	Ranau <i>ayoʔ</i> .
29	'sniff/ smell'	^c * <i>ambaw</i>	* <i>bahu</i> 'stench' {B2}	TalaPada WayLima Kalianda Sukadana <i>ɣambaw</i> . Sungkai <i>nambau</i> . KotaBumi Menggala <i>ambaw</i> . Api (Udin et al. 1992) 'odor' <i>ambaw</i> . KAPend <i>ombow</i> . Sukau <i>imbau</i> . Krui <i>ɣimbau</i> . Belalau KotAgung <i>umbau</i> . Melintin <i>ɣəm^bāō</i> . Jabung <i>am^haw</i> .
29	'sniff/ smell'	^c * <i>hundun</i>		Kom-Jaya WayKanan <i>mundun</i> . Kom-Dpur Daya <i>undu^hɣ</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>undun</i> . TalaPada <i>ɣundun</i> . Pubian <i>ɣəhundun</i> .
30	'mouth'	* <i>baŋuʔ</i>	cf. SUN <i>baŋus</i> id.	Sukau Belalau KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>baŋuʔ</i> . Kom-Adu KomIllir <i>baŋuʔ</i> . WayKanan Jabung <i>baŋūʔ</i> . Krui <i>baŋu</i> . WayLima <i>baŋuk</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>baŋūʔ</i> . KAAsli <i>baŋɔʔ</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>baŋuʔ</i> . Ranau <i>bəŋuʔ</i> . Daya <i>mbaŋuʔ</i> .
30	'mouth'	^c * <i>ɣaŋa</i>	* <i>ɣaŋa</i> 'agape' {B2}	KotaBumi Menggala <i>gaŋō</i> . KAPend <i>ɣāŋē</i> . Sukadana <i>kaŋ^hɔ</i> .
31	'tooth'	* <i>ipən</i>	* <i>ipen</i> /* <i>nipen</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>ipən</i> . Kom-Jaya Ranau Sukau Krui WayKanan Jabung <i>ipən</i> . KAAsli KomIllir <i>ipən</i> .
31	'tooth'	* <i>kədis</i>		Sukadana KotaBumi <i>kədi^hs</i> . Melintin Menggala <i>kədis</i> . KAPend <i>kodis</i> .
32	'tongue'	* <i>əma</i>	* <i>hema</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau KotAgung Sungkai <i>m^ha</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui WayKanan TalaPada Pubian <i>ma</i> . Kom-Dpur Daya KotAgung WayLima Kalianda <i>əma</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>ome</i> . Jabung <i>mō</i> . Sukadana <i>mə^hō</i> .
33	'laugh'	^c * <i>aha</i>		Kom-Adu KomIllir <i>maha</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>māhē</i> . Menggala <i>mōhōw</i> . Jabung <i>māhō</i> . Melintin <i>māhə^hō</i> . WayKanan <i>māh^hā</i> . Sukadana <i>māh^hāō</i> . KotaBumi <i>māh^hāō</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>məhā</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
33	'laugh'	^c * <i>lalaŋ</i>		Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>lalaŋ</i> .
34	'cry'	* <i>hiwaŋ</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda KAPend <i>miwaŋ</i> . Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi <i>mīwāŋ</i> . Menggala <i>mewaŋ</i> . KAAsli <i>miwāŋ</i> . Ranau <i>miwəŋ</i> . WayLima KAPend <i>hiwaŋ</i>
35	'vomit'	* <i>utah</i>	* <i>utaq</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Daya Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda KAPend <i>mutah</i> . WayKanan Melintin KotaBumi <i>mūtah</i> . Menggala <i>motah</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>muta</i> . Sukadana <i>mūtāh</i> . Jabung <i>mūtah</i> . WayLima <i>utah</i> .
36	'spit'	^c * <i>hitəp</i>		WayKanan <i>hitəp</i> . KomIlir <i>halotə?</i> . Kalianda Jabung <i>itəp</i> . Melintin <i>itəp</i> . Kom-Adu <i>mahalotə?</i> . Sungkai <i>mələtok</i> . Kom-Jaya Pubian <i>mələto?</i> . Sukadana <i>utəp</i> . KAAsli <i>ŋēhuto?</i> . Kalianda <i>ŋitəp</i> . Menggala KotaBumi <i>ŋutəp</i> . TalaPada <i>ŋahalitəp</i> . KAPend <i>ŋəhutəp</i> . WayLima <i>ŋələtopi</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>ŋəkəto?</i> . Daya <i>kahto?</i> .
36	'spit'	* <i>iluy</i>	* <i>iluR</i> 'saliva' {B2}	Pubian KAPend <i>iluy</i> . KotAgung <i>lui</i> . Ranau Krui Belalau <i>məluY</i> . Sukau <i>ŋelui</i> .
37	'eat'	^c * <i>əkan</i>	* <i>kaen</i> {B1}	Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung KotaBumi <i>məŋan</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu <i>moŋan</i> . Kom-Jaya Menggala <i>məŋan</i> . KomIlir <i>mōŋan</i> . KAPend <i>mōŋān</i> . Sukadana <i>məŋān</i> . Ranau <i>məŋəŋ</i> . Ranau Kalianda <i>kani?</i> .
38	'chew'	^c * <i>kayil</i>		Sukadana KotaBumi <i>ŋayəl</i> . Jabung <i>kayol</i> . Melintin <i>kapil</i> . Pubian <i>məŋayil</i> . Sungkai <i>ŋayil</i> . WayKanan <i>ŋayəl</i> . Menggala <i>ŋənel</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>ŋəŋol</i> .
38	'chew'	^c * <i>ŋalŋal</i>	* <i>ŋasŋas</i> 'crush with the teeth' {B2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur Daya <i>ŋalŋal</i> . Sukau TalaPada <i>ŋəŋal</i> . Krui <i>ŋiŋal</i> . KotAgung <i>ŋaŋal</i> . Ranau <i>ŋəŋəl</i> .
39	'cook'	* <i>tasa(k?)</i>	* <i>tasak</i> 'ripe' {Z1}	KAAsli KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan Sungkai Pubian Jabung KAPend KotaBumi <i>nasa?</i> .
39	'cook'	* <i>əsak</i>	* <i>esak</i> 'cooked, ripe' {B2}	Kom-Adu KotAgung Kalianda KotaBumi <i>masa?</i> . Krui Sukadana <i>maja?</i> . Sukau TalaPada <i>masak</i> . WayLima 'ripe' <i>ma-əsak</i> .
39	'cook'	^c * <i>ŋunjəŋ</i>		Belalau <i>nunjəŋ</i> . KotAgung <i>ŋonjəŋ</i> . Ranau <i>ŋunjəŋ</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
39	‘cook’	^c * <i>kəku?</i>		Melintin Menggala <i>ḡəku?</i> . Sukadana ‘cook rice’ <i>kəku?</i> .
40	‘drink’	^c * <i>inum</i>	* <i>inum</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung KAPend KotaBumi <i>ḡinum</i> . Sukadana <i>ḡinum</i> . Sukau Melintin <i>ḡinom</i> . Ranau Krui <i>ḡinəm</i> . Menggala <i>ḡinəm</i> .
41	‘bite’	* <i>kərah</i>	cf. * <i>kaRat</i> {B1}	Kom-Dpur Daya KotaBumi <i>kəroh</i> . KotAgung TalaPada Kalianda <i>ḡəroh</i> . Melintin <i>gərah</i> . Belalau <i>kəroh</i> . Ranau <i>kəγγ</i> . Jabung <i>kəroh</i> . Sukadana <i>kərah</i> . Kom-Adu <i>ḡəroh</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>ḡəroh</i> . WayLima <i>ḡəroh</i> . Krui <i>ḡəyoh</i> . Sukau <i>ḡəyox</i> .
42	‘suck’	* <i>hisəp</i>	* <i>qisep</i> {B2}	Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>isəp</i> . Sukau Pubian Kalianda <i>ḡisop</i> . Kom-Jaya Daya <i>hiso?</i> . KAAAsli Kom-Dpur <i>hiso?</i> . Belalau KotAgung <i>ḡahisop</i> . KAPend <i>hisop</i> . Kom-Adu <i>hisop</i> . WayKanan <i>hiso?</i> . Ranau <i>isəp</i> . Jabung <i>isə?</i> . KomIllir <i>sə?ə?</i> . Sungkai <i>ḡihiso?</i> . Krui <i>ḡisəp</i> . TalaPada <i>ḡahisok</i> . WayLima <i>ḡəsop</i> .
43	‘ear’	^c * <i>cupiŋ</i>		KAAAsli Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung KAPend <i>cupiŋ</i> . Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Jaya <i>cupiŋ</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi <i>cupiʔiŋ</i> . Menggala <i>cupiŋ</i> .
44	‘hear’	^c * <i>dəŋi(s)</i>	* <i>deŋeR</i> {B1}	Sukau Krui <i>dəŋi</i> . KAAAsli <i>dəŋi</i> . Melintin KotaBumi <i>dəŋəy</i> . Sukadana <i>dəŋəy</i> . KAPend <i>kədoŋyan</i> . Pubian Sungkai <i>nioŋ</i> . KAAAsli <i>noŋi</i> . Jabung <i>nəŋi</i> . Kalianda <i>ḡadəŋi</i> . Menggala <i>ḡədəŋəy</i> . KomIllir <i>ḡdəŋih</i> . Kom-Adu <i>andəŋi</i> . Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Menggala <i>təŋis</i> . Kom-Jaya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung <i>nəŋis</i> . WayLima <i>nəŋisko</i> . TalaPada <i>ḡadəŋis</i> .
45	‘eye’	* <i>mata</i>	* <i>mata</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>mata</i> . KAAAsli KAPend <i>mate</i> . Jabung KotaBumi <i>matə</i> . Menggala <i>matow</i> . Melintin Sukadana <i>matə</i> .
46	‘see’	* <i>lia?</i>		Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Dpur Daya Krui WayKanan <i>lia?</i> . KotAgung TalaPada Kalianda <i>ḡalia?</i> . Kom-Dpur Sukau Belalau <i>ḡəlia?</i> . Ranau <i>liz?</i> . WayLima <i>ḡaliak</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>ḡəlia?</i> .
46	‘see’	* <i>inu?</i>		Pubian KotaBumi <i>ninu?</i> . Jabung Sukadana <i>ninu?</i> . KotAgung <i>məno?</i> . Sungkai <i>ḡinu?</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
46	'see'	* <i>ənah</i>		Melintin KotaBumi <i>ḡənah</i> . KAPend <i>ona</i> . KAAsli <i>ḡonah</i> . Menggala <i>ḡənah</i> .
47	'yawn'	^c * <i>huap</i>	* <i>ma-huab</i> {B1}	Sungkai Pubian Melintin Jabung <i>muap</i> . Krui WayKanan Kalianda <i>məhuap</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>huaʔ huay</i> . Komllir KotAgung <i>mahuap</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>huwapan</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>huaphuapan</i> . Belalau <i>hawa</i> . Sukau <i>muxuap</i> . Menggala <i>mūāp</i> . Kom-Adu <i>mahəwap</i> . KotaBumi <i>mahwap</i> . TalaPada <i>malaluap</i> . Sukadana <i>məhawap</i> . Daya <i>waʔwapan</i> . Ranau <i>ḡʒlʒluʒpʔ</i> .
48	'sleep'	* <i>turuy</i>	* <i>tuɖuR</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu Komllir Kom-Dpur 'lie down' WayKanan KotAgung 'lie down' Sungkai 'lie down' Pubian Menggala <i>tuʒuy</i> . KAAsli Kom-Jaya 'lie down' KotaBumi 'lie down' Sukadana <i>tuʒuy</i> . KAPend <i>tuwoy</i> . Jabung 'lie down' <i>tuʒuy tuʒuyan</i> .
48	'sleep'	* <i>pəɖəm</i>	PWMP * <i>pezem</i> 'close the eyes' {B2}	Kom-Dpur Sukau Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian <i>pədom</i> . Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>pəɖəm</i> . Ranau Krui Jabung <i>pəɖəm</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>pədom</i> . Daya <i>pəɖoum</i> . Kalianda <i>pəɖom</i> .
49	'lie down'	^c * <i>dulik</i>		Krui Kalianda <i>dadulik</i> . Daya <i>duleɖduleɖ</i> . Ranau <i>dulikʔ</i> . TalaPada <i>dadoleɖ</i> . Sukau <i>daduliʔ</i> . Daya <i>ndulikʔ</i> .
49	'lie down'	^c * <i>gulik</i>		KAAsli <i>beguliŋ</i> . KAAsli <i>bəguliŋ</i> . Melintin <i>ḡəgalik</i> . Komllir <i>ḡgulikʔ</i> . Kom-Adu <i>ḡgulikʔ</i> .
49	'lie down'	* <i>gincij</i>		WayKanan <i>gincij</i> . Pubian <i>gincij</i> . Belalau <i>icij</i> .
50	'dream'	^c * <i>h(an)ipi</i>	* <i>h(-in-)ipi</i> {B1}	Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan Sungkai Jabung <i>nipi</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau <i>hanipi</i> . TalaPada <i>buhani</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>ḡipi</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>ḡipəy</i> . Kom-Adu <i>bunipi</i> . Komllir <i>banipi</i> . Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur <i>bənipi</i> . Kalianda <i>hanipian</i> . Melintin <i>ḡipəy</i> . KotAgung <i>ḡahani</i> . Pubian <i>ḡhipi</i> .
51	'sit'	^c * <i>həjəŋ</i>	* <i>kezeŋ</i> 'stand' {Z2}	Kom-Dpur Sukau Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian <i>məjoŋ</i> . Ranau Krui Jabung <i>məjəŋ</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>məjoŋ</i> . Melintin KotaBumi <i>məjəŋ</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>bijəŋ</i> . Kom-Adu <i>məjoŋ</i> . Komllir <i>məjoŋ</i> . Menggala <i>məjəŋ</i> . Sukadana <i>məjəŋ</i> . Kalianda <i>məjəŋ</i> . WayKanan <i>məjəŋ</i> . Daya <i>məjəŋ</i> .
52	'stand'	^c * <i>təgi</i>		WayKanan Sungkai Pubian <i>təməgi</i> . Melintin KotaBumi <i>təməgəy</i> . Jabung <i>məgi</i> . KAPend <i>temogi</i> . Komllir <i>togi</i> . Menggala <i>təməgəy</i> . Kalianda <i>təgi</i> . KAAsli <i>təməgi</i> . Sukadana <i>təməgəy</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
52	‘stand’	* <i>cəkək</i>		Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau Pubian <i>cəco?</i> . Kom-Dpur Daya <i>co?co?</i> . KotAgung <i>coc:ok</i> . TalaPada <i>cəc:o?</i> . WayLima <i>cəkcok</i> .
52	‘stand’	^c * <i>minja?</i>		Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Daya KAPend Sukadana KotaBumi <i>minja?</i> .
53	‘person’	* <i>hulun</i>	* <i>qulun</i> ‘outsiders, alien people’ {B2}	Komering (Gaffar et al. n.d.) <i>hulun</i> . WayLima <i>holon</i> . Kalianda (Walker), KotBumi, Menggala <i>ulun</i> . Melintin <i>ulən</i> . (Other areas <i>jəlma</i> < SKT.)
54	‘man’	* <i>ma-ruhanay</i>	* <i>ma-Ruqanay</i> {B1}	KAPend ‘man’ <i>səməhani</i> , Daya ‘older brother’ <i>məhani</i> , Kom-Adu ‘boy’ WayLima ‘boy’ <i>maranay</i> .
54	‘man’	^c * <i>bakas</i>		KAAAsli KomIllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Kalianda <i>bakas</i> . Kom-Adu ^m <i>bakas</i> .
54	‘man’	* <i>ragah</i>		WayKanan Sungkai Pubian Jabung Menggala <i>ragah</i> . Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi <i>ragah</i> .
55	‘woman’	* <i>bai</i>	* <i>ba-bahi</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Jabung <i>bay</i> . Daya Pubian <i>bai</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayLima <i>bəbay</i> . KAAAsli KomIllir <i>obay</i> . WayKanan KotaBumi <i>səbay</i> . Sungkai Melintin Sukadana Menggala <i>səbay</i> . Kalianda <i>bub:ai</i> . KotAgung <i>bab:ai</i> . Daya <i>baibai</i> . TalaPada <i>bəb:ai</i> . KAPend <i>sobay</i> .
56	‘child’	* <i>anak</i>	* <i>anak</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui KotAgung Kalianda Jabung <i>sana?</i> . WayLima Sungkai <i>sanak</i> . Kom-Jaya Belalau WayKanan Pubian Jabung KAPend Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>ana?</i> . TalaPada Melintin <i>anak</i> .
57	‘spouse (husband/ wife)’	^c * <i>ka-həjəŋ</i>		Daya ‘husband’ <i>kahjoŋ</i> <i>bakas</i> , ‘wife’ <i>kahjoŋ</i> <i>bai</i> . Belalau ‘husband’ <i>kahəjoŋ</i> . Krui KotAgung WayLima TalaPada <i>kajoŋ</i> . KotAgung ‘husband’ Jabung ‘husband’ <i>kaj:əŋ</i> . WayKanan <i>kəj:əŋ</i> . Kom-Dpur ‘wife’ <i>khəjoŋ</i> .
57	‘husband’	?* <i>laki</i>	* <i>laki</i> ‘man’ {Z2}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIllir KAPend <i>laki</i> . Melintin <i>lakəy</i> . Menggala <i>lak:əy</i> .
57	‘husband’	^c * <i>məŋi-an</i>	cf. * <i>ma-Ruqanay</i> ‘man’	WayKanan Pubian KotaBumi Menggala <i>məŋian</i> . Ranau <i>məŋiyən</i> . Sungkai <i>məŋian</i> . Sukadana <i>məŋian</i> .
58	‘wife’	(see ‘spouse’)		
58	‘wife’	* <i>gəm</i>		Kom-Jaya Ranau Belalau <i>ingoman</i> . Sukau <i>ingom</i> . KAAAsli <i>ŋoman</i> . Kom-Adu <i>əngoman</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
58	'wife'	<i>c*maju</i>		WayLima 'bride' Sungkai Jabung <i>maju</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi <i>maj^o</i> .
59	'mother'	<i>c*ama?</i>	<i>*ema-?</i> 'father's sister' {B2}	Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau TalaPada Sungkai <i>ma?</i> . KotAgung Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>m:a?</i> . WayLima <i>mak</i> .
59	'mother'	<i>c*uma?</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Daya <i>uma?</i> .
59	'mother'	<i>*indu?</i>		Kom-Jaya WayKanan <i>indu?</i> . Daya <i>ndo?</i> . Jabung <i>nu?</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>ndu?</i> . Melintin <i>"nu?</i> . KAPend <i>on^oo?</i> . KAAsli <i>mdo?</i> .
59	'mother'	<i>*ina(-?)</i>	<i>*ina</i> {B1}	Sukau Kalianda <i>ina?</i> . Ranau KotAgung <i>ina</i> .
60	'father'	<i>c*uba?</i>		Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau <i>ba?</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>uba?</i> . Daya <i>^mba?</i> . Pubian <i>abah</i> . Kalianda <i>ama?</i> .
61	'house'	<i>c*lambah-an</i>		Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Kalianda <i>lamban</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>lombahan</i> . KAAsli Pubian <i>mahan</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>lambahan</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>lambahan</i> . Ranau <i>l³mb³n</i> . Daya <i>mbahan</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>^mbahan</i> .
61	'house'	<i>c*bənua</i>	<i>*banua</i> 'inhabited territory' {Z2}	KAPend <i>benue</i> . Menggala <i>nuow</i> . Sungkai <i>nuwa</i> . Jabung <i>nūwō</i> . WayKanan <i>nūā</i> . Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi <i>nū³ō</i> .
62	'roof'	<i>*hatap</i>	<i>*qatep</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>hato?</i> . Sukau Krui <i>hat³?</i> . KAPend <i>hatop</i> . Ranau <i>h³tək</i> . Jabung <i>at³?</i> .
62	'roof'	<i>c*pankul</i>		KotaBumi Menggala <i>pak³ul</i> . Melintin Sukadana <i>pək³ul</i> . KomIlir <i>panaku</i> .
63	'name'	<i>*gəlar</i>	cf. Proto-Batak (Adelaar 1981) <i>*gəlar</i> 'title, surname'	Kom-Dpur Daya KotAgung TalaPada Kalianda Jabung Sukadana <i>gəlar³</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>golax</i> . WayKanan Sungkai Pubian <i>gəbal</i> . Krui <i>gilay</i> . KAPend <i>gəlow</i> . Menggala <i>gəlew</i> . Melintin <i>gəlao</i> . WayLima <i>gəlar</i> . Ranau <i>gəl³y</i> .
64	'say'	<i>?*umuy</i>		Kom-Jaya KAPend <i>ηumuy</i> . Menggala <i>ηomoy</i> . Kom-Adu <i>ηōmoy³</i> . KAAsli <i>ηomoy</i> . KomIlir <i>ηūmūy</i> .
64	'say'	<i>?*cawa</i>		Kom-Adu Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>cawa</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi <i>cawo</i> . Menggala <i>cawow</i> . Jabung <i>caw³</i> . Melintin <i>caw³?</i> . Ranau <i>c³w³h</i> . WayLima <i>nawa</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
65	'rope'	* <i>tali</i>	* <i>talih</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung KAPend <i>tali</i> . KotaBumi <i>taləy</i> . Sukadana <i>taləy</i> . Menggala <i>talzy</i> .
66	'tether'	* <i>ikə(tʔ)</i>	* <i>hiket</i> {B1}	Sukau Belalau KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>ɲikoʔ</i> . Melintin Sukadana <i>ikvʔ</i> . Krui Jabung <i>ikvʔ</i> . Menggala <i>diekoʔ</i> . KotaBumi <i>ɲikəʔ</i> . WayLima <i>ɲəkək</i> .
66	'tether'	* <i>karut</i>	* <i>Rakut</i> {B2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan <i>kavʔ</i> . KAAAsli Kom-Jaya <i>kavʔ</i> . KAPend <i>kavut</i> . Ranau <i>kəyʔ</i> . Sungkai <i>ɲavuk</i> .
67	'sew'	* <i>sərut</i>		Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung <i>ɲəvuʔ</i> . Sukau Krui <i>ɲəyʔ</i> . WayLima <i>sərok</i> . Ranau <i>səyukʔ</i> . Belalau <i>səvuʔ</i> . Sukadana <i>ɲivʔ</i> . KAPend <i>ɲowut</i> . Kom-Adu <i>ɲovʔ</i> . KomIlir <i>ɲovʔ</i> . KAAAsli <i>ɲəvuʔ</i> . Menggala <i>ɲəvuʔ</i> . Melintin <i>ɲəvuʔ</i> . TalaPada <i>ɲəxuʔ</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>ɲivʔ</i> .
68	'needle'	* <i>sərəp</i>	* <i>sejep</i> 'penetrate' {B2}	Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>səvoʔ</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>səvoʔ</i> . WayKanan Jabung <i>səvʔ</i> . KotAgung TalaPada <i>səxoʔ</i> . KAPend <i>sowop</i> . KAAAsli <i>səvʔ</i> . Menggala <i>səvəp</i> . KotaBumi <i>səvəʔ</i> . Sukau <i>səyoʔ</i> . Krui <i>səyʔ</i> . Ranau <i>səyəkʔ</i> . Sukadana <i>səvaʔ</i> . Melintin <i>səvəp</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>sivʔ</i> .
69	'hunt'	* <i>halaw</i>	* <i>halaw</i> {B2}	WayLima <i>halaw</i> . Menggala <i>ɲ-alaw</i> .
69	'hunt'	* <i>m-asu</i>	cf. 'dog'	Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada Kalianda Jabung <i>masu</i> .
70	'shoot'	* <i>timbang</i>	* <i>timbang</i> {Z2}	Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Kalianda Sukadana KotaBumi <i>nimbak</i> . Kom-Adu Sukau Pubian <i>nimbaʔ</i> . KomIlir Kom-Dpur <i>nimbakʔ</i> . Melintin Jabung <i>nəmːak</i> . KAAAsli <i>nimːakʔ</i> . Menggala <i>nəmːaʔ</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>nimbak</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>timbangʔ</i> . Daya <i>timbaʔ</i> . KAPend <i>timːak</i> .
71	'stab'	* <i>pagas</i>		Sukau Krui KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>magas</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir Daya Ranau Belalau WayKanan Jabung KAPend <i>pagas</i> .
71	'stab'	* <i>tujah</i>		KAAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya KAPend <i>tujah</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>tuja</i> .
72	'hit (v.)'	* <i>gada</i>		Sungkai <i>ɲugada</i> . KotAgung <i>ɲagada</i> . Pubian <i>ɲəgada</i> . TalaPada <i>ɲəngada</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
72	'hit (v.)'	^c * <i>təstəs</i>		Belalau <i>nətos</i> . KotaBumi <i>nətuh</i> . Daya <i>tostos</i> . Komllir <i>təstəs</i> . Jabung <i>təts</i> . Melintin <i>təts</i> . KotaBumi <i>tətuh</i> .
72	'hit (v.)'	^c * <i>gəbuk</i>		Jabung <i>gəbuk</i> . Pubian <i>ŋəgibuh</i> . Sukadana <i>ŋəgəbuk</i> .
72	'hit (v.)'	* <i>pukul</i>		KAAAsli Krui Belalau <i>mukul</i> . WayKanan KAPend <i>pukul</i> .
72	'hit (v.)'	* <i>səbat</i>		Kom-Adu <i>sobat</i> ?. Ranau WayLima <i>səbat</i> .
72	'hit (v.)'	* <i>təgəm</i>		Kom-Adu Komllir <i>togom</i> . Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur <i>təgom</i> .
73	'steal'	* <i>maliŋ</i>	PM * <i>maliŋ</i> {A1}	KAAAsli Komllir Kom-Jaya Daya Ranau Krui Belalau WayKanan Melintin Jabung KAPend <i>maliŋ</i> . Kom-Adu Sukau KotAgung TalaPada Kalianda <i>ŋamaliŋ</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi <i>maliŋ</i> ?. Kom-Dpur <i>malin</i> . Sungkai <i>ŋumaliŋ</i> . Pubian Menggala <i>ŋəmaliŋ</i> .
74	'kill'	* <i>bunuh</i>	* <i>bunuq</i> {B1}	WayLima KotaBumi <i>ŋəbunuh</i> . Belalau <i>məmbunuh</i> . TalaPada <i>ŋambunuh</i> .
74	'kill'	^c * <i>patay</i>	* <i>p-atay</i> {B2}	Komllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya <i>patiko</i> . KotAgung Sungkai Pubian <i>matiko</i> . KAAAsli KAPend <i>mati</i> ?. WayKanan Jabung <i>pati</i> . Menggala <i>dipətykən</i> . Sukau <i>kupatiko</i> . Sukadana <i>matəy</i> . KAAAsli <i>pati</i> ?. KotaBumi <i>patəy</i> . Ranau <i>pətikan</i> . Kom-Adu <i>ŋəmatiko</i> . Kalianda <i>ŋəmatian</i> .
75	'dead'	^c * <i>matay</i>	* <i>m-atay</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu Komllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Jabung KAPend <i>mati</i> . Sungkai Pubian <i>matiko</i> . Melintin KotaBumi <i>matəy</i> . WayLima <i>mati</i> . Menggala <i>matey</i> . Sukadana <i>matəy</i> .
76	'live/ be alive'	^c * <i>huri(p?)</i>	* <i>ma-qudip</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu Komllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian <i>huwi</i> ?. Belalau Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi <i>uwi</i> ?. Sukau Menggala <i>huyi</i> ?. WayLima <i>hurik</i> . KAPend <i>huwe</i> ?. Ranau <i>huyi</i> . Krui <i>huyə</i> ?. KAAAsli <i>huwe</i> ?. WayKanan <i>həwe</i> ?. Kalianda <i>uwe</i> ?. Sukau 'grow' <i>huyi</i> .
77	'scratch'	* <i>kuykuy</i>	* <i>kuRkuR</i> {Z1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu Komllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sungkai KAPend <i>kuykuy</i> . Belalau WayKanan KotAgung <i>ŋukuy</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui Pubian TalaPada Kalianda Melintin KotaBumi <i>kəkuy</i> . Jabung Sukadana <i>kəkuy</i> . WayLima <i>ŋəkoy</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
78	'cut/ hack'	* <i>pələ?</i>	cf. PHN? <i>pali?</i> 'cut, wound, scar' {Z2}	Belalau KotAgung TalaPada Pubian Kalianda Jabung <i>məlo?</i> . Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Krui <i>pəlo?</i> . WayLima <i>məlok</i> . KotaBumi <i>məla?</i> . KotaBumi <i>pəla?</i> . Melintin <i>pələ?</i> .
79	'wood'	* <i>kayu</i>	* <i>kahiw</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung KAPend <i>kayu</i> . Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi <i>kay^o</i> . Menggala <i>kayew</i> .
80	'split'	* <i>bəlah</i>	* <i>beləq</i> {B1}	Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau WayKanan Sukadana KotaBumi <i>bəlah</i> . KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir KAPend <i>bolah</i> . Belalau KotAgung Kalianda <i>ḡəbəlah</i> . WayLima Pubian <i>ḡəbəlah</i> . Melintin <i>belah</i> . Krui <i>bilah</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>bəlah</i> . Jabung <i>b^lah</i> . Menggala <i>dibəlah</i> . Sungkai <i>ḡubəlah</i> . TalaPada <i>ḡəmbəlah</i> .
81	'sharp'	* <i>tajəm</i>	* <i>ma-tazem</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda KAPend <i>tajəm</i> . KotaBumi Menggala <i>tajəm</i> . Melintin Sukadana <i>tajəm</i> . WayLima <i>tajum</i> . Krui <i>tajam</i> . Jabung <i>tajəm</i> .
82	'dull'	* <i>kudul</i>	* <i>ku(n)dul</i> {B2}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Pubian Jabung Menggala <i>kudul</i> . Melintin KAPend Sukadana KotaBumi <i>kudul</i> . Sungkai Kalianda <i>kudu^{dl}</i> .
83	'work'	* <i>gaway</i>	* <i>gaway</i> {A2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Ranau <i>bugawi</i> . Kom-Jaya Daya <i>bəgawi</i> . KAAAsli Krui Sukau <i>bəguay</i> . Kom-Dpur WayKanan <i>bəgawi</i> . KAAAsli <i>beguay</i> . KAPend <i>begway</i> . Belalau <i>məguwai</i> .
84	'plant'	* <i>tanəm</i>	* <i>tanem</i> {B2}	Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Belalau KotAgung TalaPada Pubian Kalianda <i>nanom</i> . Daya Sukau KAPend <i>tanom</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi <i>nanəm</i> . KomIlir <i>nanəm</i> . KAAAsli <i>nanəm</i> . Sungkai <i>nanum</i> . Krui <i>nanəm</i> . Menggala <i>nanəm</i> . WayKanan <i>tanum</i> . Jabung <i>tanəm</i> . Melintin <i>tanəm</i> . Ranau <i>tənəm</i> .
85	'choose'	* <i>pilih</i>	* <i>piliq</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Kalianda Melintin Jabung KAPend KotaBumi Menggala <i>milih</i> . Sukau Krui <i>mileh</i> . Belalau Pubian <i>məmilih</i> . Sukadana <i>mili^h</i> . KomIlir <i>mulh</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>pilih</i> . Ranau <i>piləh</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
86	‘grow’	* <i>tuəh</i>		Daya Belalau KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>tuwoh</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>tuoh</i> . Krui <i>tuwox</i> . Kom-Dpur Ranau WayKanan Jabung <i>tuɔh</i> .
86	‘grow’	?* <i>tumbuh</i>	* <i>tu(m)buq</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>tumbuh</i> . Sukadana <i>tumbuʰh</i> . Menggala <i>tɔmbuh</i> .
87	‘swell’	* <i>bayəh</i>	* <i>baReq</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Menggala <i>bayoh</i> . KAAAsli <i>bayo</i> . Sukadana <i>bayah</i> . Jabung <i>bayɔh</i> . KotaBumi <i>bayəh</i> . Belalau <i>mubayoh</i> .
87	‘swell’	* <i>məgak</i>		Sukau Krui <i>məgaʔ</i> . Daya Ranau <i>məgakʔ</i> . KAPend ‘die (coarse)’ <i>mugaʔ</i> .
88	‘squeeze’	* <i>piəh</i>	* <i>peReq</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya KotAgung Sungkai KAPend <i>pioh</i> . WayKanan <i>mīoh</i> . KAAAsli <i>piyoh</i> . Jabung <i>piɔh</i> .
88	‘squeeze’	?* <i>pərəs</i>	cf. * <i>peRes</i> {B1}	Melintin <i>mərəs</i> . Sukadana <i>mərəs</i> . Pubian <i>məʋos</i> . KotaBumi <i>pərəs</i> . Menggala <i>pɔʔəs</i> .
88	‘squeeze’	?* <i>pərəʔ</i>	cf. * <i>peReq</i>	KomIlir <i>pəʋoʔ</i> . Jabung <i>pəʋɔʔ</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>ʋəʔʋəʔ</i> .
88	‘squeeze’	* <i>kəcil</i>		Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung <i>ɲəcil</i> . Daya <i>kəcij</i> . Ranau <i>kəcil</i> . Kalianda <i>məcil</i> . TalaPada <i>pəcil</i> .
89	‘hold’	* <i>bəkəm</i>		KAAAsli KomIlir <i>bokom</i> . Kom-Dpur Daya <i>bəkəm</i> . Melintin Sukadana <i>bəkəm</i> . Sukau Kalianda <i>ɲabəkəm</i> . KAPend <i>bəkəm</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>bəkəm</i> . Krui <i>bəkəm</i> . TalaPada <i>dibəkəm</i> . KotaBumi <i>məkəm</i> . Sungkai <i>ɲubəkəm</i> . Menggala <i>ɲəbəkəm</i> . Pubian <i>ɲabəkəm</i> . Kom-Adu <i>ambokəm</i> .
89	‘hold’	* <i>kacij</i>	cf. MAL <i>kancij</i> ‘button, fasten’	Kom-Adu KotaBumi <i>katiɲ</i> . WayKanan <i>ɲətoɲ</i> . KAPend <i>kotoɲ</i> . Menggala (Fernandes and Sudirman 2002) <i>kac:ij</i> .
89	‘hold’	* <i>pəgəɲ</i>	* <i>pegeɲ</i> {Z2}	KotAgung WayLima <i>məguɲ</i> . Jabung <i>pəguʔɲ</i> . KotaBumi <i>pəguɲ</i> .
90	‘dig’	* <i>kali</i>	* <i>kali</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Dpur WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>ɲali</i> . KomIlir Daya WayKanan Jabung <i>kali</i> . Sukau KotAgung <i>ɲagali</i> . KotaBumi <i>galʔy</i> . Ranau <i>kəli</i> . Melintin <i>ɲaləy</i> . Sukadana <i>ɲaləy</i> . TalaPada <i>ɲangali</i> . Menggala <i>ɲəgali</i> , <i>ɲəgaləy</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
91	'buy'	* <i>bəli</i>	* <i>beli</i> {B1}	Ranau Belalau Melintin Jabung <i>bəli</i> . Sukau Krui Kalianda <i>ɲabəli</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>boli</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>bəli</i> . Menggala <i>bələy</i> . KotaBumi <i>bəl^əy</i> . Sukadana <i>bələy</i> . Daya <i>mbeli</i> . KAAsli <i>moli</i> . KomIlir <i>^mboli</i> . WayKanan <i>^mbəli</i> . Sungkai <i>ɲubəli</i> . TalaPada <i>ɲambeli</i> . Pubian <i>ɲəbəli</i> . Kom-Adu <i>amboli</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>əmbəli</i> .
92	'open'	?* <i>buka?</i>	* <i>buka?</i> {B2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi <i>buka?</i> . Sukau Krui Jabung <i>buka</i> . Belalau KotAgung Kalianda <i>ɲabuka?</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>buke</i> . Ranau <i>buk³?</i> . Menggala <i>dibuka?</i> . Sungkai <i>ɲubuka</i> . TalaPada <i>ɲambuka</i> . Pubian <i>ɲəbuka?</i> .
93	'pound'	* <i>tutu</i>	* <i>tutu</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KAPend <i>nutu</i> . KomIlir Daya <i>nūtu</i> . Menggala <i>nutew</i> . Sukadana <i>nūt^o</i> . WayKanan <i>tutu</i> .
94	'throw away'	* <i>sitaŋ</i>		TalaPada Sungkai Pubian <i>ɲitaŋ</i> . KotaBumi 'throw' <i>sitaŋ</i> . Belalau <i>ɲitaŋ</i> .
94	'throw away'	* <i>campak</i>		Kom-Dpur Daya <i>campa?</i> . KomIlir <i>copa?</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>capa?</i> . KAPend <i>ɲampak</i> . KAPend <i>ɲampa?</i> . KAAsli <i>ɲampa?kon</i> .
94	'throw away'	* <i>nahayar</i>		WayLima <i>nayarko</i> . KotAgung <i>nayaχ</i> . Kalianda <i>ɲahayax</i> .
94	'throw away'	* <i>situh</i>		KotAgung KotaBumi <i>ɲituh</i> . WayKanan <i>situh</i> . Sukadana <i>ɲituh</i> .
94	'throw away'	* <i>umban</i>		Menggala <i>mba^dn</i> . Daya <i>umba^dn</i> . Kom-Adu <i>ɲumbanko</i> . KAPend 'carry away to discard' <i>umbal</i> .
95	'fall'	* <i>tia?</i>		Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Daya Ranau Sukau WayKanan Sungkai Pubian <i>tia?</i> . KomIlir <i>titiya?</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>tiya?</i> .
95	'fall'	* <i>gugur</i>	cf. ML <i>gugur</i> id.	WayLima <i>gogor</i> . TalaPada <i>gogoy</i> . Kalianda <i>gugox</i> . Belalau <i>gugoχ</i> . Menggala <i>gugux</i> . KotAgung <i>guguχ</i> . Jabung <i>gugox</i> .
95	'fall'	* <i>tumbak</i>		Krui <i>tumba</i> . Belalau <i>tumbak</i> . KotAgung <i>tumba?</i> .
96	'dog'	* <i>asu</i>	* <i>asu</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya WayKanan Sungkai Pubian Jabung KAPend <i>asu</i> . Menggala <i>asew</i> . Melintin <i>as^o</i> . KAAsli <i>a^ssu</i> .
96	'dog'	* <i>kaci</i>		Kom-Dpur Daya Krui Belalau TalaPada WayLima Kalianda <i>kaci</i> . Sukau <i>kac^hi</i> . Ranau <i>kəci</i> .
96	'dog'	?* <i>kuyu?</i>		KotAgung Sukadana, KAPend 'puppy', KotaBumi <i>kuyu?</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
97	'bird'	* <i>manu?</i>	* <i>manuk</i> {B1}	Sungkai <i>manu?manu?</i> . Pubian <i>məmanu?</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau 'chicken' Sukau 'chicken' Krui 'chicken' WayKanan 'chicken' <i>manu?</i> . KAAsli Kom-Jaya 'chicken' Belalau 'chicken' KAPend 'chicken' Menggala 'chicken' <i>mano?</i> . Sukadana 'chicken' <i>manū?</i> .
97	'bird'	* <i>putit</i>		WayKanan Melintin Jabung KotaBumi Menggala <i>puti?</i> . KotAgung Kalianda <i>putit</i> . Sukadana <i>puti?</i> .
98	'egg'	^c * <i>hatəluɣ</i>	* <i>qateluR</i> {B1}	Belalau WayKanan TalaPada WayLima Pubian KAPend <i>tahlui</i> . Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur <i>tahluy</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi <i>taluy</i> . Sukau Krui <i>təlui</i> . KomIlir <i>hatəloy</i> . Kom-Adu <i>təhloy</i> . Daya <i>tahloy</i> . Sungkai <i>təhlui</i> . Jabung <i>taluy</i> . KotAgung <i>talui</i> . Menggala <i>taluy</i> . KAAsli <i>ta^hluy</i> . Ranau <i>təluɣ</i> . Melintin <i>təloy</i> . Kalianda <i>təlui</i> .
99	'feather'	* <i>bulu</i>	* <i>bulu</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung KAPend <i>bulu</i> . Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi <i>bul^o</i> . Menggala <i>bulew</i> . WayKanan <i>bulu manu?</i> .
100	'wing'	* <i>kəpi</i>		Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian <i>kəpi</i> . WayKanan Kalianda <i>kəpi</i> . KomIlir <i>kopi</i> . KAAsli <i>kopay</i> . Kom-Adu <i>kəpi</i> . KAPend <i>kəpi</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>kəpi</i> . Menggala <i>kəp:əy</i> . Melintin <i>kəp:əy</i> . KotaBumi <i>kəp^əy</i> . Jabung <i>kəpi</i> . Sukadana <i>k^əp:əy</i> .
101	'fly (v.)'	* <i>hambur</i>		Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan Sungkai Kalianda <i>hamboɤ</i> . Belalau KotAgung TalaPada <i>hamboɣ</i> . WayLima <i>hambor</i> . KomIlir <i>hamboɤ</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui <i>kamboɣ</i> . KAAsli <i>mehamboɤ</i> . Melintin <i>mab^ə</i> . KAPend <i>məhabo</i> . KAAsli <i>məhamboɤ</i> . Menggala <i>təhmbəɤ</i> , <i>təmbamboɤ</i> . Sukadana <i>təhambor</i> . Pubian <i>təhamboɣ</i> .
101	'fly (v.)'	?* <i>tərbaŋ</i>		KotaBumi <i>terbaŋ</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>toɤbaŋ</i> . Jabung <i>tabaŋ</i> .
102	'rat'	* <i>tikus</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Jabung KAPend KotaBumi Menggala <i>tikus</i> . Sukadana <i>tikus</i> . Melintin <i>tikus</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
103	'meat'	?* <i>dagɪŋ</i>		KAAAsli Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung KAPend KotaBumi Menggala <i>dagɪŋ</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir Sukadana <i>dagɪŋ</i> .
104	'fat (n.)'	* <i>tabəh</i>	PHN * <i>təbe?</i> {Z2}	Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Kalianda <i>taboh</i> . Kom-Jaya Sungkai <i>tabohtaboh</i> . Daya <i>bohtaboh</i> . Krui Sukau <i>tabox</i> . Menggala <i>tabox</i> . KotaBumi <i>tabah</i> . Melintin <i>tabəh</i> . Pubian <i>tətaboh</i> .
104	'fat (n.)'	* <i>bajɪ?</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur WayKanan WayLima 'tasty' KAPend 'tasty' Sukadana <i>bajɪ?</i> .
104	'fat (n.)'	* <i>gajih</i>		KAAAsli Kom-Jaya Jabung <i>gajih</i> .
105	'tail'	* <i>gundəŋ</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Pubian Kalianda Sukadana <i>gundəŋ</i> . Sungkai <i>gundəŋ</i> . Jabung <i>gundəŋ</i> . Menggala <i>gundəŋ</i> .
105	'tail'	* <i>buntut</i>		KAAAsli KAPend <i>buntut</i> . KotaBumi <i>butut</i> . Melintin <i>bətut</i> .
106	'snake'	* <i>ulay</i>	* <i>hulaR</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung KAPend Sukadana KotaBumi <i>ulay</i> . Menggala <i>olay</i> .
107	'worm'	* <i>gələŋ</i>	* <i>gələŋ</i> 'cut off; ring (a tree)' {B2}	Kom-Dpur Daya Krui TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian <i>gələŋ</i> . WayKanan KotAgung Kalianda <i>gələŋ</i> . KAAAsli KomIlir KAPend <i>gələŋ</i> . Ranau Jabung <i>gələŋ</i> . Kom-Adu <i>gələŋ</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>gələŋ</i> . Sukadana <i>gələŋ</i> . Melintin Menggala <i>gələŋ</i> .
108	'lice'	* <i>kutu</i>	* <i>kutu</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung KAPend <i>kutu</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi <i>kut'o</i> . Menggala <i>kutew</i> . Melintin <i>kutu</i> .
109	'mosquito'	* <i>niʔniʔ</i>	* <i>niknik</i> 'tiny biting insect' {B2}	Melintin <i>niʔniʔ</i> . KAPend <i>niʔniʔ</i> . Sukadana <i>niʔniʔ</i> . KotaBumi <i>niʔniʔ</i> . Menggala <i>niʔniʔ</i> .
109	'mosquito'	* <i>(h)agas</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung <i>agas</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>hagas</i> . KAAAsli <i>agas</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
110	'spider'	<i>*lawah</i>	<i>*lawaq</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin KAPend <i>lawah</i> . Jabung KotaBumi Menggala <i>saɲlawah</i> . Sukau WayLima <i>lalawah</i> . Sukadana <i>ləlawah</i> . KAAsli <i>^mbahlabah</i> . Ranau <i>nɜlɜwɜh</i> . TalaPada <i>saɲlalawah</i> .
110	'spider'	<i>*saɲ</i>		KotaBumi Menggala <i>saɲlawah</i> . Kalianda <i>sasaɲ</i> . TalaPada <i>saɲlalawah</i> .
111	'fish'	<i>^c*iwa(h)</i>	cf. <i>*hiwaq</i> 'cut, carve, slice (meat or fish)' {B2}	Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>iwa</i> . KAAsli <i>iwe</i> . Jabung <i>iwɔ</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>iwa?</i> . Daya <i>iwah</i> .
111	'fish'	<i>*pɣnu</i>		Menggala <i>pɣnew</i> . KAPend <i>pɣnu</i> . Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi <i>pɣɲɔ̃</i> .
112	'rotten'	<i>*busuk</i>	<i>*ma-busuk</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung Sungkai Pubian KAPend <i>busu?</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui TalaPada WayLima Kalianda Jabung <i>busuk</i> .
112	'rotten'	<i>*buyu(k?)</i>	<i>*ma-buRuk</i> {B1}	Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>buyu?</i> .
113	'branch'	<i>^c*paɲpaɲ</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan KAPend <i>paɲpaɲ</i> . KomIlir Sukau Krui WayKanan TalaPada Sungkai <i>pampaɲ</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi <i>pup:ɑɲ</i> . KotAgung Kalianda <i>pap:ɑɲ</i> . Menggala <i>pəpaɲ</i> . Melintin <i>pəpaɲ</i> . Jabung <i>p²p:ɑɲ</i> . Ranau <i>pɜmpɜɲ</i> .
114	'leaf'	<i>*buluɲ</i>	<i>*buluɲ</i> 'medicinal herbs' {B2}	KAAsli Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung KAPend KotaBumi <i>buluɲ</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir Sukadana <i>buluɲ</i> . Menggala <i>boluɲ</i> .
115	'root'	<i>*wakat</i>	<i>*wakat</i> 'mangrove root' {B2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung <i>baka?</i> . Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>waka?</i> . KAAsli <i>^mbaka?</i> . KAPend <i>wakat</i> .
116	'flower'	<i>*buɲa</i>	<i>*buɲa</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan Sungkai <i>buɲa</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>bune</i> . Jabung <i>buɲɔ̃</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
116	'flower'	^c * <i>kəmbaŋ</i>		Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Pubian Kalianda <i>kumbaŋ</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>kəmbaŋ</i> . Ranau Sukau <i>kambaŋ</i> . Melintin <i>kəmbaŋ</i> .
117	'fruit/ betel nut'	* <i>buah</i>	* <i>buaq</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Melintin Jabung KAPend Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>buah</i> . Kalianda <i>uwah</i> . Ranau <i>uw3</i> , <i>bush</i> . Sukau <i>wah</i> .
118	'grass'	* <i>jukut</i>	* <i>zukul</i> {B2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung KotaBumi Menggala <i>juku?</i> . Melintin <i>juko?</i> . WayLima <i>jukuk</i> . KAPend <i>jukut</i> . Sukadana <i>juku?</i> .
119	'earth'	* <i>tanəh</i>	* <i>taneq</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Pubian Kalianda KAPend Menggala <i>tanəh</i> . Melintin KotaBumi <i>tanəh</i> . Sukau <i>tano</i> . Sungkai <i>tanuh</i> . Sukadana <i>tanah</i> . Ranau Jabung <i>tanəh</i> .
120	'stone'	* <i>batu</i>	* <i>batu</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung KAPend <i>batu</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi <i>bat'o</i> . Menggala <i>batew</i> .
121	'sand'	^c * <i>hənaɣ</i>	* <i>qenay</i> {B1}	Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Sukau Krui WayLima Sungkai Kalianda <i>həni</i> . Daya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Pubian <i>həni</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>honi</i> . Ranau <i>hni</i> . KAPend <i>həni</i> .
122	'water'	* <i>wai</i>	* <i>wahiR</i> {B1}	Kom-Jaya Ranau Sukau Krui Melintin Jabung KAPend Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>way</i> . Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>wai</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan <i>uay</i> .
123	'flow'	^c * <i>hili</i>	* <i>qiliR</i> 'flow downstream' {B2}	Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan TalaPada WayLima Pubian <i>məhili</i> . KotAgung Kalianda <i>mahili</i> . Ranau Sungkai <i>təhili</i> . Krui Belalau <i>ŋahili</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>hili</i> . Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi <i>miləy</i> . Menggala <i>məhiləy</i> . Jabung <i>nili</i> . Jabung <i>tili</i> . Sukau <i>ŋəhili</i> .
123	'flow'	* <i>haɣut</i>	* <i>qañud</i> {B2}	Kom-Jaya <i>məhaɣu?</i> . KAPend <i>təhaɣo?</i> . KomIlir <i>ŋahaɣu?</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
124	'sea'	?* <i>lawət</i>	* <i>lahud</i> 'towards the sea' {B2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Krui WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Pubian Kalianda <i>lawo?</i> . Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>lawət</i> . WayLima <i>laok</i> . Belalau <i>lao?</i> . KAPend <i>lawot</i> . KAAsli <i>lawut?</i> . Jabung <i>lawo?</i> .
125	'salt'	* <i>sia</i>	* <i>qasiRa</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Daya Krui <i>sia</i> . Kom-Dpur Sukau <i>siya</i> . KAPend <i>siye</i> . Ranau <i>s3</i> . KAAsli <i>s'ie</i> .
125	'salt'	* <i>uyah</i>		Kom-Jaya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi <i>uyah</i> . Menggala <i>oyah</i> . Sungkai <i>uyah bukuh</i> .
126	'lake'	* <i>danaw</i>	* <i>danaw</i> {B1}	KAAsli KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Krui Belalau WayKanan TalaPada WayLima Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi <i>danaw</i> . Kom-Adu <i>danao</i> . Ranau <i>way yanaw</i> (also <i>danaw</i>).
127	'forest'	* <i>əlas</i>	* <i>alas</i> {B1}	Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi <i>las</i> . Kalianda <i>las</i> .
127	'forest'	* <i>pulan</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Krui Sungkai Pubian KAPend <i>pulan</i> . Belalau WayKanan KotAgung <i>pulan</i> . Daya <i>polan</i> . Menggala <i>pəlan</i> . Jabung <i>p'lan</i> .
128	'sky'	* <i>laɟit</i>	* <i>laɟit</i> {B1}	TalaPada Kalianda <i>laɟit</i> . KAAsli Daya <i>laɟit</i> . KAPend <i>laɟi't</i> . Kom-Adu Kom-Dpur Belalau WayKanan Sungkai Pubian Melintin Jabung KotaBumi <i>laɟi?</i> . Ranau Krui Sukau KotAgung KomIlir Kom-Jaya <i>laɟi?</i> . Sukadana Menggala <i>laɟe?</i> . WayLima <i>laɟik</i> .
129	'moon'	* <i>bulan</i>	* <i>bulan</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada Kalianda Jabung Menggala <i>bulan</i> .
129	'moon'	* <i>kəɳawat</i>		Sungkai Pubian KotaBumi <i>kəɳawat</i> . WayKanan Melintin Sukadana <i>kəɳāwāt</i> .
130	'star'	?* <i>bintuhan</i>	PAN * <i>bintuqén</i> {W}	Pubian <i>bintohan</i> . KAPend <i>bəntuhan</i> .
130	'star'	?* <i>bintaɟ</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Melintin KAPend Menggala <i>bintaɟ</i> . KotAgung Sukadana KotaBumi <i>bitaɟ</i> . Jabung <i>b'taɟ</i> . Kalianda <i>litaɟ</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
131	'cloud'	* <i>awan</i>	* <i>hawan</i> {B2}	KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Belalau WayKanan Sungkai Melintin KAPend <i>aban</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu Daya KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sukadana KotaBumi <i>awan</i> .
131	'cloud'	^c * <i>rihu?</i>		KotAgung 'fog' <i>hihu?</i> . Pubian 'fog' <i>hiru?</i> . Sukau <i>hiyu?</i> . Krui <i>rihu?</i> . Ranau <i>yihu?</i> . Jabung <i>ɛayyu?</i> . Kalianda <i>ɛawiyu?</i> . TalaPada 'fog' <i>χiu?</i> .
132	'fog'	* <i>kabut</i>	* <i>kabut</i> {B1}	Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Sukau Pubian Melintin KAPend KotaBumi <i>kabut</i> . KAAsli KomIlir <i>kabut</i> . Kom-Adu <i>kabok</i> .
132	'fog'	^c * <i>əmbun</i>	* <i>embun</i> 'cloud' {Z2}	Ranau WayKanan Sungkai <i>imbun</i> . Menggala <i>m̥bun</i> . Jabung ^{m̥} <i>mu</i> ^d <i>n</i> . KotaBumi <i>əmbun</i> .
133	'rain'	* <i>hujan</i>	* <i>quzan</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir WayKanan Sungkai Pubian KAPend <i>hujan</i> . Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi <i>ujan</i> . Menggala <i>ojan</i> .
133	'rain'	* <i>labuŋ</i>		Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima <i>labuŋ</i> .
133	'rain'	* <i>təray</i>		Ranau Sukau Krui <i>təyay</i> . Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya <i>təyay</i> .
134	'thunder'	^c * <i>gəgər</i>	* <i>gerger</i> 'shake, shiver, tremble' {B2}	Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur <i>gəgok</i> . Daya Sungkai <i>gəgok</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>gogok</i> . KotaBumi 'shake, sway' <i>gəgər</i> .
134	'thunder'	* <i>guntur</i>		Ranau Sukau Krui <i>guntoy</i> . Belalau KotAgung <i>guturχ</i> . TalaPada <i>gontoyχ</i> . Pubian <i>gunto</i> . Kalianda <i>gutok</i> . Jabung <i>gətək</i> . WayKanan <i>guntək</i> .
135	'lightning'	^c * <i>kilap</i>	* <i>kilab</i> 'flash, sparkle' {B2}	Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Krui Sukau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung <i>kilap</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Sukadana KotaBumi <i>kila?</i> . Menggala <i>kela?</i> . Melintin KAPend <i>kilat</i> .
136	'wind'	* <i>aŋin</i>	* <i>haŋin</i> {B1}	Kom-Jaya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung KAPend KotaBumi <i>aŋin</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan Sukadana <i>aŋm</i> . Menggala <i>aŋen</i> .
137	'blow'	* <i>səbu</i>	cf. * <i>sebu</i> 'seethe, sizzle, extinguish' {B2}	Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau WayKanan <i>səbu</i> . Belalau TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Kalianda <i>ɲəbu</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu <i>ɲobu</i> . KotAgung Pubian <i>ɲəbu</i> . KomIlir <i>sobu</i> . KAPend <i>səbu</i> . Menggala <i>səbew</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>səbuh</i> . Menggala <i>səb̥ew</i> . Melintin <i>səb̥o</i> . Jabung <i>səbu</i> . Krui <i>ɲubuh</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
138	'hot'	<i>*ma-panas</i>	<i>*ma-panas</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung KAPend Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>panas</i> . Krui <i>mapanas</i> .
139	'cold'	^c <i>*ma-ḡisən</i>		KAAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda KAPend <i>ḡison</i> . Melintin KotaBumi Menggala <i>ḡisən</i> . Sukau <i>muḡiḡi</i> . Krui <i>maḡiḡi</i> . KomIlir <i>ḡisən</i> . Jabung <i>ḡisən</i> . Ranau <i>ḡiḡi</i> . WayKanan <i>ḡisən</i> . Sukadana <i>ḡisən</i> .
140	'dry (object)'	<i>*ḡəluh</i>		Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan Sungkai Pubian <i>ḡəluh</i> . Kom-Adu <i>ḡoluḡ</i> . KAAAsli <i>ḡəluḡ</i> . KomIlir <i>ḡəluḡ</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>ḡəluḡ</i> .
140	'dry (object)'	[?] <i>*kəriḡ</i>	<i>*keRiḡ</i> {Z2}	KotAgung TalaPada Kalianda Jabung <i>kəḡiḡ</i> . WayLima Melintin <i>kəriḡ</i> . KAPend <i>koḡiḡ</i> . Menggala <i>kəḡiḡ</i> . Sukadana <i>kəriḡ</i> . KotaBumi <i>kəḡiḡ</i> .
141	'wet'	<i>*basəh</i>	<i>*ma-baseq</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda KAPend Menggala <i>basəh</i> . Sukadana <i>basəh</i> . Jabung <i>basəh</i> . WayKanan <i>basəh</i> . KotaBumi <i>basəh</i> . Melintin <i>basəh</i> . Ranau <i>bəsəx</i> .
142	'heavy'	<i>*biat</i>	<i>*ma-beReqat</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>bia?</i> . KAAAsli Kom-Dpur Melintin <i>biya?</i> . KAPend <i>biat</i> .
143	'fire'	<i>*apuy</i>	<i>*hapuy</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda KAPend Menggala <i>apuy</i> . WayKanan Melintin Jabung Kom-Adu KomIlir Sukadana KotaBumi <i>apuy</i> .
144	'burn'	^c <i>*suah</i>	<i>*qasu</i> 'smoke' {B1}	KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Melintin Jabung <i>suah</i> . Krui Belalau Sungkai TalaPada Pubian Kalianda Menggala <i>juah</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>suwa?</i> .
144	'burn'	<i>*pulpul</i>	cf. <i>*mpula</i> 'kindle, light a fire' {B2}	KAAAsli <i>mulpul</i> . KomIlir <i>mulpul</i> . Kom-Adu <i>mulpul</i> . Menggala <i>məpul</i> . KAAAsli <i>pulpul</i> . KotaBumi <i>pupul</i> . Sukadana <i>pupul</i> . KAPend <i>pulpul</i> . Menggala <i>ḡəpupul</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
145	'smoke'	* <i>hasəp</i>	* <i>qasep</i> {Z2}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayKanan Sungkai <i>haso?</i> . Sukau Krui Pubian Kalianda Jabung Menggala <i>aso?</i> . Melintin KotaBumi <i>asə?</i> . WayLima <i>hasok</i> . Ranau <i>asək</i> . Sukadana <i>asa?</i> . KAPend <i>hasop</i> .
146	'ashes/ dust'	* <i>habu</i>	* <i>qabu</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Pubian KAPend <i>habu</i> . Melintin Jabung <i>abu</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi <i>ab^o</i> . Menggala <i>abew</i> .
146	'ashes/ dust'	* <i>hambua</i>		Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai <i>hambua</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir 'dust' <i>hambua?</i> . Kalianda <i>habua</i> . Daya <i>mbua</i> . Jabung <i>muə</i> .
147	'black'	* <i>haləm</i>	* <i>halem</i> 'night, dark' {Z2}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung Sungkai Pubian <i>halom</i> . Krui <i>haləm</i> . Sukau <i>alom</i> . Ranau Jabung <i>aləm</i> . WayLima 'dark' <i>kələm</i> .
147	'black'	* <i>harəŋ</i>	* <i>qəjeŋ</i> 'charcoal' {B2}	Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>axəŋ</i> . TalaPada KAPend <i>hasəŋ</i> . WayLima <i>harəŋ</i> . Kalianda <i>axəŋ</i> .
148	'white'	* <i>ma- handa?</i>		KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian <i>handa?</i> . Sukau Kalianda Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>anda?</i> . WayLima <i>handak</i> . KAPend <i>han^da?</i> . KAAAsli <i>han^aa?</i> . Krui <i>mahanda?</i> . Melintin <i>n^da?</i> . Jabung <i>an^da?</i> . Ranau <i>and³</i> .
149	'red'	* <i>ma-suluh</i>	* <i>suluq</i> 'torch' {Z2}	KAAAsli Sukau Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>suluh</i> . Krui <i>masuluh</i> . Ranau <i>suluŋ</i> . KAPend <i>suloh</i> .
150	'yellow'	* <i>ma-kunir</i>	* <i>ma-kunij</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Dpur Daya <i>kunɛk</i> . Belalau <i>kunɛχ</i> . Kom-Adu 'turmeric' <i>kunɪk</i> . KAPend <i>kunoy</i> . Ranau <i>kunceŋ</i> . Sukau <i>kunjeŋ</i> . Kom-Adu <i>kunjeɛk</i> . Krui <i>makunjeŋ</i> .
151	'green'	* <i>ma-hujaw</i>	* <i>hizaw</i> 'fighting cock with greenish feathers' {B2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian <i>hujaw</i> . Ranau Sukau Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi <i>ujaw</i> . KAAAsli KAPend <i>hujow</i> . Krui <i>mahujaw</i> . Menggala <i>ojaw</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
152	'small'	<i>*ma-luni?</i>		Sukau Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>luni?</i> . WayLima <i>lunik</i> . Krui <i>malune?</i> .
152	'small'	<i>*rəni?</i>	cf. <i>*kedi</i> {B1}	Kom-Dpur Daya Sungkai <i>ʁəni?</i> . Kom-Adu KAPend <i>ʁoni?</i> . Ranau <i>ʁəni?</i> . KAAsli <i>ʁone?</i> . KomIlir <i>ʁonu?</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>ʁənu?</i> . Kalianda <i>ʁəni?</i> .
153	'big'	<i>*balak</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>balak</i> . KAPend <i>balok</i> . Sukau <i>bala?</i> .
154	'short'	<i>*buntak</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Krui Belalau WayKanan Pubian <i>bunta?</i> . Sungkai <i>buntak</i> . Ranau <i>bunts?</i> . KotAgung <i>buta?</i> . Jabung <i>bəta?</i> .
154	'short'	<i>*ma-rəbah</i>	cf. <i>*ma-babaq</i> {B1}	Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi <i>ibah</i> . TalaPada Kalianda <i>ʁəb:ah</i> . Menggala <i>ebah</i> . KAPend <i>mobah</i> . WayLima <i>rəbah</i> . KAAsli <i>ʁobah</i> .
155	'long'	<i>*tijaŋ</i>		Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan Sungkai Pubian Jabung <i>tijaŋ</i> . KotaBumi <i>tij:aŋ</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir KAPend <i>tojaŋ</i> . Melintin Sukadana Menggala <i>təjaŋ</i> .
155	'long'	<i>*kəjuŋ</i>		Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima <i>kəjuŋ</i> . Kalianda <i>ʁəjuŋ</i> . Daya <i>ʁəjuŋ</i> .
156	'thin'	<i>*ma-nipis</i>	<i>*ma-nipis</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau WayKanan Sungkai Pubian Jabung <i>nipis</i> . Belalau KotAgung TalaPada KotaBumi Menggala <i>tipis</i> . Kalianda Melintin Sukadana <i>ipis</i> . KomIlir Daya <i>nipis</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>tipis</i> . Krui <i>manipis</i> .
157	'thick'	<i>*ma-kədəl</i>	cf. MAL <i>kəntal</i> id.	Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung <i>kədol</i> . Krui <i>makədol</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>kodol</i> .
157	'thick'	<i>*aməl</i>		KAPend <i>amol</i> . Sukadana <i>aməl</i> . Melintin <i>am:əl</i> .
158	'narrow'	<i>*ma-pəli?</i>		Daya Sukau Belalau WayKanan Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>pəli?</i> . Krui <i>mapile?</i> . Ranau <i>pəli</i> . WayLima <i>pəlik</i> . TalaPada <i>pəli?</i> . KotAgung <i>pəli?</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
158	'narrow'	* <i>rupit</i>	cf. * <i>kepit</i> {B1}	Kom-Dpur Kalianda Jabung Sukadana <i>rupi?</i> . KomIlir Kom-Jaya <i>rupi?</i> . Melintin <i>kipu?</i> . KAPend <i>rupit</i> .
158	'narrow'	* <i>s-əm-ək</i>	*- <i>sek</i> 'cram, crowd' {B2}	Kom-Adu <i>sosok?</i> . Menggala <i>səmō?</i> . KotaBumi <i>səma?</i> . KAPend 'untidy' <i>somo?</i> .
159	'wide'	* <i>bərat</i>		Belalau WayKanan TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi <i>bəka?</i> . KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>bəka?</i> . Kom-Jaya Menggala <i>bəka?</i> . Sukau Krui <i>bəya?</i> . KAPend <i>bəkat</i> . WayLima <i>bərak</i> . Ranau <i>bəy?</i> . KotAgung <i>bəχ:a?</i> .
160	'sick/ painful'	* <i>ma-sakit</i>	* <i>ma-sakit</i> {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Daya WayKanan TalaPada Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>saki?</i> . Krui <i>məsaki?</i> . KAPend <i>sakit</i> . Ranau <i>səki</i> .
160	'sick/ painful'	* <i>ariŋ</i>		KAAAsli Daya Sungkai Kalianda Melintin Jabung KotaBumi Menggala <i>masiŋ</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>masiŋ</i> . Sukadana <i>axiŋ</i> .
160	'sick/ painful'	* <i>ma-ruyuh</i>		Ranau Sukau <i>muyuyuh</i> . KotAgung <i>maχuyuh</i> . Belalau <i>məhuyuh</i> .
161	'shy/ ashamed'	* <i>ma-liəm</i>	* <i>Nayam</i> 'tame' {B2}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>liom</i> . Sukau <i>muliom</i> . Krui <i>malim</i> .
161	'shy/ ashamed'	?* <i>malu</i>		KAAAsli Melintin Jabung KAPend <i>malu</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi <i>ma^o</i> . Menggala <i>malew</i> .
162	'old (person)'	* <i>tuha</i>	* <i>ma-tuqah</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>tuha</i> . KAAAsli KAPend <i>tuhe</i> . Menggala <i>tohow</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>toha</i> . Melintin Sukadana <i>tuh^o</i> . WayKanan <i>tuhə</i> . KotaBumi <i>tuhə?</i> . Daya <i>taha</i> . Jabung <i>təχ?</i> .
163	'new'	* <i>bahyu</i>	* <i>baqeRu</i> {B1}	Daya <i>bahyu</i> . Melintin (Walker) <i>bayau</i> . Kotabumi (Junaiyah et al.) <i>bay:au</i> . Melintin <i>baru</i> . Sukadana Kotabumi <i>bar^o</i> . Pubian <i>bəu</i> . Menggala <i>bəw</i> .
163	'new'	* <i>ampay</i>		KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir KAPend <i>ompay</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan WayLima Sungkai Pubian <i>ampay</i> . KotAgung Kalianda Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi <i>ap:ay</i> . TalaPada <i>amp:ay</i> . Melintin <i>əp:ay</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
164	‘good’	* <i>həlaw</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>holaw</i> . KAPend <i>holow</i> . Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Krui WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>həlaw</i> . KAAsli WayKanan KotAgung <i>həlaw</i> .
164	‘good’	* <i>bəti?</i>		Belalau KotAgung TalaPada Pubian Jabung <i>bəti?</i> . KomIlir <i>boti?</i> .
164	‘good’	^c * <i>wayway</i>		Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>waway</i> .
165	‘bad’	?* <i>jəhat</i>	* <i>zaqat</i> {B1}	KAAsli KomIlir Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Daya Ranau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Pubian Kalianda KAPend Menggala <i>jəhat</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>jəha?</i> . Jabung <i>jəhat</i> . Sungkai <i>jəhat</i> .
166	‘true/ correct’	* <i>bənər</i>	* <i>ma-bener</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>bonox</i> . Kom-Jaya Daya Sungkai Kalianda WayKanan Jabung <i>bənox</i> . Belalau KotAgung <i>bənox</i> . KAPend <i>bonor</i> . WayLima <i>bənor</i> . KotaBumi <i>bənər</i> . Ranau TalaPada <i>bənoy</i> . Pubian <i>bəno?</i> .
166	‘true/ correct’	* <i>təmən</i>		Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi <i>təmən</i> . Menggala <i>təmən</i> . Sungkai <i>təmon</i> . Sukau <i>təmən</i> .
167	‘night’	* <i>biŋi</i>	* <i>beRŋi</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Belalau WayKanan Sungkai Pubian <i>dəbiŋi</i> . Kom-Jaya Sukau Krui WayKanan <i>dibiŋi</i> . KotAgung TalaPada Kalianda <i>dabiŋi</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>debiŋi</i> . Kom-Adu WayLima <i>biŋi</i> . Jabung <i>biŋi</i> . Melintin <i>biŋəy</i> . Sukadana <i>dibiŋəy</i> . KomIlir <i>dibiŋi</i> . Menggala <i>dəbiŋəy</i> . KotaBumi <i>dəbiŋəy</i> . Daya <i>dibiŋi</i> .
168	‘day’	* <i>harani</i>	* <i>daqani</i> {Z2}	Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung <i>ɣani</i> . Sukau WayLima <i>rani</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>huɣani</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>haɣani</i> . Ranau Krui <i>ɣani</i> . Belalau <i>ɣani</i> .
169	‘year’	* <i>tahun</i>	* <i>taqun</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Pubian Kalianda KAPend Menggala <i>tahun</i> . WayKanan Sungkai Melintin Jabung Sukadana <i>tahun</i> . Kom-Jaya Daya <i>taun</i> . KotaBumi <i>təhun</i> .
170	‘when’	^c * <i>idan</i>	* <i>ijan</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Dpur Daya <i>idan</i> .
170	‘when’	^c * <i>kuda</i>	* <i>kuja</i> ‘how’ {B1}	Sungkai <i>kuməda</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>kəməda</i> . WayKanan <i>kəməda</i> . KotaBumi <i>akənkədo</i> . TalaPada WayLima <i>kəsaka</i> . KomIlir <i>kudasaka</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
171	'hide'	^c * <i>jamut</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>bujamot</i> ?. Kom-Jaya Menggala <i>bəjamo?</i> . KAAsli <i>bejamōt</i> ?. Sungkai <i>bujamo?</i> . WayKanan <i>bəjamō?</i> . Pubian <i>bəjamu?</i> . Jabung <i>jamū?</i> . KotaBumi <i>jəmamō?</i> . Sukadana <i>jəmamū?</i> . Melintin <i>məjam:ō?</i> .
171	'hide'	^c * <i>səgə?</i>		Daya Ranau Sukau Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Kalianda <i>səgo?</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>məsəgo?</i> . Krui <i>sigə?</i> . WayKanan <i>ɲəʁəl</i> . KAPend 'bribe' <i>sogo?</i> .
172	'climb'	* <i>cakat</i>	* <i>sakat</i> {B2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>caka?</i> . KAPend <i>catat</i> .
173	'at'	* <i>di</i>	* <i>di</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung KAPend Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>di</i> . KAAsli <i>de</i> .
174	'inside'	* <i>di ləm</i>	* <i>i-dalem, lem</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau KotAgung Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung <i>dilom</i> . Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>diləm</i> . KAAsli <i>de dilom</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>delom</i> . TalaPada <i>dilom</i> . Sukau <i>dilom</i> . KAPend <i>dolom</i> . Kom-Jaya Ranau Krui WayKanan WayLima <i>dəlom</i> .
175	'above'	* <i>di atas</i>	* <i>i-taqas</i> {B1}	Ranau Krui TalaPada <i>di atas</i> . Sukau KotAgung KAPend <i>datas</i> . Kalianda <i>di atos</i> . Melintin <i>diatas</i> .
175	'above'	* <i>di lambuŋ</i>		Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Pubian <i>di lambuŋ</i> . WayKanan Jabung <i>dilambuŋ</i> . Sungkai <i>dəlambuŋ</i> .
175	'above'	* <i>di unŋa?</i>		KAAsli <i>de duŋa?</i> . Belalau Sukadana KotaBumi <i>di unŋa?</i> . Menggala <i>duŋa?</i> . KomIlir <i>duŋa?</i> . Kom-Adu <i>duŋa?</i> .
176	'below'	* <i>di bah</i>	* <i>i-babaq</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau Sungkai Pubian <i>di bah</i> . Krui KotAgung Jabung <i>dibah</i> . Melintin KotaBumi <i>dibahan</i> . KAAsli <i>de dibah</i> . KAPend <i>debahan</i> . TalaPada <i>di bəh</i> . Sukadana <i>dibəhan</i> . Ranau <i>dibəh</i> . Kalianda <i>dib:ah</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>dəbah</i> . WayKanan <i>dəbah</i> . Sukau <i>dibah</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
177	'this'	c* <i>hiji~ji</i> , c* <i>hija~ji</i>		Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>hiji</i> . KotAgung TalaPada WayLima <i>hinji</i> . Ranau Krui Sukau <i>inji</i> . Daya <i>hənji</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir WayKanan <i>sija</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>ije</i> . Menggala <i>ejow</i> . Belalau <i>hij:o</i> . Jabung KotaBumi <i>ijo</i> . Melintin Sukadana <i>ijʔɔ</i> .
177	'this'	c* <i>sa</i>		Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur WayKanan <i>sa</i> .
178	'that (near)'	c* <i>hini~ni</i> , c* <i>hina~na</i>	* <i>i-ni</i> 'this', * <i>i-na</i> 'that, there' {B2}	KAPend <i>ini</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>inɣy</i> . KomIlir Kom-Jaya <i>sino</i> . Kom-Adu WayKanan <i>sina</i> . Belalau KotAgung <i>hin:o</i> . Jabung <i>inɔ</i> . Melintin <i>inʔɔ</i> .
178	'that (far)'	c* <i>hudi~di</i> , c* <i>huda~ da</i>	* <i>-di</i> {B2}	Kom-Dpur Daya TalaPada Sungkai Pubian <i>hudi</i> . Sukau <i>sədi</i> . Ranau Krui Kalianda <i>udi</i> . KomIlir <i>sudo</i> . WayKanan <i>suda</i> . KAAsli <i>udo</i> .
179	'near'	* <i>ma-riʔdiʔ</i>		WayKanan Sungkai Pubian <i>ɣidiʔ</i> . KotAgung TalaPada Kalianda <i>ɣədiʔ</i> . Ranau Sukau <i>ɣədiʔ</i> . Kom-Dpur Daya <i>ɣiʔdiʔ</i> . Krui <i>mayədeʔ</i> . WayLima <i>rədik</i> . KomIlir <i>ɣodiʔ</i> . Jabung <i>ɣadiʔ</i> . Belalau <i>ɣədiʔ</i> .
179	'near'	* <i>parəʔ</i>		KAAsli Menggala <i>paʁoʔ</i> . Sukadana <i>paʁaʔ</i> . Melintin KotaBumi <i>paʁəʔ</i> .
179	'near'	* <i>pədək</i>		KAPend <i>podok</i> . Kom-Adu <i>podok</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>pədok</i> .
180	'far'	* <i>jawəh</i>	* <i>ma-zauq</i> {B1}	KAAsli Kom-Jaya Daya Krui Belalau KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Pubian Kalianda KAPend Menggala <i>jawoh</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur <i>jawoh</i> . Melintin Sukadana <i>jawah</i> . WayLima <i>jaoh</i> . Sukau <i>jawo</i> . Jabung <i>jawɔh</i> . WayKanan <i>jawɔh</i> . KotaBumi <i>jawəh</i> . Ranau <i>jɔwɔx</i> .
181	'where'	c* <i>di ipa</i>		KomIlir Kom-Jaya Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>dipa</i> . Kom-Dpur Daya KotAgung <i>di dipa</i> . KAAsli <i>de dipe</i> . Kom-Adu <i>di pa</i> . Jabung <i>dipɔ</i> . Ranau <i>di ipa</i> .
181	'where'	c* <i>di kuda</i>	* <i>kuja</i> 'how' {B1}	KAPend <i>dekude</i> . Menggala <i>di kəɔow</i> . KotaBumi <i>dikədo</i> . Sukadana <i>dikəɔʔɔ</i> . Melintin <i>dikʔdʔɔ</i> .
182	'I'	c* <i>ɲaku</i>	* <i>ni aku</i> {B2}	Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Sukau Belalau WayKanan KotAgung Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>ɲaʔ</i> . KAAsli KomIlir KAPend <i>oɲaʔ</i> . TalaPada WayLima <i>ɲak</i> . Krui <i>ɲaʔku</i> . Ranau <i>ɲɔku</i> . Daya <i>ɲaʔ</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
183	'you (sg.)'	^c * ni-ku	[*] ni 'agent/ possessor marker' [*] i-kahu 'you (sg.)' {B2}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung KAPend <i>niku</i> . Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi <i>nikʷo</i> . Menggala <i>nikew</i> .
183	'you (sg.)'	^c * s-kam	[*] i-kamu 'you (pl.)' {B1}	WayKanan Sukadana KotaBumi <i>puskam</i> . Jabung <i>məskam</i> . Melintin <i>sʷkam</i> . Menggala <i>škam</i> .
184	'(s)he'	^c * ia	[*] si-ia {Z2}	Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Ranau Pubian Kalianda <i>ia</i> . Melintin Sukadana KotaBumi <i>iʔ</i> . KAAAsli KAPend <i>oye</i> . Jabung <i>io</i> . KomIlir <i>oya</i> . Kom-Adu <i>ya</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>yana</i> . Menggala <i>yʷo</i> . Sukau <i>ana</i> .
185	'we (excl.)'	^c * hikam	[*] kami {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Kalianda KAPend <i>sikam</i> . Kom-Dpur Daya Sungkai Pubian <i>hikam</i> . Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi 'I' <i>ikam</i> . Sukau Krui <i>səkam</i> . Menggala <i>ekam</i> . KotaBumi <i>ikamjo</i> . Ranau <i>səkəm</i> . Menggala 'I' <i>ekam</i> .
185	'we (incl.)'	^c * kita	[*] i-kita {B1}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Belalau <i>kita</i> . KAAAsli KAPend <i>kite</i> .
185	'we (incl.)'	^c * ram		KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan Sukadana Menggala <i>ɣam</i> . Krui <i>nəyam</i> . Sukau <i>yam</i> .
186	'you (pl.)'	^c * ku-ti unin	[*] i-kahu {B1}	Kom-Adu Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan WayLima Jabung <i>kuti</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui <i>kəti</i> . Sungkai Pubian <i>kuti unin</i> . KotAgung TalaPada <i>kuti</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>kuti kunin</i> . KomIlir <i>kutnva</i> . Belalau <i>kuti unin</i> . Sukau <i>kəti suʔnini</i> . Kalianda <i>kəti səʔuniner</i> . Krui <i>kətiunin</i> .
187	'they'	^c * ti-an		KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>tian</i> . KAPend <i>honti</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>tiyan</i> . Daya <i>tiandi</i> .
188	'what'	^c * api	[*] apa {B1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung <i>api</i> . KomIlir <i>apiya</i> . Melintin <i>apʔ</i> .
188	'what'	^c * ʔna		KAPend <i>ʔni</i> . Menggala <i>ɲow</i> . KotaBumi <i>ɲʔ</i> . Sukadana <i>ɲaw</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
189	'who'	?* <i>si-apa</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>sapa</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>sape</i> . KotaBumi <i>siapɔ</i> . Menggala <i>sapow</i> . Jabung <i>sapɔ</i> . Melintin Sukadana <i>apɔɔ</i> .
190	'other'	* <i>sumaj</i>		KomIlir Kom-Jaya Daya KotAgung TalaPada Sungkai Kalianda Melintin KotaBumi <i>sumaj</i> .
191	'all'	* <i>upin</i>		Daya Krui KotAgung WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung <i>upin</i> . Ranau Belalau <i>supin</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>kupin</i> . KomIlir <i>kupin</i> . Kom- Adu <i>ka?upin</i> . Sukau <i>supin</i> . TalaPada <i>sa?upini</i> . KotaBumi <i>upən</i> . Sukadana <i>upən</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>upmi</i> .
192	'and/ with'	* <i>jama</i>	* <i>ma</i> {B1}	WayKanan WayLima Sungkai Kalianda <i>jama</i> . Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi <i>jamō</i> . Menggala <i>jamow</i> . Melintin <i>jamōɔ</i> .
192	'and/ with'	* <i>ri?</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Belalau KotAgung WayLima <i>bi?</i> . Ranau Sukau <i>yi</i> . Daya <i>hi?</i> . Krui <i>ye?</i> . TalaPada <i>ə?</i> .
193	'if'	* <i>kantu</i>	* <i>ka/nu</i> {B1}	Kom-Dpur TalaPada Pubian <i>kantu</i> . Sukau Krui <i>kintu</i> . Belalau <i>kitu</i> . Menggala <i>kitu</i> . Ranau <i>kətu</i> .
193	'if'	* <i>ki</i>		KotAgung WayLima <i>ki</i> . Belalau <i>ki?</i> . Kalianda <i>aki</i> .
193	'if'	* <i>amun</i>		Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Daya <i>amon</i> . KAAsli Pubian <i>lamon</i> . Melintin Menggala <i>lamən</i> . Sungkai Sukadana KotaBumi <i>lamun</i> . Jabung <i>lamən</i> . KomIlir <i>aman</i> . WayKanan <i>amon</i> .
194	'how'	* <i>ipa</i>		Pubian <i>gəgoh-pa</i> . WayLima <i>rəpa</i> . Kom-Adu <i>sanopa</i> . Krui <i>yəpa-diə</i> . Kalianda <i>ŋa-ɛəp:a</i> . Sukau <i>yəpa-ni</i> . Ranau <i>yəpɜ-ki</i> . Sukadana <i>ɲ'o- upɔɔ</i> . KotAgung <i>ɛəp:a</i> . Belalau <i>ɛəp:a-hana</i> . TalaPada <i>ɛəp:a</i> . Daya <i>ji?-ipa</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>ju?- sipa</i> . WayKanan <i>ju?-ɛipa</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>ɲju?-ɛipa</i> . KAAsli <i>sənipe</i> . KomIlir <i>sənipa</i> .
195	'not'	* <i>ma(k?)</i>	* <i>bak</i> {B2}	KAAsli KAPend <i>homa?</i> . Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur WayKanan Sungkai <i>ma?wat</i> . KomIlir <i>ma?wət</i> . Kom-Jaya Belalau KotAgung Pubian Kalianda Jabung <i>mawat</i> . Daya <i>at</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui <i>mawe?</i> . TalaPada <i>muwat</i> . WayLima Sukadana KotaBumi <i>ma?</i> . Melintin <i>iwa?</i> . Menggala <i>ma?wa?</i> .
196	'count'	* <i>hituj</i>	* <i>qi(n)tuj</i> {Z2}	Krui Kalianda KotaBumi <i>ɲituj</i> . Jabung Menggala <i>ituj</i> . Belalau <i>hituj</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
196	'count'	* <i>bilang</i>	* <i>bilang</i> {B2}	Kom-Dpur Daya <i>bəbilang</i> . Kom-Adu TalaPada <i>ṅambilar</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>bilang</i> . KomIlir <i>m^hilar</i> .
197	'one'	^c * <i>əsay</i>	* <i>esa</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Krui WayKanan Melintin Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>say</i> . Belalau KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>sai</i> . KAAsli KomIlir KAPend <i>osay</i> . Ranau <i>səy</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>şay</i> .
198	'two'	* <i>rua</i>	* <i>duha</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda <i>ɽua</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>ɽuwe</i> . Melintin Sukadana <i>w^o</i> . Jabung KotaBumi <i>wə</i> . Menggala <i>wow</i> .
199	'three'	* <i>təlu</i>	* <i>telu</i> {B1}	Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Belalau WayKanan WayLima Sungkai Pubian Jabung <i>təlu</i> . KotAgung TalaPada <i>təlu</i> . Krui <i>tilu</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>tolu</i> .
200	'four'	* <i>əpat</i>	* <i>epat</i> {B1}	Sukau Belalau TalaPada Pubian Kalianda Jabung Sukadana KotaBumi <i>pa?</i> . KAAsli KomIlir <i>opa?</i> . WayKanan Sungkai <i>pat</i> . Kom-Adu Menggala <i>p:a?</i> . Krui Melintin <i>əpa?</i> . KAPend <i>opat</i> . WayLima <i>pak</i> . Ranau <i>pə?</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>əpa?</i> . KotAgung <i>əp:a?</i> .
	'angry'	?* <i>marah</i>		Kom-Adu KAPend Menggala <i>maʁah</i> . KAAsli Sukadana <i>marah</i> . WayKanan <i>maʁəh</i> .
	'angry'	* <i>butəŋ</i>		Kom-Jaya Ranau Sukau Krui <i>butoŋ</i> .
	'answer'	* <i>timbal</i>		Daya Krui Belalau WayKanan Sukadana <i>timbal</i> . Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur <i>ɳmbal</i> . Menggala <i>ɳmbal</i> . KomIlir <i>timbali</i> . Ranau <i>timbəl</i> . KAPend <i>tmbali</i> .
	'banana'	* <i>punti</i>	* <i>punti</i> {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui WayKanan KAPend <i>punti</i> . Belalau <i>puti</i> . Sukadana <i>putəy</i> . Menggala <i>pətəy</i> .
	'be, exist'	* <i>wat</i>	* <i>wada</i> {B2}	Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Belalau WayKanan KotAgung TalaPada WayLima Sungkai Pubian Kalianda Jabung <i>wat</i> . KomIlir <i>wət</i> . Daya <i>at</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui <i>we?</i> . Melintin Menggala <i>wa?</i> .
	'because'	^c * <i>ulih</i>	* <i>uliq</i> 'return; restore; repeat' {Z2}	KotAgung WayLima <i>ulih</i> . Kalianda <i>ulihni</i> . TalaPada <i>ulihapi</i> . Kom-Adu <i>lah</i> . Ranau <i>uleh</i> . Sungkai KotaBumi <i>ulah</i> . Pubian <i>ulah sina</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
	‘betel leaf’	* <i>buluŋ cambay</i>	(* <i>zambay</i>) ‘areca palm’ ⁹ {Z1}	KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Krui WayKanan <i>buluŋ cambay</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau Sukadana Menggala <i>cambay</i> . Sukau <i>bulun ni cambay</i> . KAPend <i>buluŋ camay</i> .
	‘betel nut’	* <i>(k)uray</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan <i>uɓay</i> . KAAsli <i>kuɓay</i> .
	‘bitter’	* <i>ma-pahit</i>	* <i>paqit</i> {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau Kalianda <i>pahi?</i> . Sukau <i>mupahe?</i> . KotaBumi <i>pahi?</i> . Menggala <i>pahe?</i> . KAPend <i>pahit</i> . Sukadana <i>pahi?</i> . Ranau Krui <i>pahe?</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>pahu?</i> . WayKanan <i>pahi?</i> .
	‘blind’	* <i>buta</i>	* <i>buta</i> {B2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Krui Belalau WayKanan <i>buta</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>bute</i> . Menggala <i>botow</i> . Sukadana <i>butʷ</i> . Ranau Sukau <i>muta</i> .
	‘blow gun’	* <i>səpu(t?)</i>	PHN * <i>se(m)put</i> {Z2}	Sukau Krui WayKanan Menggala <i>səpu?</i> . Ranau <i>səpuk?</i> . Sukadana <i>səpʷ?</i> .
	‘blow gun’	* <i>tulup</i>		KAAsli KomIlir Kom-Jaya KAPend <i>tulup</i> .
	‘boil water’	* <i>runga?</i>		KomIlir Kom-Jaya WayKanan <i>ɤuŋga?</i> . Kom-Dpur Daya <i>məɤuŋga?</i> . Krui <i>mayuŋga?</i> . Sukau <i>mayuŋga?</i> . Belalau <i>məɤuŋga?</i> . Ranau <i>məɤuŋgʷ?</i> . Kom-Adu <i>ɤuŋga?</i> . KAAsli <i>ɤūŋga?</i> .
	‘boil’	* <i>sunut</i>		Kom-Adu Kalianda <i>basunu?</i> . KAPend <i>bajsulut</i> . KAAsli <i>bajsunu?</i> . Sukau <i>musunu?</i> . Menggala <i>məsonō?</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>məsunu?</i> . WayKanan <i>mənsuno?</i> . Belalau <i>məsunu?</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>məsunu?</i> . Ranau <i>məsunu?</i> . Sukadana <i>pəsunu?</i> . KotaBumi <i>sunu?</i> .
	‘broom’	* <i>sapu</i>	* <i>sapu</i> {Z2}	KomIlir Kom-Dpur Sukau Belalau WayKanan <i>pəŋapu</i> . Kom-Adu Krui <i>pəŋapu</i> . Menggala <i>pəŋapew</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>pəŋapu</i> . Sukadana <i>pəŋapʷo</i> . Ranau <i>pəŋəpu</i> . Daya <i>ŋapu</i> .
	‘bury’	(loan)		(< AR <i>kubur</i>)
	‘call’	* <i>dudu</i>		KomIlir <i>dudu</i> . KAAsli <i>nudu</i> . Kom-Adu <i>andudu</i> .
	‘call’	* <i>huraw-haruh</i>		Kom-Dpur Daya <i>hawuh</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>hawoh</i> . Kalianda <i>aruh</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui <i>uɤau</i> . WayKanan <i>uɓaw</i> . KAAsli <i>ɤəwəhawo</i> . Belalau <i>ɤəwau</i> .
	‘canoe paddle’	* <i>dayuŋ</i>	* <i>dayuŋ</i> {Z2}	Sukau Krui Belalau <i>dayuŋ</i> .
	‘canoe paddle’	* <i>kayuh</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur <i>pəŋayuh</i> . KAPend <i>bəkayuh</i> . Sukadana <i>kayoh</i> . Daya <i>kayuh</i> . WayKanan <i>pəŋayoh</i> . WayKanan Menggala <i>pəŋayoh</i> .

⁹ Probably not a valid reconstruction.

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
	‘canoe’	* <i>bidu?</i>		KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan <i>bidu?</i> . KAPend <i>bidow?</i> .
	‘canoe’	?* <i>pərahu</i>	* <i>paraqu</i> ‘boat’ {B2}	Krui <i>prahu</i> . Belalau <i>pərahu</i> . Sukadana <i>pərah^o</i> . Menggala <i>pegahew</i> .
	‘carry’	* <i>atət</i>	* <i>hateD</i> ‘accompany; send’ {B2}	WayLima <i>atət</i> . Sukadana <i>atət</i> .
	‘chest’	* <i>dada</i>	* <i>dahdah</i> {Z2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan <i>dada</i> . KAAAsli KAPend <i>dade</i> . Menggala <i>dadow</i> . Sukadana <i>dad^o</i> .
	‘chicken’	* <i>sisiw</i> (see also ‘bird’)	Proto-Philippines * <i>siwsiw</i> {Z1}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu <i>sisu</i> . Kom-Dpur Daya <i>sisuy</i> . KomIlir <i>sⁱisu</i> .
	‘chin’	?* <i>dagu</i>		KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KAPend <i>dagu</i> . Menggala <i>dagew</i> . Sukadana <i>dag^o</i> .
	‘coconut (ripe)’	* <i>kəlapa</i>		Sukau Krui <i>kalapa</i> . Menggala <i>kəlapow</i> . Belalau <i>kəlapa</i> . Sukadana <i>kəlap^o</i> .
	‘coconut (ripe)’	* <i>niwi</i>	* <i>niuR</i> {Z2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Daya <i>niwi</i> . KAAAsli Kom-Dpur WayKanan KAPend <i>niwī</i> .
	‘coconut (unripe)’	* <i>dugan</i>		KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan Sukadana <i>dugan</i> . Daya <i>duga^dn</i> .
	‘comb’	* <i>gaygay</i>		Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur <i>pənggaygay</i> .
	‘comb’	* <i>sual</i>	* <i>suat</i> {B2}	KAAAsli Sukau Krui <i>suwal</i> . Kom-Jaya Belalau KAPend <i>sual</i> . Ranau <i>suwəl</i> . KomIlir <i>sⁱual</i> .
	‘cooked rice’	* <i>əmay</i>	* <i>hemay</i> {B2}	Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau <i>mi</i> . Sukadana <i>māy</i> . Menggala <i>məy</i> . KAPend <i>omi</i> .
	‘cough’	* <i>hiə?</i>		KAAAsli Daya WayKanan <i>hiyo?</i> . Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur <i>hiō?</i> . WayKanan <i>mōhio?</i> . KomIlir <i>māhiō?</i> . Belalau <i>məhiō?</i> . Kom-Adu <i>məhoyo?</i> . Sukadana <i>məhaya?</i> .
	‘cough’	* <i>həgəl</i>		Ranau <i>həgəl</i> . Sukau <i>muygol</i> . Krui <i>māhəgol</i> .
	‘crocodile’	* <i>buha</i>	* <i>buqaya</i> {Z2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayLima <i>buha</i> . KAAAsli KAPend <i>buhe</i> . Menggala <i>bohōw</i> . Kom-Dpur Daya <i>boha</i> . Sukadana <i>buhə^o</i> . WayKanan <i>buh^a</i> .
	‘deaf’	* <i>tilu</i>	* <i>tilu</i> ‘earwax’ {B2}	Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau <i>tilu</i> . Menggala <i>tilew</i> . Sukadana <i>til^o</i> .
	‘deaf’	* <i>tulə?</i>	* <i>tuli</i> ‘earwax’ {B2}	Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya <i>tulo?</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>tulo?</i> . WayKanan <i>tolo?</i> .
	‘deer’	* <i>bisa</i>	cf. * <i>Rusa</i> {Z2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur Daya <i>bisa</i> . KAAAsli KAPend <i>bise</i> . Menggala <i>doso</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
	‘deer’	* <i>uncal</i>		Kom-Jaya Ranau Sukau Krui WayKanan <i>uncal</i> . Belalau <i>ucal</i> . Sukadana <i>ucal</i> .
	‘defecate’	* <i>isiŋ</i>		KAAAsli Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KAPend Menggala <i>misinŋ</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir Daya <i>misinŋ</i> . Sukadana <i>misinŋ</i> . WayKanan <i>misinŋ</i> . KAPend <i>misinŋ</i> .
	‘descend’	* <i>rəgəh</i>		Sukau Krui <i>yəgəh</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>əgəh</i> . Ranau <i>yəgəh</i> . KAAAsli <i>əgəh?</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>əgəh</i> . Belalau <i>χəgəh</i> .
	‘descend’	?* <i>turun</i>		KAPend Menggala <i>turun</i> . Sukadana <i>turun</i> .
	‘dibble stick’	* <i>tugal</i>	* <i>tugal</i> {B2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Daya Ranau WayKanan KAPend <i>tugal</i> . KAAAsli Kom-Dpur Sukau Krui <i>nugal</i> . Menggala <i>nogal</i> .
	‘difficult’	* <i>susah</i>	* <i>suqsəq</i> {A1}	KAAAsli Krui KAPend <i>susah</i> . Menggala <i>sosah</i> .
	‘difficult’	* <i>sukər</i>		Kom-Adu KAPend <i>sukəw</i> . Menggala <i>sukəy</i> .
	‘dipper’	* <i>timbu?</i>		KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur <i>timbu?</i> . Menggala <i>təmbu?</i> . Sukadana <i>tmbu?</i> .
	‘dry (clothes)’	* <i>kəraŋ</i> (cf. 140. ‘dry’)	PWMP * <i>keRaŋ</i> {Z2}	Sukau Krui <i>ŋəyənŋ</i> . Kom-Jaya Daya Ranau <i>kəkaŋ</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>ŋəkaŋ</i> .
	‘dry (clothes)’	* <i>paway</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir Belalau <i>maway</i> . KAAAsli WayKanan <i>paway</i> .
	‘eggplant’	* <i>tiuŋ</i>	PHN? * <i>teruŋ</i> {Z2}	KAAAsli KomIlir Kom-Jaya Daya Ranau Sukau Belalau WayKanan KAPend Sukadana Menggala <i>tiuŋ</i> . Kom-Dpur Krui <i>tiyuŋ</i> . Kom-Adu <i>tiuŋ</i> .
	‘eight’	* <i>walu</i>	* <i>walu</i> {Z2}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KAPend <i>walu</i> . Menggala <i>walew</i> . Sukadana <i>walʷ</i> .
	‘excrement’	* <i>tahi</i>	* <i>taqi</i> {Z2}	Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau <i>tahi</i> . WayKanan <i>tahi</i> . KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir KAPend <i>tahi?</i> . Sukadana Menggala <i>tahəy</i> .
	‘face’	* <i>puda?</i>		KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Belalau WayKanan Sukadana <i>puda?</i> . Krui <i>buda?</i> . Daya Menggala <i>poda?</i> .
	‘fast’	* <i>gancəŋ</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir Daya <i>gancəŋ</i> . KAPend <i>gaŋcəŋ</i> .
	‘fast’	* <i>ma-gəlu?</i>		Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Belalau WayKanan Menggala <i>gəlu?</i> . Sukadana <i>gəlu?</i> . Kalianda <i>gəlu?</i> . Krui <i>magəlu?</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
	‘fat (adjective)’	<i>*ma-gəmuḱ</i>		Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Belalau WayKanan Sukadana <i>gəmuʔ</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>gomuʔ</i> . Ranau <i>gemuk</i> . KAAsli <i>gomoʔ</i> . KAPend <i>gomuk</i> . Menggala <i>gəmoʔ</i> . Krui <i>məgəmuʔ</i> .
	‘fence’	<i>*kandaŋ</i>		KAAsli Kom-Dpur Daya KAPend <i>kandaŋ</i> . (Other isolects <i>kuta</i> < SKT.)
	‘field rice’	<i>*paray</i>	<i>*pajay</i> {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau <i>paʔi</i> . Sukau Krui <i>payi</i> . KAPend <i>payi</i> . Menggala <i>payəy</i> . WayKanan <i>paʔe</i> . Sukadana <i>paʔəy</i> . Ranau <i>pəyi</i> .
	‘field’	<i>*huma</i>	<i>*quma</i> ‘work (in fields)’ {B2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau <i>huma</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>hume</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>humah</i> . WayKanan <i>humā</i> . Menggala <i>omo</i> . Sukadana <i>umʔ</i> .
	‘field’	<i>*daraʔ</i>		Krui <i>daya</i> . Sukau <i>dayaʔ</i> . Belalau <i>daʔaʔ</i> .
	‘fight’	<i>*laga</i>		Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Sukau Belalau WayKanan <i>laga</i> . Daya <i>laga</i> . KAAsli <i>lage</i> . Menggala <i>lagow</i> . Sukadana <i>lagʔ</i> .
	‘fight’	<i>*pisaw</i>	PHN <i>*pisaw</i> ‘knife’ {Z2}	KAAsli Daya KAPend <i>pisu</i> .
	‘finger’	<i>*jari</i>	<i>*zari</i> {Z2}	Ranau Sukau Krui <i>jayi</i> . Kom-Adu Belalau <i>jabi</i> . Menggala <i>jaʔəy</i> .
	‘finger’	<i>*jəriji</i>		KAPend <i>jeʔigi</i> . KomIlir <i>jaʔigi</i> . KAAsli <i>jəriji</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>jəʔiji</i> .
	‘finger’	<i>*raŋaraŋa</i>		Kom-Jaya WayKanan <i>kaŋakaŋa</i> . Daya <i>ŋakaŋa</i> . Sukadana <i>kaʔaŋʔ</i> .
	‘fire place’	<i>*tuŋku</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Krui Belalau WayKanan <i>tuŋku</i> . Sukadana <i>tukʔo</i> . Menggala <i>təʔew</i> .
	‘fish line’	<i>*kawil</i>	<i>*kawil</i> {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Belalau WayKanan KAPend Sukadana Menggala <i>kawil</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>kawil</i> . Ranau <i>kəwil</i> . Sukau <i>uyaʔ kawil</i> . Krui <i>ŋawil</i> .
	‘five’	<i>*lima</i>	<i>*lima</i> {Z2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan WayLima <i>lima</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>lime</i> . Menggala <i>lemow</i> . Sukadana <i>limʔ</i> .
	‘floor’	<i>*gəladak</i>		Kom-Adu <i>galadakʔ</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>gəladakan</i> . KAPend Ranau <i>gəladak</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>gəladakan</i> . KAAsli <i>gəladakʔ</i> . Daya <i>gəladaʔ</i> .
	‘floor’	<i>*lantay</i>	PHN? <i>lan-tay</i> {Z2}	KomIlir Sukau Krui WayKanan <i>lantay</i> . Belalau <i>latai</i> . Menggala <i>latay</i> . Sukadana <i>lətay</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
	‘fly (n.)’	^c * <i>lalət</i>	* <i>lalej</i> {Z2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya <i>laləʔ</i> . Sukau Krui <i>yaʔal</i> . Belalau <i>haʔal</i> . KotaBumi <i>lalət</i> . Kalianda <i>laləʔ</i> . KAPend <i>ʔwal</i> . Ranau <i>ʔʔʔl</i> . Sukadana <i>ʔal</i> . WayKanan <i>ʔaʔal</i> .
	‘forget’	* <i>lupa</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan <i>lupa</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>lupe</i> . Menggala <i>lopow</i> . Sukadana <i>luʔʔ</i> .
	‘fragrant’	* <i>ma-hərum</i>		Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur WayKanan <i>məʔum</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir KAPend <i>horum</i> . Belalau <i>məʔum</i> . Sukau <i>məʔom</i> . Krui <i>məʔum</i> . Daya <i>əʔom</i> . Ranau <i>yum</i> . Daya <i>ʔom</i> . Sukadana <i>ʔəʔum</i> .
	‘friend’	* <i>əriʔ</i>		KAAsli <i>oʔeʔ</i> . KomIlir <i>oʔiʔ</i> . Krui <i>yeʔ</i> . Belalau <i>ʔiʔ</i> .
	‘friend’	^c * <i>kanti</i> (ʔ)		Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau <i>kantiʔ</i> . Ranau KAPend <i>kanti</i> .
	‘frog’	* <i>mincaʔ</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Daya Ranau Sukau Krui <i>kamincaʔ</i> . Sukadana <i>bəciʔʔ</i> . Belalau <i>kəmicaʔ</i> . KAAsli Kom-Dpur <i>kəmincaʔ</i> . WayKanan <i>mincaʔ</i> .
	‘full stomach’	* <i>bətəŋ</i> (cf. ‘belly’)	* <i>beteŋ</i> ‘belly’ {B2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir KAPend <i>botoŋ</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui <i>mətəŋ</i> . Menggala <i>bətəŋ</i> . Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur <i>bətoŋ</i> . Daya <i>bətəŋ</i> . WayKanan <i>bətəŋ</i> . Sukadana <i>bətəŋ</i> . Belalau <i>mbətoŋ</i> .
	‘full’	* <i>latap</i>		Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau Sukadana <i>latap</i> .
	‘full’	* <i>pənuh</i>	PAN * <i>penuq</i> {Z2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir KAPend <i>ponuh</i> . KAAsli <i>ponoh</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>pənuh</i> . Daya <i>pənih</i> .
	‘full’	* <i>pəkpək</i>	* <i>pekpek</i> ‘swarm; full, complete; fill’ {B2}	KAAsli <i>popoʔ</i> . KAPend <i>popok</i> . Menggala <i>pəpək</i> . KotaBumi <i>pəpək</i> . Komering (Gaffar et al. n.d) ‘envelop, sink, bury’ <i>pokpok</i> .
	‘gall bladder’	^c * <i>hampəru</i>	* <i>qapeju</i> {B2}	Kom-Adu <i>həmpəʔu</i> . Belalau <i>həmpəʔu</i> .
	‘ginger’	* <i>lahia</i>	* <i>laqia</i> (Blust p.c.)	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan <i>lahya</i> . Ranau <i>lihʔ</i> . KAPend <i>lahie</i> . KAAsli <i>lahiye</i> . KAAsli <i>lahye</i> .
	‘ginger’	* <i>jahiʔ</i>		Krui <i>jahe</i> . Sukau <i>jaheʔ</i> . Sukadana <i>jahiʔʔ</i> . Belalau <i>jahiʔ</i> . Menggala <i>jaheʔ</i> .
	‘give’	^c * <i>əjuk</i>	* <i>e(n)zuk</i> ‘proffer, offer’ {B2}	Daya Ranau <i>juʔ</i> . KAAsli <i>ŋiŋjuʔ</i> . Kom-Adu <i>ŋonjuʔ</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>ŋujuʔ</i> . Menggala <i>ŋəjuʔ</i> . Sukau <i>ŋəjuk</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>ŋəjukʔ</i> . WayKanan <i>ŋəjuʔ</i> . Sukadana <i>ŋəjuʔ</i> . KomIlir <i>mjuʔ</i> .
	‘give’	* <i>kəni</i>		Belalau <i>ŋəni</i> . WayLima <i>kəni</i> . KAPend <i>koni</i> . Sukadana <i>kəŋəy</i> . Krui <i>kəni</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
	‘go home’	* <i>mulan</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Krui Belalau KAPend Sukadana <i>mulan</i> . Menggala <i>molan</i> . KomIlir <i>mulan</i> ⁶ . Ranau <i>mulɔŋ</i> . WayKanan <i>mūlan</i> .
	‘hand span’	* <i>rakan</i>		Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan Menggala <i>ɛkan</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>ɛkan</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui <i>ɣakan</i> . Sukadana <i>rakan</i> .
	‘hard (object)’	* <i>karas</i>		Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukadana Menggala <i>kəɤas</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>kəɤas</i> .
	‘hard (object)’	* <i>tias</i>	* <i>teRas</i> {Z2}	Daya KAPend <i>tias</i> . KAAsli <i>tiyas</i> .
	‘hard (object)’	* <i>ma-tiha</i>	cf. * <i>teRas</i>	Ranau Sukau Belalau <i>tiha</i> . Krui <i>matiha</i> . WayKanan <i>tahya</i> .
	‘heart’	* <i>jantun</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan WayLima KAPend <i>jantun</i> . Sukadana Menggala <i>jatun</i> .
	‘how much/many’	* <i>pira</i>	* <i>pija</i> {B2}	Kom-Adu Api (Hadikusuma) <i>pira</i> . KotaBumi <i>piro</i> . Menggala <i>pero</i> .
	‘hundred’	* <i>ratus</i>	* <i>Ratus</i> {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan KAPend <i>səɤatus</i> . Sukau Krui <i>sayatus</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>səɤatus</i> . Ranau <i>seratus</i> . Sukadana <i>seɤatus</i> . Menggala <i>səɣatus</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>səɤatus</i> .
	‘hungry’	* <i>ma-bətəh</i>	cf. * <i>bitil</i> {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir KAPend <i>botoh</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui <i>mətɔx</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>bətoɣ</i> . Menggala <i>bətoɔx</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>bətoh</i> . Daya <i>bətɕh</i> . KotaBumi <i>bətəh</i> . Sukadana <i>bətəh</i> . WayKanan <i>bətɕh</i> . Belalau <i>mbətoh</i> . Sukau <i>mutɔx</i> .
	‘husk of rice’	* <i>huət</i>		KAAsli KomIlir Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Kalianda <i>huwo?</i> . Kom-Adu <i>həwə?</i> . KAPend <i>huwot</i> . Ranau <i>huwək?</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>huɔ?</i> . WayKanan <i>huɔ?</i> . KotaBumi <i>uwə?</i> . Sukadana <i>ua?</i> .
	‘hut in field’	* <i>kubu</i>		Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Belalau <i>kubu</i> . Menggala <i>kubew</i> . WayKanan <i>kubū</i> .
	‘hut in field’	* <i>sapaw</i>	PHF * <i>sa-paw</i> {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau KAPend <i>sapu</i> . Sukadana <i>sap^o</i> .
	‘ironwood’	* <i>uglin</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir KAPend <i>uɣlɪn</i> . Ranau Sukau <i>ulin</i> . KAAsli Kom-Jaya <i>oŋlɛn</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>oŋlɪn</i> . Daya <i>uɣlɛn</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
	‘itch’	* <i>gatal</i>	* <i>gatel</i> {Z2}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KAPend <i>gatal</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>gatal</i> . WayKanan <i>gatɿl</i> .
	‘knife’	* <i>ladiŋ</i>	* <i>ladiŋ</i> ‘cleaver, sword’ {B2}	KAAAsli Kom-Jaya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KAPend <i>ladiŋ</i> . KomIlir <i>ladɿŋ</i> ⁶ .
	‘ladder’	c*(<i>h</i>) <i>ijan</i>	* <i>haRez</i> an {B2}	KAAAsli KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukadana <i>ijan</i> . Sukau Krui Belalau <i>jan</i> . Menggala <i>ejan</i> . WayKanan <i>hijan</i> . Kom-Adu <i>ijan</i> . Ranau <i>jɿn</i> . KAPend <i>ojan</i> .
	‘lie (deceive)’	* <i>buhuŋ</i>		KAAAsli Ranau Sukau Krui KAPend <i>buhuŋ</i> . KomIlir WayKanan <i>buhuŋan</i> . Belalau <i>bohoŋ</i> . Sukadana <i>buhuŋ</i> . Menggala <i>buhuŋ</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>pəmbohoŋ</i> .
	‘lie (deceive)’	* <i>budi</i>		Kom-Jaya Daya <i>budian</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>budi?an</i> . Kom-Adu <i>pɿbudi</i> .
	‘lime’	* <i>hapuy</i>	PAN * <i>qapuR</i> {Z2}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Daya Ranau WayKanan KAPend <i>hapuy</i> . Daya <i>tampuy</i> . Sukadana <i>apuymaluy</i> .
	‘lip’	c* <i>birbir</i>	* <i>birbir</i> ‘rim, edge, border’ {B2}	Kom-Dpur Daya <i>bəsbəʃ</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>bixbix</i> . Sukau Krui <i>bəbɛy</i> . KAAAsli <i>berber</i> . Belalau <i>bixix</i> . Ranau <i>bəbɛy</i> . KAAAsli <i>birbir</i> .
	‘lip’	* <i>piʔpiʔ</i>	cf. * <i>birbir</i> ‘rim, edge, border’	WayKanan KAPend <i>piʔpiʔ</i> . Sukadana <i>pupɿʔ</i> . Menggala <i>pəpɿʔ</i> . Melintin ‘mouth’ <i>pəpɿʔ</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>piʔpiʔ</i> .
	‘live/dwell’	c*(<i>t</i>) <i>əpiʔ</i>		KAAAsli <i>opiʔ</i> . Menggala <i>təpiʔ</i> . Sukadana <i>tipiʔ</i> . KAPend <i>əpiʔ</i> .
	‘loincloth’	* <i>cawət</i>		Kom-Jaya Sukau <i>cawot</i> . Krui <i>cawot</i> ⁷ . KAAAsli <i>cawat</i> ⁷ .
	‘lose’	* <i>ləbən</i>		Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Belalau WayKanan <i>ləbon</i> . Daya <i>lebon</i> . Krui <i>libən</i> . KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>lobon</i> .
	‘machete’	* <i>canduy</i>		KAAAsli Kom-Jaya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KAPend <i>canduy</i> .
	‘many’	c* <i>ma-lamun</i>	cf. * <i>amin</i> ‘all’ {Z2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Belalau WayLima <i>lamon</i> . KAAAsli WayKanan <i>lamun</i> . Krui <i>malamən</i> .
	‘many’	* <i>nayah</i>		Sukau Sukadana <i>nayah</i> . Menggala <i>nāyāh</i> .
	‘mat’	* <i>sulan</i>		KomIlir Kom-Jaya Krui WayKanan <i>sulan</i> . Daya <i>sula</i> ⁴ⁿ .
	‘mat’	* <i>apay</i>	* <i>hapaR</i> {B2}	WayLima Sukadana Menggala <i>apay</i> .
	‘medicine’	* <i>ləbas</i>		Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya <i>ləbas</i> . KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>lobas</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
	‘medicine’	* <i>ubat</i>	* <i>ubaj</i> {A2}	Belalau Sukadana Menggala <i>obat</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui WayKanan <i>ubat</i> .
	‘monkey’	* <i>kəra</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>kəra</i> . Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau WayKanan <i>kəra</i> . KAPend <i>kowe</i> . KAAsli <i>kəre</i> . Menggala <i>kəyow</i> . Sukadana <i>kəɣə</i> . Belalau <i>kəɣa</i> . Krui <i>kya</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>kəa</i> .
	‘morning’	?* <i>pagi</i>	* <i>pagi</i> ‘later, tomorrow’ {B2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KAPend <i>pagi</i> .
	‘mortar’	* <i>ləsuŋ</i>	PHF * <i>lesuŋ</i> {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Belalau WayKanan Sukadana Menggala <i>ləsuŋ</i> . KAPend Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>losuŋ</i> . Krui <i>lesuŋ</i> .
	‘mountain’	?* <i>gunuŋ</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan WayLima KAPend Sukadana <i>gunuŋ</i> . Menggala <i>gonon</i> .
	‘mud’	* <i>cak</i>	PHN * <i>cak</i> {Z2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Dpur <i>bicak</i> ?. KAAsli KAPend <i>bica</i> ?. WayKanan <i>licak</i> .
	‘mud’	* <i>ta(k?)</i>	* <i>pitak</i> {Z2}	Sukau Belalau <i>lita</i> ?. Ranau <i>litə</i> ?. Sukadana <i>lata</i> ?. Krui <i>lida</i> ?
	‘nine’	* <i>siwa</i>	* <i>siwa</i> {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Daya WayKanan <i>suay</i> . Sukau Krui Belalau <i>siwa</i> . Menggala <i>sewow</i> . KAPend <i>siwe</i> . Sukadana <i>siw^o</i> . Ranau <i>siw³</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>suway</i> .
	‘not (n.)’	* <i>layən</i>	* <i>laqin</i> ‘other’ {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya WayKanan <i>layon</i> . Sukadana <i>layən</i> .
	‘old (object)’	^c * <i>ma-(r)uni</i>		KAAsli KomIlir WayKanan KAPend <i>muni</i> . Sukadana <i>munəy</i> . Menggala <i>mənəy</i> . Kom-Adu Daya <i>uni</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>buni</i> .
	‘old (object)’	?* <i>saka</i>		Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau <i>saka</i> . Menggala <i>sakow</i> . Sukadana <i>sak^o</i> .
	‘pay’	?* <i>bayar</i>	* <i>bayad</i> {Z2}	Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan <i>bayax</i> . KAPend <i>bayow</i> . Krui Sukadana <i>bayar</i> . Menggala <i>bəbayax</i> . Ranau <i>bzyzy</i> . KomIlir <i>m^bayar</i> . KAAsli <i>mayax</i> . Sukau <i>ɳabayay</i> . Kom-Adu <i>ambayax</i> .
	‘pestle’	^c * <i>həlu</i>	* <i>qahelu</i> , * <i>haqelu</i> {B2}	Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Krui <i>həlu</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>həlu</i> . KomIlir <i>holu</i> . Kom-Adu <i>həlu</i> . WayKanan <i>həlu</i> . Daya <i>həlow</i> . Belalau <i>həlu</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>hilu</i> . Sukadana <i>l^o</i> . Menggala <i>lew</i> .
	‘pig’	* <i>babuy</i>	* <i>babuy</i> {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KAPend Sukadana Menggala <i>babuy</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
	‘pillow’	* <i>bantal</i>	PHN * <i>bantal</i> ‘bundle (of cloth)’ {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan <i>bantal</i> .
	‘pillow’	* <i>lunan</i>	* <i>qalun-an</i> {Z2}	KAPend Sukadana <i>lunan</i> . Menggala <i>lonan</i> .
	‘play’	* <i>guraw</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir WayKanan <i>buguaw</i> . Sukau <i>buguyau</i> . Ranau <i>buguyaw</i> . Belalau <i>buguau</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>bəguaw</i> . Sukadana <i>bəguraō</i> . KAAsli <i>bəguo</i> . Daya <i>bəguow</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>bəguaw</i> .
	‘post’	* <i>ari</i>	* <i>ha-diRi</i> {B2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya <i>ari</i> . KAPend <i>ayi</i> . WayKanan <i>axe</i> . Sukadana Menggala <i>axəy</i> . Ranau <i>ayi</i> .
	‘post’	* <i>tiharj</i>	* <i>tiqarj</i> {Z2}	Sukau Krui Belalau <i>tiharj</i> .
	‘pot’	* <i>balaja</i>	* <i>balaja</i> {B2}	Kom-Dpur Sukau <i>balaja</i> . KAAsli <i>belaje</i> . WayKanan <i>balaja</i> . KomIlir <i>bəlaŋā</i> . Sukadana <i>bəlaŋʷ</i> .
	‘pot’	* <i>kinciŋ</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>kincŋ</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>gəkiŋsŋ</i> . KAPend <i>kinciŋ</i> .
	‘pot’	* <i>rayəh</i>	* <i>daReq</i> ‘soil; clay; pot’ {B2}	Menggala <i>gayoh</i> . Krui <i>yayox</i> . Ranau <i>ɣzyɔk</i> . WayKanan <i>ɣayoh</i> .
	‘pull’	* <i>tarik</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau Menggala <i>tabi?</i> . WayLima <i>narik</i> . Ranau Sukau <i>nayi?</i> . Krui <i>tayə?</i> . WayKanan <i>taxə?</i> . KAPend <i>taxik</i> . Sukadana <i>taxi?</i> .
	‘punch’	* <i>gucuh</i>		Kom-Adu Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan Sukadana <i>gucuh</i> . Menggala <i>gocoh</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>gucuhan</i> .
	‘punch’	* <i>səguŋ</i>		Ranau Sukau Belalau <i>səguŋ</i> . Krui KAPend ‘elbow someone’ <i>siguŋ</i> .
	‘punch’	* <i>tumbuk</i>		KAAsli <i>numbu?</i> . KAPend <i>nabuk</i> . KomIlir <i>tumbu?</i> .
	‘push’	* <i>jun</i>		Ranau Krui Belalau <i>jujun</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir WayKanan <i>jujuŋ</i> . Daya <i>hunju</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>hunju⁴ⁿ</i> . KAPend <i>junjuŋ</i> . Menggala <i>juwuŋ</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>unjun</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>ɲunjun</i> . Sukau <i>ɲajujuun</i> .
	‘raft’	* <i>rakit</i>	* <i>dakit</i> , PHN * <i>Rakit</i> {Z2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya WayKanan <i>ɣaki?</i> . Kalianda KAPend Kom-Dpur <i>ɣakit</i> . Menggala <i>gaki?</i> . Krui <i>rake?</i> . KAAsli Sukadana <i>rakit</i> . Ranau <i>rɔki?</i> . Sukau <i>ɣaki?</i> . KotaBumi <i>ɣaki?</i> .
	‘rainbow’	* <i>runih</i>		KomIlir Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan <i>ɣunih</i> . Ranau Krui <i>yuneh</i> . Kom-Adu <i>bonih</i> . Menggala <i>goneh</i> . Sukau <i>yuneh</i> . Belalau <i>ɣuni</i> . Daya <i>ɣuni?</i> . Sukadana <i>ɣunih</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>ɣunih</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
‘rattan’	<i>*huay</i>	<i>*quay</i> {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui KAPend <i>huwi</i> . Komllir Belalau WayKanan <i>hui</i> . Kom-Adu <i>howi</i> . Menggala <i>wey</i> . Sukadana <i>wəy</i> . WayLima ‘k.o. bamboo’ <i>hawi</i> .	
‘ring’	<i>*ali</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan KAPend <i>ali</i> . Belalau <i>lali</i> . Ranau <i>lɔli</i> . Krui <i>aliali</i> . Sukau <i>alali</i> . Sukadana <i>aləy</i> . Menggala <i>aləy</i> .	
‘river’	<i>*sunjay</i>	<i>*sunjay</i> {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur KAPend <i>sunjay</i> .	
‘run’	<i>*cəŋkəlaŋ</i>		WayKanan Sukadana <i>cəkəlaŋ</i> . Ranau Sukau <i>cəŋkəlaŋ</i> . Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur <i>cəŋkəlaŋ</i> .	
‘sago’	<i>*sagu</i>	<i>*saguh</i> {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu Komllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KAPend <i>sagu</i> .	
‘sarong’	<i>*bidəŋ</i>	<i>*bidəŋ</i> ‘unit of measure for cloth’ {B2}	Kom-Dpur Daya <i>bidəŋ</i> . Kom-Adu Komllir <i>sabidəŋ</i> . Kom-Jaya WayKanan <i>səbidəŋ</i> .	
‘sarong’	<i>*hinjaŋ</i>		Krui Sukadana <i>sinjaŋ</i> . Belalau <i>hinjaŋ</i> . Sukau <i>injaŋ</i> . Ranau <i>sinjəŋ</i> . Menggala <i>sinjaŋ</i> .	
‘sell’	<i>*jual</i>	<i>*zual</i> {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Daya Belalau WayKanan KAPend Sukadana Menggala <i>jual</i> . Sukau Krui <i>ŋajual</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>ŋjual</i> . Komllir <i>ʔjual</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>ənjual</i> .	
‘seven’	<i>*pitu</i>	<i>*pitu</i> {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu Komllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KAPend <i>pitu</i> . Menggala <i>pitew</i> . Daya <i>pitɔ</i> . Sukadana <i>pitʔo</i> .	
‘sing’	<i>*patun</i>	cf. MAL <i>pantun</i> ‘quatrain’	TalaPada Sungkai Pubian <i>patun</i> . KotaBumi <i>bəpatun</i> . Melintin <i>patun</i> .	
‘six’	<i>*ənəm</i>	<i>*enem</i> {Z2}	Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Krui <i>ənom</i> . Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Belalau <i>nəm</i> . KAAsli KAPend Komllir <i>onom</i> . Daya WayKanan <i>nəm</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>nəm</i> .	
‘skinny’	<i>*rasah</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu Komllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur WayKanan <i>rasah</i> . Daya <i>ɤasa</i> .	
‘skinny’	<i>*ma-rayəŋ</i>		Menggala <i>gayəŋ</i> . Krui <i>mayayəŋ</i> . Ranau <i>rɔyɔŋ</i> . KAPend <i>ayəŋ</i> . Sukau <i>yayəŋ</i> . Belalau <i>ɤawayəŋ</i> . Sukadana <i>ɤayəŋ</i> .	
‘sore’	<i>*katan</i>		KAAsli Kom-Adu Komllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KAPend Sukadana Menggala <i>katan</i> .	
‘sour’	<i>*ma-isəm</i>	<i>*ma-esəm</i> {Z2}	KotaBumi <i>asəm</i> . Menggala <i>isəm</i> . KAPend <i>misəm</i> . Sukadana <i>misəm</i> .	

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
	‘sour’	<i>*pəras</i>	<i>*pejes</i> ‘spicy’ {Z2}	Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau <i>pəbos</i> . Ranau Krui <i>pəɣɔs</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu Komllir <i>pəbos</i> . Sukau WayKanan <i>pəɣɔs</i> .
	‘spear’	? <i>*lingis</i>	<i>*li(ŋ)gis</i> ‘crush, roll over’ {B2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu Komllir Kom-Jaya Kom- Dpur WayKanan <i>lingis</i> . Daya Sukadana ‘spike for digging up the soil’ <i>lingis</i> .
	‘spear’	<i>*payan</i>		Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KAPend Sukadana Menggala <i>payan</i> .
	‘spoiled (food)’	<i>*bayu</i>	<i>*baRiw</i> {B2}	Kom-Adu Ranau Menggala <i>bayu</i> .
	‘straight’	<i>*lurus</i>	<i>*lurus</i> {Z2}	Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan <i>ɬulus</i> . KAAsli KAPend Menggala <i>lurus</i> . Kom-Adu Komllir <i>ɬulus</i> .
	‘straight’	<i>*ma-ralis</i>	cf. <i>*dalis</i> ‘smooth, slippery’ {B2}	Krui <i>mayalis</i> . WayLima <i>ralis</i> . Ranau Sukau <i>yalis</i> . Belalau <i>ɬalis</i> .
	‘strong’	? <i>*gagah</i>	cf. MAL id.	Komllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau WayKanan Sukadana <i>gagah</i> . Kom-Adu <i>gogah</i> .
	‘sugar cane’	<i>*təbu</i>	<i>*tebuh</i> (Blust p.c.)	Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan <i>təbu</i> . KAAsli KAPend <i>təbu</i> . Daya <i>tebu</i> . Komllir <i>təbu</i> . Kom-Adu <i>təbu</i> . Menggala <i>təbew</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>təbu</i> . Sukadana <i>təb^o</i> .
	‘swallow’	<i>*tələn</i>	<i>*telen</i> {B2}	Sukau Belalau <i>tələn</i> . Menggala <i>nələn</i> . Ranau <i>nələn</i> . Krui <i>nələn</i> . Kom-Adu <i>tolən</i> . Komllir <i>tələn</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>tələn</i> . WayKanan <i>tələn</i> . Sukadana <i>tələn</i> .
	‘sweat’	<i>*hitij</i>	<i>*atij</i> {Z2}	KAAsli Kom-Jaya Daya Ranau Belalau WayKanan KAPend <i>hitij</i> . Krui Menggala <i>itij</i> . Kom-Adu <i>hitijan</i> . Komllir <i>hitijan</i> . Sukau <i>hit^hij</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>hitij</i> . Sukadana <i>itij</i> .
	‘sweet’	<i>*ma-əmis</i>	<i>*emis</i> {B2}	Kom-Dpur Daya <i>mis</i> . WayKanan <i>mi?mis</i> . KAAsli <i>mames</i> . Komllir <i>mamis</i> . Kom-Adu <i>mamus</i> . KAPend <i>məmis</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>mumus</i> . Menggala <i>mres</i> .
	‘sweet’	<i>*ma-ətər</i>		Sukau Krui <i>mətəy</i> . Belalau <i>matəɣ</i> . Sukadana <i>mətəɣ</i> .
	‘taro’	<i>*taləs</i>	<i>*tales</i> {Z2}	Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Belalau KAPend <i>talos</i> . KAAsli Kom-Adu Komllir <i>taləs</i> . KotaBumi <i>taləs</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>talas</i> . WayKanan <i>taləs</i> . Menggala <i>taləs</i> . Sukadana <i>taləs</i> . Ranau <i>tsləs</i> .
	‘ten’	<i>*puluh</i>	PAN <i>*puluq</i> {B2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu Komllir Kom-Jaya Kom- Dpur Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan KAPend Sukadana Menggala <i>puluh</i> . Ranau <i>pulu</i> . Daya <i>puluh</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
	‘termite’	^c * <i>anay-anay</i>	* <i>anay</i> {Z2},	KAAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau <i>anayanay</i> . Daya <i>nayanay</i> . KAAAsli KomIlir <i>aneanay</i> .
	‘termite’	^c * <i>hani</i>	* <i>qani</i> ‘prefix for non-pest creepy-crawlies’ {B2}	Sukau Belalau <i>hani</i> . KAPend <i>ani</i> .
	‘thigh’	* <i>paha</i>	* <i>paqa</i> {B2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Krui Belalau WayKanan <i>paha</i> . KAAAsli KAPend <i>pahe</i> . Menggala <i>pohow</i> . Sukadana <i>pah</i> ʔ.
	‘thirsty’	?* <i>hawəs</i>	cf. PHF * <i>quSaw</i> {Z2}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya WayKanan KAPend <i>hawos</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>hawos</i> . Sukadana KotaBumi Menggala <i>awəs</i> .
	‘thirsty’	^c * <i>mahu</i>	cf. PHF * <i>quSaw</i> {Z2}	Daya Ranau Sukau Belalau WayLima <i>mahū</i> .
	‘thorn’	* <i>rui</i>	* <i>duRi</i> {B2}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu Kom-Dpur Daya WayKanan KAPend <i>ɽuwi</i> . Ranau Sukau Krui <i>ɽuwi</i> . KomIlir Kom-Jaya Belalau <i>ɽui</i> . Sukadana <i>wəy</i> . Menggala <i>ɽəw:əy</i> .
	‘thousand’	* <i>ribu</i>	PHN * <i>Ribu</i> {Z2}	KAAAsli Kom-Dpur Daya Belalau WayKanan KAPend <i>səribu</i> . Sukau Krui <i>səyibu</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>səribu</i> . Ranau <i>seribu</i> . Menggala <i>səgibew</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>səribu</i> . Sukadana <i>sərib</i> ʔo.
	‘throat’	* <i>luŋkuŋ</i>	PWMP * <i>karuŋkuŋ</i> {B2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Krui <i>luŋkuŋ</i> . Daya <i>luŋku</i> ŋ.
	‘tomorrow’	^c * <i>jəməh</i>	PHF * <i>zemaq</i> {Z2}	Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya <i>jəmoh</i> . KotaBumi <i>jimmah</i> . Krui <i>jimoh</i> . Belalau <i>jim:oh</i> . Sukadana <i>jim:ah</i> . Kom-Adu <i>jomoh pagi</i> . Menggala <i>jəm:oh</i> . Sukau <i>jəmɔx</i> . Ranau <i>jəmɔh</i> . WayKanan <i>jim:ɔh</i> . KAAAsli <i>mah pagi</i> . KomIlir <i>mahpagi</i> . KAPend <i>maus</i> .
	‘tree’	* <i>bataŋ</i>	* <i>bataŋ</i> ‘trunk’ {B2}	KAAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Krui Belalau WayKanan WayLima <i>bataŋ</i> . Menggala <i>bataŋ kayew</i> . Sukau <i>bataŋ kayu</i> . Sukadana <i>bataŋkay</i> ʔo. Ranau <i>bətɔŋ</i> .
	‘tuber, yam’	* <i>hubi</i>	* <i>qubi</i> {B2}	Kom-Jaya Sukau Krui Belalau <i>ubi</i> . Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>hubi</i> . Daya ‘taro’ <i>umbi</i> .
	‘turn/revolve’	* <i>ligət</i>	* <i>liget</i> {B2}	Kom-Adu Kom-Dpur <i>ligo</i> ?. Daya WayKanan <i>lago</i> ?. KAPend ‘wander back and forth’ <i>ligot</i> .
	‘turn/revolve’	^c * <i>putər</i>	* <i>puter</i> {B1}	Kom-Adu <i>buputoɤ</i> . Sukadana <i>butoɤ</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>bəputoɤ</i> . WayLima <i>motorko</i> . KAAAsli <i>mutar</i> . Krui <i>mutay</i> . Menggala <i>mutəɤ mutəɤ</i> . Belalau <i>putoh</i> . KomIlir <i>putoɤ</i> . Sukau <i>putar</i> . KAPend <i>putəɤ</i> . Ranau <i>putɔy</i> .
	‘turtle’	* <i>baniŋ</i>	* <i>baniŋ</i> {Z2}	Daya Ranau Belalau WayKanan <i>baniŋ</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
	‘turtle’	<i>c*kuya</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir Krui WayLima <i>kuya</i> . KAAsli <i>kuye</i> .
	‘turtle’	<i>*hantipa</i>	PWMP <i>*qantipa</i> {B2}	Sukau <i>hantipa</i> . Daya <i>tipa</i> . Sukadana <i>tipʷ</i> .
	‘uncooked rice’	<i>*bias</i>	<i>*beRas</i> {B2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Daya Sukau Belalau WayKanan KAPend Sukadana Menggala <i>bias</i> . Kom-Dpur Krui <i>biyas</i> . Ranau <i>biy3s</i> .
	‘urine’	<i>c*iah</i>	PAN <i>*iSeq</i> {Z2}	Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya Sukau Belalau WayKanan Menggala <i>mi(y)oh</i> . KAAsli <i>oyoh</i> . KAPend <i>moyoh</i> . Ranau <i>mioʔ</i> . Krui <i>miyox</i> . KotaBumi <i>miyəh</i> . Sukadana <i>miah</i> .
	‘vein’	<i>*uyat</i>	<i>*uRat</i> {B2}	Kom-Adu Sukau Krui Belalau Kalianda Sukadana <i>uyaʔ</i> . Menggala <i>oyat</i> . KotaBumi <i>uyaʔ</i> . KAPend <i>uyat</i> . Ranau <i>uy3ʔ</i> .
	‘vine, creeper’	<i>*wayət</i>	<i>*waRej</i> {B2}	Kom-Adu <i>bayot</i> . Menggala <i>wayət</i> . Pubian WayLima <i>bayit</i> .
	‘wait’	<i>*pənah</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir <i>ponah</i> . Kom-Dpur Krui <i>pənah</i> . Ranau <i>pəneh</i> .
	‘wait’	<i>*tungu</i>		Kom-Jaya Belalau KAPend <i>tungu</i> . Sukau WayKanan <i>nungu</i> . Menggala <i>nəngew</i> . Sukadana <i>tungʷo</i> .
	‘wall’	<i>c*diŋdiŋ</i>	<i>*diŋdiŋ</i> {Z1}	KAAsli <i>diŋdiŋ</i> .
	‘wall’	<i>*kətkət</i>		Sukadana KotaBumi <i>kəkət</i> . KAPend <i>kotkot</i> . Menggala <i>kətkət</i> .
	‘wall’	<i>*saysay</i>		Kom-Adu KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya <i>saysay</i> . Krui <i>sisay</i> . Belalau <i>sasai</i> . WayKanan <i>saʔsay</i> . Ranau Sukau <i>səsay</i> .
	‘wash’	<i>*pəhpəh</i>		Belalau WayLima <i>məpoh</i> . Kom-Adu Kom-Jaya KAPend <i>mohpoh</i> . Sukau <i>mupox</i> . KotaBumi <i>mupəh</i> . Sukadana <i>mūpəh</i> . WayKanan <i>məʔpəh</i> . Menggala <i>məpəh</i> . Krui <i>məpəx</i> . Ranau <i>pəpəy</i> .
	‘weave’	<i>*aŋam</i>	<i>*aŋam</i> {Z2}	KomIlir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Sukau Krui WayKanan Sukadana Menggala <i>ŋaŋam</i> . Daya Ranau KAPend <i>aŋam</i> . Kom-Adu <i>ŋayam</i> . KAAsli <i>ŋāŋēm</i> . KAAsli <i>ŋāŋām</i> . Belalau <i>aŋaman</i> .
	‘widow’	<i>*balu</i>	<i>*balu</i> {B2}	Kom-Jaya <i>balu</i> . KAAsli <i>baybay balu</i> . Menggala <i>bəbay balew</i> .
	‘widow’	<i>?*janda</i>		KomIlir Krui Belalau WayKanan <i>janda</i> . Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Daya <i>banda</i> . Menggala <i>jandow</i> . Sukadana <i>jandʷ</i> . Ranau Sukau <i>yanda</i> . Kom-Adu <i>kaŋda</i> .

#	gloss	PLP	PMP	reflexes
	‘winnow’	* <i>tapi</i>	* <i>tahep-i</i> {B2}	KAAsli Kom-Adu KomIllir Kom-Jaya Kom-Dpur Ranau Sukau Krui Belalau KAPend <i>napi</i> . Daya WayKanan <i>tapi</i> . Sukadana Menggala <i>napəy</i> .
	‘wipe’	* <i>gabus</i>		WayKanan <i>gabus</i> . Sukadana <i>gabus</i> . Kom-Adu <i>hapus</i> . Kom-Adu <i>usap</i> . Belalau <i>ŋgabus</i> .
	‘yesterday’	* <i>bi-di-bi</i>		KAAsli <i>bedibi</i> . KAPend <i>bedobi</i> . Menggala <i>bəʔbəy</i> . Sukadana <i>bərub:ay</i> .
	‘yesterday’	* <i>lam-bi-ja</i>		Kom-Dpur Daya <i>bijo</i> . Kom-Dpur <i>bijow</i> . KomIllir <i>lombija</i> . Kom-Jaya <i>m^bija</i> . WayKanan <i>m^bija</i> . Kom-Adu <i>ambija</i> .
	‘yesterday’	* <i>nam-bi</i>		Ranau Sukau Krui <i>nambi</i> . Belalau <i>nam:bi</i> .

4.2. Discussion of reconstructions

4.2.1. A brief word on affixes

The observation above that LP isolects are quite stable in their reflexes does not apply at morpheme boundaries—one sees much more instability as two morphemes are brought into close contact. While this current study does not attempt to systematically deal with the bewildering variety of LP affixes or patterns of reduplication, a few explanatory words should help clear up some commonly-occurring cases.

For the most part, the PMP adjectival prefix **ma-* has disappeared from LP isolects, but the Krui area (Ranau, Sukau, Krui and Belalau, in particular the Krui word list) is quite conservative in retaining it. I therefore reconstruct **ma-* in cases where it is reflected in at least one currently-occurring adjective, and do not reconstruct it where there are no data to support it. In many lexemes the recognition of this morpheme explains the otherwise odd pattern of initial consonant, e.g. KAPend *mobah* / KAAsli *robah* ‘short’.

There seem to be a number of infixes reflected in the LP data. These include the well-known PMP infix **-um-* (*k-əm-uda* ‘when’, *t-əm-əgi* ‘stand’, *s-əm-ək* ‘narrow’), but also the evidently interchangeable *-ar-* and *-al-* (*h-ar-abuk*, *h-al-əpuk* ‘dust’, *k-ar-uyuw* ‘back’, *h-al-itəp*, *h-ər-əto?* ‘spit’, *h-al-uap* ‘yawn’) as well as *-an-* (*h-an-ipi* ‘dream’ and possibly *-ah-* (*n-ah-ayar* ‘throw away’).

4.2.2. Pronouns, demonstratives and question words

Table 19 lists the reconstructed PLP pronouns, demonstratives and question words. The complex issues related to determiners, pronouns and question words, their grammatical applications and distinctions, and their historical derivation will not be satisfactorily covered in this paper. For a more in-depth analysis of one isolect, see Walker (1976).

In Way Lima, Walker (1976) reports the person and relational marker *si* (< PMP **si*), as well as the neutral determiners *sia* ~ *sa* (probably < PMP **sa* ‘nonfocus marker of location’) and *hina* ~ *na*. The latter form is homophonous to the demonstrative ‘that (near)’.

Table 19. PLP pronouns and demonstratives

Gloss	PLP	PMP
‘I’	* <i>ŋaku</i>	* <i>ni aku</i>
‘we (incl.)’	* <i>ram</i> , * <i>kita</i>	* <i>i-kita</i>
‘we (excl.)’	* <i>hikam</i>	* <i>kami</i>
‘you (sg.)’	* <i>s-kam</i> , * <i>ni-ku</i>	* <i>i-kahu</i> , * <i>i-kamu</i> ‘you (pl.)’
‘you (pl.)’	* <i>ku-ti unin</i>	
‘(s)he’	* <i>ia</i>	* <i>si-ia</i>
‘they’	* <i>ti-an</i>	
‘this’	* <i>sa</i> , * <i>hija~*ja</i> , * <i>hiji~*ji</i>	
‘that (near)’	* <i>hina~*na</i> , * <i>hini~*ni</i>	* <i>i-ni</i> ‘this’, * <i>i-na</i> ‘that, there’
‘that (far)’	* <i>huda~*da</i> , * <i>hudi~*di</i>	* <i>-di</i> id.
‘what’	* <i>api</i> , * <i>əna</i>	* <i>apa</i>
‘when’	* <i>idan</i> , * <i>kuda</i>	* <i>ijan</i> , * <i>kuja</i> ‘how’
‘where’	* <i>di ipa</i> , * <i>di kuda</i>	cf. * <i>pai</i> ‘where’
‘who’	?* <i>si-apa</i>	* <i>sai</i> + * <i>apa</i> ‘what’
‘how’	* <i>ipa</i> (plus other morphemes)	
‘how much/many’	* <i>pira</i>	* <i>pija</i>

4.2.2.1. Pronouns

It seems that the PMP form **ni aku* ‘I’ became monomorphemic in PLP **ŋaku* and subsequently shortened to *ŋak* in many isolects. In many areas, the monosyllabic form then received an epenthesis initial schwa > *ənak*.

I originally reconstructed **əram* ‘we (incl.)’ but changed to **ram* based on the fact that Komilir has *oram* ‘I’ but *ram* ‘we (incl.)’.

I interpret the second person singular form **s-kam* and first person plural (excl.) form **hikam* as distinct, with the former probably derived from PMP **i-kamu* ‘you (pl.)’ and the latter from PMP **kami*, perhaps involving metathesis of the final vowel (although that would not explain where the PLP **h* came from). Among all the pronouns, only these two forms are able to be prefixed with what I assume is a reduced form *s-* of the person marker *si*. In **s-kam*, no reconstructed vowel separates the two morphemes, so modern-day isolects use differing devices to avoid the phonotactically impossible consonant cluster, including epenthesis schwa or another prefix such as Jabung’s *mə-s-kam*.

It would seem like the second person singular form **ni-ku* is derived from PMP **ni* ‘agent/ possessor marker’ + **i-kahu* ‘you (sg.)’. With less than utter confidence I propose the following sequence for the derivation of the latter morpheme **ku* from PMP **i-kahu*: **h* was lost (§5.1.1) leading to ***kau*, which was then reinterpreted as the monosyllabic ***kaw*. This form, as has irregularly happened in some PMP **-aw* reflexes (§4.2.8), was reduced to PLP **ku*.

The pattern for single medial stops (i.e. not part of a consonant cluster) is to frequently undergo gemination after schwa. One apparent exception is **ku-ti* ‘you (pl.)’ where *t* is geminated in three isolects. There is a significant minority (six of nineteen) of

kati witnesses. It is possible the reconstruction should be **kati* or at least **k(əu)ti*, however the presence of the probable morpheme **ku-* would seem to overrule this. The morpheme **ti* seems to carry the meaning of plurality (i.e. ‘you plural’), as it is also present in ‘they’. The formative **ɲin* means ‘all’.

In **ti-an*, the latter seems to be a nominalizing suffix, so if the former means something like ‘plural’, together the meaning would be something like ‘the plurality’. In one isolect, KAPend, the form is instead *hon-ti*, where the former morpheme must be a shortened form of **hulun* ‘person’, yielding the composite meaning ‘plurality of people’.

Interestingly, a few Malay dialects close to Krui, namely Kaur/Mulak and Serawai, also Haji, share some of these innovative pronouns, primarily *kuti* ‘you (pl.)’ and *tian* ‘they’ (the former first reported in Adelaar 1992:125). In Serawai the former has also spread to the second person singular form, as these pronouns are wont to do. This is one of the rare cases where one sees LP forms spreading to MAL rather than the reverse.

Many isolects have innovated a VCV form ***əya* from the earlier **ia* ‘(s)he’.

4.2.2.2. Demonstratives

In some isolects, any one of the demonstratives may be preceded by the determiner **sa* (one will notice that this form does double duty as the proximate demonstrative ‘this’). In these cases, the initial **h* disappears, as is also often the case prior to nasalizing prefixes. One will also notice that a doublet has been reconstructed for all three demonstratives, all reflecting a final **a*/**i* distinction, and that each demonstrative has a reduced form. The selection mechanism for the demonstratives in any given isolect seems to be lexical rather than phonological; e.g. Way Lima exhibits two *i* forms *hinji* ‘this’ and *hudi* ‘that (far)’ but also an *a* form *hina* ‘that (near)’.

Another noteworthy fact with the demonstratives is that the **a* forms sometimes exhibit an irregular shift to *o*, which does not follow the general geographical pattern for final **a* demonstrated in §3.4.7. For example, KAAAsli **-a* > *e*, e.g. *kite* ‘we (incl.)’ < **kita*, and in fact one sees an expected *ije* ‘this’ (< **hija*) but *udo* ‘that (far)’ where one would expect (*h*)*ude*. In fact, given the near-universal shift of ultimate closed **ə* > *o* and the existence of the KotAgung (Walker) form *hijə* ‘this’, it would seem the most realistic interpretation would be that the **a* forms at an early point split into distinct ***a* and ***ə* sets.

By way of summary for the demonstratives, I offer these speculations as to their historical development:

- 1) There was evidently a systemic change in PMP demonstratives where an innovative form **(h)ija* ‘this’ pushed PMP **i-ni* ‘this’ into the ‘that (near)’ slot, creating the **ini*-**ina* doublet.
- 2) Based on the demonstratives as well as PLP **hikam* ‘we (excl.)’ presumably from PMP **kami*, it would seem like at some point an **h-* prefix of unknown meaning was added.
- 3) By way of analogy with the doublet for the lexeme ‘that (near)’, doublets were also innovated for ‘this’ and ‘that (far)’, **hiji* and **huda* respectively. The former frequently epenthesized a homorganic nasal (*hinji*), perhaps to avoid a disfavored *iji* sequence.
- 4) The **a* forms split into distinct ***a* and ***ə* sets, giving future LP isolects three different demonstratives to choose from in each position.

4.2.2.3. Question words

There is an interesting parallel between the demonstratives and the two reconstructions for ‘what’. Both forms show the same **i/*a* split evident in the demonstratives: *api/apa* (the latter form in Melintin only) and *əpa/əpi* (the latter form in KAPend only). Because of the strong preponderance of one set over the other, I have not reconstructed doublets, but PLP **api* is presumably derived from PMP **apa* via the analogical process described above.

I have no idea of the derivation of PLP **ipa* ‘which’ unless it is somehow related to PMP **pai* ‘where’. The semantic range of **ipa* is similar to the versatile MAL word *mana* ‘which’, e.g. *bila-mana* ‘when’, *bagai-mana* ‘how’, *di mana* ‘where’, etc.

Perhaps all of the LP dialectal witnesses of ‘how’ are polymorphemic, which explains some of the vowel mutations; however besides the core **ipa* I have not been able to conclusively identify the meaning or shape of the preceding segments. These segments, perhaps [san] and/or [ju?] ‘give?’ and some morpheme containing an *r*, probably contribute to the meaning. Malay has a similar plethora of dialectal forms for ‘how’, also nearly always polymorphemic with the constant being *mana* ‘which’.

The semantic distribution of PLP **kuda* ‘which’ mirrors that of **ipa* although less information is available on its usage. It is used (in a minority of isolects) in ‘when’ constructions in Api, Nyo and Komering, but in ‘where’ constructions only in Nyo, and in ‘how’ constructions only in KAPend.

PLP **si-apa* ‘who’ is marked as a likely borrowing because: 1) although the derivation is evidently ‘person-marker’ + ‘what’, the word for ‘what’ in most LP isolects is something other than *apa*; and 2) the distribution of *siapa* and *sapa* reflexes mirrors that of Sumatran MAL.

4.2.3. Reconstruction of vowels preceding NS clusters

Following the discussion in §3.4.6, reconstructing vowels prior to medial NS clusters is complicated by competing innovations in Api and Nyo. There are six lexemes which require discussion.

**ləmbah-an* ‘house’, **kəmbaŋ* ‘flower’, **əmbun* ‘fog, dew’ and **əmpay* ‘new’ are all reconstructed with penultimate **ə*, although there is considerable variety in the vowel correspondences. This variety can be attributed to Api’s prohibition on schwa prior to NS clusters. Of these, **əmbun* ‘fog, dew’ does not contain any Komering reflexes; however KotaBumi, also a fairly conservative isolect in this regard, reflexes *əmbun*. Slightly more problematic is **əmpay* ‘new’, reflected as such in Komering but as *ap:ay* in Jabung, Sukadana and KotaBumi. On the basis of the slightly stronger Komering evidence as well as Nasal’s external *həmpay* witness, I reconstruct **ə*.

Most problematic are **kantu* ‘if’ and **ambaw* ‘sniff/smell’. The correspondence set for the former could provide arguments for reconstructing *kantu*, *kintu*, *kitu* and/or *ki*. For the present I reconstruct the pair **kantu* and **ki*, recognizing that the former may be polymorphemic. For the latter, we see the whole gamut of vowels, *ambaw* (the majority of forms), *əmbaw*, *imbaw* and *umbaw*. The problem with **ambaw* might be the same as **kantu*; it may be polymorphemic. If PMP **bahu* ‘stench’ was made monosyllabic, all these varieties would be searching for something which adds a penultimate syllable, with the result that different isolects chose different initial vowels. If this interpretation is correct, a more accurate reconstruction would be **VN-baw*. Support for the semantic connection

with PMP **bahu* is the Api meaning *ambaw* ‘smell, odor’. Speculation aside, both ‘majority rules’ and external evidence (JAV *ambu* id.) favors **ambaw*.

4.2.4. Reassignment of ultimate high vowels in nasalized environments

As mentioned in §3.3, there is a general tendency in LP isolects for high vowels to be lowered in nasalized environments, sometimes to the point where they are reanalyzed as schwa in a subset of the correspondences. (Two examples of high vowel lowering without reanalysis are the *kun(j)er* reflexes of **kunir* ‘yellow’ and the *jamot* reflexes of **jamut* ‘hide’.)

Reconstructions involving a subset of reanalyzed high vowels include the following: **inum* ‘drink’, **ma-lamun* ‘many’, **amun* ‘if’ and **kayil* ‘chew’. The first is straightforward as the reanalyzed reflexes fall only in the Krui subcluster and Menggala, and the reconstruction is further supported by PMP **inum* id. The latter three reconstructions are more problematic, but the pattern of lowering (rather than raising) in nasalized environments is clear. See §4.2.6 for further discussion on **ma-lamun* and **amun*.

In **kayil*, the medial consonant is also questionable. I interpret the *ɲ* reflexes (Kom-Jaya, Melintin and Menggala) as having been triggered by a nasalizing prefix.

4.2.5. Problematic reconstructions involving penultimate schwa alternations

There are a number of problematic reconstructions which involve alternations between schwa and high vowels in the penultimate syllable. A few can be treated as a set: **ipa* ‘how’ and **ku-ti* ‘you (pl.)’ (both §4.2.2), also **tijaj* ‘long’, **(h)ijan* ‘ladder’, **pulan* ‘forest’, **uma?* ‘mother’ and **uba?* ‘father’. These reconstructions, which I interpret as cases of vowel lowering, seem to be most conservatively and consistently (internally and externally) reflected in the Komering isolects. Discussion follows.

**pulan* ‘forest’ is fairly straightforward, with schwa reflexes only in Nyo. As the medial *l* shows some evidence of being geminated, vowel reduction in Nyo is not surprising.

**(h)ijan* ‘ladder’ has both internal evidence for **i* (consistent Komering witness) as well as external evidence (< PMP **haRəzan*; cf. §5.1.6).

**tijaj* ‘long’ has more mixed evidence, as *i* is in the majority of reflexes but the Komering witness only slightly favors **i* over **ə*.

**uma?* ‘mother’ and **uba?* ‘father’ are more difficult yet. The distribution of *uma?* versus *əma?* reflexes generally fits with the other examples above. The distribution of *uba?* is limited to two Komering areas, while three other Komering isolects have *ba?*. I reconstruct the singlet **uba?* ‘father’. However for ‘mother’ I note that Blust (n.d.) gives PMP **ema-q* ‘mother’s sister’, so it seems competing LP forms should be preserved, **uma?* and **əma?*. Sumatran MAL has the same scatter of forms as LP, including many examples of *əma?* and *əba?* as well as a downstream Ogan data point close to KomIlir which has both *uba?* ‘father’ and *uma?* ‘mother’.

Following is a discussion of other schwa/high vowel alternations not fitting into the pattern above: **jəməh* ‘tomorrow’, **ma-rəbah* ‘short’ **gəbuk* ‘hit (v.)’ and **məji-an* ‘husband’.

**jəməh* ‘tomorrow’ < PHF **zemaq*. A reconstruction of **jiməh* is also possible; however, besides majority rule and external evidence, the frequent gemination of **m* in this lexeme is additional evidence that the preceding (penultimate) vowel should be reconstructed as **ə* and not **i*. I do not have a good explanation for the presence of *s* in KAPend’s final segment here (*maus*). If its form is indeed cognate, which is questionable, it could either

be an exceptional strengthening of final **h* or (more likely) the remains of a separate morpheme. There is also the question of the final vowel and the mismatch with PHF **a*. All isolects reflect **ə* with the exception of the identical forms of (contiguous) KAAsli and Komllir *mah pagi*. Might this ‘rogue’ form turn out to be a holdover from PHF **a*, while all others have innovated to *ə*?

**ma-rəbah* ‘short’. One could argue that this correspondence set points toward a reconstruction of penultimate **i*, but the presence of gemination in the medial consonant as well as the likelihood that **r* colored **ə* to produce *i* in the four affected Nyo varieties, pushes me toward the current reconstruction.

**məŋi-an* ‘husband’. Although two of the seven reflexes (Ranau and Sungkai) show *u* in antepenultimate position, both of these areas frequently reflect *u* in verbal prefixes (compare Sungkai *ŋu-gada* ‘hit (v.)’) therefore a reconstruction of **ə* is most reasonable. The morpheme break separating *-an* is based on analogy with LP forms for wife (e.g. *ŋgom-an*, *kə-bay-an*) which clearly reflect the same suffix.

4.2.6. Identical forms

We see the same form **bətəŋ* for both ‘stomach’ and ‘full’. My conclusion (shared by Walker 1976) is that this is one word (not homonym), with two semantically connected meanings.

The forms for ‘spouse’ and ‘sit’ are identical (**həjəŋ*; likely geminated medial consonant) with the exception of the **ka-* prefix attached to the former. Is this a single polysemous form? The latter (‘sit’) may be derived from PMP **qezen* ‘bearing down, pressing out, as in defecation or childbirth’ (Blust n.d.), however with semantic change and irregular velarization of the final nasal. Spouse = ‘One who sits in the house?’ = ‘One who squats to give birth?’ We also have what seems like a competing reconstruction from Zorc (1995), **kezeŋ* ‘stand’ which matches better with the final nasal but worse with the initial consonant. Another supporting witness is Nasal *məduŋ* ‘sit’ which is clearly cognate but not borrowed from LP, as it reflects PMP **z* as *d*. (The Nasal word for ‘spouse’ is the non-cognate *sawo* < PMP **qasawa*.)

**pərəs* ‘sour’ and **pərəs* ‘squeeze’. I consider the second a loan (see §4.2.7 and §4.3), but they do not seem to be used in the same geographical areas either.

**sapu* ‘broom’ < PMP **sapu* and *sapu* ‘hut in field’ < PHN **sa-paw* should also be considered modern-day homonyms, used in the same geographical areas, but with the caveats that the former is always prefixed (i.e. *pə-ŋapu*), and the latter is from PLP **sapaw*.

The reconstructed forms **ri?* ‘and/with’ and **əri?* ‘friend’ are nearly identical, and present-day reflexes are homophonous.

There are a number of minimal pairs in the reconstructions: **ruŋga?* ‘boil’ and **uŋga?* ‘above’, **əma* ‘tongue’ and **əmah* ‘breast’, **pagas* ‘stab’ and **(h)agas* ‘mosquito’, **puŋu* ‘hand’ and **puŋu* ‘fish’, **kawil* ‘fish line’ and **kayil* ‘chew’.

**wai* ‘water’ and **wayway* ‘good’ in stem form look homophonous but **wai* as it is reconstructed is disyllabic.

One may notice that the reconstructions for ‘many’ and ‘if’ are nearly identical: **ma-lamun* and **amun* respectively. Interestingly, both correspondence sets (which have points of intersection and differences with each other) have some ambiguity as to whether the penultimate vowel should be **ə* or **u* (see §4.2.4 above). It is likely that one of the two lexemes is a loan or is diachronically polymorphemic; as five of twelve ‘if’ reflexes are without *l*, I interpret this as a distinct and optional (while unknown) morpheme. Significantly, both words seem to have

cognates in Malay. As with Lampung, a scatter of forms for ‘if’ is found in Malay, from SI and Banjar Hulu *lamun*, Minangkabau *namun*, to forms like *amən*, *amun*, *amu*, *ama*, *mone* and *meŋ* scattered throughout Sumatra. Meanwhile, Bangka (Gadung) *namun* and the *bə-lambun* ‘many’ of multiple Jambi sites seem to be cognates of Lampung **ma-lamun* id.¹⁰

Table 20. PLP ‘many’ and ‘if’

	expected ultimate vowel if < *ə	‘many’	‘if’
KAAAsli	o	<i>lamun</i>	<i>lamon</i>
KAPend	o		
Kom-Adu	o	<i>lamon</i>	<i>amon</i>
KomIlir	o	<i>lamon</i>	<i>aman</i>
Kom-Jaya	o	<i>lamon</i>	<i>amon</i>
Kom-Dpur	o	<i>lamon</i>	
Daya	o	<i>lamon</i>	<i>amon</i>
Ranau	o	<i>lamun</i>	
Sukau	o		
Krui	o	<i>mlamən</i>	
Belalau	o	<i>lamon</i>	
WayKanan	o	<i>lamun</i>	<i>amon</i>
KotAgung	o		
TalaPada	o		
WayLima	o	<i>lamon</i>	
Sungkai	o		<i>lamun</i>
Pubian	o		<i>lamon</i>
Melintin	ə		<i>lamən</i>
Kalianda	o		
Jabung	o		<i>lamɔn</i>
Sukadana	ə		<i>lamon</i>
KotaBumi	ə		<i>lamun</i>
Menggala	ə		<i>lamən</i>

4.2.7. PLP reduplicated stems

One of the interesting (to me) aspects of PLP is the relatively high number of evidently reduplicated stems. Some of them clearly hail back to PMP, while the origin of other reduplicated stems is unknown. See Table 21 for a listing.

¹⁰ Sources: Wilkinson (1959), Smedal (1987), Adelaar (1992), Nothofer (1997), and personal field notes.

Table 21. PLP reduplicated stems

gloss	PLP	PMP
‘branch’	*paŋpaŋ	cf. PMP *paŋpa ‘fork of a branch’
‘breast’	*susu	*susu
‘burn’	*pulpul	cf. *mpula ‘kindle, light a fire’
‘chest’	*dada	*dahdah
‘chew’	*ŋaŋal	*ŋasŋas ‘crush with the teeth’
‘comb’	*gaygay	
‘finger’	*raŋaraŋa	
‘good’	*wayway	
‘hit (v.)’	*təstəs	
‘lip’	*birbir	*birbir ‘rim, edge, border’
‘lip’	*piʔpiʔ	
‘mosquito’	*niʔniʔ	*niknik ‘tiny biting insect’
‘mouth’	*ŋaŋa	*ŋaŋa ‘agape’
‘near’	*ma-riʔdiʔ	
‘pound’	*tutu	*tutu
‘scratch’	*kuykuy	*kuRkuR
‘shoulder’	*piŋpiŋ	
‘stand’	*cəkək	
‘swell’	*səksək	*-sek ‘cram, crowd’
‘termite’	*anayanay	*anay
‘wall’	*diŋdiŋ	*diŋdiŋ
‘wall’	*kəkək	
‘wall’	*saysay	
‘wash’	*pəhpəh	

There is a fair amount of internal consistency in how LP isolects reflect these reduplicated stems. All LP areas fully reproduce CV stems, such as *tutu ‘pound’. The dialect differences arise as one considers CVC stems. The Komering lists (KAAsli, Komllir, Kom-Adu, Kom-Jaya, Kom-Dpur and Daya) plus KAPend exhibit full reduplication while WayKanan does the same but less regularly; all the remaining isolects have one form or another of partial reduplication with the final syllable being expressed completely. The Api varieties of Belalau, KotAgung, Sungkai and Pubian generally repeat the initial CV sequence in the first syllable (e.g. ŋa-ŋal ‘chew’, while in the others, most consistently in the Krui cluster, the first syllable pattern is C + schwa (e.g. ŋə-ŋal) regardless of the original vowel. Nyo varieties most frequently have C + u in the first syllable with gemination in the next consonant (e.g. pup:əŋ ‘branch’ < *paŋpaŋ).

Interestingly, C + diphthong sequences behave the same way as regular CVC syllables. For example, in the ‘CV’ group (Belalau, etc.), **kuykuy* ‘scratch’ and **saysay* ‘wall’ are reflected as *ku-kuy* and *sa-say* respectively.

In the case of **wayway* ‘good’, all modern-day isolects reflect *waway*, but, as all dialect witnesses are from Nyo areas, we do not have criterial evidence whether or not the reconstruction is correct. **wayway* is included in Table 21 based more on hunch than anything else.

With **birbir* ‘lip’, although PMP **bibiR* ‘lip’ is reconstructed, there is also PMP **birbir* ‘rim, edge, border’ and it seems LP ‘lip’ is cognate to the latter.¹¹ LP reflexes without medial *r* better fit the geographical distribution of partial reduplication than being likely MAL loans.

Not only does this study help more clearly define patterns of reduplicated reflexes, but also shows which words do not fit the pattern and therefore should be excluded from the category. I offer three examples. First, although **gəgər* ‘thunder’ descends from PMP **gerger* ‘shake, shiver, tremble’, it is not included in Table 21. The form is well-represented in Komering yet none of them reflects medial **r*. Second, **lalaŋ* ‘laugh’ might seem to be another candidate for reinterpretation as reduplicated, but the *lalaŋ* witnesses in the conservative Kom-Dpur and Daya make this possibility quite remote. Third, although Kom-Adu *sosok* ‘narrow’ is clearly derived from PMP **-sek* ‘cram, crowd’, a reduplicated reflex in Kom-Adu would be **soksok*. Therefore, Kom-Adu *sosok* ‘narrow’ should be excluded from the correspondence set (*səmək* etc.) which yields PLP **s-əm-ək* ‘narrow’ (although cf. Kom-Adu *soksok* ‘swell’). It is interesting that MAL seems to have the same split in related forms, with *səsak* ‘narrow’ and *səmak* ‘underbrush’ (note the meaning ‘untidy’ of KAPend *somo?*).

4.2.8. PLP **ay* and **aw* reconstructions

Following the discussion in §5.2.2, there is a subset of reconstructions in which a final diphthong is reconstructed on external evidence alone. See Table 22.

Table 22. Aberrant PLP **ay*, **aw* reconstructions

gloss	PMP	PLP	modern reflexes	Nasal (Benkulu)
‘die, dead’, ‘kill’	<i>*m-atay</i> , <i>*p-atay</i>	<i>*matay</i> , <i>*patay</i>	<i>mati</i> , <i>pati</i>	<i>matay</i>
‘field rice’	<i>*pajay</i>	<i>*paray</i>	<i>pari</i>	<i>pahay</i>
‘cooked rice’	<i>*hemay</i>	<i>*əmay</i>	(ə) <i>mi</i>	<i>may</i>
‘sand’	<i>*qenay</i>	<i>*hənay</i>	<i>həni</i>	<i>hənay</i>
‘liver’	<i>*qatay</i>	<i>*hatay</i>	<i>hati</i>	<i>hatay</i>
‘rattan’	<i>*quay</i>	<i>*huay</i>	<i>hui</i>	<i>huway</i>
‘hut (in field)’	PHF <i>*sa-paw</i>	<i>*sapaw</i>	<i>sapu</i>	-
‘fight’	PHN <i>*pisaw</i> ‘knife’	<i>*pisaw</i>	<i>pisu</i>	-

¹¹ Blust (1980:53) noted the distinction between PMP **bibiR* ‘lip’ and PMP **birbir* ‘rim, edge, border’, but added that reflexes of the latter frequently contaminated reflexes of the former. It seems this also was the case in PLP.

Also included in Table 22 is a column for reflexes from the Nasal (Bengkulu Holle) word list, introduced in §2.1. Whether these can be considered Lampungic archaisms is questionable, but the forms (when available) are listed for reference.

4.2.9. Discussion of individual reconstructions

The following is a discussion of selected reconstructions which require additional explanation, but which do not fit thematically into one of the previous explanatory sections. Occasionally it will be helpful to show the complete correspondence set, so that the problem in reconstruction will be clearer. When this is the case the following format will be used: twenty-three numbered columns, representing each isolect as given in Table 1, with the segment(s) in question directly below. For example, if the discussion is about whether to reconstruct final **h* for a given word, the correspondence set might look something like this:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	?	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>			<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	∅	<i>h</i>	∅	<i>h</i>						

where sampling sites 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13 and 15 from Table 1 reflect *h*, site 3 reflects ?, sites 14 and 16 reflect zero, and the rest of the sites (10, 11, 18–23) do not have reflexes.

1. ‘hand’ and 4. ‘foot’. Ten Api/Komering sites (Kom-Dpur, Daya, Ranau, Sukau, Krui, Belalau, KotAgung, TalaPada, WayLima and Kalianda) have an interesting pair of words for ‘hand’ and ‘foot’: *culu?* (< PLP **culut*) and *cukut* respectively. The pair of words chimed at some point in the past, but that connection has since been lost through debuccalization in all isolects except KAPend. Given that all other LP isolects (including KAPend) reflect *kukut* ‘leg’ (and *pɨɲu* ‘hand’), I tentatively interpret *cukut* as a later innovation motivated by chiming and thus reconstruct **kukut* ‘leg’ and a pair of apparent synonyms for ‘hand’, **culut* and **pɨɲu*.

6. ‘road/path’. I reconstruct PLP **raŋ-laya* with metathesis of the **r* and **l* (as well as nasal assimilation of PMP **n*) occurring between PMP and PLP. *raŋraya*, which occurs in Komering, can be explained as assimilation of *l* to initial *r*. Here’s one possible ‘path’:

- 1) PMP **zalan* ‘road’ + **Raya* ‘big’;
- 2) ***jalanraya* ‘wide road’ (made monolexemic);
- 3) ***laŋraya* (fourth syllable—anteantepenultimate—dropped, nasal assimilated to following *r*);
- 4) PLP **raŋ-laya* (metathesis of *r* and *l*);
- 5) Komering *raŋraya* (assimilation of *l* to initial *r*);
- 6) KAPend *laŋlaya* (assimilation of initial *r* to *l*).

A challenge to this interpretation is the three areas which merely reflect *raŋ(-an)*.

7. ‘come’ **pəgər*. Two comments: First, Jabung’s final schwa [məg:ə] does not fit its regular pattern; it is possible this lexeme is borrowed from its neighbor Melinting (although Melinting’s primary word for ‘come’ is something else altogether). Second, the Menggala

lexeme seems to have undergone this path **pəɣər > pəɣə > pəɣa > pəɣew*. See §3.4.8 for more discussion of an irregular sound change in **-r* affecting Menggala and KAPend.

9. ‘swim’. The PLP reconstructions mirror the PMP doublet, **laŋuy* and **naŋuy*. The latter form in KAPend has *taŋuy!* as its imperative form, which I assume is a back-formation, but other isolects have not been checked to confirm this.

10. ‘dirty’. Although one could attempt to justify reconstructing one form that unites *kamah* and *kama?* ‘dirty’, the prudent course for the present would be to reconstruct a doublet. First, outside of one area (WayKanan), it is very rare in Lampungic for **h > ?*, and basically unheard of to go the opposite direction. Second, Menggala evidently has both forms in its inventory, making a doublet the logical choice for reconstruction.

11. ‘dust’ **habuk*. As discussed above, it seems some reflexes in this correspondence set contain the infix *-ar-*, while others contain the infix *-al-*. There is a correlation between the infix and voicing; it seems the *-al-* infix has triggered devoicing of the following medial consonant, e.g. **habuk > h-al-əpuk*.

12. ‘skin’ **bawa?*. Although LP **kulit* is ostensibly descended from an identical PMP form, it was not chosen as the primary reconstruction because of the preponderance of **bawa?* reflexes and the distinct possibility that *kulit* is a MAL loan.

16. ‘guts’ **tinahi*. Apart from external evidence (PMP **tinaqi*), evidence for the initial vowel comes from the metathesized KomIllir and Kom-Adu forms *tanihi*. Other areas have consistently reduced the antepenultimate vowel to schwa.

18. ‘breast’ **əmah*. The frequent gemination of **m* in this lexeme is evidence that an initial **ə* should be reconstructed, even though it is not reflected in any modern reflexes. Additionally, it seems that nasalization of the ultimate vowel in some reflexes of this lexeme is triggering vowel raising and possibly the strengthening of **h* to a glottal stop in a few cases.

23. ‘blood’. PMP **daRah > PLP *ərah*. It seems the path was: 1) **daRaŋ > dah* (syncope of **R* between *a*; see §5.1.6); 2) **dah > *rah* (see §5.1.7); and 3) **rah > *ərah* excrescence of initial schwa to restore this lexeme to two syllables. In many isolects schwa is represented phonetically by gemination.

26. ‘hair’. **buə(k?) < PMP *buhek*. I reconstruct final **(k?)* even though the segment descends from PMP **k*, because of the lack of *k* reflexes and the pattern of schwa reflexes in Nyo varieties (cf. §3.4.1).

27. ‘nose’. PMP ‘nose’ is reconstructed by Blust (1999:83) as **ijun/*ujun*, while Adelaar (1992:108) cites PMP **qijuhun*. This ambiguity is seemingly reflected in what should be reconstructed for PLP ‘nose’. Only one isolect in twenty-three (Daya) has initial *h*. While Daya is quite conservative in retaining **h* in this position (over 80%), so are its neighbors including the most conservative, KAPend, with a 90% retention rate of PMP **q*. Given the overwhelming lack of *h* in LP reflexes, I interpret the Daya reflex as an imitation of the initial segment in MAL *hidun* and reconstruct PLP **irun*.

29. ‘sniff/smell’. There is some uncertainty about the **h* in **(h)undun* given the lack of *h* in three generally conservative Komering isolects.

29. ‘sniff/smell’ **arə(k?)*. There is only one dialect witness, but this form, in contrast with other LP forms, directly carries over from PMP.

30. ‘mouth’ **ŋaŋa*. Although the prima facie evidence would seem to favor a reconstruction of **r* in initial position, on the basis of congruity with PMP **ŋaŋa* ‘agape’ I reconstruct **ŋ*. Additional evidence for this reconstruction comes from the reflexes of **məŋi-an* ‘husband’, where all seven reflexes have *ŋ* except for Sukadana (#21) which reflects *ʋ*. It is therefore a small step to say that Sukadana has also changed **ŋ* to *ʋ* in this etymon as well. The final confirmation is that there is already a PLP reconstruction **raŋa(-raŋa)* ‘finger’.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
																			ŋ	ɣ	g	g

33. ‘laugh’ **aha*. KAPend *kə-kahe* ‘accidentally laugh’. I assume the second *k* is a (possibly fossilized) prefix, otherwise we would have **ŋaha*, but whether there is an initial *h* (*haha*) has not been adequately explored.

37. ‘eat’. **əkan* < PMP **kaen*. The initial schwa may be a typical product of the need to achieve a disyllabic state, or possibly an artifact (via metathesis) of the **e* in the PMP form. Regarding the medial consonant, cf. KAPend *okan!* ‘eat!’, *tə-p-okan* ‘accidentally eat’, *pə-moŋan* ‘food’. Why the medial consonant nasalizes *k* to *ŋ* is a bit of a mystery; although irregular it is clearly triggered by the presence of the nasal prefix. One can also note that a few Api areas have the presumably cognate form *kani?* ‘eat’ while also reflecting the partially reduplicated *mə-məŋan-an* ‘have a relaxed meal’. I do not have any further explanation for the final syllable *i?* beyond the probability that it is related to phonotactic concerns (disyllabicity).

39. ‘cook’. The plethora of reconstructed forms probably have some semantic specializations, for example **kəku?*, which likely means ‘cook (rice)’. Also note that **ɟunjəŋ* is probably incorrect and should be *sunjəŋ* or *cunjəŋ*, but an unaffixed form has not yet been elicited.

43. ‘ear’ **cupiŋ*. See SI *cupiŋ* ‘lobe (of ear, nostril)’, many Sumatran MAL isolects ‘ear’.

44. ‘hear’ **dəŋi(s)*. The unusual but patterned excrescence of *s* after the final vowel, patterned in that it closely correlated with the occurrence of a devoiced initial stop *t*, is unusual in that there are no other examples in the data set of *s* excrescence. Additionally, the opposite change, PLP **s > h*, although common areally, basically never happens in LP. The *s* could be the remains of another morpheme. I unite *dəŋi* and *təŋis* while noting that in the Menggala word list of Fernandes and Sudirman (2002) the form *təŋis* is recorded, while in the Walker (1975) and the 2005 SIL lists *dəŋi* appears. So it seems that both of these forms exist side-by-side in Menggala as a doublet.

47. ‘yawn’. *huap* etc. has an aberrant pattern of final debuccalization (almost none) that makes one suspect borrowing, but the other segments have substantial variation, so I conclude with hesitation that we are looking at a native form.

49. ‘lie down’. **dulik* could also be **dulir* or even **dulit* but the evidence seems stronger this way given the below correspondence set.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
					ɣ	k	ʔ	k				ɣ				k						

Additionally, **dulik* and **gulik* seem to be a doublet and ‘majority rules’ seems to favor **k* in both cases. See also Haji with its probable LP loan *uli?*-*uli?* id.

50. ‘dream’. Blust (n.d.) reconstructs PMP **hipi* ‘dream’ and **h-in-ipi* ‘a dream; was dreamt by’. These two forms exist in PLP as a doublet, presented in the unified reconstruction **h(an)ipi*.

52. ‘stand’ **təgi*. Given the correspondence set, many forms seem to reflect an infix, e.g. *t-əm-əgi*.

52. ‘stand’ **minja?*. Imperative (unaffixed) form in KAPend is still *minja?*.

54. ‘man’ **bakas*. There is a possible genetic relationship with PMP **ba(ŋ)kas* ‘swift, fast, strong, energetic’ (Blust n.d.), but the semantic connection is a stretch.

57. ‘husband’. See §4.3 for an explanation of why *laki* was not chosen as the primary reconstruction.

58. ‘wife’ **maju*. Given JAV *madu* ‘co-wife’ (Zoetmulder 1982) and that PMP **z* > JAV *d* and LP *j*, I am inclined to interpret this as a native word derived from an earlier (pre-PLP) form **mazu* (rather than interpreting this as a loan from SKT *madhu* ‘honey’).

61. ‘house’. Given what seems like a fossilized suffix, and a stem that seems suspiciously similar to MAL *lambah* ‘low-lying land’ (< PMP **le(m)baq* ‘valley’, which PLP would most likely reflect as **ləbah*), this form would seem to be a loan. However without additional evidence, particularly any MAL dialects with a similar formation, I reconstruct **ləmbah-an*. Given PLP’s prohibition of **ə* prior to a consonant cluster, even though the current-day penultimate *a/ə* reflexes are about the same in number, **a* should be reconstructed in penultimate position. I assume the *-an* ending is a nominalizing suffix, but do not know if it is fossilized or what the individual meaning of *lambah* might be if not the above.

61. ‘house’ **bənua*. See Duano (MAL), which has a reflex of the same word, also with the meaning of ‘house’. All LP reflexes save one omit the antepenultimate syllable, which I attribute to pressures for disyllabicity.

62. ‘roof’. Although the most reliable reflexes have something like *pəkul* ‘roof’, I reconstructed **paŋkul* based on patterns of gemination and nasal-stop clusters. I later discovered there is such a word as *paŋkul* in Lampung as a place name.

64. ‘say’ **cawa*. Although I reconstructed this reflex, it looks suspiciously similar to SKT *vicāra* ‘consideration, discussion’.

69. ‘hunt’ **m-asu*. A morpheme break was inserted on the assumption that this is a verbal form of **asu* ‘dog’.

72. ‘hit (v.)’ **təstəs*. Kota Bumi’s reflex *tətuḥ* should probably be excluded from this set as it would have had to undergo two changes in the final syllable: **ə* > *u* and **s* > *h*. The latter is particularly improbable in Lampung’s case.

72. ‘hit (v.)’ **gəbuk*. See Jakarta MAL, from Balinese *gəbok* ‘striking a heavy blow with a flat object’ (Wilkinson 1959). I assume but am not certain that Pubian *gibuh* belongs to this correspondence set.

76. ‘live’. Although **huri(p?)* ‘live’ is clearly descended from PMP **qudip* I reconstruct a glottal stop word-finally as there are no LP witnesses to final **p*, not even old faithful KAPend, which usually retains stops lost by other varieties.

88. ‘squeeze’. The items **piəh*, **pərəs* and **pərə?* are very interesting. It seems like **piəh* is a reflex of PMP **peReq* while PLP **pərəs* is a reflex of PMP **peRes*. But there are two puzzlers. The latter reflex is irregular in a few significant ways. Assuming the PMP reconstructed form **peRes*, we would expect PLP **piəs*. Second, in three of five cases, the *r* is an apical flap, suggestive of borrowing. However, because the ultimate schwa seems to rule out borrowing from Malay, I tentatively assign this as a JAV loan (the identical shape, including apical flap, is found in JAV). The second, slightly more difficult, puzzler is **pərə?*. Because the sound change **s* > *?* is unknown in LP it would seem to have undergone this change at a stage prior to PLP or to be a borrowing. My best guess is that this also is a JAV loan *pərat* id. which later underwent debuccalization.

89. ‘hold’. **pəgəŋ* < PMP **pegeŋ*. Although the four current reflexes would all support a reconstruction of **pəguŋ*, it seems most likely that the ultimate-syllable sound shift **ə* > *u* occurred as phonemic reanalysis via the universal (outside Nyo) phonetic realization of

ultimate *ə as [o]. Hence this must be a post-PLP development and the PLP form should be reconstructed as *pəgəŋ.

89. 'hold' *kaciŋ. Two sites (in Komering, Nyo) reflect *katiŋ*, Menggala reflects *kaciŋ*, while two other sites (in Nyo and Api) reflect *kətəŋ*. On the basis of the seemingly-cognate MAL *kanciŋ* 'button, fasten' I reconstruct **kaciŋ* with the assumption that in most LP varieties the *c underwent irregular fortition to t. I do not have an explanation for the irregular vowels if the *kətəŋ* forms are indeed cognate.

90. 'dig'. Over half the reflexes reflect **kali*, which continues PMP **kali*. The subset of *gali* reflexes can either be attributed to MAL, to a doublet, or to an irregular voicing of the initial segment. For now I reconstruct **kali*, noting that the same *gali/kali* issue was faced in the reconstruction of PM (Adelaar 1992:62).

94. 'throw away' **nahayar*. It is possible that the penultimate syllable *na/ŋa* is a verbal prefix, but it does not fit the regular pattern (*ma-* or *ŋa-* would be more expected). I also speculate above that there may be an infix, e.g. *n-ah-ayar*, although this would be the lone example of such an infix.

98. 'egg'. The reconstruction of 'egg' is a great example of the utility of dialectology for internal reconstruction. If we had sampled twenty-two sites rather than twenty-three, we might have missed the one piece of evidence (Komllir *hatəluŋ*) that the near-universal metathesis of **hatəluŋ* happened after Proto-Lampungic and not prior. Another lexical example of dialectology's utility is Ranau *aro?* 'smell' which seems to be the only extant reflex in Lampungic for the PMP form **hajek*.

107. 'worm'. **gələŋ* < PMP id. 'cut off; ring (a tree)'. The semantic connection seems odd but is presumably via the ring shape; Blust (n.d.) considers MAL *gələŋ* 'bracelet' as a descendant of this PMP form; cf. Sumatran MAL (*təŋ*)*gələŋ* 'worm'.

109. 'mosquito'. The evidence for reconstructing this word as **hagas* versus **agas* is only in one witness, Perjaya (*hagas* also in the conservative Nasal isolect). *agas* of course exists in Malay with the meaning of gnat, and at least one Malay isolect (Duano) uses *agas* to mean 'mosquito' so a loan cannot be ruled out. In that sixteen mostly conservative varieties argue against the inclusion of **h*, I reconstruct *(*h*)*agas*.

111. 'fish' **iwa(h)*. Based on internal evidence alone, a reconstruction of **iwa* would seem likelier than **iwah*, given that only Daya reflects the *h*, and isolects with final **a* mutation also display the same change in this etymon. However, it seems somewhat plausible semantically that the LP forms derive from PMP **hiwaq* 'cut, carve, slice (meat or fish)' (i.e. > 'fish that is prepared for eating by slicing open'); cf. JAV *iwak* 'fish/meat in general'. This would support final **h*. It is possible the two, geographically contiguous, witnesses for final glottal stop are actually loans from JAV.

113. 'branch'. **paŋpaŋ* with assimilation of the medial nasal to the following stop in some isolects.

123. 'flow'. PLP **r* is quite stable word-finally, hence PLP **hili* is the correct reconstruction. See §5.1.6 for a discussion of this change from PMP to PLP.

126. 'lake'. I am compelled to reconstruct **danaw* 'lake' in spite of the single conflicting *ranaw* witness, which may actually be a toponym. See also §5.1.7.

127. 'forest' **əlas*. I based the reconstruction of the initial vowel on phonotactics (favoring disyllabic over monosyllabic) and the geminated *l*. It also accords with the external evidence (PMP **alas*). The internal evidence, however, does not favor following the initial PMP vowel, hence PLP **əlas*.

129. 'moon'. If *kəlawat* 'moon' is not a loan, it is probably polymorphemic.

130. ‘star’ ?**bintuhan*. I reconstruct ?**bintuhan* ‘star’ although only two reflexes have been found; all the other responses are suspect loans (see below). The nasal excrescence, however, is still irregular unless one accepts the Wolff (2003) form **bintuqen*. Even then, *bintuhan* may show evidence of a MAL origin given the *a* (rather than *ə*) in the final syllable and the fact that *bintuhan* is a place name in a Malay-speaking area of South Sumatra province.

130. ‘star’ ?**bintaŋ*. Adelaar (2005b) derives MAL *bintaŋ* from PMP **bituqen* via an irregular phonological development. This strongly suggests that the LP form is a loanword.

131. ‘cloud’ **rihu?*. This could conceivably be reconstructed as **hiru?*; either way, metathesis has occurred in a subset of the reflexes. External witnesses would be needed to settle the issue, but I have not yet found any.

134. ‘thunder’. **gəgar* < PMP *gerger* ‘shake, shiver, tremble’. As the KotaBumi meaning ‘shake, sway’ most closely resembles the PMP form, this should be considered the original meaning, with ‘thunder’ being a later development. However, note that Haji, an archaic MAL dialect bordering Daya, has *gəgar* ‘thunder’. Although Haji has borrowed about a third of its core vocabulary from LP (Anderbeck 2007), the final vowel shows that *gəgar* is clearly of MAL, not LP origin.

135. ‘lightning’. **kilap* < PMP **kilab* ‘flash, sparkle’. A number of areal languages exhibit the semantic shift from the PMP meaning to ‘lightning’, including LP, JAV and (some varieties of) Batak. It is unclear whether the two Nyo *kilat* reflexes should be interpreted as from MAL or as inherited reflexes of PMP **kilat* lightning.

139. ‘cold’ **ma-ŋisən*. The Krui/Ranau/Sukau lists reflect the reduplicated stem *ŋi-ŋi*, perhaps suggesting a morpheme break *ŋi-sən*. However, these forms could also reflect simple elision of the final syllable. In the absence of further information I reconstruct a monomorphemic form.

140. ‘dry’. See §4.3 for an explanation of why *kəriŋ* was not chosen as the primary reconstruction.

144. ‘burn’. **suah* seems to be descended from a metathesized PMP **qasu*.

149. ‘red’. **ma-suluh* < PMP **suluq* ‘torch’. The semantic connection between ‘torch’ and ‘red’ is of course fire, a connection strengthened by the meaning of *suluh* in the Nyo areas of ‘firewood’.

150. ‘yellow’. I reconstruct **kunir* as a reflex of PMP **kunij*. The challenge is the *kunjer* etc. reflexes. It turns out Kom-Adu has three related etyma: *kuniŋ* (loan) and *kunjer* both mean yellow, but they also have *kunir* ‘turmeric’. Short of reconstructing a doublet **kunir*/**kunjir* ‘yellow’, one needs to both explain the excrescence of an affricate clustering with a medial nasal as well as the existence of both forms in the same variety. Presumably, once a varying form existed in one area, it could have been borrowed in another, which looks like what happened, but I do not have an explanation for the excrescent affricate.

151. ‘green’. **ma-hujaw* < PMP **hizaw* ‘fighting cock with greenish feathers on light background’ (Blust n.d.). Given the distribution of **hizaw* reflexes, Blust concludes the semantic change to ‘green’ occurred in MAL and then was borrowed in large parts of western Indonesia. Unless the loan was of extraordinary time depth, the LP evidence seems NOT to support this conclusion, as the twenty-three isolects sampled without exception reflect the irregular *hujaw*.

156. ‘thin’. **ma-nipis* < PMP id. Some isolects exhibit *tipis*, which is either back-formation from **nipis* or MAL loan.

157. ‘thick’. PLP **ma-kədəl* is clearly cognate with MAL *kəntal* id., but without additional witnesses or reconstructed ancestral form it will be difficult to determine whether voicing of the medial stop has occurred in LP or devoicing in MAL.

160. ‘sick’ **ariŋ*. This should be **ariŋ* rather than **mariŋ*; I interpret the *m* in most reflexes as a nasalizing prefix based on Sukadana *ariŋ*. This word may be related to JAV, SUN, Makasarese *gəriŋ* id. but if so there are some irregular changes involved. Alternately, this form could be related to PMP **daRiŋ* ‘groan, moan’, where the (dubious) path is $> *daRiŋ > **diŋ > **riŋ > **əriŋ > \text{PLP } *ariŋ$.

163. ‘new’. **bahyu* $<$ PMP **baqeRu*. The *baru* reflexes are MAL loan; at least one Nyo area has both *baru* and *bayau*, and three of the five *baru* reflexes exhibit an apical trill/flap, which is additional evidence of borrowing (§4.3.2). It is difficult to know if the Nyo forms *bayau* are the result of *a-y* metathesis ($< **baayu$), or some phonetic artifact from the presence of an earlier medial *h*, or simply disambiguation (after losing *h*) from the otherwise homophonous form *bayu* ‘spoiled’. Given the PLP innovation **y* from PMP **eR* sequences (§5.1.6), a reconstruction of **bahyu* seems the most prudent course, although more dialectal witnesses would certainly help.

165. ‘bad’. **jahat* may be a loan, given that: 1) Malay shares this word; and 2) there is no debuccalization of the final plosive, which is mildly out of character for native words. If it turns out to be native, it would support a PMP reconstruction of **jahat* (cf. Blust 1999) and not **jahet* (cf. Adelaar 1992).

171. ‘hide’ **jamut*. This etymon is reconstructed **jamut* ‘hide’ rather than **jamət* primarily because of the witness of Melintin and Kotabumi which would reflect **jamət* if the ultimate vowel were schwa. The vowel lowering may be due to a highly nasalized environment, reflected by many of the transcriptions.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
ō	o	o	o							ō				ow		ō	ū			ū	ō	o

171. ‘hide’ **səgəʔ*. This final consonant could actually be **l* or even **t*. If the final glottal stop truly is the result of debuccalization, even KAPend (#20) has lost the final oral stop in this case.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
				ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	l	ʔ	ʔ				ʔ			ʔ			

192. ‘and/with’. **jama* $<$ PMP **ma*. Given the PMP form, PLP **jama* was probably polymorphemic at some point. Two candidates for the derivation of the initial syllable are **(hi)ja* ‘this’ or **(an)jaʔ* ‘from’. *jama* is also quite similar in its range of usage to (colloquial) MAL *sama*; meaning variously ‘and’, ‘with’, ‘together’, even ‘friend’.

197. ‘one’ **əsay*. There is an unexplained change of the final vowel from PMP **esa*. It is possible the determiner **sa* preserves an earlier form of the etymon; compare Nasal *sai sija* ‘this’, *sai sudi* ‘that’.

‘because’ **ulih*. If this form descends from PMP **uliq* ‘return; restore; repeat’ it shares the innovative meaning of ‘because’ with MAL and Balinese. Additionally, there was an irregular change in some areas to *ulah*. Further muddying the waters, Udin et al. (1992) reports that the Api variety(s) described therein have both *ulah* ‘because’ and *oloh* ‘return, repeat’.

‘call’ **huraw-haruh*. There are no word-initial **h* witnesses in the **huraw*-correspondence set, but I nevertheless reconstruct it on the basis of symmetry with the following morpheme

*-*haruh*, in what seems to be a chiming word possibly related to MAL *hura-hara* ‘disturbance’. Also, the initial **h* may not appear in many isolects due to morphophonemics.

‘canoe paddle’. In spite of the cognate PMP form, *dayuŋ* was not chosen as the primary reconstruction for reasons discussed in §4.3.

‘chicken’ **sisiw*. Given the pattern of reflexes, *sisu* in one area and *sisuy* in another, and Proto-Philippines reconstruction **siwsiw* (Wurm and Wilson 1975), I reconstruct **sisiw*. This is the only reconstruction with the diphthong **iw*, which makes it a bit strange, but it seems to best explain the available evidence.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>		<i>uy</i>	<i>uy</i>																	

‘comb’. There is an unexplained change in the final consonant PMP **suat* > PLP **sual*.

‘deaf’ **tilu*, **tuləʔ*. Since Malay *tuli* ‘deaf’ is a semantic extension of PMP **tuli* ‘earwax’, and the same semantic development is found in PLP, this suggests borrowing. However, there are three points of counterevidence: 1) LP carries over both PMP reflexes **tuli* and **tilu*, whereas MAL does not seem to retain the latter; 2) if *tuləʔ* were a MAL loan we would expect it to be **tuli*; and 3) Itbayaten (Ivatan), a Northern Philippine language less likely to be influenced by MAL, also reflects **tilu* as ‘deafen’ (Blust n.d.).

‘difficult’. If *susah* ‘difficult’ is native and not a MAL loan it is a bit surprising it is not **suhsah* < PMP **suqsaq*.

‘difficult’. **sukər* deserves a second look. So far I have not found any other language besides Malay with a reflex. Could a MAL loanword have a native ultimate schwa reflex? Is **sukər* a real etymon?

‘dipper’. **timbuk* ‘dipper’ could possibly be reconstructed as a doublet, with **cibuk* as the second form. See also §3.4.11.

‘field’ **daraʔ*. If this is a native reflex, this could also potentially be reconstructed with **-t*, given PMP **daRat* ‘littoral sea; surface of sea/land’ (although one would expect PLP **dat*). More LP isolects would need to be checked for reflexes.

‘fight’ **pisaw*. From the reflexes one would expect a reconstruction of **pisu*; however, see §5.2.2.

‘finger’ **jəriji*. These are strange words and a strange correspondence set with three *jəriji* witnesses, one *jarigi* and one *jərigi*. However, see JAV *driji* id., also MAL *kacaŋ jəriji* ‘the lablab’ (hyacinth bean with a fingerlike pod) and note that this correspondence set seems to follow the regular correspondence JAV **d* / LP **j* < PMP **z*.

‘fly (insect)’ **lalət*. This is a difficult one. First, there seems to be metathesis in many of the varieties, and then assimilation of the initial consonant to the medial *r*. I considered a doublet **lalət/lalar* because of the two differences—final consonant and final vowel—but decided against it because of the witness of Kalianda *lalar* which seems to preserve the final schwa. Here is one scenario:

- 1) PMP **lalej*;
- 2) PMP **-j* > PLP **d/-t*, therefore **lalət*;
- 3) early change in most isolects to *lalar*;
- 4) irregular merger (prompted by *r*?) in ultimate syllable of *ə* to *a*, did not occur in Kalianda;
- 5) metathesis and assimilation in some isolects to *ralar*.

‘gall bladder’. **hampəru* < PMP **qapeju*. Although we see an excrescent nasal prior to the medial stop which is indicative of borrowing from MAL, there are three signs that this is native. First, the LP forms retain initial **h*, which is lost in most MAL dialects including all Sumatran dialects except possibly Haji. Second, PMP **j* > PLP **r*. This is not the strongest evidence as the change most likely was via ***d*. Third, LP reflexes clearly retain the antepenultimate **a*, which was neutralized to *ə* in nearly all MAL dialects. I therefore conclude this is a native form with irregular nasal excrescence.

‘give’. **əjuk* < PMP **e(n)zək*. It seems fairly safe to say that the three *əjuk* reflexes (the geographically contiguous KAAsli, Komllir, Kom-Adu) are loans from nearby Sumatran MAL.

‘hard’ **tias* and **tiha*. I had originally lumped instances of *tias* (< PMP **teRas* ‘hard core of trees’) and *tiha* together, but then separated them for two reasons: 1) loss of **s* (in any position) is unexpected; and 2) loss of medial **h* in KAAsli and KAPend is similarly unprecedented, as would be excrescence between vowels in the other varieties.

‘live/dwell’ **(t)əpi?*. It seems likely that the initial *t* is a prefix.

‘old (object)’ **ma-(r)uni*. There is only one *r* reflex; it is possible other reflexes disappeared due to the presence of the adjectival prefix, but the presence of the bare form *uni* in Kom-Adu and Daya would seem to negate this argument.

‘pestle’. Blust (n.d.) reconstructs a pair of PMP descendants of PAN **qaSelu*, **qahelu* and **haqelu*, the latter form having undergone ‘**S* metathesis’. Given the LP correspondence set, it would seem PLP **həlu* descends from the latter form.

‘sarong’. I reconstruct **h* in **sa-hinjan* ‘sarong’ on the basis of one witness in six reflexes and the frequent loss of **h* at morpheme boundaries, as well as morphological symmetry with **sa-bidaŋ* id.

‘spear’ **lingis* < PMP **li(ŋ)gis* ‘crush, roll over’. This is an odd semantic connection, but cf. MAL (on Java) *lingis* ‘spike or pointed crowbar for digging up the soil’ and JAV *ligis* ‘sharp-bladed crowbar’. The distribution of these reflexes (mostly in or near Komering), the presence of the prenasalized stop, as well as the consistent lowered final closed vowel make this a likely MAL loan, with the counterevidence that *lingis*, while evidently existing in Sumatran MAL (cf. Minangkabau *lingih* ‘crowbar’), differs slightly in its semantics from the LP form.

‘termite’ **anay* and **hani*. There are two evidently distinct correspondence sets, one marked by reduplication, no initial *h* and *-ay* ending (e.g. *anay-anay*), and the other lacking reduplication, retaining *h* and ending in *-i* (e.g. *hani*). It seems the former is derived from PMP **anay* and the latter (less certainly) from PMP **qani*, a variant of **qali*, a prefix ‘often attached to the names of creepy-crawly creatures that are not normally considered pests or parasites’ (Blust n.d.). Difficulties attributing LP *hani* to this PMP form are that: 1) *hani* is a full word, not a prefix; and 2) termites are pests.

‘thirsty’ **hawəs* and **mahu*. The former is marked as a possible loan because in its earlier form, ***haus*, it is identical to MAL with no known protoform, unless it is irregularly derived from PHF **quSaw* (***huaw* > ***haw* + *s* > *haus*). The latter **mahu* could conceivably be derived from (the first syllable of) PHF **quSaw* plus the adjectival prefix **ma-* (cf. Tagalog *ma-uhaw* id.).

‘turn, revolve’ **putər*. The three *mutar* reflexes, KAAsli, Sukau and Krui, are irregular and most likely borrowed from Malay.

‘turtle’ **kuya*. Given PMP **R* to LP *y* (see below), and MAL *kura* id., an earlier form of **kuRa* is likely.

‘urine’ **iəh*. Two notes: First, due to some vagueness in the elicitation language, many reflexes of ‘urine’ probably are for ‘urinate’. Although only one reflex does not begin with *m*, it is considered a verbal prefix and not included in the reconstruction. Second, although

Ranau and Krui strengthen final consonants in this lexeme and others (see §3.4.4), final **h* is reconstructed.

‘wall’. **diŋdiŋ* < PMP **diŋdiŋ*. Although there is only one dialectal witness (KAAsli), this reconstruction is marked as primary because it, in contrast with the other two reconstructions, descends from a reconstructed PMP form. As this form occurs in an area without reduction of heterorganic consonant clusters, we can be confident that this form is not a MAL loan (*dindiŋ*).

‘wipe’ **gabus*. On the assumption that the single [hapus] reflex is a borrowing, I reconstruct **gabus*. Confer also MAL *gabus* ‘cork; whet one’s knife on a cork’.

‘yesterday’. The three sets of words for ‘yesterday’ are morphologically complex, with the common element *-bi-* likely meaning ‘night/dark’ (cf. **biŋi* ‘night’, *dibi* ‘afternoon, twilight’).

‘yesterday’. **bi-di-bi*. Reflexes of the second morpheme *di* show reduction typical when preceding another morpheme (cf. ‘inside’ with typical reflexes of [di lom], [də lom]). This morpheme is either the locative preposition **di* ‘in’ or the distal demonstrative **hudi* ‘that (far)’.

‘yesterday’ **lam-bi-ja*. Evidence for initial *l* is admittedly scanty and may be the remains of a separate morpheme. For another word with variable initial *l*, see the discussion of *lamən/amən* in §4.2.6. I do not have any proposal for the meanings of the *lam/am/nam* morphemes.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
	ø	<i>l</i>	ø	ø	ø					ø												

The final morpheme for this cognate set (clustered in the Komering area) is derived from the demonstrative **hija* ‘this’ (§4.2.2).

4.3. Loanwords

A glance at any publication on Lampung will reveal obvious MAL borrowings; the problem is being able to identify the non-obvious ones. How are some borrowings less than obvious? There are at least two reasons. One is that both Malay and Lampung are relatively conservative languages; they share much in the area of grammar, phonology and lexicon as inheritances from the (W)MP language family. The second reason is, quoting Walker (1976), ‘The recent layers of Indonesian influence, especially in the phonology and morphology, are recognized by most native speakers as borrowings... However, older layers of influence from Malay are not generally recognized. Most borrowed words are assimilated to Lampung phonology, and are in use along with the Lampung equivalent.’

I am told that when banks teach their employees to identify counterfeit bills, they do not show them counterfeit bills. Instead, the employees spend their time studying the ‘real McCoy’, getting very familiar with what a true bill looks like. Then when they see an imitation it will be obvious. Accordingly, §5 of the paper is devoted to fleshing out the distinguishing marks of historical Lampung as we currently understand it, comparing and contrasting with Malay at several key points.

4.3.1. Definite and probable loans

In this prior section on loanwords in the LP lexicon, I present two lists of words taken from the word lists, the first consisting of those words which have a high likelihood of being loans, and the second those words which probably are also loans but for which there is less evidence. Most of the justification for my positions consists of cross-references to the material presented in §5, where the distinctives of LP vis-à-vis other regional languages are processed. Unless otherwise noted, it is assumed that Arabic, Indic, JAV and Dutch loanwords have come into LP via MAL.

Table 23. Loanwords in LP

High likelihood		
Item	Source	Comments
<i>abaŋ</i> ‘red’	JAV	Probably via Sumatran MAL
<i>badan</i> ‘body’	AR	
<i>bapak</i> ‘father’	MAL	(Adelaar 1992:104)
<i>barat</i> ‘west’	MAL	Semantic innovation in MAL
<i>baru/barew</i> ‘new’	MAL	LP form <i>*bahayu</i> ; see discussion above.
<i>bəlas</i> ‘-teen’	MAL	PMP pattern was to form higher numerals with <i>*sa</i> + <i>*puluq</i> + cardinal number.
<i>bəsi</i> ‘knife/machete’	?	(Mahdi 1994)
<i>buru</i> ‘hunt’	MAL	There are three signs that this is a loanword. First is the frequent change PMP <i>*R</i> > PLP <i>*y</i> , so one would expect <i>*buyu</i> or <i>*buyaw</i> . Second, four of the 11 reflexes have [r] rather than [ɾ] alveolar flap (see below). Third, the PMP meaning ‘drive off, chase away’ has been replaced with ‘hunt’ as in MAL.
<i>buruŋ</i> ‘bird’	MAL	(Adelaar 2004)
<i>durian</i> ‘durian’	MAL	Cf. PLP <i>*rui</i> ‘thorn’; native form would be <i>*rui-an</i> .
<i>-gala</i> ‘all’	SKT	
<i>gigit</i> ‘bite’	MAL	Irregular voicing and consonant cluster reduction from PMP <i>*kitkit</i> follows MAL.
<i>hari</i> ‘day’, <i>batanhari</i> ‘river’	MAL	PMP <i>*waRi</i> , MAL <i>h</i> irregular while LP retains <i>*w</i> .
<i>jahəl</i> ‘bad’	AR	Unlikely via MAL given the pattern of reflexes and the infrequency of this form in Sumatran MAL.
<i>jelma</i> ‘person’	SKT	Via Sumatran MAL
<i>kanan</i> ‘right’	MAL	PMP <i>*ka-wanan</i> . MAL but not LP deletes PMP <i>*w</i> .
<i>kapan</i> ‘when’	JAV	Probably via SM.
<i>kapur</i> ‘lime for betel’	MAL	Follows MAL irregular <i>k</i> < PMP <i>*q</i> , final <i>*r</i> . cf. PMP <i>*qapuR</i> ‘lime, calcium’
<i>kerja</i> ‘work’	SKT	

<i>kiri</i> ‘left’	MAL	PMP <i>*ka-wiri</i> . MAL but not LP deletes PMP <i>*w</i> .
<i>kuat</i> ‘strong’	AR	
<i>kubur</i> ‘bury’	AR	
<i>kuniŋ</i> ‘yellow’	Karo Batak	Adelaar (1992:142) considers a loan from Karo, prob in LP via MAL.
<i>kuta</i> ‘fence’	SKT	10 isolects; most likely < SKT ‘fort’.
<i>lap</i> ‘wipe’	Dutch	
<i>laut</i> ‘sea’	MAL	PLP <i>*lawət</i> ; MAL <i>laut</i> . The reconstructed form <i>*lawət</i> may also be a loan given that it follows the MAL semantic shift away from PMP <i>*lahud</i> ‘toward the sea’.
<i>lidah</i> ‘tongue’	MAL	MAL metathesis < PMP <i>*dilaq</i> .
<i>mandi</i> ‘bathe’	MAL	MAL <i>mandi</i> showing merger of PMP <i>*i</i> and <i>*uy</i> in PMP <i>*anduy</i> ; see further §5.2.1.
<i>napas</i> ‘breathe’	AR	
<i>panday</i> ‘know; tell’	Indic	
<i>pasir/pasi?</i> ‘sand’	MAL	Lexical replacement between PMP and PM (Adelaar 1992); sound change <i>*-r > ?</i> common in MAL but unknown in LP.
<i>pikir</i> ‘think’	AR	probably via MAL.
<i>rikin</i> ‘count’	Dutch	Dutch <i>reken</i> .
<i>sara</i> ‘difficult’	JAV	Irregular pattern of final vowel reflexes. As JAV has /sara/ [soro] id. this should be considered a direct JAV loan.
<i>sium</i> ‘sniff, smell’	SKT	probably via Sumatran MAL.
<i>tiga</i> ‘three’	Indic	
<i>timur</i> ‘east’	MAL	Semantic innovation in MAL.
<i>tipis</i> ‘thin’	MAL	Given that PMP and PM ‘thin’ are both reconstructed as <i>*nipis</i> it seems likely that (at least) the six <i>tipis</i> witnesses are borrowings from MAL (either Standard or Sumatran).
<i>urat</i> ‘vein’	MAL	PMP <i>*R > PLP *y</i> ; see cognate form <i>*uyat</i> id.

Moderate likelihood		
Item	Source	Comments
<i>bayar</i> ‘pay’	MAL	MAL id.; see below for discussion of [r].
<i>bintuhan</i> ‘star’	MAL	Place name in Sumatran MAL-speaking area id.; see above.
<i>bintaŋ</i> ‘star’	MAL	MAL id.; irregular reflex of PMP <i>*bituŋen</i> .
<i>buka(?)</i> ‘open’	MAL	Sumatran MAL has the same scatter of <i>buka</i> vs. <i>buka?</i> reflexes.
<i>cawa</i> ‘say’	SKT	< SKT <i>vicāra?</i>
<i>dagiŋ</i> ‘meat’	MAL	MAL id.; lexical replacement between PMP and PM (the status of this word may depend on whether LP is accepted as a member of Malayo-Sumbawan).

<i>dagu</i> ‘chin’	MAL	MAL id, possibly irregular change PMP *-aw > u.
<i>dayuŋ</i> ‘canoe paddle’	MAL	MAL id.; reflexes occur in a limited, contiguous geographical area.
<i>gagah</i> ‘strong’	MAL	MAL (including Sumatran) id.; LP reflexes are concentrated in the Komering area.
<i>gəladak</i> ‘floor’	MAL	MAL id.; LP forms are unusually regular for a trisyllabic word.
<i>gunuŋ</i> ‘mountain’	MAL	Adelaar (1992) reconstructs <i>bukit</i> ‘mountain’ rather than <i>gunuŋ</i> , but I have not yet seen an etymology for the latter.
<i>hawəs</i> ‘thirsty’	MAL	See discussion above.
<i>jahat</i> ‘evil’	MAL	MAL id.; see discussion above.
<i>janda, randa</i> ‘widow’	MAL	LP has both <i>randa</i> and <i>janda</i> as does Sumatran MAL.
<i>kanti</i> (?)	MAL	Sumatran MAL id. including the scattered glottal stop distribution.
<i>kəriŋ</i> ‘dry’	MAL	MAL id.; one would expect * <i>kiŋ</i> given PMP * <i>keRiŋ</i> .
<i>kuyu?</i> ‘dog’	MAL	MAL id., this form found only in 4 LP varieties.
<i>lain, layən</i> ‘other’	MAL	PLP form is reconstructed as * <i>layən</i> derived from earlier ** <i>lain</i> ; however <i>lain</i> is identical to MAL and exhibits irregular loss of medial * <i>h</i> . Hence both LP <i>lain</i> and <i>layən</i> reflexes are suspect.
<i>laki</i> ‘man; husband’	MAL	Lexical replacement between PMP and PM (Adelaar 1992:203); geographical distribution of these reflexes are in areas of typically high MAL borrowing.
<i>ləmbahan</i> ‘house’	MAL	See discussion above.
<i>lia?</i> ‘see’	MAL	If this form is etymologically related to MAL <i>lihat</i> it exhibits, besides debuccalization, loss of medial <i>h</i> which is common in Sumatran MAL but not in LP.
<i>lingis</i> ‘spear’	MAL	MAL id.; see discussion above.
<i>malu</i> ‘shy, ashamed’	MAL	Lexical replacement between PMP and PM (Adelaar 1992:203).
<i>marah</i> ‘angry’	MAL	MAL id.; cf. also MAL <i>amarah</i> .
<i>pagi</i> ‘morning’	MAL	Shares MAL semantic innovation ‘later, tomorrow’ > ‘morning’.
<i>pərahu</i> ‘canoe’	MAL	MAL id. Despite PMP * <i>paraqu</i> , half of the LP reflexes reflect apical trill, and all reflexes show reduction of initial vowel to schwa
<i>pərəs, pərə?</i> ‘squeeze’	JAV	Likely directly < JAV <i>pərəs</i> and <i>pərat</i> respectively. See discussion above.
<i>saka</i> ‘old (object)’, 2nd component in ‘when’	unknown	Cf. MAL <i>pusaka</i> ‘heirloom’, Minangkabau <i>saka</i> ‘maternal heritage’. Although <i>pusaka</i> is reputed to be derived from SKT, it is not listed in de Casparis (1997).
<i>siapa, sapa</i> ‘who’	MAL	Sumatran MAL id.; see discussion above.

<i>tərbaj</i> ‘fly’	MAL	Lexical replacement between PMP and PM (Adelaar 1992:203).
<i>tilu, tulə?</i> ‘deaf’	MAL	MAL <i>tuli</i> ; see above.
<i>tumbuh</i> ‘grow’	MAL	MAL id., PMP <i>*tu(m)buq</i> would likely yield PLP <i>*tubuh</i> . The geographical pattern of reflexes is also indicative of borrowing.
<i>turun</i> ‘descend’	MAL	Minority form in LP (3 of 14), 1 of 3 has apical flap.
<i>umun</i> ‘say’	MAL	MAL id.

Although certain words are loans, they still exhibit interesting sound changes, making them appear native. For example, *panday* ‘know’ experiences reduction of the consonant cluster in a few places (WayLima, Sungkai *paday*) and penultimate vowel reduction in another (Melintin *pən^day*). *durian* ‘durian’ undergoes metathesis in Menggala, becoming *gədian*. All the extant reflexes of MAL loan *urat* ‘vein’ are debuccalized as *uka?*, as are nearly all reflexes of MAL *gigit*.

4.3.2. LP words with alveolar *r*

There is a subset of **r* with irregular reflexes, giving an alveolar flap/trill instead of the expected (post)dorsal fricative. See Table 24.

Table 24. LP words with alveolar *r*

gloss	putative reconstruction	alveolar reflexes
‘day’	<i>*hari</i>	4 of 6
‘river’	<i>*batanhari</i>	2 of 8
‘hunt’	<i>*buraw</i> (current <i>buru</i>)	4 of 11
‘new’	<i>*baru</i>	3 of 5
‘canoe’	<i>?*pərahu</i>	2 of 4
‘angry’	<i>?*marah</i>	2 of 6
‘pay’	<i>?*bayar</i>	3 of 14
‘squeeze’	<i>?*pəras</i>	3 of 5
‘husband’	<i>?*ragah</i>	3 of 8

With reflexes like these one suspects they are loans, particularly from SI which features an apical flap. The first three lexemes (‘day’, ‘river’, ‘hunt’) are certainly loans (discussed above), and the next three (‘canoe’, ‘angry’, ‘pay’) could be interpreted either way. See §4.2.9 for a discussion of **pəras* as a possible JAV loan. The final form **ragah* with the meaning ‘man, husband’ seems to be unique to Lampung.¹²

¹² Wilkinson (1959) gives Perak Malay *ragah* ‘sturdy and strong; well-built (of men)’; there likely is a genetic connection, but it is improbable that a loan from Perak, Malaysia would become a well-distributed Lampung lexeme. See also Nasal *ragah* ‘male’. Possible derivation < SKT *rāgaḥ* ‘attachment’.

As a point of reference, nearby southern Sumatran MAL isolects frequently display a phonemic split in *r* reflexes, where most obviously native words exhibit a velar or uvular fricative, but a subset of words, like the LP subset above, shows irregular flap/trill (McDowell and Anderbeck In progress). In the case of southern Sumatran MAL, the two most frequent causes for the irregular *r* are: 1) borrowing from SI or JAV; and 2) *r* in medial position surrounded by like vowels, e.g. *buru* ‘hunt’. Certainly the former cause would be a factor in irregular LP *r* reflexes; the latter phonological innovation does not seem to be a factor in LP given the complete lack of irregular *r* in obviously native LP forms like **turuy* ‘sleep’ and **lurus* ‘straight’. On the other hand, words like *buru* above may have been borrowed from Sumatran MAL where this constraint is in force, rather than directly from SI.

As mentioned above, most of the ‘highly likely’ loans in Table 23 above are there because of one or more specific diagnostics which are only treated in §5 below. Unfortunately, some of the diagnostics have exceptions, and I have not yet been able to identify a convincing conditioning environment for some of them. One could blithely assign all the exceptions to the borrowing category, but then we are confronted face first with the problem that has been lurking in the background this whole time, the problem of circularity. Item Y is a borrowing because it violates Rule 1. Rule 1 is proved because we accept Item X as evidence but not Item Y. In this business we perhaps can never completely get rid of the problem of circularity, but some arguments have the weight of much external evidence, while others have uncomfortably little.

The next section will paint a clearer portrait of PLP’s status within Malayo-Polynesian while acknowledging the ‘trouble spots’ and unresolved inconsistencies.

5. Changes from PMP to PLP

The defining characteristics of Lampungic are:

- 1) loss of PMP **h* in all positions with some irregular retention word-initially;
- 2) PMP **q* > PLP **h*;
- 3) retention of PMP **w*;
- 4) very limited medial nasal excrescence;
- 5) limited consonant cluster reduction;
- 6) merger of PMP **R* and **r* in word-initial position;
- 7) syncope of PMP **R* in CaRaC environments;
- 8) non-initial PMP **(e)R* > PLP **y*;
- 9) conditioned merger of PMP **j* and **d* with PLP **r*;
- 10) retention of PMP **z* as PLP **j*;
- 11) retention of the PMP four-vowel system, and of diphthongs **-ay*, **-aw* and **-uy*;
- 12) shift in some instances of PMP **-ay* and **-aw* to *i* and *u* respectively (irregular areal feature);
- 13) PMP **-iw* > PLP **(y)u*;
- 14) epenthetic semivowel *w* or *y* inserted between low-high vowel combinations;
- 15) Nothofer’s (1985:294) SYSTEM 3 PAN numeral system.

In this section I discuss the changes which have occurred from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian to Proto-Lampungic. For a discussion of post-PLP changes the reader is referred to §3.4 and following. Making a rough distinction like this, between pre- and post-PLP

changes, is a step of faith. Even in cases where a firm relative chronology can be posited for certain innovations, it takes historical documentation to prove when (and how) a new feature was introduced into a language. What I display here is innovations which have shown themselves to be universal in LP and thus (probably) present at the time Lampungic had differentiated itself from other descendants of PMP.

5.1. Innovations and retentions in consonant phonemes

5.1.1. PMP **h*

With some word-initial exceptions, PMP **h* completely elided in PLP. Examples of elision in word-initial position are PMP **hema* ‘tongue’ > PLP *əma*, PMP **hemay* > PLP **əmay*, PMP **hapaR* ‘mat’ > PLP **apay*, PMP **haŋin* ‘wind’ > PLP **aŋin*, and PMP **hateD* ‘accompany, send’ > PLP **atət* ‘carry’. Word-medial examples are PMP **duha* ‘two’ > PLP **rua*, PMP **buhek* ‘hair’ > PLP **buə(k?)*, PMP **tahep-i* ‘winnow’ > PLP **tapi*, PMP **bahu* ‘stench’ > PLP **ambaw* ‘sniff, smell’. Word-final examples include PMP **saguh* ‘sago’ > PLP **sagu*, PMP **tebuh* ‘sugar cane’ > PLP **təbu* and PMP **talih* > PLP **tali* ‘rope’.

Slightly under half of the examples of word-initial PMP **h* also show retention in PLP. Three of the six examples of retention are shared with MAL: PMP **ma-huab* ‘yawn’ > PLP **huap* (§4.2.7 lemma 47), PLP **halaw* ‘hunt’ < PMP id. and PLP **ma-hujaw* ‘green’ < PMP **hizaw*. The other three examples are PLP **hipi* ‘dream’ < PMP id., PLP **haləm* ‘black’ < PMP **halem* ‘night, dark’ and PLP *(*h*)*ijan* ‘ladder’ < PMP **haRezan*.

5.1.2. PMP **q* to PLP **h*

PMP **q* > PLP **h*. This change occurs word-initially, word-medially, and word-finally. Table 25 gives some examples.

Table 25. PMP **q* > PLP **h*

gloss	PMP	PLP
‘sand’	* <i>qenay</i>	* <i>hənay</i>
‘head’	* <i>qulu</i>	* <i>hulu</i>
‘ashes’	* <i>qabu</i>	* <i>habu</i>
‘turtle’	* <i>qantipa</i>	* <i>hantipa</i>
‘year’	* <i>taqun</i>	* <i>tahun</i>
‘belly’	* <i>tinaqi</i>	* <i>tinahi</i>
‘post’	* <i>tiqang</i>	* <i>tihang</i>
‘split’	* <i>belaq</i>	* <i>bəlah</i>
‘vomit’	* <i>utaq</i>	* <i>utah</i>
‘far’	* <i>zauq</i>	* <i>jawəh</i>

There are no evident exceptions to this change, although see §5.1.5 for an example of elision of PMP **q* in a medial consonant cluster.

It would seem that PMP **h* retentions have merged with these other instances of PLP **h*.

5.1.3. PMP **w*

For the most part PMP **w* is retained in PLP as **w*, but there is a distinct subset with the irregular split or doublets involving *w/b* alternations; cf. §3.5.19.

Table 26. Reflexes of PMP **w*

gloss	PMP	PLP or LP
‘eight’	<i>*walu</i>	<i>*walu</i>
‘water’	<i>*wahiR</i>	<i>*wai</i>
‘be, exist’	<i>*wada</i>	<i>*wat</i>
‘nine’	<i>*siwa</i>	<i>*siwa</i>
‘fish line’	<i>*kawil</i>	<i>*kawil</i>
‘vine, creeper’	<i>*waRej</i>	<i>*wayət/bayət</i>
‘root’	<i>*wakat</i> ‘mangrove root’	<i>*wakat/ bakat</i>
‘spider’	<i>*lawaq</i>	<i>*lawah/ labah</i>
‘cloud’	<i>*hawan</i>	<i>*awan/ aban</i>
‘skin’		<i>*bawa?/ baba?</i>

The only difference in the conditioning environment between the top and bottom examples in Table 26 seems to be the presence or absence of a high vowel; if there is a high vowel present in the lexeme, there is no split. But it is speculative to say that there is any relationship between the two factors.

5.1.4. Nasal excrecence

There is only one example of nasal or liquid excrecence from PMP, making this phenomenon markedly less frequent than in, say, Proto-Malayic. The only example evident from the corpus is PLP **hampəru* ‘gall bladder’ < PMP **qapeju* (see §4.2.9 lemma ‘gall bladder’).

5.1.5. Medial consonant clusters

A few PLP medial consonant clusters display a reduction, from PMP, of the cluster to the final segment. Here are some examples.

Table 27. Nasal consonant cluster reduction

gloss	PMP	PLP
‘thunder’	* <i>gerger</i> ‘shake, shiver, tremble’	* <i>gəgər</i>
‘difficult’	* <i>suqsaq</i>	* <i>susah</i>
‘walk’	* <i>lampaq</i>	* <i>lapah</i>

But there are also many more cases where no reduction from PMP occurs, e.g. PLP **timbang* ‘shoot’, PLP **əmbun* ‘fog’, PLP **punti* ‘banana’, as well as the many cases of reduplication discussed in §4.2.7 like PLP **diŋdiŋ* ‘wall’ and PLP **kuykuy* ‘scratch’ < PMP **kuRkuR*. NS cluster reduction, especially in Nyo, is discussed as a post-PLP phenomenon in §3.4.11.

5.1.6. PMP **R* and **r*

PMP had two similar phonemes, **R* and **r*. The former is understood to be a backed voiced fricative, while the latter was perhaps an apical trill, and is less attested. In some languages, notably Malay, these two phonemes are merged unconditionally. This is not the case for LP. While the phonemes merged word-initially as PLP **r*, reflexes of PMP **R* in other positions exhibit a few different shifts, primarily > PLP **y*/**i*.

The first change to discuss is PMP **CaRaC* > *CaC*. In medial position straddling two closed syllables with **a* both preceding and following **R* (e.g. **baRaq* ‘lung’), PMP **R* completely elided. See Table 28. MAL examples are inserted to show contrast.

Table 28. PMP **CaRaC* > PLP **CaC*

PMP	gloss	PLP	PM/MAL
* <i>baRanih</i>	‘brave’	<i>bani</i> (KotaBumi, Menggala)	<i>bərani</i>
* <i>zaRami</i>	‘rice straw, stubble’	<i>jami</i> (Menggala)	<i>jərami</i>
* <i>baRaq</i>	‘lung’	<i>bah</i>	
* <i>daRaq</i>	‘blood’	<i>rah</i>	* <i>darah</i>

One possible counterexample that can be seen in Table 29 below is LP *baya* < PMP **baRah*. The evident explanation is that PMP **h* elided prior to the above change, yielding a CVCV (rather than CVCVC) structure.

Apart from the specific environment just discussed, the primary pattern for non-initial PMP **R* was to be palatalized in PLP to *y* or *i* depending on phonotactic conditions. These phonotactic concerns were primarily about preserving disyllabicity and avoiding irregular phoneme sequences. See Table 29 for examples of this change in word-medial position.

Table 29. Word-medial PMP *R changes

PMP	gloss	PLP	PM/MAL
*uRat	‘vein’	*uyat	*urat
*buRuk	‘rotten’	*buyu(k?)	*buruk
*duRi	‘thorn’	*rui	*duri
	‘turtle’	*kuya	kura-kura
*qasiRa	‘salt’	*sia	*sira
*baReq	‘swell’	*bayəh	
*daReq	‘soil; clay; pot’	*rayəh ‘pot’	
*haRəzan	‘ladder’	*(h)ijan	
*baRiw	‘beginning to spoil’	*bayu	
*waRej	‘vine, creeper’	*wayət	
*waRi	‘day, sun’	sa-way ‘day after tomorrow’ (literally ‘one’ + ‘day’)	*hari
*kuRkuR	‘scratch’	*kuykuy	kukur ‘grater’
*baRah	‘ember, glowing coal’	baya (Komeriŋ), bəbaya (Menggala)	bara

We can see that the change occurs on a regular basis. However, potential counterexamples to the above pattern also exist.

Table 30. Potential counterexamples to PMP *R > PLP *y, *i or ø

PMP	gloss	PLP	PM/MAL
*buRaw	‘chase away’	*buru ‘hunt’	*buru ‘hunt’
*taRuq	‘put, put down’	taruh (Menggala)	taruh
*paRa	‘storage shelf, attic’	para (Menggala)	MAL para
*paRih	‘stingray’	punu pari (Menggala)	pari
*qaRus	‘current, flow’	harus (Ranau, WayLima)	arus
*kaRaw	‘scratch an itch’	karaw (Menggala) ‘sweep out spider web; rake’	karaw ‘stirring up’

Four of the six examples of Table 30 could be easily explained as borrowing from MAL. The fifth, however, retains *h where it is lost in MAL, and the sixth exhibits a different semantic shift.

The PMP sequence *eR likewise underwent a word-medial change to *i possibly involving an intervening step as *əy. See Table 31. PM is inserted to show the contrast.

Table 31. Word-medial PMP *eR changes

PMP	Gloss	PLP	PM/MAL
*beRas	‘rice’	*bias	*beras
*teRas	‘hard core of trees’	*tias ‘hard’	t̄aras
*beRɲi	‘night’	*biɲi	b̄arəɲ (Duano)
*beReqat	‘heavy’	*biat	*berat
PHN *terung	‘eggplant’	tiuŋ	t̄arəŋ
*baqeRu	‘new’	*bahyu	*baharu
*peReq	‘squeeze’	*piəh (see §4.2.9 lemma 88. ‘squeeze’)	*perah
PWMP *keRaŋ	‘dry’	Ranau Sukau <i>kiaŋ</i> ‘dry’; <i>kəraŋ</i> ‘dry (clothes)’	
*beReqaŋ	‘molar tooth’	gərahaŋ ‘jawbone’	gəraham ‘molar’

So we have pretty good evidence showing that PMP *eR changes to PLP *i, with a couple possible exceptions. There are also other examples of word-medial changes to *i* where PMP *e is not involved.

One thing I find confusing is that Sukau, for example, seems to have a doublet *kiaŋ* ‘dry’ and *kəraŋ* ‘dry (clothes)’, seemingly both derived from the same PWMP form *keRaŋ but with different realizations of *R.

PMP *R > PLP *i word-finally. Examples are given in Table 32; possible counterexamples in Table 33.

Table 32. Word-final PMP *R > PLP *i

PMP	Gloss	PLP	distribution/comments	PM/MAL
*qateluR	‘egg’	*hatəluɣ	universal, most often with metathesis <i>tahəluɣ</i>	*telur
*hulaR	‘snake’	*ulaɣ		*ulər
*hapaR	‘mat’	*apay		
*ikuR	‘tail’	*ikuy		*ikur
*iluR	‘spit’	*iluy		liur
*niuR	‘coconut’	*ɲiwi	common	niur
PWMP *qilir	‘flow downstream’	*hili		hilir
*wahiR	‘fresh water’	*wai	universal	*air
*deŋeR	‘hear’	*dəŋi(s)	sometimes with unexplained excrescent <i>s</i> or <i>h</i>	*dəŋər
*tuduR	‘sleep’	*turuy		
*qapuR	‘lime’	*hapuy	also <i>kapur</i> but that is MAL borrowing due to irregular initial <i>k</i> and final <i>r</i>	*kapur

Table 33. Word-final PMP *R changes (counterexamples)

PMP	gloss	LP	distribution/comments	PM/MAL
* <i>pasiR</i>	‘sand’	<i>pasi?</i> , <i>pasir</i>	reconstruction from Dempwolff (Zorc 1971). Discredited? MAL loan?	* <i>pasir</i>
* <i>dapuR</i>	‘hearth’	<i>dapor</i> (Menggala)	MAL loan?	* <i>dapur</i>
* <i>sindiR</i>	‘mock’	<i>sindir</i> (Kom-Adu) ‘offend’ (Menggala) ‘gossip’	MAL loan?	<i>sindir</i>
* <i>sinaR</i>	‘radiance, ray of light’	<i>sinar</i>	MAL loan?	<i>sinar</i>
* <i>tabaR</i>	‘tasteless, insipid’	(Menggala) <i>tawar</i> id.; <i>tabaw</i> ‘water which has lost (poison, sweetness)’	first MAL loan? second inherited cognate?	<i>tawar</i>

For the tabulation in Table 34 I counted the reflexes of PMP final *R for LP words which I judged there to be a better than even chance of being cognate and inherited from the PMP form. I cannot detect any particular pattern based on environment, but one notes the *y* reflexes outnumber the *r* reflexes by about four to one or 80%.

Table 34. Tabulation of PMP *R reflexes

Medial	<i>*eR</i>	<i>*uR</i>	<i>*iR</i>	<i>*aR</i>	Final	<i>*eR</i>	<i>*uR</i>	<i>*iR</i>	<i>*aR</i>
<i>y</i>	8	4	1	7	<i>i</i>	1	6	2	2
<i>r</i>	2	—	—	3	<i>r</i>	—	—	—	—
Subtotal: 20 <i>y</i> versus 5 <i>r</i>					Subtotal: 11 <i>y</i> versus 0 <i>r</i>				
Total: 31 <i>y</i> versus 5 <i>r</i>									

As mentioned above, PMP *R- seems to be retained as LP *r*- and hence merged with PMP **r* in this position. See Table 35.

Table 35. PMP initial *R reflexes

PMP	Gloss	PLP/LP	PM/MAL
* <i>Ratus</i>	‘hundred’	* <i>ratus</i>	* <i>ratus</i>
* <i>Ribu</i>	‘thousand’	* <i>ribu</i>	* <i>ribu</i>
* <i>Raya</i>	‘big’	* <i>-raya/laya</i> ‘big (road)’	* <i>raya</i>
* <i>Rakit</i>	‘raft’	* <i>rakit</i>	<i>rakit</i>
* <i>Rakut</i>	‘tether’	* <i>karut</i> (metathesis)	<i>rakut</i> , <i>karut</i> both ‘spin a spiderweb’
* <i>Rajaw</i>	‘dry’	<i>rajaw</i> ‘thin (foliage)’ (Menggala)	<i>kəmaraw</i>

One could wish for better evidence, particularly words whose shapes are distinguishable from potential Malay loans, but such evidence is presently in short supply.

Table 36 is a list of words with PMP **r* and their reflexes in Lampung.

Table 36. PMP **r* words

PMP	gloss	PLP/LP
<i>*birbir</i>	‘rim, edge, border’	<i>*birbir</i> ‘lip’
<i>*paraqu</i>	‘boat’	? <i>*pərahu</i> ‘canoe’
<i>*baruk</i>	‘fungus on palm tree, tinder’	<i>bura?</i> (Kom-Adu) ‘rotten (tree)’
<i>*qiris</i>	‘cut, slice’	<i>hiris</i> (Kom-Adu) id.
<i>*burit</i>	‘line, stripe’	<i>buri?</i> (Kom-Adu) ‘striped, colorful feathers’
PWMP <i>*garu</i>	‘stir’	<i>galu</i> (Kom-Adu) ‘stir to make something smooth’
<i>*bener</i>	‘true, correct’	<i>*bənər</i>
<i>*puter</i>	‘turn’	<i>*putər</i>
<i>*gerger</i>	‘shake, shiver, tremble’	<i>*gəgər</i>
<i>*tutur</i>	‘say’	<i>ba-tutur</i> (Kom-Adu) ‘to call (someone) by a title’

The evidence, while limited, supports the understanding that PMP **R* and **r* have different reflexes and did not merge in LP except in word-initial position.

5.1.7. PMP **d*

PMP **d* and PMP **j* evidently merged before the change **d > r*. But in this section I treat their changes separately, in order for the relationships between PMP and PLP to be seen more clearly.

PMP **d* shows signs of having changed to PLP **r* word-initially, word-medially, and word-finally. See Table 37.

Table 37. Change of PMP **d* to PLP **r*

gloss	PMP	PLP
‘thorn’	<i>*duRi</i>	<i>*rui</i>
‘two’	<i>*duha</i>	<i>*rua</i>
‘come’	<i>*dateŋ</i>	<i>*ratəŋ</i>
‘pot’	<i>*daReq</i> ‘soil; clay; pot’	<i>*rayəh</i>
‘straight’	<i>*dalis</i> ‘smooth, slippery’	<i>*ralis</i>
‘lake’	<i>*danaw</i>	<i>*danaw</i>
‘hear’	<i>*deŋeR</i>	<i>*deŋi</i>
‘chest’	<i>*dahdah</i>	<i>*dada</i>
‘dust’	<i>*debu</i>	<i>*debu</i>

‘day’	* <i>daqani</i>	* <i>harani</i> (metathesis)
‘live’	* <i>ma-quḍip</i>	* <i>huri?</i>
‘sleep’	* <i>tuduR</i>	* <i>turuy</i>
‘housepost’	* <i>hadiRi</i>	* <i>ari</i> (final syllables merged as <i>i</i>)
‘knife’	* <i>ladiŋ</i> ‘cleaver, sword’	* <i>ladiŋ</i>
‘sarong’	* <i>biḍaŋ</i> ‘unit of measure for cloth’	* <i>biḍaŋ</i>
‘dull’	* <i>ku(n)dul</i>	* <i>kudul</i>
‘pay’	?* <i>bayad</i>	* <i>bayar</i>
‘flow’	* <i>qañud</i>	* <i>haŋut</i>
‘be, exist’	* <i>wada</i>	* <i>wat</i>

A little more than half the word-initial and word-medial examples underwent the change to *r*, and one of the three word-final examples did as well. The discussion of conditioning environments is taken up again in the section below on PMP **j* as the two are quite related and tough to separate.

While the PMP **d* > PLP **r* examples above have unanimous representation among Lampungic isolects, other examples show dialectal variability. For example, Kom-Adu reflects PMP and PLP **kabut* ‘fog’ as *kabor*, others *kabut*. There is also *ranaw* ‘lake’ in Ranau while other isolects have *danaw*, **ma-ri?di?* ‘near’ assuming from earlier (i.e. pre-PLP) form *di?di?*, and **bi-di-bi* ‘yesterday’ with reflexes like *bərbəy* in Sukadana and Menggala.

5.1.8. PMP **j*

PMP **j* apparently mostly went to **r* in PLP.¹³ Table 38 and Table 39 give some PLP reflexes.

There is one lexical example of dialectal variation in this change as well: while most isolects have something like *lalar* ‘fly (insect)’, KotaBumi has *lalət* (see §4.2.7 and §5.1.8).

Word-medially the witness is nearly unanimous (10 of 12) that PMP **j* > PLP **r*. Word-finally we seem to have roughly a 50/50 split between *r* and *t* reflexes.

Now that we have separately seen reflexes of PMP **d* and **j*, let us consider the chronology for these changes and the possible reasons for the variation we see in the correspondence sets.

First, PMP **d* and **j* merged to **d*. While previously **d* had virtually no word-final reflexes and **j* no word-initial reflexes, now ***d* is represented word-initially, word-medially and word-finally. Next, ***d* weakened to *r* (apical flap) in medial position first, then in other positions later and/or more sporadically. This is consistent with the evidence above, where medially the shift is most common. It is consistent with other Western Austronesian languages which exhibit the most consistent weakening word-medially. It is also consistent with the dialectal variation shown above, which allows for the ***d* > *r* shift to continue to occur even after the breakup of PLP into various dialects. Third, the remaining *d* reflexes are devoiced word-finally, presumably interrupting any additional weakening to *r* in that position. Fourth, this apical flap [ɾ] and PLP **r* [ʁ] merge.

¹³ PMP **j* did not occur word-initially (Blust 1990:234).

Table 38. Medial PMP *j reflexes

gloss	PMP	PLP
‘nose’	* <i>ijun</i>	* <i>irun</i>
‘field rice’	* <i>pajay</i>	* <i>paray</i>
‘spicy’	* <i>pejes</i>	* <i>pəras</i> ‘sour’
‘black’	* <i>qajen</i> ‘charcoal’	* <i>harən</i>
‘how much? how many’	* <i>pija</i>	* <i>pira</i> ; * <i>pira-pira</i> ‘some’
‘when’	* <i>ijan</i>	* <i>idan</i> (Komeriŋ only)
‘how’	* <i>kuja</i>	* <i>kuda</i> ‘which’
‘gall bladder’	* <i>qapeju</i>	* <i>hampəru</i>
‘smell’	* <i>hajek</i>	<i>arə?</i> id. (One isolect only)
‘penetrate’	* <i>sejep</i>	* <i>sərap</i> ‘needle’
‘ant’	* <i>sejem</i>	<i>sorom</i> (Kom-Adu), <i>sərom</i> (WayLima) id.
‘younger sibling’	* <i>huaji</i>	<i>puari</i> ‘brother’ (Tihang), <i>kawari</i> ‘guest’ (Kom-Adu), <i>wari</i> ‘visit’ (WayLima)

Table 39. Final PMP *j reflexes

gloss	PMP	PLP
‘yellow’	* <i>kunij</i>	* <i>kunir</i>
‘pour, sprinkle’	PWMP * <i>bujbuj</i>	<i>burbur</i> (Kom-Adu)
‘maggot, caterpillar’	* <i>qulej</i>	<i>hulor</i> (Kom-Adu)
‘navel’	* <i>pusej</i>	* <i>pusər</i>
‘spread out’	* <i>belaj</i>	<i>molar</i> (Kom-Adu)
‘fly’	* <i>lalej</i>	* <i>lalət</i> (but most isolects <i>lalar</i>)
‘medicine’	* <i>ubaj</i>	* <i>ubat</i>
‘wrap around repeatedly’	* <i>bejbej</i>	<i>bobot</i> (Kom-Adu)
‘vine, creeper’	* <i>waRej</i>	(<i>wb</i>) <i>ayət</i>

The question can be asked if any other conditioning environments beside phonotactics existed which would explain the variability of *d* and *r* reflexes. To date I have not been able to formulate any hypotheses worth mentioning. Borrowing (e.g. from MAL) could be postulated for some *d* examples, e.g. *ladin* ‘knife’, but not for others for which MAL either lacks a reflex (e.g. PLP **kudul* ‘dull’) or exhibits a different sound change (e.g. PLP **lalət* ‘fly’ vs. MAL *lalat*).

5.1.9. PMP *z > PLP *j

PMP *z was retained as PLP *j, with two PWMP exceptions below. See Table 40.

Table 40. PLP reflexes of PMP *z

gloss	PMP	PLP
‘tomorrow’	PHF *zemaq	*jəməh
‘green’	PWMP *hizaw ‘fighting cock with greenish feathers’	*ma-hujaw
‘rain’	*quzan	*hujan
‘ladder’	*haRəzan	*(h)ijan
‘sharp’	*tazem	*tajəm
‘give’	*e(n)zuk	*əjuk
‘bad’	*zaqat	?*jahat
‘sew’	*zaqit	*jahit (? weakly attested)
‘far’	*zauq	*jawəh
‘grass’	*zukut	*jukut
‘rice stubble’	*zaRami	jami (Menggala)
‘sit’	*kezeŋ ‘stand’ (Zorc 1995)	*həjəŋ
‘sleep’	PWMP pezem ‘close the eyes’	*pədəm (secondary meaning ‘close the eyes’)
‘don’t’	PWMP zəjan ‘negative; don’t’	*daŋ

Why the last two forms deviate from the norm is unknown. The former (*pədəm*) exists in Batak with the same meaning, but not the latter (*daŋ* ‘don’t’); the latter exists in Rejang but not the former. Otherwise these forms do not seem to appear in other regional languages, and while borrowing cannot be ruled out, I am not aware of a plausible mechanism for borrowing these variant reflexes.

5.2. Innovations and retentions in vowel phonemes

5.2.1. PMP *uy

PMP *-uy is retained in PLP. It only occurs in word-final position and across all varieties.

Table 41. Retention of PMP *-uy

gloss	PMP	PLP
‘fire’	*hapuy	*apuy
‘swim’	*naŋuy, laŋuy	*naŋuy, *laŋuy
‘pig’	*babuy	*babuy

Another PMP word with this pattern is ‘bathe’ *anduy. Reflexes of this etymon, however, seem to have been lost in LP; most word list sites have borrowed MAL *mandi*.

5.2.2. PMP *-ay and *-aw

There has been some controversy over exactly how many diphthongs there were in PMP. A few western Indonesian languages seemed to retain a distinction lost in all other AN languages, and because of this scholars like Dyen (1949) and Nothofer (1984) reconstructed two pairs of diphthongs: *-ay/*-ey and *-aw/*-ew. Adelaar (1992:195) reconstructed the following correspondences to PM:

PMP *-ay > PM *-ay	PMP *-aw > PM *-aw
PMP *-ey > PM *-i	PMP *-ew > PM *-u

However, Blust's revised PMP inventory (Austronesian Comparative Dictionary, n.d.) accepts only *-ay and *-aw from the list above, maintaining that the -ay/-i and -aw/-u distinctions are a Malayic (or possibly as high as Malayo-Sumbawan) innovation, which later spread to other neighboring languages. Adelaar (2005b:360) accepts Blust's revision, and demonstrates that the -ay/-ey split occurred in MAL, JAV, SUN, Madurese and Bali-Sasak-Sumbawa but not in Chamic, while the -aw/-ew split only occurred in MAL and JAV. Given that Adelaar (2005b) considers Chamic to be MAL's closest relative, we can conclude that the highest level at which this split should be reconstructed is Proto-Malayic.

LP, like other western Indonesian languages mentioned above, exhibits an unconditioned split in the reflexes of these diphthongs. Given that LP is not a member of the Malayic subgroup (§6.4), I therefore interpret the LP split as attributable to contact, and follow Blust's lead in reconstructing PLP *-ay and *-aw even in cases where all daughter isolects reflect *i* and *u* respectively.

One of the interesting aspects of this split is that there is only rough correspondence between various languages in terms of which words follow which side of the split. Table 42 gives reflexes of *-ay including those from MAL, JAV and SUN when available.¹⁴

Table 42. LP *-ay reflexes

gloss	PMP	LP	Other languages
'liver'	*qatay	all isolects <i>hati</i>	MAL <i>hati</i> , JAV <i>ati</i> , SUN <i>hate</i>
'die, dead'	*m-atay	all isolects <i>mati</i>	MAL, JAV <i>mati</i>
'field rice'	*pajay	all isolects <i>pari</i>	MAL <i>padi</i> , JAV <i>pari</i> , SUN <i>pare</i>
'narrow bridge'	*taytay	<i>titi</i>	MAL <i>titi(-an)</i> , JAV <i>t-el-iti</i>
'rattan'	*quay	all isolects <i>hui</i>	MAL <i>hui</i> , Old JAV <i>hwi</i>
'sand'	*qenay	all isolects <i>həni</i>	
'cooked rice'	*hemay	all isolects <i>əmi</i>	
'hang, wear'	*sampay	səpɾəy (Menggala < earlier <i>sampi</i>)	MAL <i>sampay</i>
'work'	*gaway	gawi (7 instances), guay (5 instances)	MAL <i>gaway</i> , JAV <i>gawé</i>

¹⁴ See Adelaar (2005b) for a more detailed discussion on the topic.

‘man’	* <i>ma-Ruqanay</i>	<i>səməhani</i> (KAPend) ‘ man ’, <i>məhani</i> (Tihang) ‘older brother’, <i>maranay</i> (Kom-Adu, WayLima) ‘ boy ’	PM * <i>muhanay</i> (Anderbeck 2007)
‘areca palm’	* <i>zambay</i> ¹⁵	all isolects <i>cambay</i>	MAL <i>jambi</i> , JAV <i>jambe</i>
‘spy on’	PWMP * <i>hintay</i>	<i>intay</i> (Menggala)	MAL <i>intay</i> , Old JAV <i>inte</i> , <i>intay</i>
‘termite’	* <i>anay</i>	Komering isolects <i>anay-anay</i>	MAL, SUN <i>anay</i>
‘dove’	* <i>punay</i>	<i>punay</i> (Menggala)	MAL <i>punay</i>
‘grass species’	* <i>zelay</i>	<i>jəlay</i> (Menggala)	MAL <i>jəlay</i>
‘public building’	* <i>balay</i>	<i>balay</i> (Api; Udin et al. 1992) ‘rice barn’	MAL <i>balay</i>
‘ferment’	* <i>tapay</i>	<i>tapay</i> , <i>tape?</i> (both Nyo)	MAL, SUN <i>tapay</i> , JAV <i>tapé</i>

Table 42 offers a number of interesting things. Given the interpretation that the *ay/i* split is essentially a MAL innovation, it is not surprising that the LP reflexes track closely with MAL. However, we see two lexemes, *həni* ‘sand’ and *əmi* ‘cooked rice’, which have innovated to *i* in LP yet which do not seem to have MAL reflexes, as well as other LP words which, in some dialects but not necessarily in all, have innovated to *i* in spite of MAL reflexes which have retained *ay*. Examples in the latter category are *sampi* ‘hang, wear’, *məhani* ‘man, boy’, *gawi* ‘work’ and possibly *tape?* ‘ferment’. Less surprisingly but still noteworthy is that LP *cambay* ‘betel leaf’ does not track with MAL *i*.

Table 43 gives information similar to Table 42 for reflexes of PMP *-*aw*.

Table 43. PMP *-*aw* reflexes

gloss	PMP	LP	Other languages
‘hunt’	* <i>buRaw</i> ‘chase away’	all isolects <i>buru</i> (most likely MAL loan)	MAL, JAV <i>buru</i> , SUN <i>boro</i>
‘field hut’	PHF * <i>sa-paw</i>	<i>sapu</i> (widespread)	MAL <i>sapaw</i>
‘fight’	PHN * <i>pisaw</i> ‘knife’	<i>pisu</i>	MAL <i>pisaw</i> ‘knife’
‘sell well’	* <i>lakaw</i> ‘to go’	<i>laku</i> (Menggala), <i>lakaw</i> (KotaBumi)	MAL, JAV, SUN <i>laku</i> (various meanings)
‘lake’	* <i>danaw</i>	all isolects <i>danaw</i>	MAL <i>danaw</i> , Old JAV <i>ranu</i> , SUN <i>danu</i>
‘green’	* <i>hizaw</i> ‘fighting cock with greenish feathers’	all isolects <i>hujaw</i>	MAL <i>hijaw</i> , JAV <i>ijó</i> , SUN <i>hejo</i>
‘hunt’	* <i>halaw</i>	<i>halaw</i> (Api and Nyo)	MAL <i>halaw</i>

As with reflexes of *-*ay*, we see a split, and again not necessarily the same lexemes as MAL have innovated, e.g. LP *sapu* ‘hut’ and *pisu* ‘fight’. We also see dialectal variation in *laku/lakaw* ‘sell well’.

¹⁵ This may not be a valid reconstruction.

Given the variance with the putative donor language(s) in specific PMP **ay* and **aw* reflexes, this innovation was probably phonologically rather than lexically driven. Overall, the internal LP evidence for **-ay* and **-aw*, especially the dialectal variation, seems to best fit the contention that the splits should be viewed as a later innovation due to areal processes. Therefore in the instances where LP forms are attributable to PMP **-ay* and **-aw* I reconstruct the same for PLP, even in cases where the entire correspondence set would otherwise lend itself to a reconstruction of **i* or **u*.

5.2.3. PMP **-iw*

There are two known reflexes of PMP **-iw* in the available LP corpus: *kayu* ‘wood’ < PMP **kahiw* and *bayu* ‘spoiled’ < PMP **baRiw* ‘beginning to spoil’. Additionally, there is Proto-Philippines (Wurm and Wilson 1975) **siwsiw* ‘chicken’, reconstructed for PLP as **sisiw* (see §4.2.9 lemma ‘chicken’). Although *kayu* is identical to MAL and therefore a possible loan, the second two forms **bayu* and **sisiw* are definitely native. I tentatively conclude that PMP **iw* > PLP **(y)u*, although it is possible this change was not completed at the time of PLP.

5.2.4. Low-high vowel sequences

As was mentioned in §3.1, PLP disallows low-high (e.g. **a + *u* or **a + *i*) medial vowel sequences. Instead, an epenthetic semivowel homorganic to the ultimate vowel (*w* or *y*) is inserted and the final vowel neutralized to **ə*, e.g. PLP **jawəh* < PMP **ma-zauq*.

5.3. Rule ordering

Here are some observations about the evident temporal ordering of innovations:

- 1) PMP **h* elided before the unconditioned change PMP **q* > PLP **h*.
- 2) PMP **h* must have elided before the PLP innovation of *w* excrecence between low-high vowel combinations (e.g. PLP **lawət* ‘sea’ < PMP **lahud* via ***laut*).
- 3) The innovation PMP **CaRaC* > PLP **CaC* must have happened prior to the palatalization of PMP **R* in other non-initial positions, and after the loss of PMP **h*.
- 4) PMP **j* and **d* most likely merged before the weakening of both (together) to **r*, given the basically identical pattern of weakening.
- 5) Given the principle of economy, the pre-PLP ***d* which resulted from the merger of PMP **j* and **d* must have weakened to an alveolar flap rather than a velar/uvular fricative. This would have, at least temporarily, created a phoneme distinct from the velar/uvular PLP **r*. We can call this **r’*. At some point **r* and **r’* then merged, retaining the velar/uvular fricative phonetic characteristics.

5.4. Lexical phenomena

5.4.1. Metathesis of PMP forms

We see metathesis of PMP forms in: **daqani* ‘day’ > PLP **harani*; **i-tahas* ‘above’ > PLP **atas*; **qasu* ‘burn’ > PLP **suah*; **Rakut* ‘tether’ > PLP **karut*; ? **kedi* ‘small’ > PLP **rəni?*.

5.4.2. Numeral system

Nothofer (1985:294) elucidates various numbering systems that are found in Western Indonesian languages. Lampung's native numbering system is his SYSTEM 3, which consists of reflexes of:

* <i>esa</i> 'one'	* <i>enem</i> 'six'
* <i>duha</i> 'two'	* <i>pitu</i> 'seven'
* <i>telu</i> 'three'	* <i>walu</i> 'eight'
* <i>epat</i> 'four'	* <i>siwa</i> 'nine'
* <i>lima</i> 'five'	* <i>puluq</i> 'ten'

This system is noteworthy in having retained all ten numerals from PMP.

6. PLP's place in Malayo-Polynesian

This subject of how or with which other language clusters Lampung might be subgrouped is worthy of a paper in its own right. The following sections briefly weigh the evidence for grouping with a few candidates.

6.1. Relationship with Nasal

Nasal is a little-known speech variety in southern Bengkulu province. It is sandwiched between the Krui dialect of LP and the Kaur and Semenda MAL dialects. It was evidently first documented by way of a 1900-era word list published in the Holle series (Stokhof 1987). If one is familiar with LP, on first blush the Nasal word list seems very similar, certainly more similar to LP than to MAL. For example the Nasal isoelect distinguishes PMP ultimate closed **a* from **ə*, and retains PMP **-uy*, like LP and unlike MAL. It has loads of distinctive LP vocabulary, like *kaci* 'dog', *rəlus* 'straight', and *suay* 'nine' (the latter two sharing irregular metathesis with LP). Many final stops are debuccalized, e.g. *hurik* 'live', *ikoh* 'tether', *darak* 'land'.

However, there are also significant disjunctures between Nasal and general LP patterns, including a very high number of MAL loans (10-20% of words) in Nasal, some JAV loans not known elsewhere in LP, and a substantial subset (10%) of words of as-yet unknown provenance. In terms of sound changes, PMP final **-ay* reflexes are retained where they are not for LP (Table 22), and there is an unusual scatter of PMP **j* reflexes. Most damning for a genetic connection with LP is Nasal's reflexes of PMP **R*. In non-initial position, PMP **R* > Nasal *l*, e.g. *silā* 'salt' < PMP **qasiRa*, *hapul* 'lime' < PMP **qapuR*, etc. I can think of no way to unite Nasal's and LP's PMP **R* reflexes, no matter how many other lexical items and sound changes they share.

6.2. Relationship with Rejang

Perhaps not coincidentally, Rejang, also located in Bengkulu province, shares the PMP **R* > *l* innovation with Nasal, as well as others (e.g. PMP **z* > *d*). These innovations would make a subgrouping relationship between Rejang and LP difficult if not impossible to establish.¹⁶

6.3. Relationship with Batak

There are some oral origin stories in LP about the Lampung people originating from the Bataks. There are many other contradictory stories as well, but it is certainly worth exploring whether these two major language families on the island of Sumatra are related.

Adelaar (1981) gives some developments from PMP to Proto-Batak (PB). These include:

- 1) Merger of **i* and **iw* to PB **i*. This is not shared by LP.
- 2) Merger of **R* and **r* to PB **r*. This is not shared by LP.
- 3) Merger of **d* and **Z* to PB **d* (but **z* > *j*). I am not sure about this, given the changing usages of **Z*, **z* and related symbols by Austronesianists. However all but one of the PLP examples of PMP **Z* (represented in this paper as **z* following Blust and Adelaar's current usage) > **j* (§5.1.9). So this is probably not shared by LP.
- 4) Merger of **n*, **ñ* and **N* to PB **n*. There is one example of PMP **N* and one of PAN **N* in the PLP reconstructions: PMP **Nayam* 'shy' and PAN **Naŋuy* which split into PMP **laŋuy* and **naŋuy*. PLP reflects the former as **(ma-)liəm* and both of the latter members of the doublet. Regarding PMP **ñ*, there are three examples in the PLP reconstructions (**haŋut* 'flow', **jikŋik* 'mosquito' and **aŋam* 'weave'). It can be concluded that this merger is not shared by LP.
- 5) Loss of **h*. This is shared by LP but also by most other languages in this area.

In terms of phonological innovations, there is clearly little resemblance between Proto-Batak and Proto-Lampungic.

6.4. Relationship with Malayic

Adelaar (2005b) gives fourteen phonological developments from PAN and PMP for defining the Malayic subgroup. In order to ascertain Lampung's relation to Malay, each of these fourteen developments is examined below in comparison to Lampung.

- 1) PMP **j* > PM **d*, **-t*. See §5.1.8. In PLP, **j* most likely merged with PMP **d* (identical with MAL) but which then sporadically > PLP **r*.
- 2) PMP **z* > PM **j*. See §5.1.9. PLP shares this with MAL.
- 3) PMP **w* > \emptyset . See §5.1.3. PLP does not share this development.
- 4) PMP **R* (and **r*) > **r*. See §5.1.6. PLP does not share this merger but rather maintains a distinction.
- 5) PMP **q* > **h*. See §5.1.1. PLP shares this with MAL.
- 6) PMP **h* > \emptyset (except between like vowels or if the following vowel is a schwa). See §1.1.1. Given that PMP **h* disappears when the following vowel is a schwa, and is retained almost half the time word-initially, we should say that PLP does not share this development.
- 7) PMP **-iw* > **i*. See §5.2.3. PLP does not share this development; rather seemingly PMP **-iw* > PLP **u*.
- 8) PMP **-uy* > **i*. See §5.2.3. PLP did not undergo this innovation.

¹⁶ The classification of the Nasal isolect including its possible relationship with Rejang is a paper begging to be written.

- 9) Split of PMP **-ay* to **-ay* and **-i*. See §5.2.2. One could say LP follows this but not always in the same lexemes. In fact, not only does LP disagree with PM about the reflexes of specific lexemes, but it disagrees LP-internally!
- 10) Split of PMP **-aw* to **-aw* and **-u*. See §5.2.2. The evidence is weaker but basically the same comment as (9) applies.
- 11) Reduction of consonant cluster to their last component. See §5.1.5. The same pressures to reduce are present but much weaker in PLP.
- 12) Nasal became homorganic to following stop. See §5.1.5. This did not happen in PLP, but has in many modern LP isolects.
- 13) De-voicing of final stops. LP does in fact devoice final stops, but this was a fairly late change in the history of Lampung (see §5.3).
- 14) Homorganic nasal accretion between initial schwa and following stop. See §5.1.4. This rarely if ever occurs in PLP.
- 15) Vowel metathesis of **qudip* (lexical innovation). This did not happen in PLP.

From the above list it is clear that PLP does not share in enough of these characteristics to have even a prayer to be considered Malayic.

6.5. Relationship with Malayo-Chamic-Bali-Sasak-Sumbawa

Adelaar (2005b) is a lengthy paper devoted to establishing a higher-level subgroup for languages such as Malay, Acehnese, and Balinese. See Figure 1.

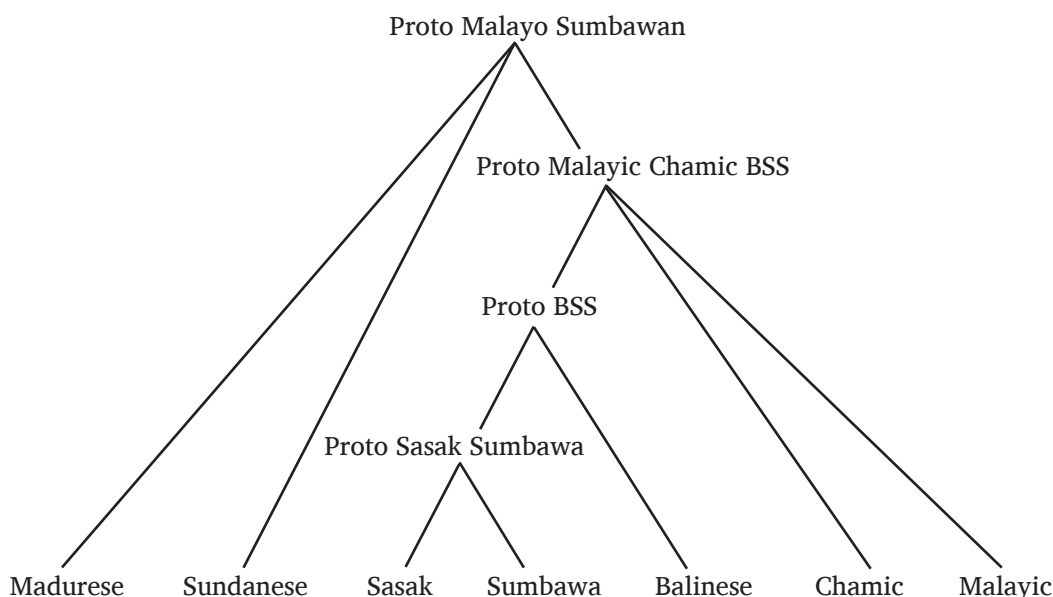


Figure 1. Malayo-Sumbawan (Adelaar 2005b)

Grouping the Malayic, Chamic and Bali-Sasak-Sumbawa (BSS) subgroups (but not here Madurese or Sundanese), Adelaar (2005a:20) writes, ‘Although some of the phonological developments are not forceful in themselves, or even unique to Balinese-Sasak-Sumbawa and Malayic, their configuration is striking. It includes PMP $*w- > \emptyset$, PMP $*q > *h$; PMP $*R, *r > *r$; PMP $*z > *j$; PMP $*j, *d > *d$. In contrast, Madurese, Sundanese and particularly Javanese are phonologically more divergent from Malayic...’ Simply put, it can be stated that LP does not resemble what Adelaar describes for Malayo-Chamic-BSS.¹⁷

Although the contradictory nature of the evidence is quite confusing, the two publications dealing with Malayo-Sumbawan (Adelaar 2005a and 2005b) are still very helpful in delineating lines of evidence for classifying languages within Western Malayo-Polynesian. Would that all WMP subgroups had such clear and honest statements about the features that unify them!

6.6. Relationship with Sundanese

In an earlier draft of this paper, I had posited a subgrouping relationship between LP and Sundanese. Adelaar (2005b) documents a number of features shared by SUN and Malayo-Chamic-Bali-Sasak-Sumbawan, such as PMP $*z > j$, PMP $*h > \emptyset$, PMP $*q > h$, and the merger of PMP $*j, *d > d$. As LP shares in these innovations, I additionally highlighted that both SUN and LP had palatalized PMP $*R$ to y , shared in the innovation PMP $*iw > yu$, and had frequently weakened PMP $*j$ and $*d$ to r .

However, further investigation has weakened rather than strengthened this hypothesis. For example, a search for exclusively shared lexical items in the Swadesh 200 list has yielded a few additional candidates but nothing terribly striking, and approximately the same number was found between LP and JAV. More important are the phonological developments. While it is true that both SUN and LP have in many cases palatalized PMP $*R$, the specific lexemes and environments in which this has occurred varies substantially. Some examples:

- 1) In SUN, this palatalization sometimes occurs in initial position, e.g. *imah* ‘house’ < PMP $*Rumaq$, whereas word-initial palatalization never occurs in LP.
- 2) In PMP $*uRu$ or $*uRə$ sequences, the initial segments $*uR > SUN i$, e.g. *biuk* ‘rotten’ < PMP $*buRuk$, whereas LP *buyu?*.
- 3) In SUN, $*R$ in the lexeme $*hulaR$ ‘snake’ was only palatalized after the medial l assimilated to it, producing SUN *qoray*, while no such assimilation occurred in LP (*ulay*).
- 4) Nothofer (1975) reconstructs Proto-Malayo-Javanic (PMJ) $*R_1$, which palatalized to y in SUN, and PMJ $*R_2$ which became SUN r . LP does not respect this distinction; cf. PMJ $*BaR_2əh$ ‘swell’ (SUN *barih*, not MAL loan), PLP $*bayəh$, PMJ $*quR_2at$ ‘vein’, PLP $*uyat$.
- 5) Finally, the PLP innovation $CaRaC > CaC$, e.g. LP *bah* ‘lung’ < PMP $*baRaC$, which must have preceded palatalization of PMP $*R$ in other non-medial positions, does not seem to have occurred in SUN, cf. SUN *bayah* id.

¹⁷ I leave open the question of whether LP could subgroup with the higher-level Malayo-Sumbawan. It seems likely given the similarities of the languages involved, but Adelaar (2005b) is quite short on listing features that define Malayo-Sumbawan as a whole, thus I have little (if anything) to use as test criteria for LP’s status within the subgroup.

I therefore retract my previous assertion of a subgrouping relationship between LP and SUN. The three (somewhat) shared innovations mentioned above seem more than coincidental, particularly for two languages separated geographically only by a narrow strait, but for that reason perhaps they could be attributed to areal influences rather than a shared immediate ancestor.

6.7. Relationship with Javanese

As with SUN, LP shares some fairly noteworthy innovations with JAV, including the **CaRaC* > *CaC* treated above, the frequent weakening of **d* to *r*, and the unconditioned splits of **-ay* and **-aw* diphthongs. However, a seemingly insuperable barrier to subgrouping with JAV at any low level are the JAV innovations PMP **z* > JAV *d* (as opposed to LP > *j*) and JAV's merger of PMP **R* and **r*.

At this point in our quest, Lampung is leaning against the wall at the proverbial high school dance, thumbs in its pockets, pretending not to care it doesn't have a date. Not yet time to despair; there are still a few WMP language families in Kalimantan and elsewhere which have yet to be asked for a dance.

7. Conclusions

7.1. Results

Here are some of the results from this study:

- 1) Exhaustive tracing of sound correspondences and a WordCorr database which allows checking every angle of the analysis; §1.7. This database I am willing to share upon request.
- 2) Reconstruction of the Proto-Lampungic phonological inventory; §3.
- 3) Reconstruction of basic vocabulary, and establishment and application of criteria for identifying loanwords; §4.
- 4) A definition of Lampungic based on shared innovations using a bottom-up reconstruction methodology, and the tracing of innovations from PMP to PLP and from PLP to the present; §5.
- 5) Brief consideration of possible genetic relationships between LP and Batak, Nasal, Rejang, Malayic, Malayo-Chamic-Bali-Sasak-Sumbawa and Sundanese; §6.

7.2. Linguistic diversity, speculations about time depth and homeland

Here I offer just a few observations regarding linguistic diversity and settlement patterns within LP and what this may mean for the time depth of PLP. Very impressionistically, it seems to me that lexical diversity in LP is approximately equivalent to a similarly-sized (in terms of population and geographical space) segment of southern Sumatran Malay, but that the phonological diversity of LP is less than that same segment and may be more approximate to peninsular Malay dialects (excluding the more aberrant northernmost dialects like Ulu Terengganu). Although I am unqualified to comment on morphology and syntax, it would seem that the level of morphological diversity (especially active verbal morphology) in LP is higher than either of the two examples given above. What

does all this mean for time depth? Not necessarily very much; several publications have discussed the invalidity of a logarithmic relationship between linguistic diversity and time of separation. But given that my comparisons hail from the same area and have had many of the same pressures working upon them, perhaps attention to comparative levels of diversity can be fruitful. My impression from the linguistic evidence is that LP is perhaps a little older than Malay in Sumatra, but less ancient than, say, the Batak family.

Settlement patterns tell a similar story. At least one strand of Lampung oral history suggests that the Lampung homeland was a place southeast of Lake Ranau called Sekala Berak (Mitani 1980). Within the area now known as Lampung province, there remain no traces of any early linguistic competitors for space; in fact prior to the recent heavy in-migration of Javanese, Balinese, etc. to Lampung, the area must have been quite sparsely populated. The same lack of competitors is not true surrounding the Komering area in South Sumatra province, which seems to suggest that Lampung-speaking peoples spread northward (downstream) on the Komering River from the direction of Lake Ranau, and that at some point upstream of Palembang and confluence with the Musi River their advance was halted. Interestingly, although the Ogan River runs parallel to and at points is actually only a few kilometers from the Komering River, there are basically no established Malay settlements on the Komering, and vice versa on the Ogan. The key difference between the two rivers is that the headwaters of the Komering River lie in Lake Ranau, while the Ogan's lie elsewhere. Given the dominance of Malay speakers in all other areas of South Sumatra province, the fact that Lampung speakers reached as far as they did (Kayu Agung, twenty-five kilometers from the confluence of the Komering and Ogan Rivers, and forty kilometers from the confluence of the Ogan and Musi in Palembang) seems to suggest that Lampung speakers spread downstream before Malay speakers could spread upstream as they evidently did in the Ogan, Lematang and Musi River basins. From this I would infer that Lampung speakers were diffusing from their Lampung homeland south of Lake Ranau substantially before Malay speakers began to populate (at least the eastern part of) South Sumatra.

Attempting to go further back in time, if LP is indeed an isolate and many of the features we observe today are due to contact and/or areal features, an interesting pattern can be observed. The generalization can be simply stated like this: MODERN INFLUENCES FROM INDONESIAN, HISTORIC INFLUENCES FROM SUMATRAN MALAY, AND PRIMEVAL INFLUENCES FROM JAVA. It is often possible to discern between Indonesian loans and influences from Sumatran MAL, e.g. *kapan* 'when' from SI versus the Central Malay instances of *anjuk* 'give' in the Komering area. In some cases the clearly Sumatran-based innovations (seen most clearly in the loans *jelma* 'person', *sium* 'sniff/smell' and *aban* 'red') seem quite old given their (near-)universal distribution in LP. But only in rare cases has SI or Sumatran MAL influence gone beyond the lexicon and seemed to influence the phonology of LP, such as in the case of final **a* mutation in Kayu Agung and Nyo discussed in §3.4.7. Arguably a much earlier layer of influence are those phonological innovations which affect the entire PLP linguistic system, and it is at this layer that we see the strongest similarities to Java-based languages like Javanese and Sundanese. Examples of these changes are PMP **R* > \emptyset in CaRaC environments (§5.1.6; shared with JAV), palatalization of PMP **R* (§5.1.6; shared with SUN), weakening of PMP **j* and **d* to *r* (§5.1.7 and §5.1.8; shared with both JAV and SUN), unconditioned split of PMP diphthongs **-ay* and **-aw* (§5.2.2; shared with JAV and MAL), and PMP **z* > *d* in two instances (§5.1.9; shared with JAV). What could explain this apparent Javan influence in the phonology without a correspondingly strong (visible) influence in the lexicon? It would seem that fairly intimate contact may have occurred at a stage where none of the languages involved had evolved many of their distinctive features we see today.

7.3. Suggestions for further research

- 1) The procedure discussed in §4.1 for choosing which of synonymous reconstructions should be considered primary is less than infallible and would be helped by further research, particularly into semantic differences between apparent synonyms, loanwords and seeking higher-level protoforms.
- 2) Accent and word-stress have not been treated at all or factored into reconstructions.
- 3) LP syntax and morphology have not been touched in this paper, but certainly need attention. There is a bewildering variety of affixes and affixation patterns, as well as some interesting reduplication strategies.
- 4) In general, exhaustive reconstruction of PLP and subgrouping with other languages is hindered by the lack of high-quality descriptive studies of LP including dictionaries, grammars and phonologies.
- 5) Gemination is almost never transcribed for Komering. Is this because it does not exist there or because the transcribers did not hear it? Also, should gemination be reconstructed for any PLP forms, and what triggered it?
- 6) In general, many of the words reconstructed with final glottal stop may actually have an oral stop as the correct reconstruction.
- 7) It is certain that not all loanwords have been identified in the reconstruction process. While we may never be able to move beyond 'likely' for some candidates for borrowing, identification of PAN/PMP/PWMP ancestors for more of the PLP reconstructed forms will surely highlight additional irregularities or confirm patterns which we only see hints of now.
- 8) The last word has not been said on the innovation(s) PMP **j* and **d > *r* including whether they indeed merged first as ***d*, the irregularities in correspondences, and whether these are pre- or post-PLP innovations.
- 9) As should be clear, attempts to subgroup LP with other WMP languages are still in their infancy. These attempts should take into consideration phonological, lexical and morphological evidence, and have a substantial degree of tolerance for a mismatch in results from the various approaches.

Abbreviations

Language varieties most frequently referred to in this monograph. Primary sources are listed; when other sources are used this is noted in the text.

AN	Austronesian	PM	Proto-Malayic (Adelaar 1992)
AR	Arabic (Jones 1978)	PMP	Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (primarily Blust 1999, n.d., and Zorc 1995)
JAV	Javanese (Horne 1974)	PWMP	Proto-Western-Malayo-Polynesian (Blust n.d.)
LP	Lampung(ic) language	SI	Standard Indonesian/Malay (Wilkinson 1959, Echols & Shadily 1989)
MAL	Malay (in general and including Sumatran Malay; various sources)	SKT	Sanskrit (de Casparis 1997)
PAN	Proto-Austronesian (Blust n.d.)	SUN	Sundanese (Adelaar 2005b)
PHF	Proto-Hesperonesian-Formosan (Zorc 1995)	WMP	Western Malayo-Polynesian
PHN	Proto-Hesperonesian (Zorc 1995)		
PLP	Proto-Lampungic		

Other abbreviations and symbols:

C	consonant	S	consonant stop (i.e. plosive)
id.	identical	sg.	singular
excl.	exclusive	v.	verb
incl.	inclusive	V	vowel
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet	*	reconstructed form
n.	noun	?*	tentative reconstruction/suspected
N	nasal		borrowing
n.d.	no date/unpublished	**	medial form
pl.	plural	✕	rejected reconstruction

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