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LANGUAGES OF SOUTH SULAWESI

by

Charles E. Grimes and Barbara D. Grimes

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In the spirit of cooperation we received valuable assistance from Hasanuddin University. Professor Hardjoeno, Deputy Rector, and Professor Dr Husen Abas, Dean of the Faculty of Letters, along with their staffs helped to obtain the necessary documents to carry out this project. Dr Abas also provided invaluable assistance with his broad understanding of the language picture in South Sulawesi, in particular, the various Bugis dialects. Dr Nurdin Yatim gave insights into the Makassar languages. From C. Salombe we received word lists from several languages of South Sulawesi and South-east Sulawesi. This additional data was helpful to us.

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The provincial government of South Sulawesi, the Governor's office in particular, gave the support and documents which allowed us to travel throughout the province and obtain the data we needed. Several Bupatis and Camats took a personal interest in seeing that all our needs were met. Offices of the Department of Education and Culture at the kabupaten and kecamatan levels proved eager to be of assistance and we profited from their help in many ways. Throughout the province the numerous language informants provided reliable language data and were also willing to be put in the spotlight in the process. To these individuals, whose names appear in Appendix C, we extend our sincere appreciation.

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October 1986.

IKHTISAR SINGKAT

Karangan ini adalah laporan hasil penyelidikan tentang bahasa-bahasa daerah yang ada di propinsi Sulawesi Selatan. Penyelidikan tersebut dilaksanakan dalam rangka kerja sama antara Universitas Hasanuddin dan Summer Institute of Linguistics pada bulan Nopember 1982 sampai dengan bulan Maret 1983.

Bab Satu menjelaskan tentang kawasan penelitian dan berbagai karangan yang telah diterbitkan mengenai bahasa-bahasa daerah di Sulawesi Selatan.

Pada tahun 1914 dua orang Belanda, yaitu N. Adriani dan A.C. Kruyt, menghasilkan suatu studi luas mengenai suku-suku di Sulawesi bagian tengah. Karya mereka mendeskripsikan pula tentang suku-suku yang bermukim di daerah pegunungan di bagian utara Sulawesi Selatan dan menerangkan sedikit mengenai ciri-ciri bahasa dan kebudayaan suku-suku tersebut.

S.J. Esser bertugas di daerah Pipikoro, Bada dan Mori di Sulawesi bagian tengah pada awal abad ini dan kita memperoleh manfaat dari karangannya mengenai suku-suku tersebut bersama catatan-catatannya mengenai Wotu, Padoe dll. di Sulawesi. Pada tahun 1938 Esser memetakan rumpun-rumpun bahasa di seluruh Sulawesi.

R. Salzner, pada tahun 1960, mengeluarkan sebuah atlas bahasa untuk wilayah Indo-Pasifik termasuk Sulawesi.

Pada tahun 1974, Lembaga Bahasa Nasional, Cabang III di Ujung Pandang mengeluarkan *Peta Bahasa Sulawesi Selatan*, salah satu sumber yang baik untuk mendapatkan informasi tentang nama dan lokasi dialek-dialek.

R. Mills (1975) menulis disertasinya mengenai bahasa proto-Sulawesi Selatan. Sumber ini penuh dengan keterangan yang berguna untuk studi ini.

Pada tahun 1978-1979, dalam rangka kerja sama Universitas Hasanuddin dengan Summer Institute of Linguistics, D. dan S. Barr dengan bantuan C. Salombe dari UNHAS melaksanakan suatu penjejak bahasa daerah di Sulawesi Tengah. Hasil penjejak tersebut diterbitkan dalam buku *Languages of Central Sulawesi*. Buku itu dipergunakan dalam studi ini untuk mendapat keterangan mengenai bahasa-bahasa yang terdapat di perbatasan antara Sulawesi Tengah dan Sulawesi Selatan.

Ü. Sirk pada tahun 1981 menyajikan suatu peninjauan terhadap karangan-karangan yang membahas rumpun bahasa Sulawesi Selatan.

Dari sumber-sumber tersebut ada ketidaksetujuan mengenai klasifikasi bahasa yang secara umum, kurang memberikan penjelasan mengenai dasar apa mereka telah gunakan untuk mengambil keputusan tentang klasifikasi bahasa. Selain itu, kecuali *Peta bahasa Sulawesi Selatan* tersebut dan peta bahasa oleh Sneddon, tak ada sumber yang memberikan keterangan mengenai Sulawesi Selatan secara keseluruhan dan mendetail.

Oleh karena itu, karya ini mengusahakan untuk melengkapi karangan-karangan di atas disertai penelitian lapangan untuk memperoleh data-data primer. Lagipula diusahakan penyajian tentang hubungan bahasa-bahasa daerah secara kuantitatif yang ada di Sulawesi Selatan. Berdasarkan pada tujuan tersebut, dengan

pemakaian mobil, sepeda motor, prahu, dan berjalan kaki, tim peneliti menempuh lebih dari 8.000 kilometer dengan berjalan kaki selama enam hari di gunung, dari Kalukku di Kabupaten Mamuju ke Barang-Barang di bagian selatan Pulau Selayar sampai di Soroako di Kabupaten Luwu.

Bab Dua menjelaskan dengan grafik sebagai contoh mengenai metode yang dipakai untuk menghasilkan laporan ini. Penjelasan tersebut agak mendetail dengan maksud supaya dapat dipergunakan oleh para ahli lain yang ingin menyelidiki keadaan bahasa-bahasa daerah yang beraneka ragam di Indonesia. Metode utama yang dipakai adalah perbandingan daftar kata dari 39 dialek, yaitu, dengan memakai leksiko-statistik berupa 202 kata dari 39 dialek yang saling diperbandingkan dengan jumlah perbandingan kata = 141.804. Pola-pola hubungan bahasa (lexicostatistical patterns) yang ditemukan di dalam data-data ini dijelaskan dengan contoh-contoh, misalnya, pola divergensi, konvergensi dan perantaraan bahasa (language chaining). Sistem klasifikasi yang dipergunakan dalam karya ini diperinci dengan luas persentasi kosa kata meliputi phylum, superstock, stock, family, subfamily, bahasa dan dialek.

Bab Tiga adalah inti dari karya ini. Dengan memakai peta dan grafik, setiap bahasa, dialek dan rumpun bahasa di Sulawesi Selatan diperinci dengan nama bahasa, nama-nama lain untuk bahasa tersebut yang ditemukan di dalam sumber-sumber tertulis atau dipakai oleh suku lain, pembahasan klasifikasi bahasa tersebut, disertai jumlah penutur bahasa, lokasi bahasa, agama yang dominan, serta lingkungan, dialek-dialek yang diliput di dalam bahasa yang bersangkutan.

Keterangan-keterangan tersebut di atas disajikan untuk 83 dialek di dalam 35 bahasa di Sulawesi Selatan.¹ Semua bahasa di Sulawesi Selatan termasuk dalam rumpun bahasa-bahasa Austronesia bagian Barat (West Austronesian Superstock). Rumpun bahasa Sulawesi Selatan (South Sulawesi Stock) terdiri dari 20 bahasa. Rumpun bahasa Sulawesi Tengah (Central Sulawesi Stock) terdiri dari 10 bahasa yang ada di propinsi Sulawesi Selatan. Rumpun bahasa ini mempunyai bahasa-bahasa lain di propinsi Sulawesi Tengah pula. Rumpun bahasa Muna-Buton (Muna-Buton Stock) terdiri dari 4 bahasa yang ada di propinsi Sulawesi Selatan. Rumpun bahasa ini mempunyai bahasa-bahasa lain di propinsi Sulawesi Tenggara pula. Ada satu bahasa yang tidak dapat diklasifikasi dalam konteks Sulawesi Selatan oleh karena kekurangan keterangan. (Lihatlah ringkasan klasifikasi di Figure 5).

Bab Empat merupakan ringkasan. Yang jelas dari karya ini adalah bahwa propinsi Sulawesi Selatan beraneka ragam bahasa. Hal-hal yang belum sempat diberikan perhatian dan pertanyaan-pertanyaan yang muncul masih perlu dihadapi oleh para ahli untuk lebih meningkatkan ilmu pengetahuan kita, khususnya, hubungan antara bahasa-bahasa yang belum sempat diklasifikasi, pengujian pengertian antar dialek (dialect intelligibility testing – lihatlah Casad 1974 dan Simons 1979), penyelidikan sosio-linguistik, dan penyelidikan bahasa-bahasa daerah secara mendalam.

Bagian-bagian pemerintahan (Kabupaten dan Kecamatan) di Sulawesi Selatan terdaftar di *Lampiran A*.

Lampiran B adalah daftar pustaka tentang seluruh Sulawesi yang disajikan di sini untuk dipergunakan seperlunya.

Lampiran C merupakan daftar keterangan mengenai perolehan daftar-daftar kata, termasuk nama dialek, tempat pengambilan daftar kata, nama penutur utama yang memberikan kata-kata, dll.

Lampiran D menyajikan klasifikasi bahasa di Sulawesi Selatan dalam bentuk lain daripada Figure 5.

Lampiran E adalah daftar kata dari 39 dialek yang dipakai sebagai dasar karya ini. Penjelasan tentang simbol-simbol khusus diberikan di sini.

CATATAN

¹Orang awam seringkali berpendapat bahwa bila hanya sejumlah kecil orang memakai suatu bahasa, maka bahasa tersebut tak dapat disebutkan 'bahasa', tetapi 'dialek' saja. Namun demikian, para ahli bahasa tidak membedakan antara bahasa dan dialek berdasarkan jumlah pemakai bahasa, tetapi berdasarkan faktor-faktor lain, misalnya, persentasi kesamaan kosa kata, kesamaan sistem bunyi, kesamaan struktur, faktor pengertian, faktor-faktor sosial, dsb. Pada umumnya, bila ada saling pengertian, dua dialek termasuk satu bahasa; bila tidak ada pengertian, dianggap berbeda bahasa. (Pengertian di sini berarti pengertian antara dua orang yang belum pernah mendengar bahasa lain itu.)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

This study presents a current overview of the languages and dialects spoken by the ethnic groups in the Indonesian province of South Sulawesi. The province of South Sulawesi encompasses the entire south-west peninsula of the K-shaped island of Sulawesi, formerly called the Celebes (see Map 1). Brief demographic information on these ethnic groups is also presented including maps, population estimates and descriptions of local geography.

The languages in this study are tentatively classified based on the similarity of their vocabularies. To determine lexical similarity a 202 item word list was collected from 39 speech communities scattered throughout South Sulawesi.

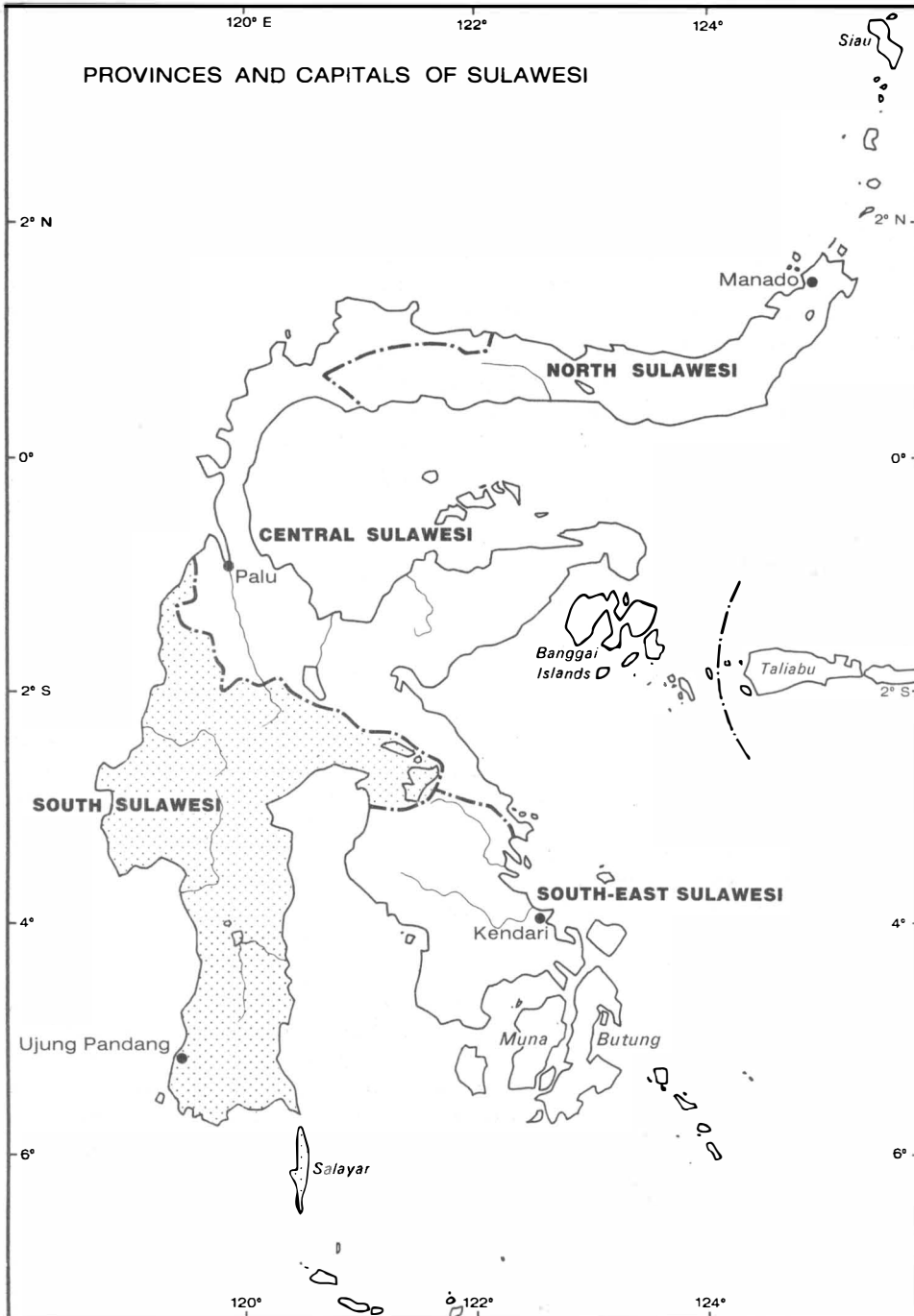
We hope that this overview of the languages of South Sulawesi will lead to further linguistic research of both a descriptive and comparative nature. Scholars investigating the phenomenon of linguistic chaining will find the Sulawesi situation intriguing.

SCOPE

The data for this study were collected by two linguists over a span of four months beginning in mid-November 1982 under a cooperative agreement between Hasanuddin University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics and in consultation with the Lembaga Penelitian Bahasa in Ujung Pandang, a branch of the National Language Research Institute. Working on the premise that the most reliable data for our purposes should be gathered 'on-site' in the actual language areas, within the province we covered 2000 kilometres by automobile and 6000 kilometres by motor cycle, walked six days in the mountains, took several boat rides, paid 54 visits to various government offices and elicited 39 word lists.

Geographically, this study encompasses the entire province of South Sulawesi, almost 63,000 square kilometres in size. The large area to be covered in the time given made word list elicitation the most productive means of data collection. Recognising that languages and dialects do not follow the boundaries of administrative units, the data were also considered in light of linguistic information available about adjacent provinces. We have posited our classification of South Sulawesi languages with the larger context of Sulawesi in mind. However, our primary data are limited to South Sulawesi.

A comparison of South Sulawesi languages and dialects was made with Indonesian, the national language, primarily for interest's sake. It is not, however, within the linguistic scope of this study to discuss other languages spoken in South Sulawesi which are not native to the province. Prominent among the non-South Sulawesi languages spoken are Javanese, Balinese, and various Chinese languages.¹



Map 1

A brief overview of previous studies of South Sulawesi languages is given below. Chapter 2 describes the procedures used in the study. The language classification is presented in Chapter 3 along with language maps and brief non-linguistic information pertinent to each ethnic group. After the summary in Chapter 4 an assortment of additional information is offered in the appendices, including the comparative word lists in Appendix E.

PREVIOUS STUDIES

Previous studies which have contributed to the classification of South Sulawesi languages are described briefly here. We refer to these sources in greater detail where they contribute to the discussion of the classification of specific languages and language groupings in Chapter 3.

Adriani and Kruyt

Attempts at grouping and classifying the languages and ethnic groups of Sulawesi have greatly benefited from the early works of N. Adriani and A.C. Kruyt, missionary-anthropologists who surveyed large parts of Sulawesi and Halmahera in the beginning years of this century. They were among the first to propose larger groupings for the languages of Sulawesi. Their ethnographic and linguistic investigations of certain groups throughout Central Sulawesi and northern South Sulawesi have been the foundation for later studies of the area.

Van der Veen

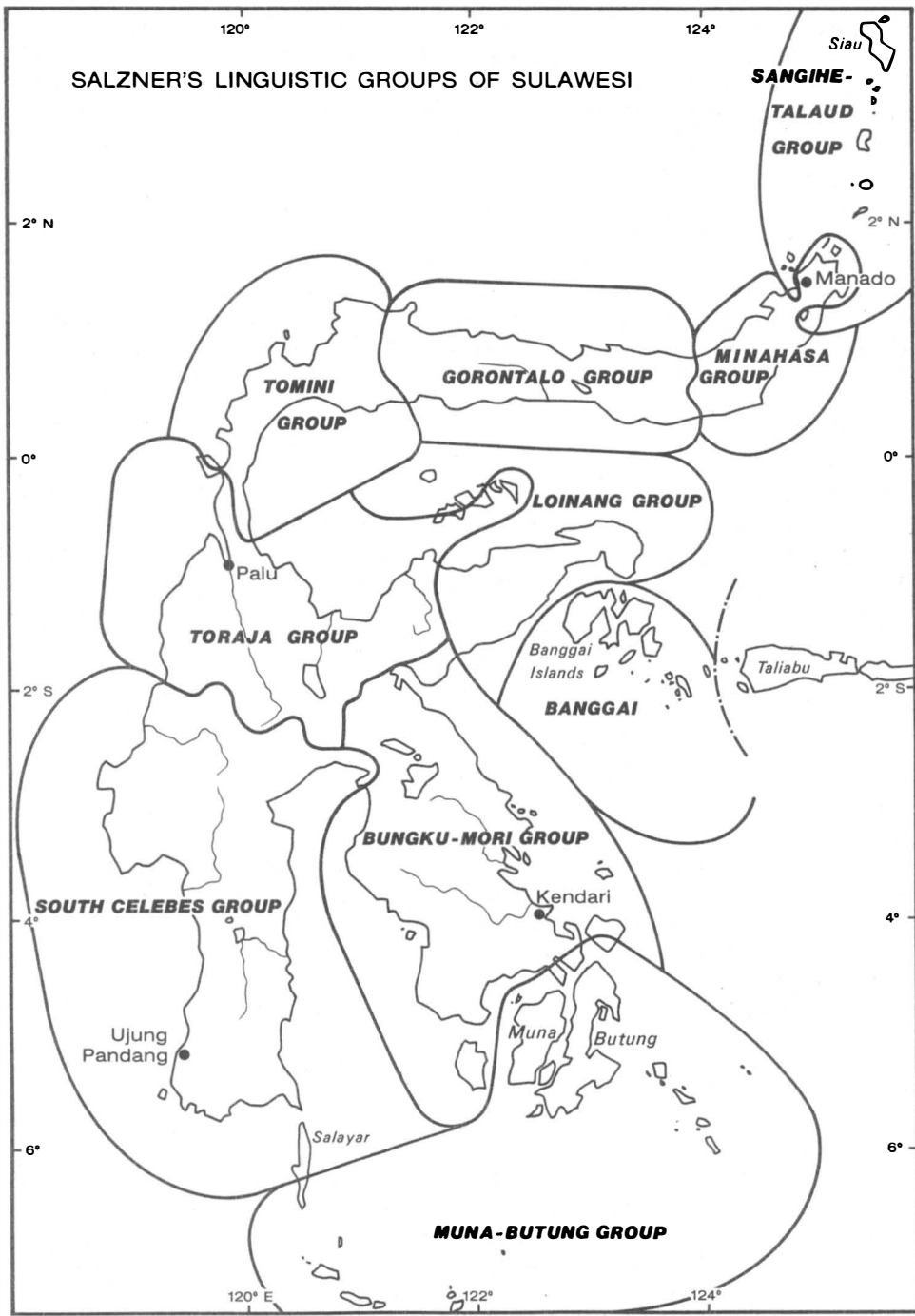
Another early contributor to our knowledge of the languages and ethnic groups of South Sulawesi was H. van der Veen who began work as a missionary-linguist among the Toraja-Sa'dan in northern South Sulawesi in the 1920s. Over the next several decades he made significant contributions of linguistic and ethnographic data from the Toraja-Sa'dan and surrounding ethnic groups, including classification of several of these languages and dialects. He also translated the Bible into Toraja-Sa'dan and produced a Toraja-Dutch dictionary which has been translated recently into Indonesian.

Esser

S.J. Esser, working as a language officer for the Dutch colonial government in the area of Central Sulawesi, made trips around the island of Sulawesi writing down many of his observations and descriptions of the languages. In 1938 he mapped out eight groupings of languages in Sulawesi in a brief article in *Atlas van tropisch Nederland*:

ESSER'S SULAWESI LANGUAGE GROUPS

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Philippine Group (Minahasa) | 5. Loinang Group |
| 2. Gorontalo Group | 6. Bungku-Laki Group |
| 3. Tomini Group | 7. South Celebes Group |
| 4. Toraja Group | 8. Muna-Butung Group |



Map 2

Four of Esser's groups are pertinent to languages of South Sulawesi: Toraja Group (our Kaili-Pamona Family of the Central Sulawesi Stock), Bungku-Laki Group (our Bungku-Mori Family of the Central Sulawesi Stock), South Celebes Group (our South Sulawesi Stock), and Muna-Butung Group (our Muna-Buton Stock).

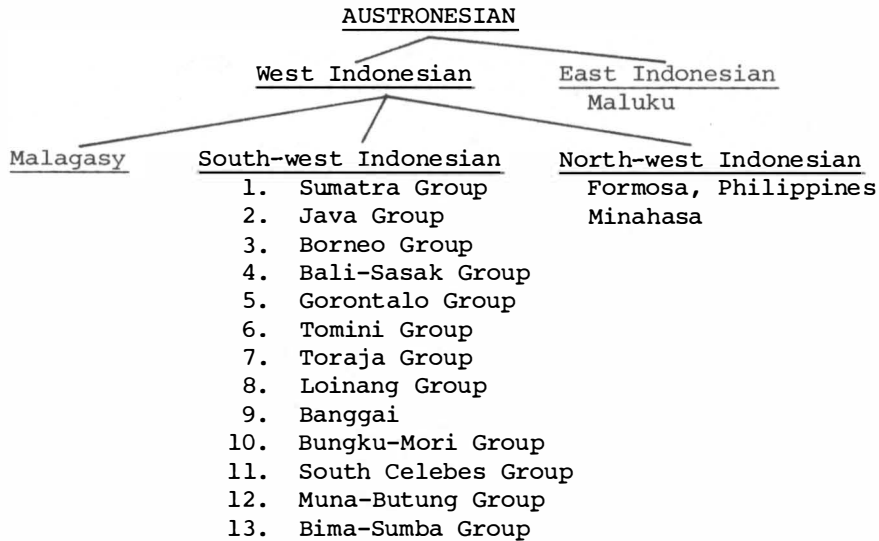
The great majority of languages in South Sulawesi fall within Esser's South Celebes Group which he subdivided as follows:

ESSER'S SOUTH CELEBES GROUP

1. Makassarese
2. Buginese
3. Luwu' group
4. Sa'dan
5. Pitu-Ulunna-Salo
6. Mandar dialects
7. Seko

Salzner

R. Salzner's 1960 *Sprachenatlas des Indopazifischen Raumes* (Language atlas of the Indo-Pacific region) lists the following groups under South-west Indonesian:



For South Sulawesi languages Salzner's groups correspond with Esser's, i.e. Toraja Group, Bungku-Mori Group, South Celebes Group, and Muna-Butung Group (see Map 2).

The larger divisions of Salzner's South Celebes Group are:

SALZNER'S SOUTH CELEBES GROUP

1. Makassar-Bugi
 - a. Makassar
 - b. Bugi
 - c. Wotu
 - d. Toala
2. Sadan(g)
 - a. Sadan
 - b. Masenrempulu
 - c. Pitu Uluna Salu
3. Mandar
 - a. Mandar
 - b. Mamuju
4. Seko

Neither Salzner nor Esser attempted to show the degree of relationship between their groups and languages or explain on what basis these groupings were made. Below the group level Salzner's subdivisions are quite divergent from our results.

Peta bahasa Sulawesi Selatan (Linguistic atlas of South Sulawesi)

In 1974 the National Language Institute in Ujung Pandang published a Linguistic atlas of South Sulawesi (hereafter *Peta bahasa*). This is a detailed source of information on the location of languages and dialects, but does not indicate relationships between the languages at higher levels.

Mills

R. Mills' 1975 two-volume dissertation from the University of Michigan, 'Proto South Sulawesi and Proto Austronesian phonology' and 'Additional addendum' (1981) are recent explorations of historical linguistics into the languages of South Sulawesi. Mills gathered some of his own data and relied heavily on existing literature. He describes brief phonologies of the larger South Sulawesi languages and examines the morphology of several of them in the process of reconstructing Proto South Sulawesi. Scattered throughout his analysis are mentions of transitional dialects and conflicting reports in the literature which all hint at the extensive chaining patterns we found throughout South Sulawesi.

Barr, Barr and Salombe

Languages of Central Sulawesi (1979) by Barr and Barr in consultation with C. Salombe of Hasanuddin University includes language classification, language maps, and Swadesh 100-word lists of the languages of the province of Central Sulawesi. Because of the geographic and linguistic proximity, this source was especially relevant for comparing and classifying languages in the northern part of South Sulawesi. From their data, Barr, Barr and Salombe form a Central Sulawesi Group which combines Salzner's Tomini, Toraja, Bungku-Mori, and Loinang Groups.

Sirk

Ü. Sirk, in 'The South Sulawesi Group and neighboring languages' (1981), reviews the history of the classification and study of the languages of South Sulawesi, beginning from notes by Matthes in 1875 on the similarities between Makassar and Bugis up through Mills' 1975 work. He examines the classification of the South Sulawesi Group and follows others in including Makassar, Bugis, Mandar, Sa'dan and Seko within a single group.

Sneddon

As part of the Wurm and Hattori *Language atlas*, J.N. Sneddon compiled a map of the languages of Sulawesi. For the 'Southern part of Celebes (Sulawesi)' he primarily follows Mills and the *Peta bahasa*. Sneddon's map is visually the most helpful of all the language maps we found of the area, showing the linguistic taxonomy as well as the language and dialect boundaries.

Subsequent information

We have benefited in revisions of this work by follow-up surveys carried out by our colleagues in the cooperative program between Hasanuddin University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics since the time that our own field work in Sulawesi was completed. These subsequent surveys focused on areas that we were only able to touch on generally.

Timothy and Barbara Friberg surveyed the Bugis-speaking areas during April - September 1984. They took 90 word lists, examined lexical similarity, and mapped lexical and phonetic isoglosses. A summary of their results has been published in 'Geografi dialek bahasa Bugis' (Dialect mapping of Bugis) (1985). An expanded description of their study in English is in preparation.

Thomas and Kathy Laskowske surveyed the Seko area in October and November of 1984. Their findings (in preparation) are very helpful, particularly in clarifying the relationship of Panasuan and Bana to the surrounding languages.

CHAPTER 2
PROCEDURES

OVERVIEW

Considering the geographic size and linguistic diversity of the survey area, comparing vocabulary between different speech communities was the most productive approach for our purposes of establishing a synopsis of the languages of South Sulawesi. Other methods which have been used for language surveys, such as phonostatistics, dialect intelligibility testing and sociolinguistic surveys were seen as appropriate for a limited geographical area and a less diverse linguistic situation.

The word list, the process of data collection, and the method of analysis are described below together with a discussion of lexicostatistical patterns found in our data and the framework used for classifying the languages studied.

WORD LIST

The word list used for this study includes all of the standard Swadesh 100-word list and much of the Swadesh 200-word list. These standard lists were supplemented by additions of our own which were relevant to South Sulawesi.

Of the items on the Swadesh 100-word list, three were eliminated. The English word *seed* manifests itself in the language of elicitation, Indonesian, variously as *bibit*, *biji* or *benih*. Attempts to elicit any one of these terms resulted in confusion, probably reflecting the unclear semantic domains of the term in both Indonesian and in the languages elicited. Jantung *heart* also received widespread hesitation and confusion and was deleted as unreliable. Bulu burung *feather* is polymorphemic in Indonesian and in many of the languages elicited. Since both morphemes were also elicited separately as bulu *body hair* and burung *bird*, the Swadesh item 'feather' was eliminated from the list.

One item from the Swadesh 100-word list was changed. *Bark* kulit kayu was changed to *wood* kayu because kulit *skin* was elicited elsewhere.

The revised list contained 202 items which were used for lexical comparisons (see Appendix E).

DATA COLLECTION

Thirty-nine 202-item word lists were collected throughout South Sulawesi. Almost all were collected in or very near the geographic area of the language or dialect being studied (see Appendix C).

Before elicitation of a word list, each informant was screened to be sure that they were a native speaker and the offspring of native speakers of the language in question.² The majority of word lists were elicited with more than one native speaker. The language of elicitation was Indonesian, the national language. All word lists were recorded phonetically by two linguists, Charles Grimes and Francis B. Dawson.

Where we were unable to gather first-hand language data we sought information from government officials and others near the area where a language or dialect was reported to be spoken to confirm or modify information from other sources. The *Peta bahasa* was the most complete written source of language and dialect names in the province. Several prominent linguists in Ujung Pandang also contributed freely of their knowledge and experience in South Sulawesi.

The Swadesh 100-word lists from Central Sulawesi presented in Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979) were a source of secondary data along with a few additional unpublished Swadesh 100-word lists from South-east Sulawesi (Sulawesi Tenggara) provided by C. Salombe of Hasanuddin University. These data were not included in our core analysis of South Sulawesi languages, but were used as supplementary material in the classification of specific languages located near the provincial borders. When these sources are used it is noted in the text.

DATA ANALYSIS

In the analysis of the word lists, the inspection method (Gudschinsky 1956, A. Sanders 1977) was used to determine the percentage of similar words between two speech communities. Using the inspection method, words from different speech communities which are phonetically similar with identical or similar meanings are considered lexically similar. In contrast, the comparative method establishes the genetic relationship between forms of speech. Only after the genetic relationship has been established and one can show that two forms follow regular changes, can those two forms be considered of similar origin, or 'cognate'.

Both the inspection method and the comparative method allow the researcher to quantify the degree of similarity between two speech communities. This process of quantifying lexical similarity is called *lexicostatistics*. The degree of similarity is often expressed as a percentage figure. A fundamental perspective on the nature of lexicostatistics is given by G. Simons:

Lexicostatistics is just what its name states — [word] statistics. As a statistical method it involves probability and prediction. When a linguist says that two languages are 75% cognate, he is really saying that the true percentage of cognates lies somewhere within a range defined by a statistical distribution centered on 75%. Stated in another way, it is probable that the true percentage of cognates is not significantly different from 75%, the observed percentage of cognates (1977c:75).

LEXICOSTATISTICAL PATTERNS

Throughout our lexicostatistic matrix (see Figure 6), several types of patterns emerge which are isolated below for the purposes of definition and illustration. The quotes and figures are from Simons (1977b).

Divergence

Divergence is 'the process by which two varieties of speech become less alike' (p.107). Divergence within a matrix is 'recognized by a block of adjacent lower and equal values (a diagnostic block)' (p.122). A tree diagram and matrix of cognate percentages showing divergence between dialects A, B and C are shown.



Figure 1: DIVERGENCE

Successive divergence

Successive divergence, a type of divergence 'in which one group at a time splits from the others, is [shown by] a whole column (or row) of adjacent cells filled by equal and low cognate percentages' (p.110). Successive divergence for five speech groups is illustrated in the matrix and tree diagram below.

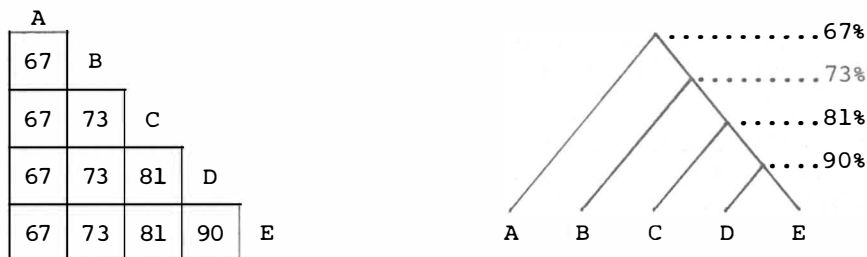


Figure 2: SUCCESSIVE DIVERGENCE

In our data the pattern of successive divergence is illustrated between the Makassar Subfamily, the Bugis Family, and Mandar (see Figures 7 and 8).

Sporadic convergence

The pattern of convergence can occur in isolated cases and is 'recognized by a value which is abnormally high in the midst of lower values' (p.122). This pattern is marked in our matrices by a broken circle around the cognate percentage showing sporadic convergence,

as in

(67)

 .

This type of relationship is seen in several places in our data, such as in Figure 7 between Bugis and Pattae'. It is not surprising that the high degree of contact between Bugis and Pattae' speakers manifests itself as sporadic convergence in the matrix. Such cases of sporadic convergence had to be identified to recognise the underlying patterns of divergence or chaining.

Chaining

A chaining relationship among dialects, languages, subfamilies, or members at any level of the linguistic taxonomy reflects a complex interrelationship of divergence. The following diagram illustrates the geography of a simple chaining pattern:

A <----> B <----> C <----> D <----> E

Figure 3: SIMPLE CHAINING RELATIONSHIP

Simons describes the pattern of language chaining:

The chaining pattern results in the following lexicostatistic relationships. A speech group will show its highest cognate percentages with its neighbours which are adjacent in the chain. As groups get further and further apart along the chain, the lexicostatistic relation between them gets lower and lower. When the lexicostatistic relations of a chain are represented in a matrix in which adjacent speech groups in the chain are placed in adjacent rows and columns of the matrix, the pattern which emerges is as follows. The highest lexicostatistic relations will occur on the diagonal and the lowest relations will occur in the corner. As one proceeds from the corner to the diagonal, the matrix values get successively larger (p.116).

The matrix and tree diagram of a chaining pattern are shown:

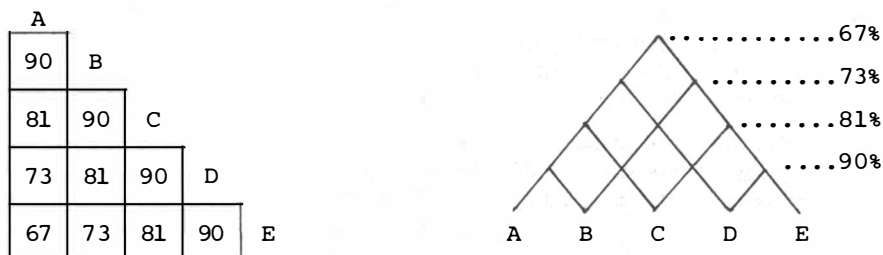


Figure 4: CHAINING

Chaining is illustrated many times in our data at all levels of the taxonomy. A clear example of this phenomenon is illustrated by the Mandar dialects (see Figure 12). An example of chaining at a higher level can be seen among the members of the Northern South Sulawesi Family (see Figures 7 and 8).

Diagrams

We present various diagrams as visual illustrations of the relationships in our matrices. The tree diagrams are intended to show the current relationships of the speech communities according to our data. In our tree diagrams, solid lines are significant at both their end points and their intersections, whereas dotted lines are significant *only* at their end points (see Figure 14).

In certain instances we have adapted the idea of a language contour map from J. Grimes (1974) to highlight significant relationships in a group of speech communities. For an example of this type of representation see Figure 11.

In representing the relationships between groupings of speech communities, to illustrate relationships at higher levels, we have, in some instances, averaged the relationships of all the speech communities of one group with all the speech communities of another group, creating a reduced matrix. For example, in the reduced matrix of Figure 7, all the dialects of Mandar average 69% lexical similarity with all the dialects of Mamuju.

CLASSIFICATION

In a sense, any attempt at determining percentage boundaries for taxonomic levels is arbitrary. On the other hand, when working with large amounts of data,³ some patterns and groupings become self-evident, thus providing indicators of a range for taxonomic levels.⁴ For example, in our data, Makassar, Konjo and Selayar naturally group together with each other and separately from everything else (see Figure 6). More substantially, such *a priori* groupings also happen to show statistically significant internal cohesion and external distinction from other speech communities or groupings (see Simons 1977c). Another example of a group showing internal and external statistical significance is the Northern South Sulawesi Family.

Listed below are the classificatory terms we use and their corresponding ranges of lexical similarity (adapted from Smith 1984). We consider no range limits to be absolute and all taxonomic levels to be relative to each other.⁵

1. *Phylum*: percentages of shared lexical similarity falling between 0-15% show members of different phyla. In this study, no percentages fall into this range, showing all speech communities studied to fall within a single phylum, that is, the Austronesian Phylum.
2. *Superstock*: percentages of lexical similarity falling within the range of 15-25% show members of different superstocks within a single phylum. Our data show all speech communities in this study to be of the same superstock, that is, the West Austronesian Superstock (also known as Western Malayo-Polynesian, following Blust 1977).
3. *Stock*: percentages of shared lexical similarity falling between 25-45% show different stocks of the same superstock. Most of the speech communities in this study fall within the South Sulawesi Stock.
4. *Family*: 45-60% indicates different families of the same stock.

5. *Subfamily*: 60-75% indicates different subfamilies of the same family.
6. *Language*: percentages of shared lexical similarity falling between 75-80% indicate different languages of a subfamily. Although it is assumed that speech communities in this range are approaching the threshold of intelligibility, it is nevertheless recognised that no blanket statements can be made regarding intelligibility due to additional factors mentioned below which are beyond the scope of this study. Further studies using dialect intelligibility testing methods and sociolinguistic surveys are needed to define more clearly the relationships of speech communities falling in this range.
7. *Dialect*: shared lexical similarity above 80% indicates dialects of a common language. Although this range indicates that the two speech communities are *probably* above the threshold of intelligibility, further study is needed to determine the true picture by taking into account extra-linguistic factors such as language contact and social attitudes and linguistic factors such as differing affixation, syntax or semantic domains. The presence of such features makes the issue of intelligibility much more complex than would their absence. Distinctions finer than dialect are not made in this study.

Classification where chaining occurs

The presence of clear patterns of chaining among dialects, languages and other groupings in South Sulawesi makes any attempt to classify them rather difficult. In reference to such difficulties Simons points out:

In the chaining pattern it is impossible to posit a classification or subgrouping of the speech groups on the basis of lexicostatistic data alone (McElhanon 1971:136-140). The problem of historical interpretation for the basic convergence pattern ... is compounded many times over in the chaining pattern. Lamb (1959:41ff) has suggested that no classification or subgrouping be attempted in these cases, that 'no taxon is to be recognized at the intermediate rank'. Such a method is rarely applied, however. In positing boundaries, many investigators accept the boundaries recognized by the local inhabitants (McElhanon 1970:218, Cook 1966). Others attempt to resolve the indeterminacies by looking at phonological or structural data (Wurm 1961:21, McElhanon 1970:228-229) (1977b:116).

Recognising these problems, whenever the lexicostatistic information was indeterminate we based our classification decisions on how the people themselves perceive their language identity and its relationship to those languages around it. These problems also suggest why previous attempts at classifying many of the languages in South Sulawesi have shown conflicting results.

When chaining occurs one cannot be limited to the ranges described above. For example, each dialect of Pitu-Uluna-Salu (PUS) relates to its adjacent neighbours above the 80% range (see Figure 16). However, the end links of the

dialect chain only show 74% lexical similarity with each other. Nevertheless, we consider these all to be dialects of a single PUS language, or, more descriptively, a PUS subfamily-level dialect grouping.

Classification of peripheral languages

When grouping speech communities, it must be remembered that percentages of lexical similarity falling within a certain range indicate *different* groupings at that level. For example, 38% lexical similarity between speech communities A and B indicates the two are members of different stocks. However, 38% does not indicate with which stock or which other speech communities A or B should be grouped. For such a decision, percentages within a higher range must be found. Thus, if A shows 65% lexical similarity with speech community C, then one can posit, all else being equal, that A and C group within the same stock.

In South Sulawesi the above concept is significant in determining how to group peripheral speech communities which lie outside the South Sulawesi Stock and are to be found near the boundaries of the province. In Figure 6, the lower percentages at the bottom of the matrix indicate that these speech communities *do not group* within the South Sulawesi Stock. They do not, however, indicate which other speech communities they *do group* with, unless a relationship at a higher level of lexical similarity can be substantiated. In such instances we have supplemented our primary data with additional information from the Central Sulawesi and Muna-Buton Stocks.

CHAPTER 3

THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTH SULAWESI

OVERVIEW

The languages found in the province of South Sulawesi fall into three stocks: the South Sulawesi Stock, the Central Sulawesi Stock, and the Muna-Buton Stock. The South Sulawesi Stock encompasses the majority of the languages in the province. The Central Sulawesi Stock is represented by several languages in the northern part of the province from the Kaili-Pamona Family and the Bungku-Mori Family. The Muna-Buton Stock, most commonly associated with languages from the southern islands of South-east Sulawesi, is represented here by languages from the southern islands of South Sulawesi and possibly by the Wotu language.

Figure 5 presents a 'Summary list of languages and dialects of South Sulawesi'. This is followed by Figure 6, a table of 'Lexical similarity of South Sulawesi languages' based on the 39 word lists. This table forms the basis for the classification decisions made in this study. After Map 3, 'Languages of South Sulawesi', a key is given to the presentation of language information and classification which follows.

KEY

I. STOCK LEVEL NAME

A. FAMILY LEVEL NAME (may consist of only one member)

AA. SUBFAMILY LEVEL NAME

1. Language Name

a. Dialect Name (alternate names in parentheses).

*b. Asterisk indicates word list included in Appendix E.

c. DIALECT NAME IN CAPS INDICATES PRESTIGE OR DOMINANT DIALECT.

I. SOUTH SULAWESI STOCK

A. MAKASSAR SUBFAMILY (Language Chain)

1. Makassar

a. Maros-Pangkep

*b. GOWA (Lakiung)

c. Turatea (Jeneponto)

d. Bantaeng (Bonthain)

Figure 5 continued ...

continued ...

- 2. Konjo
 - a. Konjo Pegunungan 'Highland Konjo'
 - *b. Konjo Pesisir 'Coastal Konjo'
 - c. Tana Towa (Kajang)
 - *3. Selayar
- B. BUGIS FAMILY
- 1. Bugis
 - *a. Luwu
 - b. Wajo
 - *c. BONE (Palakka)
 - d. SOPPENG
 - e. Enna' (Sinjai, Bulukumba)
 - f. Sidrap (Sidenrang, Rappang)
 - g. Barru (Pare-Pare)
 - h. Sawitto
 - i. Pangkep (Pangkajene)
 - j. Camba
 - k. Pasangkayu (Ugi-Riawa)
 - *2. Campalagian (Tallumpanuae)
- C. NORTHERN SOUTH SULAWESI FAMILY
- 1. Mandar (Dialect Chain)
 - *a. Majene
 - *b. BALANIPA (Napo-Tinambung)
 - *c. Pamboang
 - *d. Sendana (Cenrana)
 - e. Awo' Sumakuyu
 - *f. Malunda
 - 2. Mamuju (Dialect Chain)
 - *a. Tappalang
 - *b. Botteng
 - *c. Sumare
 - d. Rangas
 - *e. MAMUJU
 - *f. Padang
 - *g. Sinyonyoi
 - h. Sondoang
 - i. Budong-Budong
 - 3. Pitu Uluna Salu/PUS (Dialect Chain)
 - *a. Aralle-Tabulahan
 - *b. Mambi
 - *c. Rantebulahan
 - *d. Bambang
 - *e. Mehala'an
 - f. Tapango
 - g. Ulunda

Figure 5 continued ...

continued ...

4. Pattae'
 - *a. BINUANG
 - b. Paku
 - c. Batetanga
 - d. Anteapi

CA. TORAJA-SA'DAN SUBFAMILY (Language Chain)

- *5. Kalumpang (Makki)
- *6. Mamasa
7. Rongkong
 - *a. Rongkong Atas 'Upper Rongkong'
 - *b. Rongkong Bawah 'Lower Rongkong'
8. Toraja-Sa'dan (Toraja)
 - *a. Makale (Tallulembangna)
 - b. RANTEPAO (Kesu')
 - c. Toraja Barat 'West Toraja' (Mappa-Pana)
9. Toala'
 - a. Toala'
 - *b. Palili'

CB. MASENREMPULU SUBFAMILY

10. Masenrempulu
 - a. Maiwa
 - *b. Enrekang
 - c. DURI (Cakke, Kalosi)
11. Pattinjo (Endekan Barat)
 - a. Letta
 - b. Batulappa
 - c. Kassa

D. SEKO FAMILY

- *1. Seko Tengah (Pewanean)
2. Seko Padang (Wono)
3. Panasuan

E. LEMOLANG

- *1. Lemolang

II. CENTRAL SULAWESI STOCK

A. KAILI-PAMONA FAMILY

- *1. Topoiyo
2. Benggaulu
3. Bada

Figure 5 continued ...

continued ...

- 4. Bana (Uma, Pipikoro)
- *5. Rampi (Leboni)
- 6. Pamona (Bare'e)
 - *a. Tomoni
 - b. Other dialects in Central Sulawesi

AA. KAILI SUBFAMILY

- 7. Kaili
 - a. Ledo
 - b. Bunggu
 - c. Other dialects in Central Sulawesi
- 8. Baras
- *9. Sarudu

B. BUNGKU-MORI FAMILY (BUNGKU-LAKI)

- *1. Padoe (South Mori)

III. MUNA-BUTON STOCK

- 1. Laiyolo
 - a. Laiyolo
 - *b. Barang-Barang
- 2. Bonerate
 - a. Bonerate
 - b. Karompa
- 3. Kalaotoa
- *4. Wotu

IV. UNCLASSIFIED (Insufficient information to group with stocks I-III.)

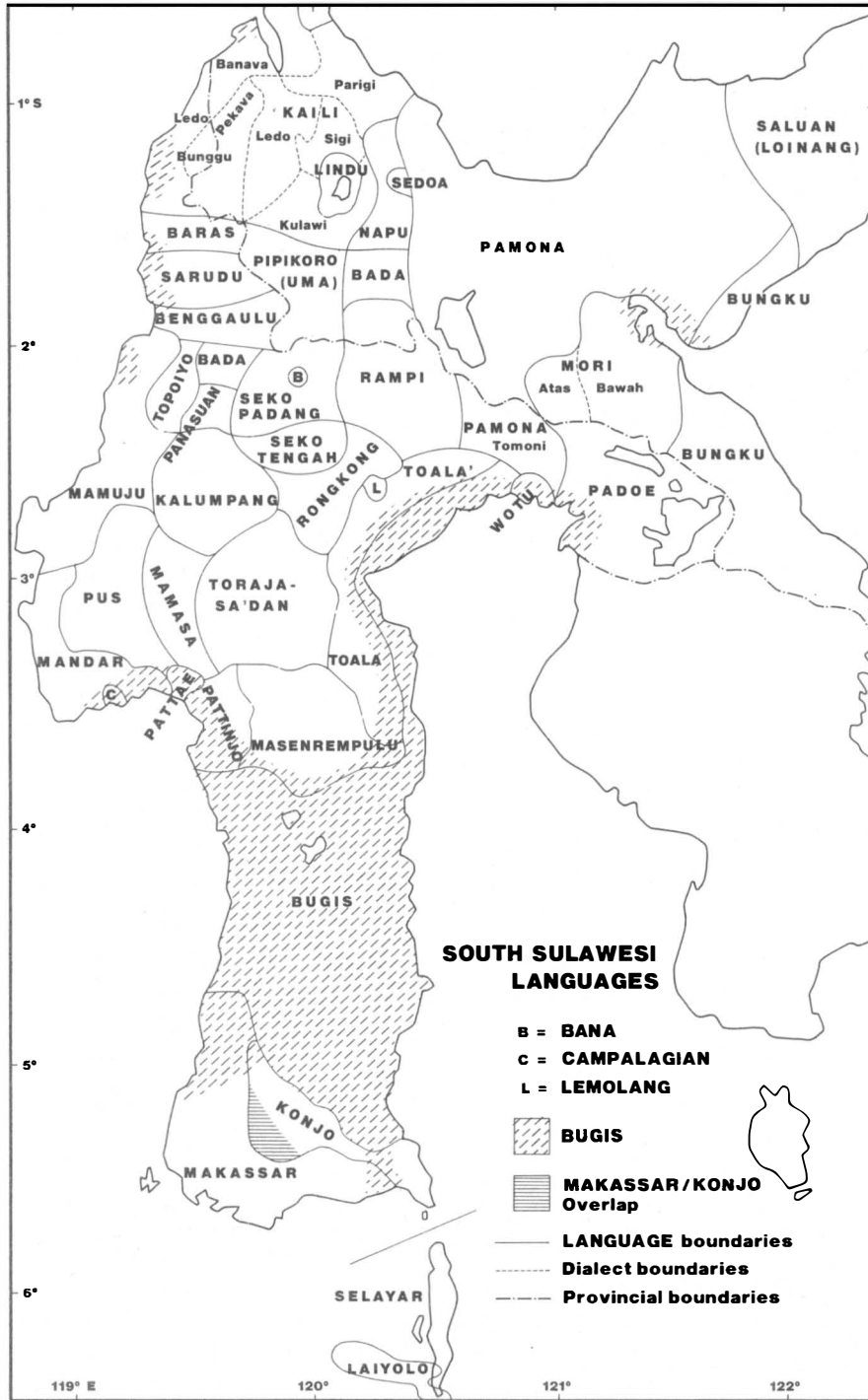
- 1. Bajau

Figure 5: SUMMARY LIST OF LANGUAGES
AND DIALECTS OF SOUTH SULAWESI

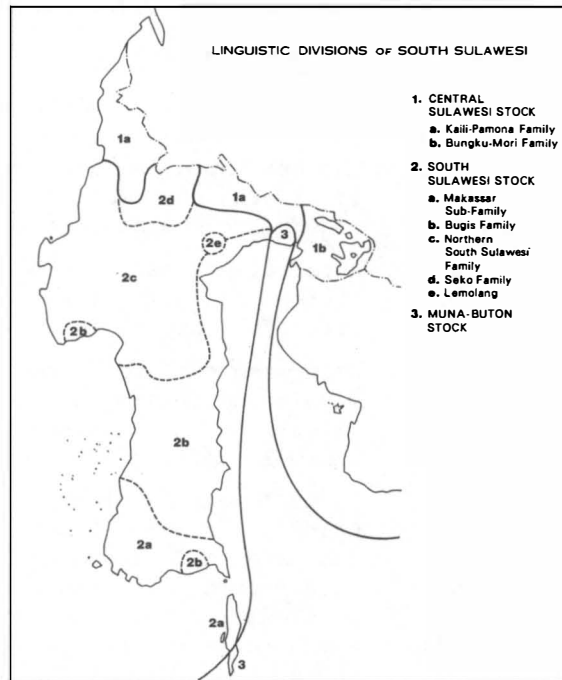
For an alternative presentation of this same classification see Appendix D.

BI		ABBREVIATIONS	
MAK 42	MAK Makassar	BI - Bahasa Indonesia	A-T- Aralle-Tabulahan
KNJ 38	76 KNJ Sub-Family	MAK- Makassar (Gowa)	MBI- Mambi
SEL 36	69 81 SEL	KNJ- Konjo Pesisir	RAN- Rantebulahan
BBN 39	38 49 45 BBN Bugis	SEL- Selayar	BAM- Bambang
BLW 38	39 48 48 82 BLW	BBN- Bugis (Bone)	MEH- Mehala'an
CAM 39	38 46 43 61 60 CAM	BLW- Bugis (Luwu)	KAL- Kalumpang
BAL 42	38 46 49 48 48 62 BAL	CAM- Campalagian	MMS- Mamasa
MAJ 41	41 46 46 48 51 61 95 MAJ	BAL- Balanipa	RKA- Rongkong Atas
PBG 40	38 41 45 46 49 61 88 88 PBG Mandar	MAJ- Majene	RKB- Rongkong Bawah
SEN 40	34 42 41 46 45 57 82 81 84 SEN	PBG- Pamboang	SAD- Toraja-Sa'dan (Makale)
MAL 42	39 48 46 45 48 52 76 78 82 88 MAL	SEN- Sendana	TLA- Toala' (Palili')
MMJ 44	40 48 50 42 46 51 65 70 71 68 75 MMJ	MAL- Malunda	MSR- Masenrempulu (Enrekang)
SNY 45	40 47 47 45 49 48 64 68 66 64 73 79 SNY	MMJ- Mamuju	PAT- Pattae' (Binuang)
SUM 42	42 49 51 45 49 52 68 68 69 68 80 85 86 SUM Mamuju	SNY- Sinyonyoi	SEK- Seko (Tengah)
PDG 42	39 47 52 45 51 52 66 65 64 63 76 83 89 87 PDG	SUM- Sumare	LEM- Lemolang
TAP 43	39 52 45 48 48 53 68 69 71 70 82 80 76 87 86 TAP	PDG- Padang	WOT- Wotu
BOT 43	39 46 47 47 53 56 65 66 66 63 75 71 77 81 81 82 BOT	TAP- Tappalang	LYL- Laiyolo (Barang-Barang)
A-T 41	35 45 43 43 47 49 62 61 63 60 64 68 69 65 72 73 78 A-T	BOT- Botteng	TOP- Topoiyo
MBI 40	34 40 39 45 47 51 60 57 59 61 62 64 68 65 68 70 75 87 MBI		SAR- Sarudu
RAN 40	39 45 46 48 48 54 63 62 59 56 65 65 65 60 68 65 73 80 84 RAN PUS		PMN- Pamona (Tomoni)
BAM 40	38 48 47 45 46 52 61 58 58 55 61 64 64 63 65 63 72 80 83 87 BAM		RAM- Rampi
MEH 44	41 45 43 46 49 53 61 59 59 61 58 66 61 62 65 63 72 74 83 88 91 MEH		PDO- Padoe
KAL 40	36 44 45 46 49 49 60 56 56 55 59 55 55 56 58 61 63 64 63 74 73 73 KAL		
MMS 45	38 44 45 49 52 56 60 56 56 53 56 59 59 59 58 62 66 69 73 79 79 79 78 MMS Toraja-Sa'dan		
RKA 43	39 45 46 51 56 58 62 59 56 58 63 60 62 60 59 65 66 67 67 76 76 75 78 76 RKA Sub-Family		
RKB 44	41 45 46 50 58 55 62 60 60 59 63 58 58 62 61 66 68 66 66 76 76 72 77 76 92 RKB		
SAD 45	46 47 47 46 55 47 56 55 52 57 55 54 55 56 53 57 61 60 65 71 74 72 72 78 79 81 SAD		
TLA 44	39 50 49 57 68 57 58 54 54 50 58 53 56 59 59 59 64 61 62 67 68 65 64 71 82 84 74 TLA		
MSR 32	39 44 45 56 55 53 58 56 53 53 55 49 51 53 52 56 56 55 57 60 57 59 58 62 68 66 66 65 MSR		
PAT 43	41 49 48 66 68 67 67 63 60 58 61 56 55 59 62 48 66 63 60 70 64 66 65 70 69 71 66 74 72 PAT		
SEK 33	35 36 39 40 46 42 50 49 45 45 48 45 47 49 52 53 55 57 57 57 60 56 56 52 61 59 53 57 48 53 SEK		
LEM 31	31 34 35 41 49 39 48 48 47 44 48 47 49 48 55 53 54 54 45 51 52 48 51 43 51 51 45 56 43 49 48 LEM		
WOT 38	33 40 42 42 55 43 44 48 44 44 46 45 42 44 49 44 43 44 42 41 44 39 39 45 52 52 42 57 43 49 43 53 WOT		
LYL 42	40 43 54 37 40 41 43 42 42 36 46 45 39 46 44 48 43 42 38 46 44 42 41 43 44 47 43 46 41 44 40 45 53 LYL		
TOP 33	25 33 33 31 34 38 40 36 35 31 36 38 37 39 41 37 41 37 34 35 37 36 34 40 41 38 36 41 31 39 35 41 40 40 TOP		
SAR 35	30 37 38 33 41 36 41 40 39 31 38 39 39 42 42 38 42 42 36 41 41 40 38 43 43 44 39 46 35 41 40 49 49 48 69 SAR		
PMN 32	25 37 35 35 37 35 38 39 34 30 41 37 36 39 42 42 40 40 37 41 40 39 37 39 45 44 37 45 34 40 36 45 44 50 48 56 PMN		
RAM 29	25 30 30 30 35 29 34 33 30 32 37 40 37 38 42 37 36 41 39 40 39 37 34 37 40 37 40 40 33 41 38 42 36 38 34 44 42 RAM		
PDO 33	28 33 34 32 37 34 34 34 30 28 35 34 28 37 39 33 35 34 30 37 36 34 34 39 38 40 40 37 32 37 34 37 37 43 38 38 45 36 PDO		

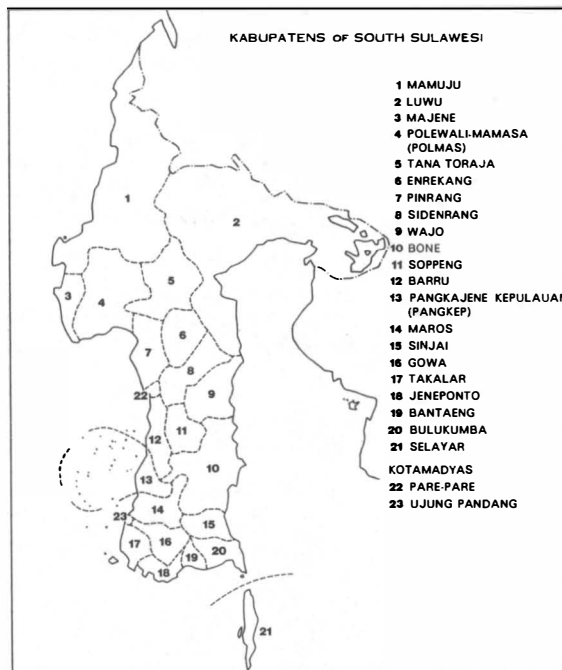
Figure 6: LEXICAL SIMILARITY OF SOUTH SULAWESI LANGUAGES



Map 3



Map 4



Map 5

KEY TO LANGUAGE INFORMATION OF SOUTH SULAWESI

In the presentation of material on the languages of South Sulawesi the following format is used:

KEY

LANGUAGE NAME:	The current name most favoured in the local area has been used following modern Indonesian spelling.
ALTERNATE NAMES:	Alternate names and alternate spellings of the languages as encountered in the literature are included. ⁶
CLASSIFICATION:	Following the stock name and any lower levels under which a language is classified, is a brief discussion of past classifications.
NUMBER SPEAKERS:	Normally our population figures are based on government reports from the Kabupaten and Kecamatan levels. Where such reports were unavailable for a particular ethnic group the figure given reflects an estimate by people in the local area taking into account number of villages, approximate population per village and the existence of other ethnic groups in the area. In such cases the estimated figure given is marked (estimate). Where the figures are taken from other written sources, it is noted.
LOCATION:	The general location where the language is spoken can be considered highly accurate while boundaries are approximate. References to maps are included.
RELIGION:	The dominant religion of the ethnic group is given. In South Sulawesi this includes Islam, Christianity, traditional beliefs, or a mixture of these.
ENVIRONMENT:	A brief description is given of the area's geography and the general livelihood of each ethnic group.
DIALECTS:	The dialects of a language are listed when applicable. The location and any distinguishing traits are included.

I. SOUTH SULAWESI STOCK

The existence of a high level grouping of South Sulawesi languages has been recognised by scholars ever since B.F. Matthes⁷ noted similarities between Makassar and Bugis in 1875 (Sirk 1981:29). We have chosen to call this the South Sulawesi Stock on the basis of the range of shared lexical similarity between the languages, that is, above 45%.

Our analysis shows the South Sulawesi Stock to have five divisions: the Makassar Family-level Subfamily, the Bugis Family, the Northern South Sulawesi Family, the Seko Family and the Lemolang Family-level Isolate. These subdivisions are shown in the following reduced matrix. In this matrix the average shared percentages of lexical similarity from each subdivision within the stock has been taken from the comprehensive matrix of Figure 6. For example, 45% represents the average shared lexical similarity between all members in the Makassar Subfamily and all members in the Bugis Family.

	MKG										
BUG	45	BUG									
CAM	42	61	CAM								
MAN	43	47	58	MAN							
MMJ	46	47	52	69	MMJ						
PUS	42	46	52	60	67	PUS					
TOR	44	52	54	57	60	70	TOR				
PAT	46	67	67	62	58	65	69	PAT			
MSR	43	56	53	55	53	58	64	72	MSR		
SEK	37	43	42	47	50	57	56	53	48	SEK	
LEM	35	45	39	48	51	50	50	49	43	48	LEM

Figure 7: SOUTH SULAWESI STOCK (REDUCED MATRIX)

The tree diagram below is a summary representation of relationships among languages in the South Sulawesi Stock.

In addition to our own study of the South Sulawesi Stock, Mills includes lexicostatistical information which supports his historical comparative study of Proto South Sulawesi (1975:491). His lexicostatistical percentages reveal patterns parallel to ours within the South Sulawesi Stock.⁸

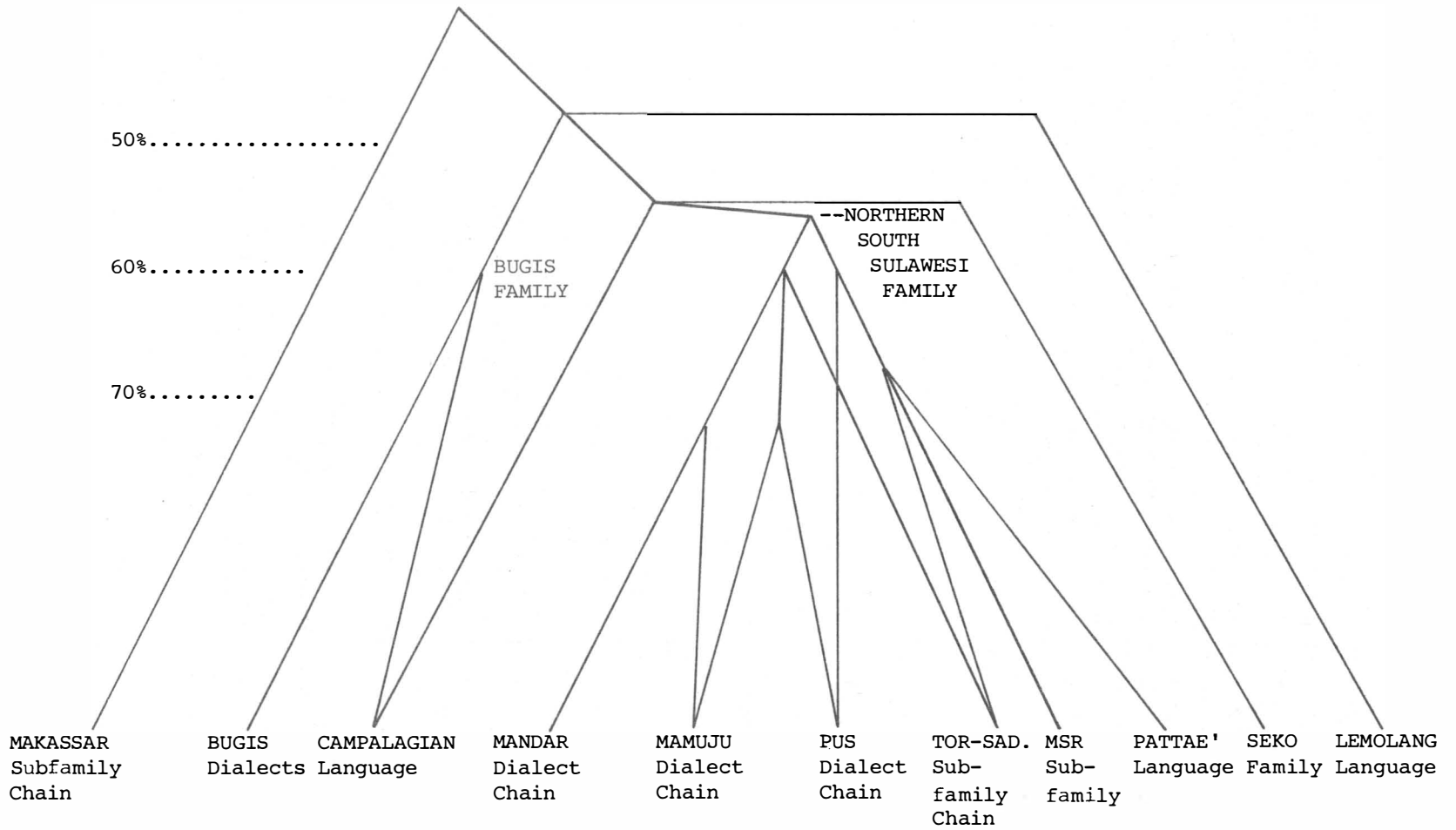


Figure 8: SOUTH SULAWESI STOCK

A. MAKASSAR SUBFAMILY

The Makassar Subfamily within the South Sulawesi Stock

The Makassar Subfamily is the most divergent member of the South Sulawesi Stock. The average percentage of lexical similarity between this subfamily and the rest of the South Sulawesi Stock is only 43%. At first glance this may bring into question the validity of including it within the Stock. However, recognising the marginality, we nevertheless feel the Makassar Subfamily belongs within the South Sulawesi Stock. The Gowa dialect of Makassar consistently relates to the rest of the Stock 5-10 percentage points lower than Konjo or Selayar, causing the average lexical similarity of the three languages with the rest of the Stock to drop to 43%. As this subfamily consists of a chain of languages, it would be wrong to include Konjo and Selayar in the South Sulawesi Stock while excluding the Gowa dialect.

The linguistic diversity of the Makassar Subfamily seems to have been recognised to a degree by Esser who listed Makassar separately from Bugis and other languages in his South Celebes Group. Salzner, on the other hand, combines Bugis and Makassar, creating a 'Makassar-Bugis' Subgroup in his classification of the South Celebes Group, although his reason for doing so is unclear. Our data show, however, that Makassar and Bugis should not be combined at this level.

The divergence of Makassar is also strongly supported by Mills who says:

The lexicostatistical percentages ... conclusively show Makassar as quite distinct from all the others. Grammatical data also support this--viz. the pronoun system, verbal prefixes We can therefore say with some assurance that Makassar apparently was the first to break off from the [South Sulawesi] proto-language, perhaps well before any other group (1975:491).

Makassar Subfamily language chain

The Makassar Subfamily presents a classic example of chaining from Kabupaten Pangkep in the north to Kabupaten Selayar in the south. Our data, presented below, encompass the Gowa dialect of Makassar, Konjo and Selayar.



Figure 9: MAKASSAR SUBFAMILY

The evidence of chaining is further supported by word lists presented in Kaseng (1978) which include data from Gowa, Turatea, Bantaeng, Konjo and Selayar. We have calculated percentages of lexical similarity from his data and present them in the matrix below:

GOW				
89	TUR			
77	86	BNT		
70	78	81	KON	
70	73	71	78	SEL

Figure 10: KASENG'S MAKASSAR DATA

These chaining relationships are highlighted in the contour map below:

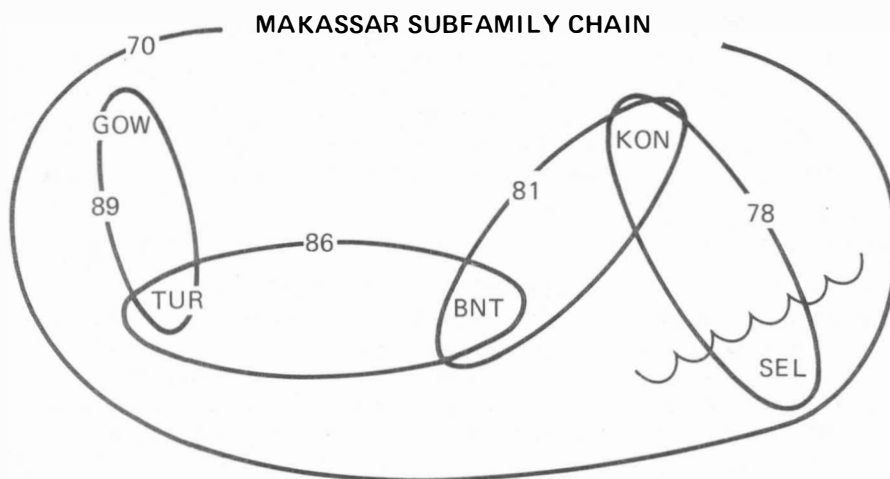


Figure 11

To posit language boundaries within the Makassar Subfamily at this point can only be tentative. Further testing needs to be done to measure intelligibility within the subfamily. As expected within a chain, Selayar speakers having minimal contact with Makassar report non-intelligibility. On the basis of our data and in conjunction with the data from Kaseng and the oral reports of intelligibility, we have tentatively posited three languages within the Makassar Subfamily: Makassar with four dialects, Konjo with three dialects, and Selayar.

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 1. LANGUAGE NAME: | MAKASSAR |
| ALTERNATE NAMES: | Mengkasara, Mangasara, Goa, Tena, Taena, Makassarese, Makassaarsche, Macassar |
| CLASSIFICATION: | South Sulawesi Stock, Makassar Subfamily |
| NUMBER SPEAKERS: | 1,500,000 |
| LOCATION: | Speakers of Makassar inhabit the southwest corner of the peninsula, encompassing most of Kabupatens Pangkep, Maros, Gowa, Bulukumba, Jeneponto, Takalar, and Bantaeng. (See Maps 3, 5 and 6.) |

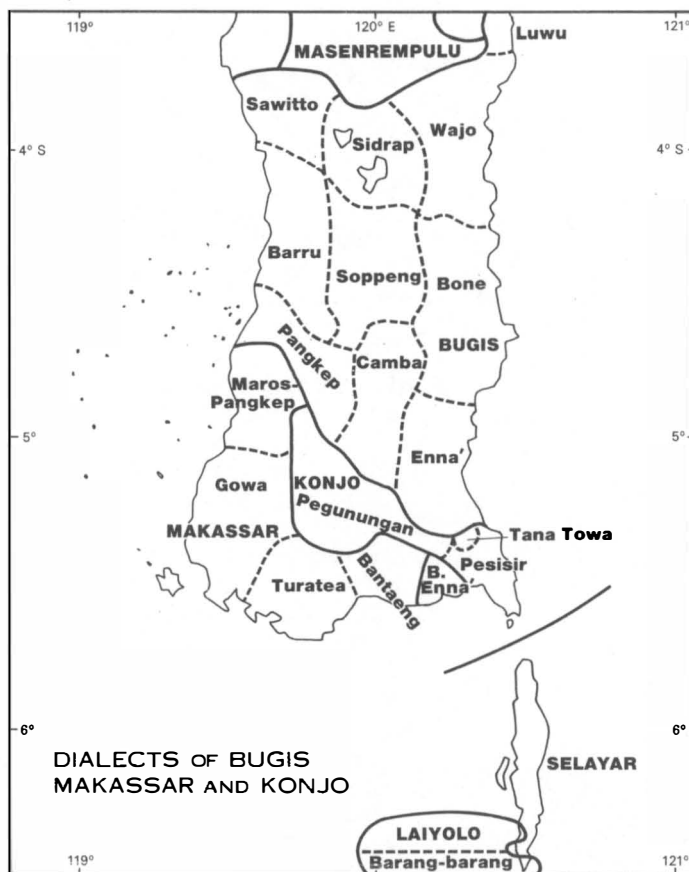
- RELIGION: Islam
- ENVIRONMENT: Along the coastal plain, fishing, wet rice farming, and salt harvesting is carried out. There is also some dry field farming of corn, cassava and vegetables in the surrounding foothills.
- The city of Ujung Pandang (formerly called Makassar) is a microcosm of the diverse ethnic nature of South Sulawesi. Within the urban setting, Makassar is still the lingua franca of the market place. Many persons of Chinese descent speak Makassar as their first language.
- DIALECTS: The variations of Makassar form a dialect chain. Typically, lexical similarity (and probably intelligibility) decreases as distance within the chain increases (see Figures 10 and 11). The dialects of Makassar are:
- a. MAROS-PANGKEP: our informants claim this dialect shows distinctions from the Gowa dialect. This dialect is spoken in Kabupaten Maros and Pangkep where there is also overlap with the Bugis dialect of Pangkep.
 - b. GOWA (Goa, Lakiung) is considered to be the prestige dialect of Makassar. The former seat of the powerful Sultanate of Gowa was located in Sungguminasa, near Ujung Pandang. The Gowa dialect is spoken in the western two-thirds of Kabupaten Gowa, in Kabupaten Takalar and surrounding areas.
 - c. TURATEA (Jeneponto) dialect is spoken in Kabupaten Jeneponto.
 - d. BANTAENG (Bonthain) dialect is spoken in Kabupaten Bantaeng.
- OTHER: Lontara script, the distinctive Bugis-Makassar syllabary, is shown in Kaseng's research to still be in use today by all ages (1978:31,47, 61,86). We also have observed its use in the writing of personal letters and by university students. There are extant manuscripts written in Lontara describing epics and history related to the Sultanate of Gowa.
2. LANGUAGE NAME: KONJO
- ALTERNATE NAMES: Kondjo
- CLASSIFICATION: South Sulawesi Stock, Makassar Subfamily

Konjo has been frequently overlooked in the literature. Pelenkahu, however, did a study of Konjo (1971) and grouped it as a dialect of Makassar. On the basis of the percentages of lexical similarity described above (in Figures 9, 10 and 11), we have tentatively posited Konjo as a separate language from both Makassar and Selayar. This is further supported by the perceived ethnic perception among speakers of Konjo.

- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 200,000
- LOCATION: Konjo speakers are found in the central mountain area and the south-east corner of the southern tip of the South Sulawesi peninsula. This area includes parts of Kabupaten Maros, Gowa, Bone, Sinjai, Bantaeng, and Bulukumba. (See Maps 3, 5 and 6.)
- RELIGION: Islam
- DIALECTS: Further investigation may reveal a highly complex linguistic picture within the Konjo speaking area.
- a. KONJO PEGUNUNGAN ('Highland Konjo') is the largest dialect. The people live in the mountains farming wet rice and growing fruit, vegetables, and coffee.
 - b. KONJO PESISIR ('Coastal Konjo') speakers inhabit the coastal areas of Kabupaten Bulukumba working mainly as fishermen and boat builders, building wooden sailing vessels of up to 150 tons.
 - c. TANA TOWA (Kajang) is the name given to an isolated group reported to speak a dialect of Konjo. The Tana Towa people resist modern ways and contact with outsiders is limited. They are said to prefer black clothing and practise their traditional religion and black magic. This group is located in the mountains of the north-eastern part of Kabupaten Bulukumba.
3. LANGUAGE NAME: SELAYAR
- ALTERNATE NAMES: Silajara, Siladja, Salajar, Saleier
- CLASSIFICATION: South Sulawesi Stock, Makassar Subfamily
- Selayar is often considered a dialect of Makassar (Mattulada 1971, *Peta bahasa*, Mills 1975). However, being at the opposite end of the language chain from Makassar, lexical similarity is only 69%. Selayar speakers having a high level of contact with Makassar

frequently report comprehension with Makassar, while speakers having minimal contact almost invariably report no comprehension with Makassar. This suggests that the reported comprehension may be due to bilingualism rather than to inherent linguistic similarity between the two languages.

- NUMBER SPEAKERS:** 90,000
- LOCATION:** Speakers of Selayar are found throughout the Island of Selayar (both along the coastal strip and in the mountains), with some speakers also in Bira on the south-eastern tip of Kabupaten Bulukumba. (See Map 6.)
- RELIGION:** Islam
- ENVIRONMENT:** The island of Selayar is mostly mountainous with a narrow coastal strip. Copra is the main cash crop. Corn and cassava are cultivated for food.



Map 6

B. BUGIS FAMILY

The Bugis Family consists of the Bugis language and the Campalagian language. The lexical similarity between Campalagian and the two dialects of Bugis in our data is 61%, allowing for them to be placed in the same family.

1. LANGUAGE NAME: BUGIS
- ALTERNATE NAMES: Ugi, Bugi, De', Buginese, Boegineesche, Boeginezen
- CLASSIFICATION: South Sulawesi Stock, Bugis Family
- The *Peta bahasa* considers Bugis a single language consisting of ten dialects, including Campalagian. Sneddon follows the *Peta bahasa*. We deviate from the *Peta bahasa* by making Campalagian a separate language (see discussion under Campalagian), but originally followed the *Peta bahasa*'s remaining nine dialects for Bugis as we had data from only two of those dialects. However, since our own field work in South Sulawesi was completed, Timothy and Barbara Friberg have published 'Geografi dialek bahasa Bugis' (1985) which we consider authoritative, and which we follow here. The dialects of Bugis need further study, in particular, dialect intelligibility testing, to determine more conclusively the limits of communication for each 'dialect'. Smith (1984) found three samples of the 'Bugis' language in Sabah, Malaysia differing from each other near the 80% shared cognate mark.
- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 2,500,000+
- LOCATION: Bugis speakers inhabit the area on the South Sulawesi peninsula from three-and-one-half degrees south of the equator to five degrees south. They also inhabit other areas of South Sulawesi marked by coastal swamp such as in Kabupaten Bulukumba, parts of Kabupaten Luwu, Kecamatan Polewali in Kabupaten Polmas and Kecamatan Pasangkayu in Kabupaten Mamuju (see Map 3). Bugis speakers can also be found in almost every major town on the island. Large enclaves of Bugis have migrated to other provinces of Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Maluku, Sumatra, Irian Jaya, and Malaysia.
- RELIGION: Islam
- ENVIRONMENT: The areas inhabited by the majority of Bugis speakers are those best suited for wet rice cultivation, being mostly flat lowlands and rolling hills. Many of those who have moved from the homeland are merchants.

DIALECTS:

The *Peta bahasa* lists ten dialects of Bugis: Luwu, Wajo, Palakka (Bone), Enna (Sinjai), Soppeng, Sidenrang, Pare-Pare, Sawitto (Pinrang), Tallumpanuae (Campalagian) and Ugi Riawa (Pasangkayu). Sirk (1983) lists six tentative dialects of Bugis: Bone, Wajo, Soppeng, Luwu', a southern dialect encompassing the Sinjai-Bulukumba area, and a north-western dialect covering the Sidenrang-Rappang area. Friberg and Friberg's extensive survey of the Bugis area (1985) took a multi-faceted look at the Bugis speech communities based on lexical similarity of 90 word lists, in addition to maps of the lexical isoglosses as well as the phonetic isoglosses. They identified 11 dialects of Bugis, which we follow here.

- a. LUWU (Luwu'): this dialect is spoken in Kabupaten Luwu around the major towns on the coastal flatlands.
- b. WAJO speakers from Kabupaten Wajo are renowned as seafarers.
- c. BONE (Palakka) is considered a prestige dialect. Palakka in Kabupaten Bone was the seat of a sultanate which had wide-spread influence.
- d. SOPPENG dialect is spoken in Kabupaten Soppeng and neighbouring Kabupatens, and also around the town of Polewali in Kabupaten Polmas. Soppeng is also considered a prestige dialect.
- e. ENNA' (Sinjai, Bulukumba): speakers of this dialect are found in Kabupatens Bone, Sinjai, and Bulukumba. Friberg and Friberg call this dialect Sinjai.
- f. SIDRAP (Sidenrang, Rappang): the Sidrap dialect is spoken in Kabupaten Sidenrang.
- g. BARRU (Pare-Pare) is spoken in Kabupaten Barru. The *Peta bahasa* reports the Pare-Pare dialect to be spoken in the city of Pare-Pare and surrounding areas, mostly to the south. We assume this is roughly equivalent to the Barru dialect of Friberg and Friberg. (Although their map shows the Sidrap dialect around the city of Pare-Pare, there is probably overlap between the two dialects.)
- h. SAWITTO is spoken in the southern half of Kabupaten Pinrang and from the city of Polewali to the town of Ugi-Baru in

Kabupaten Polmas. Speakers of this dialect of Bugis inhabit the same general area as speakers of the Pattinjo language, and the identity of the two languages is often confused.

- i. PANGKEP (Pangkajene) is spoken in Kabupaten Pangkajene Kepulauan and overlaps with the Maros-Pangkep dialect of Makassar. The overlap tends to have a checkerboard effect, with one village being Bugis, the next being Makassar, and so on. The *Peta bahasa* noted that Bugis was spoken in the area, but did not identify a dialect. Friberg and Friberg show that Pangkep is a distinct dialect of the Bugis language.
- j. CAMBA is spoken in eastern Kabupaten Maros. Friberg and Friberg show that Camba also stands linguistically as a distinct dialect of Bugis.
- k. PASANGKAYU (Ugi Riawa) is the dialect of Bugis spoken in Kecamatan Pasangkayu of Kabupaten Mamuju, the northernmost tip of South Sulawesi. Friberg and Friberg feel the Bugis community in Pasangkayu was probably settled originally by emigrants from the Wajo-Soppeng area with influxes from other areas, but is nevertheless a distinct dialect of Bugis.

It is interesting to note, as Mills points out, that dialects of Bugis seem to correspond to the old Bugis kingdoms which roughly follow modern kabupaten boundaries (1975:70).

OTHER:

Many manuscripts describing the histories and mythologies of the various Bugis kingdoms were written in the Bugis Lontara syllabary which is still in use today.

2. LANGUAGE NAME:

CAMPALAGIAN

ALTERNATE NAMES:

Tallumpanuae, Tasing, Tjampalagian

CLASSIFICATION:

South Sulawesi Stock, Bugis Family

Previously the small enclave of Campalagian has been grouped with Mandar by Adriani and Kruyt, Salzner, and Mills, while Muthalib (1973), the *Peta bahasa*, and Sneddon have grouped it with Bugis.

We classify Campalagian as distinct from the Bugis language with both Campalagian and Bugis forming a higher level Bugis Family. This is based on the 61% lexical similarity between

Campalagian and two dialects of Bugis. Friberg and Friberg (1985) confirm our separation of Campalagian as a language distinct from Bugis.

In relation to Mandar, Campalagian shows 58% lexical similarity with five Mandar dialects, but even lower percentages with the rest of the Northern South Sulawesi Family to which Mandar belongs. As a small enclave bordered by Mandar there is a high degree of contact between Campalagian and Mandar speakers and it is understandable that there would be the pattern of convergence between the two languages. On the basis of the overall language picture in South Sulawesi we have, therefore, grouped Campalagian within the Bugis Family.

NUMBER SPEAKERS:	12,000
LOCATION:	Campalagian is a small enclave spoken in the town of Campalagian and surrounding areas on the coast of Kabupaten Polmas. (See Map 3.)
RELIGION:	Islam
ENVIRONMENT:	The livelihood of many Campalagian speakers is focused around trade in the town of Campalagian which is located on the coastal plain. Some fishing and small-scale farming is also done.

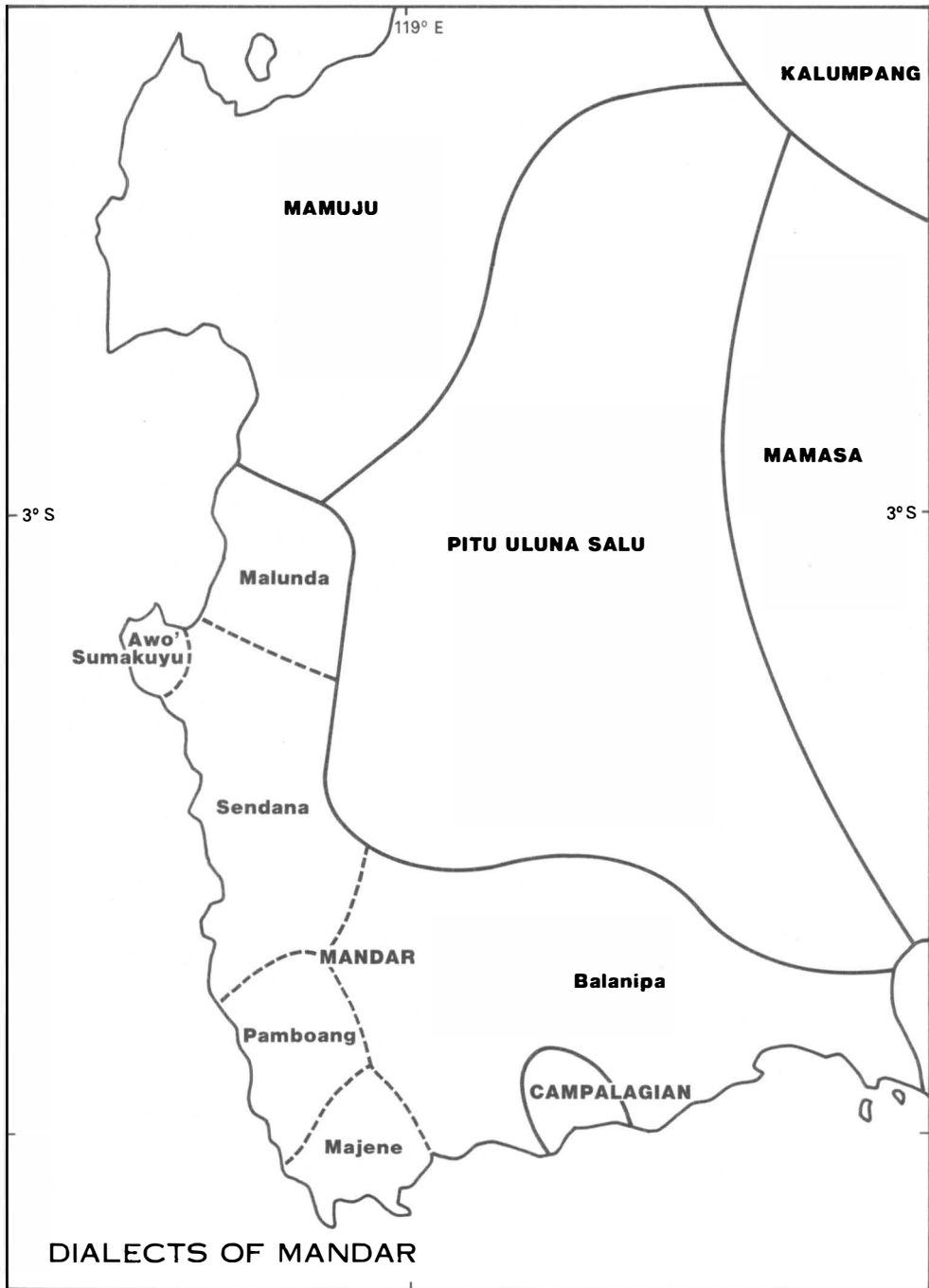
C. NORTHERN SOUTH SULAWESI FAMILY

The Northern South Sulawesi Family consists of 11 languages found in the northern third of the province: Mandar, Mamuju, Pitu Uluna Salu (PUS), Pattae', Kalumpang, Mamasa, Rongkong, Toraja-Sa'dan, Toala', Masenrempulu, and Pattinjo. These languages form a complex chain, relating to each other with an average of 63% lexical similarity, significantly higher than they relate to other languages in the South Sulawesi Stock. However, as to be expected in a chain, similarity decreases as linguistic distance within the chain increases.

Of the 11 languages in the Northern South Sulawesi Family, five languages (Kalumpang, Mamasa, Rongkong, Toraja-Sa'dan, and Toala') belong to the Toraja-Sa'dan Subfamily while two languages (Masenrempulu and Pattinjo) belong to the Masenrempulu Subfamily. The Mandar, Mamuju, PUS, and Pattae' languages are the remaining four in the family. Mandar, Mamuju and PUS are more accurately listed as complex dialect groupings than as cohesive languages.

A reduced matrix and tree diagram of our data from the Northern South Sulawesi Family are shown in Figures 7 and 8.

1. LANGUAGE NAME:	MANDAR
ALTERNATE NAMES:	Andian, Manjar, Mandharsche
CLASSIFICATION:	South Sulawesi Stock, Northern South Sulawesi Family



Map 7

- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 250,000+⁹
- LOCATION: Mandar is spoken in Kabupaten Majene and south-west Kabupaten Polmas. (See Maps 3 and 7.)
- RELIGION: Islam
- ENVIRONMENT: Speakers of Mandar inhabit the coastal lowlands and hills of Kabupatens Majene and Polmas. Small copra plantations, fishing, and dry field cultivation are their main means of livelihood. Cacao is also grown in the Sendana and Malunda areas.
- DIALECTS: In addition to those dialects listed below, some recognise finer distinctions around the city of Majene.
- a. MAJENE dialect is spoken in the city of Majene and surrounding areas.
 - b. BALANIPA (Napo-Tinambung): Napo was the seat of the former Mandar kingdom and Balanipa is considered to be the prestige dialect. The Balanipa speaking area is located east and north-east from the city of Majene. Balanipa means 'clearing in the nipa palms' describing the scene of the climax in one of their legends.
 - c. PAMBOANG is the dialect spoken in Kecamatan Pamboang north-west of Majene.
 - d. SENDANA (Cenrana, Tjendana): this dialect is spoken in Kecamatan Sendana and north, extending part way into Kecamatan Malunda.
 - e. AWO' SUMAKUYU (Awo', Awoq Sumakuyu): the small peninsula protruding west above the Sendana area is the location of the Awo' Sumakuyu dialect.
 - f. MALUNDA dialect is spoken in Kecamatan Malunda. Malunda shows convergence with the dialects of Mamuju especially with the Tappalang and Sumare dialects which are geographically near Malunda. We consider Malunda to be a dialect of Mandar because the average lexical similarity of Malunda with the other dialects of Mandar is higher than it is with the dialects of Mamuju (see Figure 6). Furthermore, Malunda speakers identify themselves more with Mandar than Mamuju. However, Malunda could be considered transitional between the two groups of dialect chains.
- OTHER: Some Mandar texts are written in the Bugis Lontara syllabary script.

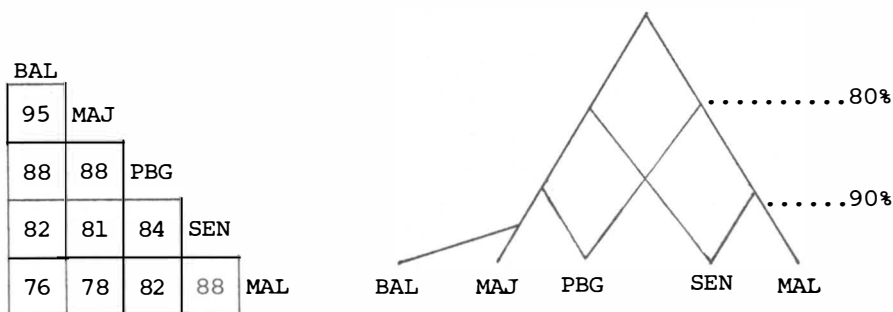


Figure 12: MANDAR DIALECTS
MANDAR DIALECT CHAIN

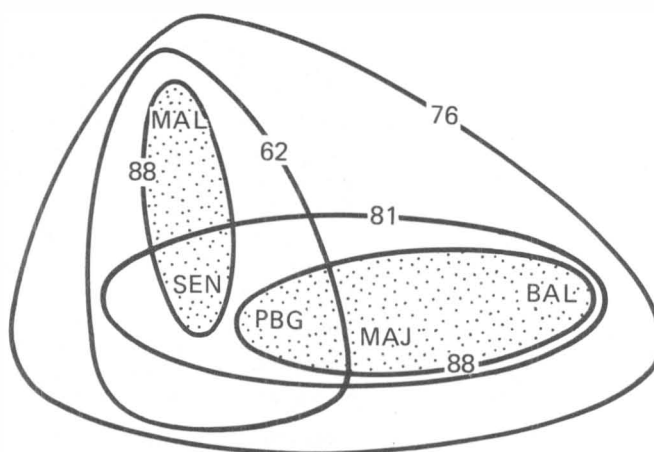


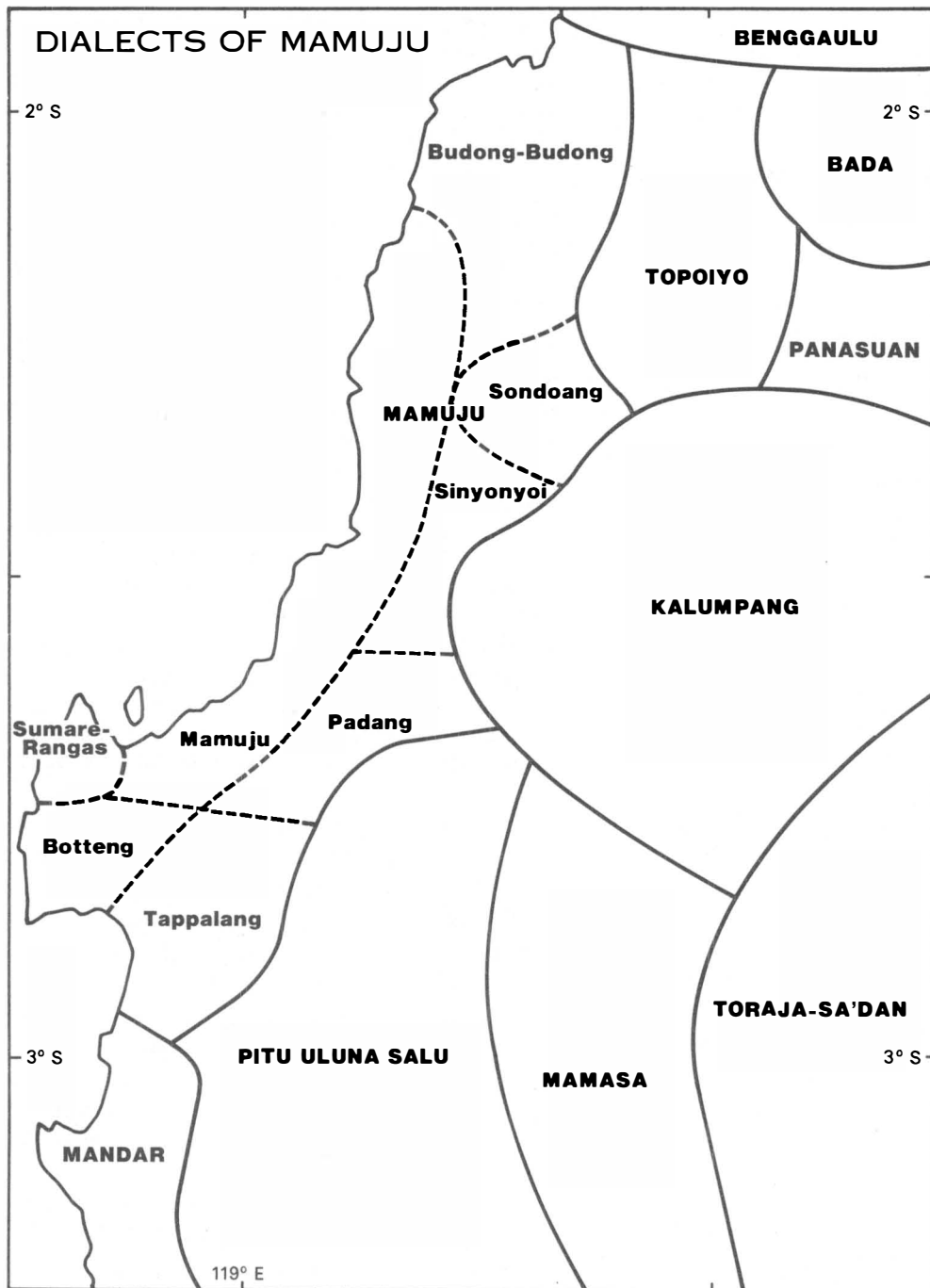
Figure 13

2. LANGUAGE NAME: MAMUJU
 ALTERNATE NAMES: Udai, Mamudju, Mamoedjoe, Mamoedjoesch
 CLASSIFICATION: South Sulawesi Stock, Northern South Sulawesi Family

The history of classifying Mamuju shows lack of agreement among scholars. Adriani and Kruyt (1914) and Van der Veen (1929) seem to have recognised the area north of Sendana as somehow distinct from Mandar, and called it Mamuju (Mills 1975:92). Esser, on the other hand, omits any reference to Mamuju, while Salzner and the *Peta bahasa* group it with Mandar. Mills questions the existence of a distinct Mamuju language, other than as a 'koine' on a PUS base (1975:125, 1981:59). Sneddon shows Mamuju as a language distinct from Mandar.

Our data from six dialects of Mamuju show that it is distinct from both Mandar and PUS. Earlier confusion has resulted from both a lack of data and failing to recognise Mumuju within the context of the chaining phenomenon in the Northern South Sulawesi Family.

- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 95,000¹⁰
- LOCATION: Mamuju speakers inhabit the coastal plains and foothills of Kabupaten Mamuju from its southern border to the mouth of the Budong-Budong River. (See Maps 3 and 8.)
- RELIGION: Islam
- ENVIRONMENT: Small copra plantations, cacao, cloves, corn, and cassava are the principal crops grown along the narrow coastal strip.
- DIALECTS: The dialects of Mamuju are many, with the speakers of each dialect having very strong ties of identification to their own dialect group. Sneddon separates Botteng and Tappalang from Mamuju, combining them as a single dialect of Mandar.
- a. MAMUJU dialect is spoken along the coast of Kecamatan Mamuju and Kalukku to the Budong-Budong River. In addition to having around 60,000 native speakers, Mamuju is also the lingua franca of the region.
 - b. SUMARE speakers are found on Rangas Point west of the city of Mamuju in Kecamatan Mamuju (3,000 speakers).
 - c. RANGAS dialect is reported to be distinct from the Sumare dialect, while also being located on Rangas Point.
 - d. PADANG is the dialect spoken inland and south-east of the city of Mamuju, in Kecamatan Mamuju.
 - e. SINYONYOI (Sinjonjoi): about 4,000 speakers of this dialect are found in Kecamatan Kalukku.
 - f. SONDOANG speakers are found north of the Sinyonyoi area in Kecamatan Kalukku.
 - g. BUDONG-BUDONG dialect is spoken in the area around the mouth of the Budong-Budong River in Kecamatan Budong-Budong.
 - h. TAPPALANG dialect has 9,000 speakers in the southernmost part of Kecamatan Mamuju.



Map 8

i. BOTTENG, with 12,000 speakers, is the dialect spoken in the area below Rangas Point, south Kecamatan Mamuju.

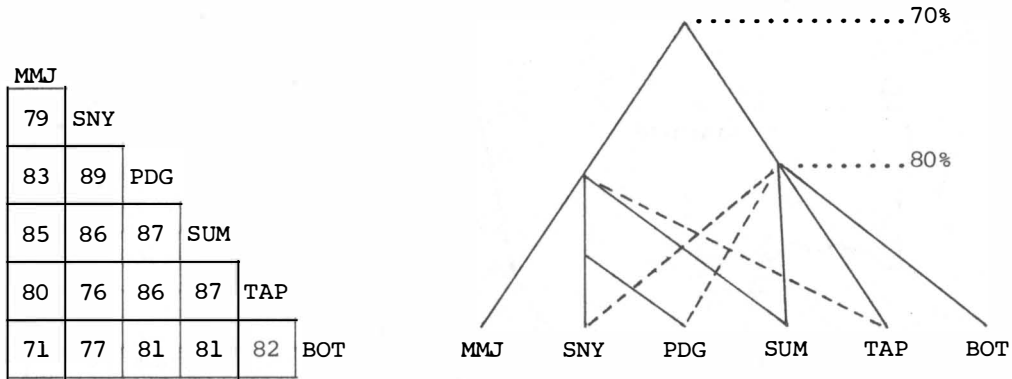


Figure 14: MAMUJU DIALECTS
MAMUJU DIALECT CHAIN

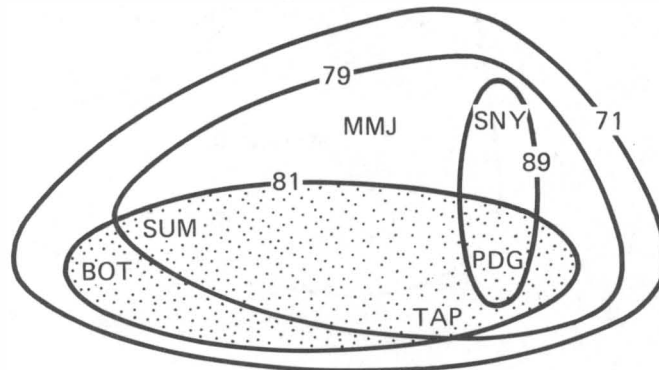


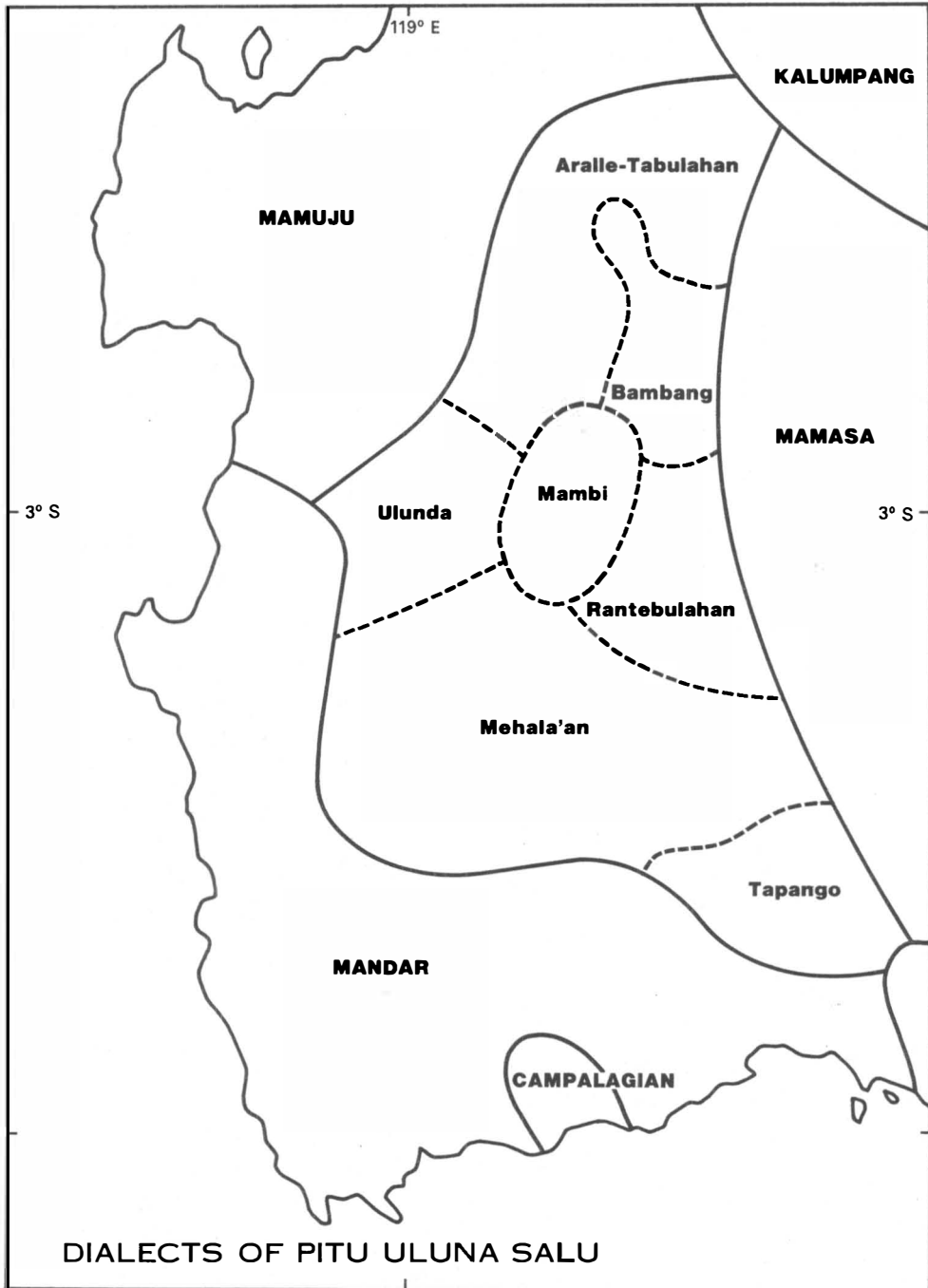
Figure 15

3. LANGUAGE NAME:
ALTERNATE NAMES:
CLASSIFICATION:

PITU ULUNA SALU 'Seven River Heads'
PUS, Pitu-Ulunna-Salo, Pitu Uluna Binanga
South Sulawesi Stock, Northern South Sulawesi Family.

As with Mamuju, PUS has previously been grouped in a variety of ways. Esser lists PUS as separate from both Mandar and Sa'dan, while Salzner groups PUS as one of his three divisions of Sa'dan and the *Peta bahasa* groups PUS under Mandar.

Our data from five of the PUS dialects show it placed neatly within the Northern South Sulawesi Family being both related to and distinct from the other members in the family. (See Figures 7 and 8.)



Map 9

As mentioned in the discussion in Chapter 2, the PUS situation shows a linguistically complex chain of a grouping of dialects. (See Figures 16 and 17.) These dialects cannot be clearly identified as either separate languages or as dialects of a single PUS language until extensive dialect intelligibility testing and thorough comparative studies have been carried out. When that is done, the additional data may allow PUS to be reclassified as a subfamily consisting of several languages and dialects. Until such data are available, we list PUS as a grouping of dialects.

- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 40,000
- LOCATION: The PUS area is located in the watershed of the Maloso and Mapilli rivers in Kecamatan Mambi of western Kabupaten Polmas overlapping into Kabupatens Majene and Mamuju. (See Map 9.)
- RELIGION: Mixed: Islam in the south, Christian in the north.
- ENVIRONMENT: Wet rice and coffee are cultivated in the mountains and river valleys of the PUS area.
- DIALECTS: The dialects of PUS relate to each other in a complex pattern of inter-relationships. (See the following figures and maps.)
- a. ARALLE-TABULAHAN is spoken in north Kecamatan Mambi, Kabupaten Polmas.
 - b. MAMBI is spoken in central Kecamatan Mambi.
 - c. RANTEBULAHAN (Rantebulawan): this dialect is spoken in the area south-east of the town of Mambi.
 - d. BAMBANG (Bamban): Bambang is spoken in the area north-east of the town of Mambi with an additional enclave in the village of Buntu Malangka, near Aralle, the result of a recent migration.
 - e. MEHALA'AN is spoken in the area south of Mambi.
 - f. TAPANGO is the dialect spoken in north Kecamatan Wonomulyo, Kabupaten Polmas.
 - g. ULUNDA is reportedly spoken west of the Mambi area extending into Kecamatan Malunda of Kabupaten Majene.

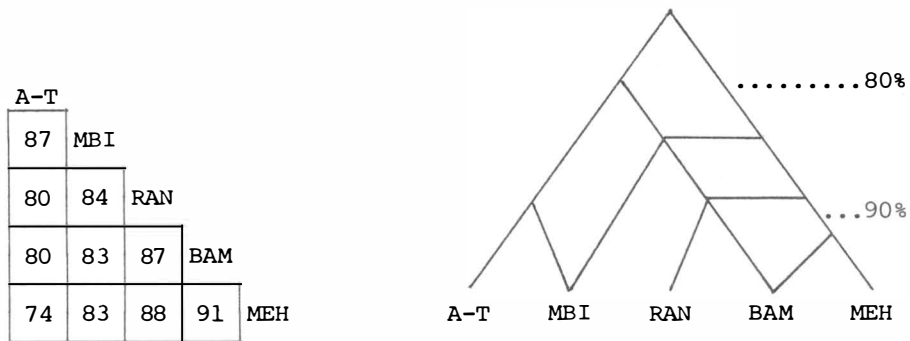


Figure 16: PUS DIALECTS
PITU ULUNA SALU DIALECT CHAIN

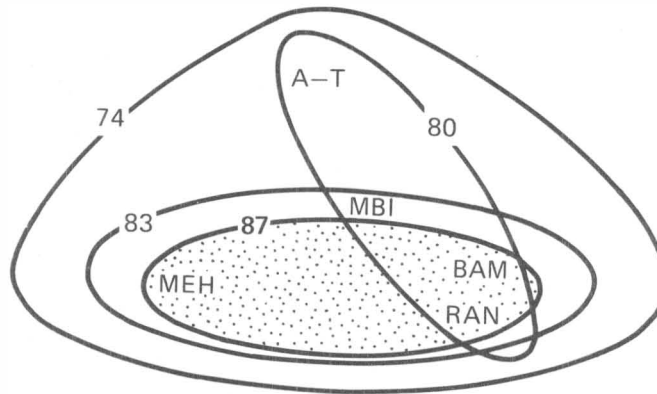


Figure 17

4. LANGUAGE NAME: PATTAE'
 ALTERNATE NAMES: Patta' Binuang, Binuang, Tae'
 CLASSIFICATION: South Sulawesi Stock, Northern South Sulawesi Family.

Adriani and Kruyt recorded Binuang as being a dialect of Mandar (Mills 1975:89) and several others have followed their lead. In contrast, however, the *Peta bahasa* includes Pattae' under Mamasa.

Our data show that Pattae' is actually an independent member within the Northern South Sulawesi Family. Geographically, Pattae' is located where Mandar, Campalagian, PUS, Mamasa, Toraja-Sa'dan, Pattinjo, and Bugis all converge. Based on lexical similarity with the South Sulawesi Stock, Pattae' is placed firmly with the Northern South Sulawesi Family.

Within the family, Pattaë' shows an average of 65.5% lexical similarity with all other members, which is a higher average than with any other member. Pattaë' also shows the pattern of convergence with the Bugis Family. This is reasonably explained by the high level of contact between Pattaë' and the two languages of the Bugis Family, that is, Bugis and Campalagian. (See Figure 7.)

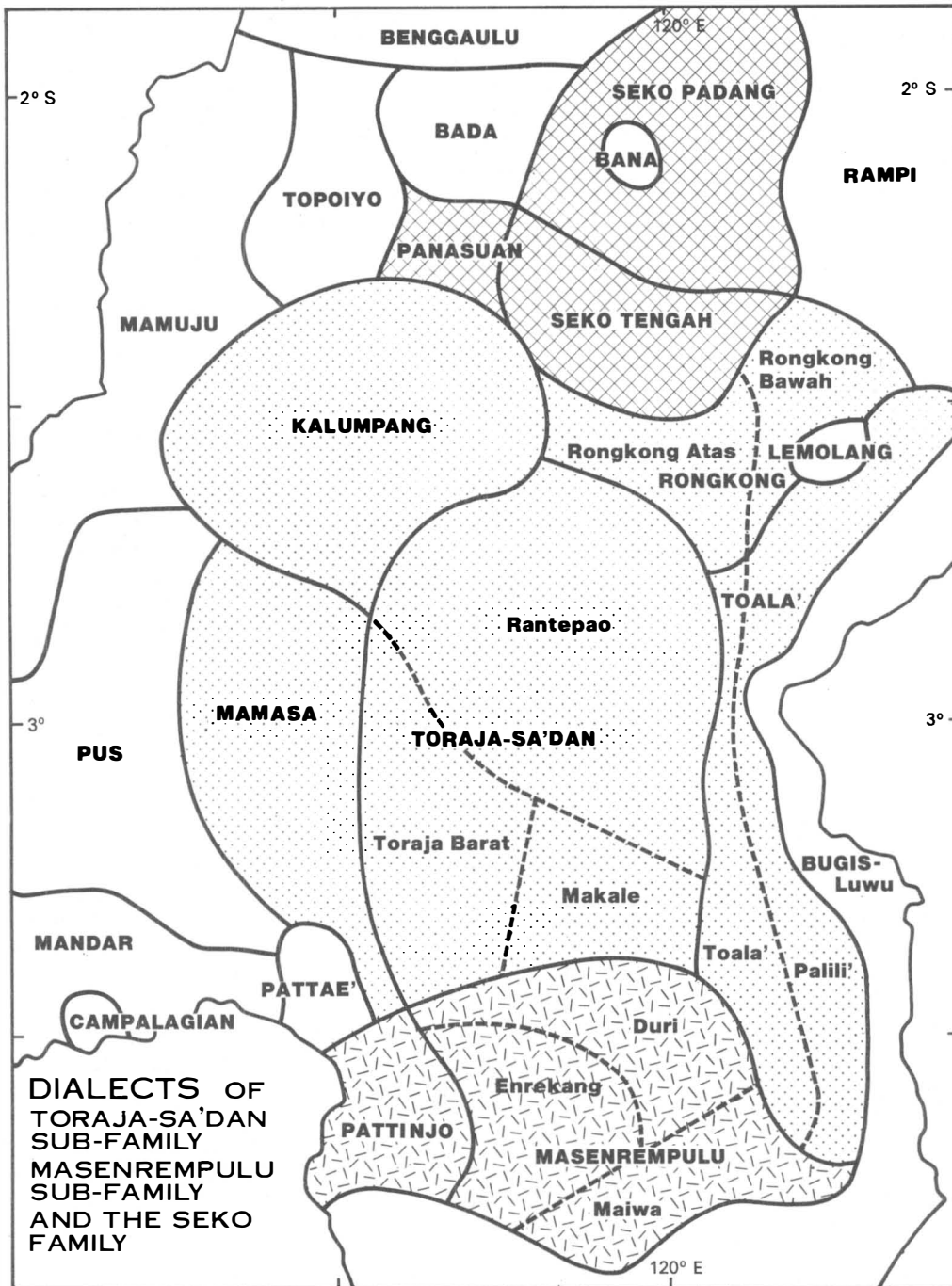
NUMBER SPEAKERS:	35,000
LOCATION:	Pattaë' is found in Kecamatan Polewali in Kabupaten Polmas. (See Map 3.)
RELIGION:	Islam
DIALECTS:	The dialects of Pattaë' are centred around the eastern end of the city of Polewali and into the surrounding countryside. Binuang is the largest dialect group. Our sources indicated that the other dialects only show minor, but nevertheless identifiable, distinctions, and seem to correlate with clan groupings.
	a. BINUANG is considered the prestige dialect.
	b. PAKU
	c. BATETANGA
	d. ANTEAPI

CA. TORAJA-SA'DAN SUBFAMILY

Five languages comprise the Toraja-Sa'dan Subfamily: Kalumpang, Mamasa, Rongkong, Toraja-Sa'dan, and Toala'. These languages form a language chain within the broader chaining patterns of the Northern South Sulawesi Family, relating to each other predominantly with 75-80% lexical similarity, although the most linguistically distant dialects of the chain, Kalumpang and Toala', share only 64% lexical similarity.

The use of the name Toraja-Sa'dan for this subfamily is, to a certain degree, arbitrary. We have chosen to use 'Toraja-Sa'dan', reflecting the ethnic group which is socio-politically dominant among the five languages of the subfamily. This is not to imply that the other languages in the subfamily are 'dialects' of Toraja-Sa'dan, a common misconception. As with many other areas of South Sulawesi, additional research such as dialect intelligibility testing needs to be carried out to further clarify the language-dialect distinction within this subfamily.

5. LANGUAGE NAME:	KALUMPANG
ALTERNATE NAMES:	Galumpang, Makki, Ma'ki, Maki, Mangki, Mangkir
	The name 'Kalumpang' is used by Kalumpang speakers to refer to themselves and the area in which they live. The term 'Makki' and its



Map 10

- variations are used by Toraja-Sa'dan speakers to refer to people in the Kalumpang area.
- CLASSIFICATION: South Sulawesi Stock, Northern South Sulawesi Family, Toraja-Sa'dan Subfamily.
- In the past, Kalumpang has most frequently been grouped as a dialect of Toraja-Sa'dan, although Salzner includes 'Maki' under PUS. Within the Toraja-Sa'dan Subfamily, Kalumpang shows its highest relationship with Mamasa (78%) and Rongkong (77%), while Toraja-Sa'dan at 72% and Toala' (64%) are more distant.
- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 8,000 (estimate)
- LOCATION: Kalumpang is found in Kecamatan Kalumpang in the south-east section of Kabupaten Mamuju. (See Map 10.)
- RELIGION: Christian
- ENVIRONMENT: Wet rice and coffee are cultivated in the mountain and river valleys.
- DIALECTS: Our informants reported some lexical and phonological variations between villages. No identifiable subgroupings were found during our preliminary investigations.
6. LANGUAGE NAME: MAMASA
- CLASSIFICATION: South Sulawesi Stock, Northern South Sulawesi Family, Toraja-Sa'dan Subfamily.
- As with Kalumpang, Mamasa has often been considered a dialect of Toraja-Sa'dan, although Salzner again deviates from other sources and groups it under PUS.
- For the relationship of Mamasa with other members of the Toraja-Sa'dan Subfamily see Figures 18 and 19.
- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 50,000
- LOCATION: Eastern half of Kabupaten Polmas along the Mamasa River.
- RELIGION: Christian
- ENVIRONMENT: Wet rice and coffee are cultivated in the river valleys.
7. LANGUAGE NAME: RONGKONG
- ALTERNATE NAMES: Rongkong-Kanandede, To Rongkong
- CLASSIFICATION: South Sulawesi Stock, Northern South Sulawesi Family, Toraja-Sa'dan Subfamily.
- Most previous sources group Rongkong as a dialect of Toraja-Sa'dan. However, Rongkong

speakers perceive themselves to be distinct from Toraja-Sa'dan and lexicostatistically Rongkong is distinct from Toraja-Sa'dan within the Toraja-Sa'dan Subfamily language chain. (See Figure 18.) Further study, such as intelligibility testing and socio-linguistic studies are needed to determine more precisely the relationship between the two languages.

NUMBER SPEAKERS:

30,000 (estimate)

LOCATION:

Rongkong speakers take their name from the Rongkong River, the river system along which they live in south-east Kecamatan Limbong and Kecamatan Sabbang of Kabupaten Luwu. There is also an enclave of Rongkong speakers in Kecamatan Nuha near the town of Soroako.

RELIGION:

Mixed; Christian and Islam

ENVIRONMENT:

Wet rice, coffee, and vegetables are cultivated in the river valleys of the Rongkong River system.

DIALECTS:

Lexicostatistically, the dialects of Rongkong are quite close to each other at 92% lexical similarity. However, in addition to minor differences in vocabulary, historical, political and religious factors significantly divide the speakers of the Rongkong language into two groups.

- a. RONGKONG ATAS 'Upper Rongkong' is spoken in the upper river system in Kecamatan Limbong and also in the area called 'Seko Lemo'. Speakers of this dialect are predominantly Christian.
- b. RONGKONG BAWAH 'Lower Rongkong' is spoken in the lower river system in Kecamatan Sabbang with its speakers being predominantly Moslem.

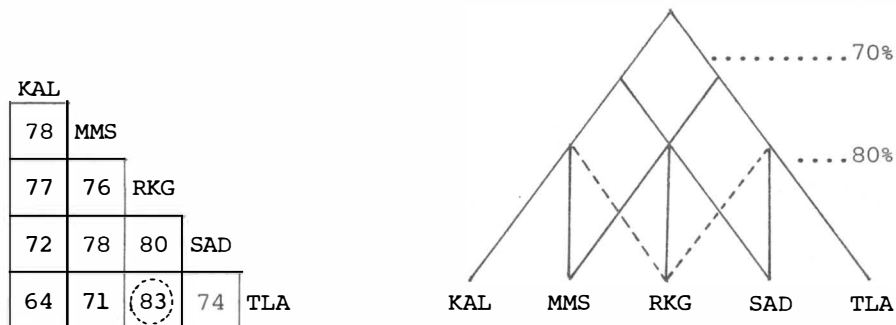


Figure 18: TORAJA-SA'DAN SUBFAMILY

TORAJA-SA'DAN SUBFAMILY LANGUAGE CHAIN

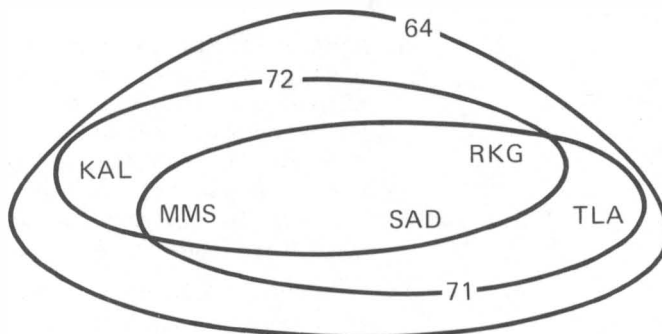


Figure 19

8. LANGUAGE NAME: TORAJA-SA'DAN
- ALTERNATE NAMES: Toraja, Toradja, Sadan, Sadang, Sa'dansche, Tae', Ta'e, South Toraja
- We have chosen to use the term 'Toraja-Sa'dan' in referring to the language of this well-known ethnic group in northern South Sulawesi who reside in the region of the upper Sa'dan River system. Although popularly called 'Toraja', removing the 'Sa'dan' from the language name engenders the possibility of failing to identify the group with its literature, which is, relatively, considerable.¹¹ There would also be the possibility of fostering confusion with what has in the past been labelled the Toraja Group (Kaili-Pamona Family) of Central Sulawesi.
- CLASSIFICATION: South Sulawesi Stock, Northern South Sulawesi Family, Toraja-Sa'dan Subfamily
- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 350,000
- LOCATION: Speakers of Toraja-Sa'dan are found mostly in Kabupaten Tana Toraja with large enclaves migrating to Kabupaten Luwu. (See Map 10.) There are also several thousand speakers of Toraja-Sa'dan living and working in the city of Ujung Pandang.
- RELIGION: Predominantly Christian with adherents to the traditional Torajan religion and to Islam.
- ENVIRONMENT: Wet rice farming is carried out in the river valleys. Coffee is also cultivated and has historically played a significant role in the trade of the area.

DIALECTS:

The divisions of the Toraja-Sa'dan dialects do not receive unanimous agreement in the literature. We are tentatively following the groupings of our informants.

- a. MAKALE (Tallulembangna): the Makale dialect is spoken mainly in Kecamatan Makale and also in Kecamatan Sangalla and Mengkendek of Kabupaten Tana Toraja. Sneddon lists Sillanan Gandangbatu as a separate dialect in the southern part of our Makale dialect region extending eastward into the Toala' language area.
- b. RANTEPAO (Kesu'): Kecamatan Rantepao, Sanggalangi, Sesean, and Rindingallo in Kabupaten Tana Toraja are the areas where the Rantepao dialect is predominantly spoken. This dialect is also considered the prestige dialect. Sneddon shows Kesu' and Rantepao as distinct dialects and may possibly be correct, although our informants (from the Makale dialect) identified them as one and the same. Mills combines Makale and Rantepao into a single dialect (1975:102). However, our many informants are unanimous in reporting distinctions between the two.
- c. TORAJA BARAT 'West Toraja' (Mappa-Pana): this dialect is spoken in western Kabupaten Tana Toraja extending down into Kabupaten Pinrang. It should not be confused with what is at times called West Toraja in the older literature referring to languages around the Palu area of Central Sulawesi.

OTHER:

The Toraja-Sa'dan area has attracted the attention of outside scholars, travellers and tourists with its colourful houses, intricate kinship patterns and cosmology. Much has been written on the group with varying degrees of accuracy. Much of the scholarship is built on the work of Dr H. van der Veen, a missionary-linguist who lived and worked in the region for many years.

9. LANGUAGE NAME:

TOALA'

ALTERNATE NAMES:

Toala, Toala-Palili, Sada, Toware', Toraja Timur 'East Toraja', Sangangalla

Toraja Timur 'East Toraja' is frequently used to refer to Toala', geographically located east of the Toraja-Sa'dan language area. The term should not be confused with earlier uses of 'East Toraja' referring to the eastern part

of the Kaili-Pamona Family of Central Sulawesi. Toala' is also sometimes referred to as Luwu after the geographical area. In these cases it may be confused with the Luwu dialect of Bugis.

CLASSIFICATION:

South Sulawesi Stock, Northern South Sulawesi Family, Toraja-Sa'dan Subfamily.

There has been great diversity in the previous classifications of Toala'. Esser uses the term 'Luwu' Group' to cover languages in this general area, but what he means more specifically is unclear. Salzner places Toala' in his 'Makassar-Bugis Group'. The *Peta bahasa* and Mills (1975:107) consider it to be a dialect of Toraja-Sa'dan. Sneddon shows Sangangalla to be the easternmost dialect of the Sa'dan language.

In our data Toala' shows the pattern of convergence with Rongkong, which is understandable in light of the high level of interaction between Toala' and Rongkong speakers. Geographically and linguistically Toala' and Kalumpang are the two most distant points in the Toraja-Sa'dan Subfamily chain. (See Figure 18 and Map 10.)

NUMBER SPEAKERS:

30,000 (estimate)

LOCATION:

Speakers of Toala' inhabit the area from the town of Masamba in the north to the southern tip of Kabupaten Luwu. (See Map 10.)

RELIGION:

Islam

ENVIRONMENT:

On the coastal plain, small copra plantations are cultivated, while in the mountains the livelihood consists of swidden agriculture.

DIALECTS:

The two dialects of Toala' are distinguished linguistically, geographically and socially.

- a. TOALA' speakers inhabit the mountain area of southern Kabupaten Luwu from the foothills up to the mountain divide.
- b. PALILI' speakers inhabit the narrow coastal plain which overlaps with the Luwu dialect of Bugis.

CB. MASENREMPULU SUBFAMILY

The Masenrempulu Subfamily tentatively consists of the Masenrempulu language and the Pattinjo language. The Masenrempulu Subfamily is related to other members of the Northern South Sulawesi Family by over 60%, substantiating its placement within the family.

Further investigation may show the Masenrempulu Subfamily to consist of four rather than two languages with each of the three dialects of Masenrempulu being separate languages. This is suggested by lexicostatistical data from Pelenkahu et al (1972), quoted in Mills (1975:110). We have permuted their figures in the matrix below:

Maiwa			
79	Pattinjo		
67	81	Endekan	
67	70	78	Duri

Figure 20: PELENKAHU'S MASENREMPULU DATA

Dialect intelligibility testing and other sociolinguistic studies are needed in order to present a more definite picture of the language-dialect situation within the Masenrempulu Subfamily. Until then, we have opted to consider the Masenrempulu Subfamily as consisting of two languages. This grouping also reflects native speaker perception.

10. LANGUAGE NAME: MASENREMPULU
- CLASSIFICATION: South Sulawesi Stock, Northern South Sulawesi Family, Masenrempulu Subfamily
- Esser seems to include Masenrempulu in his 'Luwu' Group'. Salzner groups Masenrempulu under Toraja-Sa'dan while the *Peta bahasa* shows it as a distinct group. Mills (1975: 109ff) describes Masenrempulu as transitional between Toraja-Sa'dan and Bugis.
- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 150,000^{1 2}
- LOCATION: Masenrempulu speakers are located in Kabupaten Enrekang extending slightly into Kabupaten Pinrang and Sidenrang.
- RELIGION: Islam
- DIALECTS: The Masenrempulu dialects are marked by linguistic, geographic, and cultural differences.
- a. MAIWA dialect is found in Kecamatan Maiwa of Kabupaten Enrekang and in Kabupaten Sidenrang. Maiwa speakers live in the rolling lowlands and are known as herders. They also grow fruits and vegetables and harvest palm sugar.
 - b. ENREKANG (Endekan, Endekan Timur): Kecamatan Enrekang of Kabupaten Enrekang is the area of the Enrekang dialect with some speakers also in Kabupaten Pinrang. They live in the foothills growing corn and cassava.

c. DURI (Cakke, Kalosi): the Duri dialect is spoken in Kecamatan Alla', Anggeraja, and Baraka of Kabupaten Enrekang. Duri is considered the prestige dialect. Vegetables and coffee are cultivated in the mountains.

11. LANGUAGE NAME: PATTINJO
- ALTERNATE NAMES: Endekan Barat
- CLASSIFICATION: South Sulawesi Stock, Northern South Sulawesi Family, Masenrempulu Subfamily
- Written sources mentioning Pattinjo, such as Van der Veen (1929), Pelenkahu et al (1972), *Peta bahasa*, and Mills (1975:109-114), all seem to concur that Pattinjo is somehow related to Masenrempulu, but whether it should be considered a dialect or separate language is unclear.
- A comparison of our Enrekang word list with a 100-word list of Pattinjo supplied by C. Salombe of Hasanuddin University shows 80% lexical similarity. Our sources in Enrekang group themselves with Maiwa and Duri as dialects of Masenrempulu, but separate from Pattinjo. Based on this native speaker perception, we list Pattinjo as a separate language from Masenrempulu, recognising that it is marginal and that further study is clearly needed.
- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 50,000
- LOCATION: Pattinjo speakers are located in the northern half of Kabupaten Pinrang.
- RELIGION: Islam
- ENVIRONMENT: Wet rice cultivation, corn and vegetable farming are the principal means of livelihood on the fertile plains of the area.
- DIALECTS: The degree of differentiation between the dialects of Pattinjo is unclear.
- a. LETTA is located in the northern part of the Pattinjo area.
 - b. BATULAPPA is spoken in the area around the mouth of the Sa'dan River and northward.
 - c. KASSA is spoken in the area around the mouth of the Sa'dan River extending inland.

D. SEKO FAMILY

There is a general assumption in the literature that Seko belongs within the South Sulawesi Stock, is probably a single language, and is relatively unknown. Sirk (1981:29) comments that Seko is 'virtually undescribed'.

Our data support the placement of Seko within the South Sulawesi Stock. There are significantly lower percentages of lexical similarity between Seko and languages of other stocks in Sulawesi than between Seko and other members of the South Sulawesi Stock. Within the Stock, Seko shows higher percentages of lexical similarity with the languages of the Northern South Sulawesi Family than with any other members of the Stock, such as the Bugis Family, or the Makassar Subfamily. However, the average lexical similarity between Seko and the members of the Northern South Sulawesi Family is only 52%, not high enough to include Seko as a member of the Family. Thus, Seko stands firmly within the South Sulawesi Stock, distinct from other members of the Stock.

Having taken only one word list from a Seko Tengah speaker and hearing reports of intelligibility between Seko Tengah and Seko Padang we assumed Seko was a single language until we received reports from Thomas and Kathy Laskowske (in preparation) showing that Seko should be considered a higher level grouping consisting of three languages: Seko Tengah, Seko Padang and Panasuan. We follow the Laskowskes' analysis for listing these as distinct languages.¹³

1. LANGUAGE NAME: SEKO TENGAH
- ALTERNATE NAMES: Pewanean
- CLASSIFICATION: South Sulawesi Stock, Seko Family
- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 2,300-2,500 (Laskowske)
- LOCATION: The entire Seko area includes the northern two-thirds of Kecamatan Limbong in Kabupaten Luwu and the north-east strip of Kecamatan Kalumpang in Kabupaten Mamuju. Seko Tengah is spoken in the southern one-third of this area. (See Maps 3 and 10.)
The area called 'Seko Lemo' in Kecamatan Limbong is reported to be inhabited predominantly by speakers of Rongkong Atas.
- RELIGION: Christian
- ENVIRONMENT: Coffee, dry rice, corn, and cassava are cultivated in the high central plateau.
2. LANGUAGE NAME: SEKO PADANG
- ALTERNATE NAMES: Wono
- CLASSIFICATION: South Sulawesi Stock, Seko Family
- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 4,500-5,000 (Laskowske)
- LOCATION: Seko Padang is spoken in the northern two-thirds of the Seko area and is considered to be the prestige dialect. There are reports of speakers from the Seko area who have resettled in the Palolo Valley of Central

Sulawesi (D. Barr, personal communication). Laskowskes confirm that about half of the speakers of Seko Padang have resettled in the Palolo Valley.

RELIGION: Christian
 ENVIRONMENT: Coffee, dry rice, corn, and cassava are cultivated in the high central plateau.

3. LANGUAGE NAME: PANASUAN
 ALTERNATE NAMES: To Panasean, To Pamosean
 CLASSIFICATION: South Sulawesi Stock, Seko Family
 NUMBER SPEAKERS: 645 (Laskowske)
 LOCATION: Panasuan speakers are reported to live north of the Kalumpang speaking area and west of the Seko Tengah and Seko Padang areas, merging into the Kalumpang area in Kabupaten Mamuju. (See Maps 3 and 10.)

E. LEMOLANG

1. LANGUAGE NAME: LEMOLANG
 ALTERNATE NAMES: Baebunta
 CLASSIFICATION: South Sulawesi Stock, Lemolang Isolate

Sirk (1981:34,35) has been one of the few to mention and attempt to classify Lemolang. He postulates that Lemolang is an 'aboriginal' non-South Sulawesi language which 'remained in the South Sulawesi-speaking area until recent times (the enclave of Lemolang, in Kabupaten Luwu, possibly still exists even today)'. From our travels for this research, we can confirm the existence of Lemolang speakers today.

Recognising the divergence of Lemolang from South Sulawesi languages, Sirk groups Lemolang with the Central Sulawesi languages, which he calls 'Highland Toraja', an older term for Kaili-Pamona languages in Central Sulawesi:

As far as the scant information presented by van der Veen (1929: 93-96) permits us to judge, Lemolang, showing some characteristics of Mori, seems, nevertheless, to be grouped with the 'Highland Toraja' languages. (1981:34,35)

In our own data, Lemolang shows its highest lexical similarity (at percentages only in the mid-fifties) with several members of the

Northern South Sulawesi Family of the South Sulawesi Stock. Typically, Lemolang relates to the other languages in our data around 40% lexical similarity. Based on this, and the additional data presented below where Lemolang shows even lower percentages of lexical similarity with members of other stocks in Sulawesi, we classify Lemolang within the South Sulawesi Stock. As there is currently no evidence for combining Lemolang with any other member of the South Sulawesi Stock, we list it as an isolate.

CENTRAL SULAWESI STOCK, KAILI-PAMONA FAMILY

Lemolang - Topoiyo	=	41%
Lemolang - Rampi	=	42%
Lemolang - Pamona-Tomoni	=	45%
Lemolang - Sarudu	=	49%

The 100-item word lists in Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979) allow for comparison of lexical similarity between Lemolang and members of the Bungku-Mori Family of the Central Sulawesi Stock:

CENTRAL SULAWESI STOCK, BUNGKU-MORI FAMILY

Lemolang - Mori Bawah	=	41%
Lemolang - Mori Atas	=	39%
Lemolang - Bungku	=	38%

Additional 100-item word lists provided by C. Salombe of Hasanuddin University allow for comparing Lemolang with members of the Muna-Buton Stock. (The majority of these languages are in the province of South-east Sulawesi.)

MUNA-BUTON STOCK

Lemolang - Muna	=	39%
Lemolang - Buton	=	26%

NUMBER SPEAKERS:	1,000-2,000 (estimate)
LOCATION:	The Lemolang speakers are concentrated around the village of Baebunta just north of the town of Sabbang in Kabupaten Luwu. (See Map 3.)
RELIGION:	Islam
ENVIRONMENT:	Lemolang speakers live in the area where the flatlands of Kabupaten Luwu rise into foothills.
OTHER:	Our informants reported that children are growing up understanding but not speaking Lemolang. This has yet to be verified.

II. CENTRAL SULAWESI STOCK

Several languages in the northern part of the South Sulawesi province belong to the Central Sulawesi Stock. The data collected for this study show these languages belong to two families within the Central Sulawesi Stock, that is, the Kaili-Pamona Family and the Bungku-Mori Family.

As our data deal with only a small segment of the Central Sulawesi Stock, we have supplemented our classification with information from Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979) in positing divisions of the Stock. Barr, Barr and Salombe's Central Sulawesi data show the Bungku-Mori Family (which they term Sub-group) to be one of several families in the Central Sulawesi Stock, based on a 60-75% range of lexical similarity. Both Esser and Salzner separate their Bungku-Laki (Bungku-Mori) Group which covers most of peninsular south-east Sulawesi. The question as to whether all these languages are actually within the Central Sulawesi Stock will need to be substantiated by further studies in South-east Sulawesi. Hopefully such studies will also present a clearer picture of the stock level relationships in Sulawesi.

A. KAILI-PAMONA FAMILY

We have adopted the suggestion given in Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979:32) in labelling this family Kaili-Pamona after the two dominant language groups in the area, rather than using the traditional term of 'Toraja' or 'Highland Toraja' which is currently unacceptable to the people of Central Sulawesi and easily confused with Toraja-Sa'dan of South Sulawesi.

The languages in Central Sulawesi represented by this family in the Barr, Barr and Salombe study are related to each other by an average of 62% lexical similarity and higher which substantiates calling it a family.

1. LANGUAGE NAME: TOPOIYO
- CLASSIFICATION: Central Sulawesi Stock, Kaili-Pamona Family
- In comparing Topoiyo with 100-word lists of languages in the Central Sulawesi Stock, Kaili-Pamona Family (in Barr, Barr and Salombe 1979), we tabulate the following percentages of lexical similarity:
- | | | |
|------------------|---|-----|
| Topoiyo - Parigi | = | 54% |
| Topoiyo - Palu | = | 56% |
| Topoiyo - Pekava | = | 57% |

These figures substantiate the placement of Topoiyo within the Central Sulawesi Stock. Although these figures suggest Topoiyo can be classified only marginally within the Kaili-Pamona Family, the 69% shared lexical similarity between Topoiyo and Sarudu from our data argues for its placement within the family. Further study is needed.

NUMBER SPEAKERS: 500-1,000 (estimate)

- LOCATION: Topoiyo speakers live inland along the Budong-Budong River in Kecamatan Budong-Budong of Kabupaten Mamuju. (See Map 3.)
- RELIGION: Islam
- ENVIRONMENT: Swidden agriculture is the main livelihood along the Budong-Budong River valleys.
2. LANGUAGE NAME: BENGGAULU
- CLASSIFICATION: Central Sulawesi Stock, Kaili-Pamona Family
This classification is tentative.
- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 5,000 or less (estimate)
- LOCATION: Benggaulu is spoken in north Kecamatan Budong-Budong in Kabupaten Mamuju. (See Map 3.)
3. LANGUAGE NAME: BADA
- ALTERNATE NAMES: Tobada, Badak, Badasch, Behoa, Besoa, Ti'ara
- CLASSIFICATION: Central Sulawesi Stock, Kaili-Pamona Family
This classification is tentative in that it is uncertain whether or not the Bada of South Sulawesi are the same as the Bada of Central Sulawesi. Geographically they are not only separated by distance, but also by a large mountain plateau.
- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 1,000-2,000 (estimate)
- LOCATION: The Bada speakers of South Sulawesi live along the headwaters of the Budong-Budong River in Kecamatan Budong-Budong, Kabupaten Mamuju. (See Map 3.)
- ENVIRONMENT: Swidden agriculture is the main means of livelihood.
4. LANGUAGE NAME: BANA
- ALTERNATE NAMES: Tobana, (Uma, Pipikoro)
- CLASSIFICATION: Central Sulawesi Stock, Kaili-Pamona Family
Laskowskes (personal communication) have identified Bana as being an enclave of Uma speakers from Central Sulawesi. Although the name of the language is actually Uma (known in the literature as Pipikoro), we are retaining the use of Bana on our maps to maintain the identity of the enclave in South Sulawesi until further studies are done.
- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 500 (estimate)
- LOCATION: Bana is an enclave within the Seko Padang area in Kabupaten Luwu. (See Map 10.)

OTHER: The Bana are reported by inhabitants of the Rongkong Atas area to be taller and slightly lighter skinned than the Seko surrounding them. Although these reports are consistent with the kinds of things that are frequently reported about isolated groups throughout Sulawesi and North Maluku, our informants who claimed to have had first-hand contact with the Bana report that the Bana interact well with the surrounding ethnic groups.

5. LANGUAGE NAME: RAMPI
- ALTERNATE NAMES: Leboni, Rampi-Leboni, Ha'uwa
- CLASSIFICATION: Central Sulawesi Stock, Kaili-Pamona Family
- Although our data for Rampi show it to be quite distinct from all other languages in South Sulawesi, including the Tomoni dialect of Pamona, there is 82% lexical similarity between our Rampi data and the Rampi data from Barr, Barr and Salombe. In their Central Sulawesi data Rampi is clearly placed within the Kaili-Pamona Family.
- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 7,000¹⁴
- LOCATION: Rampi speakers live in the isolated mountain area of Kecamatan Masamba in Kabupaten Luwu extending into Kabupaten Poso of Central Sulawesi. (See Map 3.)
- RELIGION: Christian
- ENVIRONMENT: Swidden agriculture is carried out in the mountains.
- DIALECTS: The village of Leboni is considered to be the central prestige area.
6. LANGUAGE NAME: PAMONA
- ALTERNATE NAMES: Bare'e, Baree, Poso
- CLASSIFICATION: Central Sulawesi Stock, Kaili-Pamona Family
- There is 92% lexical similarity between our list from the Tomoni dialect and the Pamona list in Barr, Barr and Salombe implying that the two lists are from the same language.
- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 6,000-10,000 in South Sulawesi
100,000 in Central Sulawesi
- LOCATION: In South Sulawesi, Pamona speakers are found in Kecamatan Mangkutana and north Kecamatans Wotu and Bone-Bone in Kabupaten Luwu. Other dialects are found in Central Sulawesi.
- RELIGION: Christian

- ENVIRONMENT: The terrain consists of mountains and foot-hills. Copra is harvested in the lowlands and swidden agriculture is carried out in the highlands.
- DIALECTS: Adriani and Kruyt's famous 1914 and other works go into greater detail on the divisions of Pamona, particularly in Central Sulawesi.
- a. TOMONI
 - b. Other dialects in Central Sulawesi.

AA. KAILI SUBFAMILY

Three languages in South Sulawesi belong to the Kaili Subfamily: Kaili, Baras, and Sarudu. Further study is needed to clarify the relationship of languages and dialects throughout the entire Kaili Subfamily.

7. LANGUAGE NAME: KAILI
- ALTERNATE NAMES: Ledo, Palu, Paloesch
- CLASSIFICATION: Central Sulawesi Stock, Kaili-Pamona Family, Kaili Subfamily
- NUMBER SPEAKERS: An estimate of 8,000-10,000 Kaili speakers are in South Sulawesi, out of a total of approximately 290,000 speakers in both Central and South Sulawesi.
- LOCATION: Kaili speakers in South Sulawesi are found in Kecamatan Pasangkayu in Kabupaten Mamuju. (See Map 3.)
- RELIGION: Mixed: Islam and Christian
- ENVIRONMENT: In South Sulawesi the scattered villages of Kaili speakers subsist mainly by swidden agriculture along with some copra farming.
- DIALECTS: For a more detailed description of the dialects of Kaili see Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979).
- a. LEDO (Palu, Paloesch): in South Sulawesi speakers of Ledo are scattered along the coastal plain where they tend small copra plantations. They adhere predominantly to Islam. Almost all of the 130,000 speakers of the Ledo dialect reside in the Palu Valley of Central Sulawesi.
 - b. BUNGGU: this dialect is probably a variation of the Pekava (Da'a) dialect of Kaili (D. Barr, personal communication). Three to five thousand speakers of Bunggu live in the mountains of Kecamatan Pasangkayu in Kabupaten Mamuju near the border of Central Sulawesi.

c. Other dialects of Kaili — Palu, Banava, Pekava, Kulawi, Sigi, Sindue-Tawaili, Parigi — are found in the province of Central Sulawesi. See Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979).

8. LANGUAGE NAME: BARAS
 CLASSIFICATION: Central Sulawesi Stock, Kaili-Pamona Family, Kaili Subfamily
 NUMBER SPEAKERS: 4,000 or less (estimate)
 LOCATION: This language is found in south Kecamatan Pasangkayu in Kabupaten Mamuju between the Lariang and Karossa Rivers. The existence of Baras is reported in the *Peta bahasa* and was confirmed during our visit to Mamuju. No other information is currently available.
9. LANGUAGE NAME: SARUDU
 ALTERNATE NAMES: Doda'
 CLASSIFICATION: Central Sulawesi Stock, Kaili-Pamona Family, Kaili Subfamily
 Our informant reported that Sarudu was similar to Uma (Pipikoro) of Central Sulawesi. A comparison with the 100-word lists in Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979) reveals a percentage of lexical similarity in the mid seventies with Uma and 79% with Kulawi, thus confirming its classification within the subfamily.
 NUMBER SPEAKERS: 4,000 (estimate)
 LOCATION: South Kecamatan Pasangkayu in Kabupaten Mamuju.
 RELIGION: Islam
 ENVIRONMENT: Swidden agriculture is practised.

B. BUNGKU-MORI FAMILY

This family is also known as the Bungku-Laki Group and is thought to cover most of the south-eastern peninsula of Sulawesi (Sulawesi Tenggara). Within the province of South Sulawesi, the Bungku-Mori Family is represented by only one language, Padoe.

1. LANGUAGE NAME: PADOE (Pronounced [pa'd^owe] with a lightly imploded [d^o])
 ALTERNATE NAMES: South Mori, Soroako, Padoe, Padoë, Tambe'e, Ajo, Karongsi, Sinongko, Nahina, Alalao
 CLASSIFICATION: Central Sulawesi Stock, Bungku-Mori Family
 Our primary data does not clearly indicate in which stock Padoe should be classified. However, a comparison of our data with the

100-word lists in Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979) shows the following results:

Padoe — Mori Atas	= 79%
Padoe — Mori Bawah	= 75%
Padoe — Bungku	= 69%

The above figures easily place Padoe within the Bungku-Mori Family.

NUMBER SPEAKERS:	7,000-10,000
LOCATION:	Speakers of Padoe live in eastern Kabupaten Luwu in Kecamatan Nuha and Malili.
RELIGION:	Christian
ENVIRONMENT:	Padoe speakers practise swidden agriculture living in scattered dwellings throughout the mountains and foothills of eastern Kabupaten Luwu.

III. MUNA-BUTON STOCK

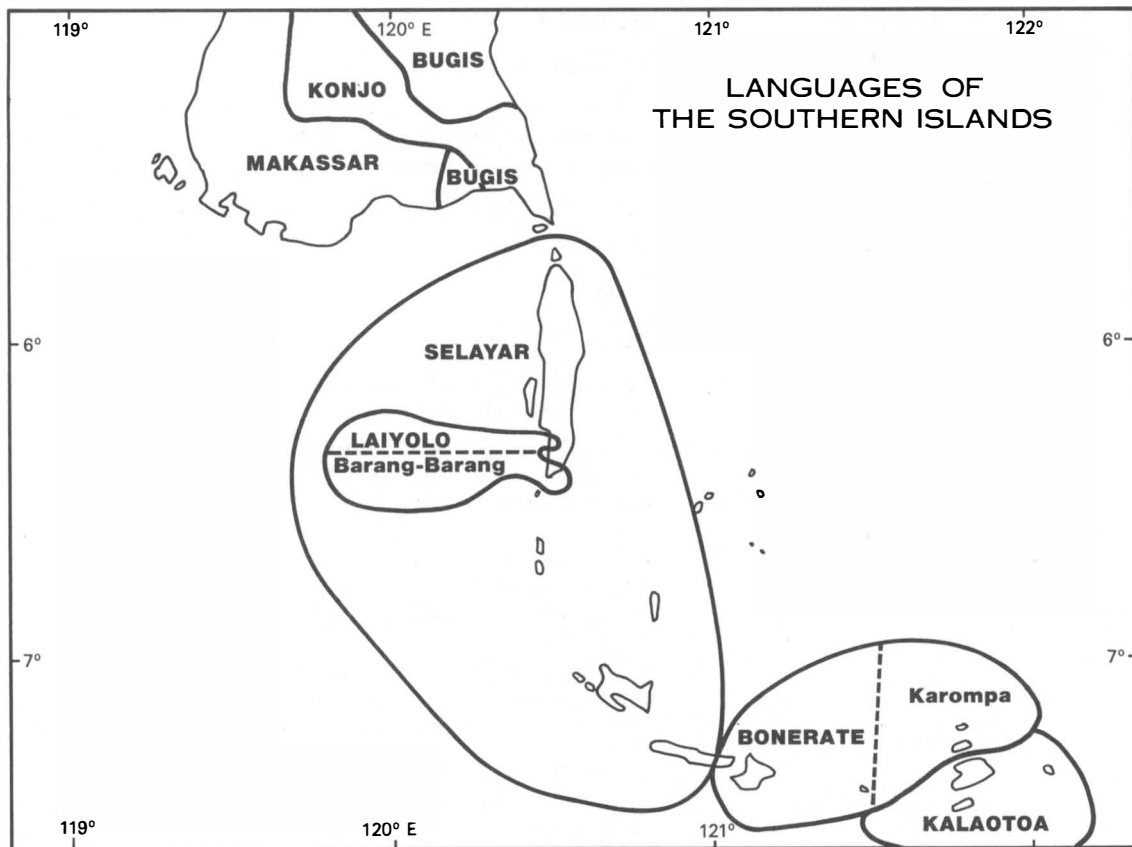
The Muna-Buton Stock consists primarily of the languages found on the islands off the south-eastern peninsula of Sulawesi and is named after the largest of these islands, Muna and Buton. Within the province of South Sulawesi some languages of the southern islands, and possibly Wotu far to the north, belong to the Muna-Buton Stock.

1. LANGUAGE NAME:	LAIYOLO
CLASSIFICATION:	Muna-Buton Stock
	Esser and the <i>Peta bahasa</i> suggest that Laiyolo might be related to Wolio in South-east Sulawesi. A comparison of our Laiyolo word list from Barang-Barang with 100-item word lists for Muna and Buton provided by C. Salombe of Hasanuddin University shows only 39% lexical similarity with Muna, but 65% with Buton. Because of the high relationship with Buton, we follow Salzner in classifying Laiyolo within the Muna-Buton Stock. We note also that our Barang-Barang word list shows 53% lexical similarity with Wotu, far to the north.
NUMBER SPEAKERS:	3,000-5,000
LOCATION:	Speakers of this language live in the villages of Laiyolo and Barang-Barang on the southern tip of Selayar Island. (See Map 11.)
RELIGION:	Islam
ENVIRONMENT:	The dry coastal hills are used for corn and cassava cultivation along with small copra plantations.

DIALECTS:

Our informants in Barang-Barang reported differences of vocabulary and intonation with the Laiyolo dialect.

- a. LAIYOLO is spoken in the village of Laiyolo.
- b. BARANG-BARANG is spoken in the village of Barang-Barang.



Map 11

2. LANGUAGE NAME:
CLASSIFICATION:

BONERATE
Muna-Buton Stock

Salzner includes a Tukangbesi-Bonerate sub-grouping under his Muna-Buton Group. Until more information is available we can neither confirm nor dispute such a lower level grouping.

LOCATION:

Bonerate is spoken on the islands of Bonerate, Karompa, and the eastern part of the Kalao Islands in Kabupaten Selayar. (See Map 11.)

- DIALECTS: The *Peta bahasa* lists two dialects of Bonerate: Bonerate and Karompa. Further study is needed to determine more precisely the relationship between Bonerate and Karompa.
- a. BONERATE
 - b. KAROMPA
3. LANGUAGE NAME: KALAO TOA
- CLASSIFICATION: Muna-Buton Stock
- Salzner includes Kalaotoa as a dialect of Bonerate. However, the *Peta bahasa* separates them as two languages.
- LOCATION: Kalaotoa Island in Kabupaten Selayar. (See Map 11.)
4. LANGUAGE NAME: WOTU
- CLASSIFICATION: Muna-Buton Stock
- Previous attempts at classifying Wotu have met with general confusion. Esser (1938) lists Wotu under his 'Toraja Group' (Kaili-Pamona Family). Adriani (1931:5 in Mills 1975:134) and Salzner class Wotu with Makassar and Bugis. Mills is not sure where Wotu should be placed but points out some possible connections between Wotu and Ledo, in the Kaili-Pamona Family. He is clear, however, that 'Wotu cannot claim a direct genetic affiliation with [Proto South Sulawesi]', that is, the South Sulawesi Stock (Mills 1975:612). Sneddon leaves Wotu unclassified.
- In examining our data in relation to Wotu, it became clear that it could not be grouped in either the South Sulawesi Stock or the Central Sulawesi Stock (see Figure 6). The higher percentages of lexical similarity shown between Wotu and the nearby languages of Lemolang, the Palili dialect of Toala', Rongkong, and the Luwu dialect of Bugis can possibly be accounted for by the high level of contact due to trade. Wotu has long been a centre of trade in the region. Wotu averages only 43% shared lexical similarity with members of the South Sulawesi Stock.
- Figure 6 shows the low level of lexical similarity between Wotu and members of the Central Sulawesi Stock found in South Sulawesi. Additional comparisons with the Central Sulawesi Stock languages of Mori Atas, Mori Bawah, and Bungku from word lists in Barr,

Barr and Salombe (1979) show only 39%, 43%, and 36% respectively, thus confirming that Wotu cannot belong to the Bungku-Mori Family.

Surprisingly enough, Wotu shows a relatively high (53%) relationship with Barang-Barang, a dialect of Laiyolo in the far south, significantly above its average of 43% with members of the South Sulawesi Stock and with members of the Kaili-Pamona Family. Following up the clue provided by Barang-Barang we compared Wotu with a 100-word list of Buton provided by C. Salombe of Hasanuddin University and came up with another surprising figure of 58% lexical similarity, which is significant enough to substantiate tentatively classifying Wotu within the Muna-Buton Stock.

NUMBER SPEAKERS:	5,000
LOCATION:	Town of Wotu, Kecamatan Wotu in Kabupaten Luwu
RELIGION:	Islam

IV. UNCLASSIFIED

Only one language found in South Sulawesi remains unclassified due to insufficient information.¹⁵ Our own data and that of sources available to us are not sufficient for placing the Bajau spoken in South Sulawesi in an appropriate stock.

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| 1. LANGUAGE NAME | BAJAU |
| ALTERNATE NAMES: | Bajo, Badjaw, Badjo, Bajao, Bayo, Luaan, Lutaos, Lutayaos, Orang Laut 'People of the Sea', Sea Gypsies, Turije'ne (Makassar for <i>to-people, -ri-in, on, of, je'ne water</i>). |
| CLASSIFICATION: | Unclassified |
- Further research on a much broader scale needs to be done before an attempt can be made at classifying the Bajau spoken in South Sulawesi, especially in regards to how it is related to the Bajau languages and dialects spoken in the rest of Indonesia and throughout South-east Asia.
- Salzner has placed Bajau under South-west Indonesian in the Loinang (Saluan) Group. Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979) feel that the Bajau of Central Sulawesi should not be included within the same subgroup as Saluan, so they classify the Bajau spoken in Central Sulawesi as North-west Indonesian, following

Voegelin and Voegelin (1977). The *Ethnologue* lists Bajau as North-west Austronesian Branch, Sama-Bajau Family.

In Sabah, Malaysia, Smith found two distinct Bajau languages, each consisting of a chain of Bajau dialects. He wisely made no attempt to classify the higher level taxonomy of these languages within the larger context of South-east Asia without further data.

NUMBER SPEAKERS:

Possibly 8,000-10,000 scattered throughout South Sulawesi.

LOCATION:

Kecamatans Bajo, Suli, and Larompong in Kabupaten Luwu; along the coast of Kabupaten Bone, especially around the town of Bajowe; Sembilan Islands of Kabupaten Sinjai; scattered around the islands of Kabupaten Selayar; scattered around the islands of Kabupaten Pangkep. Bajau speakers are also found throughout the rest of Sulawesi, Maluku, Kalimantan, Malaysia and the southern Philippines. Around Sulawesi and Maluku, their identity is often confused with seafarers from the Muna and Buton area.

RELIGION:

Mixed: Islam and the traditional Bajau beliefs.

ENVIRONMENT:

The Bajau, renowned as seafarers, live in villages near small inlets or on small islands, reefs or sand bars throughout Sulawesi. The houses are on stilts over the water. Entire families often wander the seas in 5-15 ton sailing boats for months or seasons at a time. A much more extensive body of literature describes the Sama-Bajau of the southern Philippines.

DIALECTS:

The *Peta bahasa* lists three dialects of Bajau for South Sulawesi:

- a. JAMPEA in Kabupaten Selayar.
- b. SAME' in Kabupaten Bone.
- c. MATALAANG in Kabupaten Pangkep.

CHAPTER 4

SUMMARY

The people of South Sulawesi present a colourful picture scattered from the sea and lowland rice fields to the high mountains. They are seafarers, fishermen, merchants, rice growers, and farmers. Islam, Christianity, and traditional beliefs all have their holds on people in South Sulawesi to varying degrees. A rice diet is the main staple, but corn and tubers are commonly eaten in the highlands and sago along the coastal lowlands of Kabupaten Luwu.

Diversity in South Sulawesi is also reflected linguistically with 83 dialects representing 35 languages. In this study these languages have been tentatively classified as belonging to three stocks. The majority, 20 languages, belong to the South Sulawesi Stock, while ten other languages in the northern parts of the province belong to the Central Sulawesi Stock. Four additional languages belong to the Muna-Buton Stock. We leave the Bajau spoken in South Sulawesi unclassified due to insufficient information to place it appropriately in its broader context. (See Figure 5 for a summary of the language classification of South Sulawesi.)

This study is an overview, and in one sense, only a beginning. To complete the linguistic picture of South Sulawesi it is clear that much more research is needed. More studies, such as comparative studies, sociolinguistic studies, and dialect intelligibility testing need to be carried out to clarify the 'fuzzy' areas and to address the many questions raised by this study.

APPENDIX A

ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS OF SOUTH SULAWESI

The kecamatans (subdistricts) of each kabupaten (regency) and kotamadya (municipality) in South Sulawesi are listed below. See Map 5 for the location of the kabupatens.

1. KABUPATEN MAMUJU
Capital Town: MAMUJU
Kecamatans: Mamuju, Tapalang, Kaluku, Budong-Budong, Pasangkayu, Kalumpang
2. KABUPATEN LUWU
Capital Town: PALOPO
Kecamatans: Larompong, Suli, Bajo, Bua/Ponrang, Bassesangtempe, Wara, Wakurang, Limbong, Sabbang, Malangke, Masamba, Bone-Bone, Wotu, Mangkutana, Malili, Nuha
3. KABUPATEN MAJENE
Capital Town: MAJENE
Kecamatans: Banggae, Pamboang, Sendana, Malunda
4. KABUPATEN POLEWALI-MAMASA (POLMAS)
Capital Town: POLEWALI
Kecamatans: Polewali, Wonomulyo, Campalagian, Tinambung, Mamasa, Pana, Mambi, Sumarorong
5. KABUPATEN TANA TORAJA (TATOR)
Capital Town: MAKALE
Kecamatans: Makale, Rantepao, Rindingallo, Sesean, Sanggalangi, Kengkedek, Bonggakaraeng, Saluputti
6. KABUPATEN ENREKANG
Capital Town: ENREKANG
Kecamatans: Maiwa, Enrekang, Anggaraja, Baraka, Alla
7. KABUPATEN PINRANG
Capital Town: PINRANG
Kecamatans: Suppa, Mattirosompe, Mattirotulu, Watang Sawito, Patampanua, Duapanua, Lembang
8. KABUPATEN SIDENRANG
Capital Town: RAPPANG
Kecamatans: Panca Lautang, Tellu Limpoe, Maritengae, Wattangpulu, Duapitue, Panca Rijang, Baranti

9. KABUPATEN WAJO
Capital Town: SINGKANG
Kecamatans: Tempe, Tanasitolu, Maniangpajo, Belawa, Pamana, Majauleng, Takkalala, Sabbangbaru, Sajoangin, Pitumpanua
10. KABUPATEN BONE
Capital Town: WATAMPONE
Kecamatans: Pampanua, Du Baccu, Cenrana, Tellusiattinge, Ulaweng, Awang Pone, Palakka, Taneteriattang, Lamuru, Pappariaja, Ponre, Barebbo, Cina, Sibulue, Libureng, Mare, Tonra, Sallomeko, Kajuara, Kahu, Bontocuni
11. KABUPATEN SOPPENG
Capital Town: WATANSOPPENG
Kecamatans: Lalabata, Mario Riawo, Liliriaja, Lilirilau, Mario Riawa
12. KABUPATEN BARRU
Capital Town: BARRU
Kecamatans: Mallusetasi, Barru, Sopengriaja, Tanete, Tanete Riaja
13. KABUPATEN PANGKAJENE KEPULAUAN (PANGKEP)
Capital Town: PANGKAJENE
Kecamatans: Balatei, Pangkajene, Bungoro, Labakkang, Ma'rang, Sogeri/Mandale, Liukang Tupabiring, Liukang Tangaya, Liukang Kalmas
14. KABUPATEN MAROS
Capital Town: MAROS
Kecamatans: Camba, Bantimurung, Mandai, Maros Baru
15. KABUPATEN SINJAI
Capital Town: SINJAI
Kecamatans: Sinjai Utara, Sinjai Barat, Sinjai Tengah, Sinjai Timur, Sinjai Selatan
16. KABUPATEN GOWA
Capital Town: SUNGGUMINASA
Kecamatans: Bontomarannu, Tinggimoncong, Palangga, Bajeng, Tompo Bulu, Bonto Nompo, Boranglu
17. KABUPATEN TAKALAR
Capital Town: TAKALAR
Kecamatans: Polombangkong Utara, Polombangkong Selatan, Galesong Utara, Galesong Selatan, Mangarabombang, Mappakasungu
18. KABUPATEN JENEPONTO
Capital Town: JENEPONTO
Kecamatans: Binamu, Bangkala, Tamalatea, Kelara, Batang

19. KABUPATEN BANTAENG
Capital Town: BANTAENG
Kecamatans: Bissappu, Bantaeng, Tompobulu
20. KABUPATEN BULUKUMBA
Capital Town: BULUKUMBA
Kecamatans: Gantereng Kindang, Bulukumba, Kajang,
Ujung Bulu, Bontobabari, Bontotiro,
Heralangelange
21. KABUPATEN SELAYAR
Capital Town: BENTENG
Kecamatans: Bontoharu, Bonto Sikayu, Pasimasungu,
Pasimarannu, Bontotene
22. KOTAMADYA PARE-PARE
Kecamatans: Ujung, Soreang, Bacukiki
23. KOTAMADYA UJUNG PANDANG
Kecamatans: Ujung Tanah, Tallo, Wajo, Bontoala, Mariso,
Mamajang, Ujung Pandang, Makassar,
Panakkukang, Tamalate, Biringkanaya

APPENDIX B

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This appendix contains a list of various works — linguistic, anthropological, and otherwise — related to Sulawesi. It is not intended to be exhaustive, but is provided here as a resource for others.

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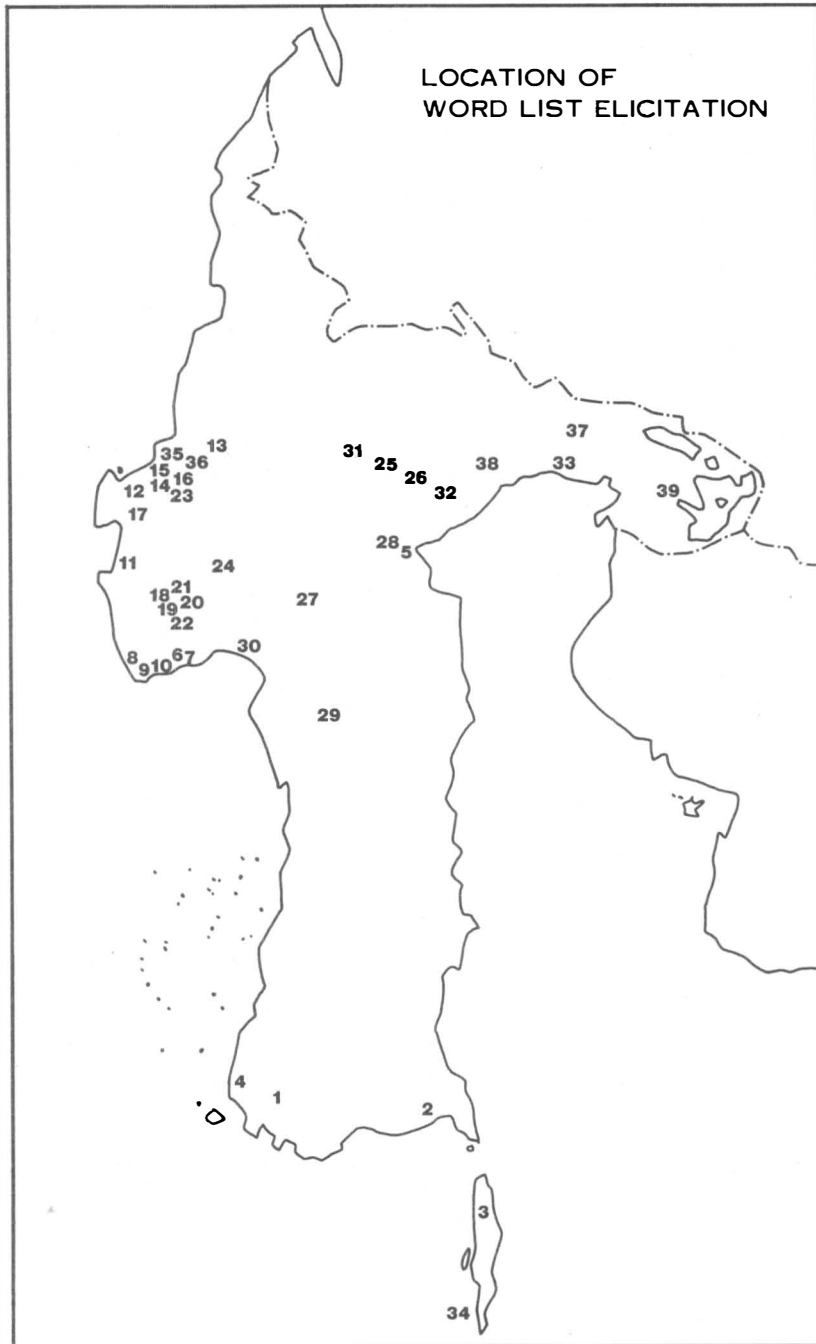
APPENDIX C

INFORMATION CONCERNING DATA COLLECTION

Word List Number	Word List Language or Dialect Name	Place of Elicitation or *Place of Residence
1.	Makassar - Gowa	Malino - Gowa
2.	Konjo - Pesisir	Tanalemo - Bulukumba
3.	Selayar	Buki-Pa'ba'teang - Selayar
4.	Bugis - Bone	Ujung Pandang
5.	Bugis - Luwu	Palopo - Luwu
6.	Campalagian	Campalagian
7.	Mandar - Balanipa	Napo - PolMas
8.	Mandar - Majene	Labuang - Majene
9.	Mandar - Pamboang	*Lalampanua - Majene
10.	Mandar - Sendana	*Sendana - Majene
11.	Mandar - Malunda	Malunda - Majene
12.	Mamuju - Mamuju	Binanga - Mamuju
13.	Mamuju - Sinyonyoi	Sinyonyoi - Mamuju
14.	Mamuju - Sumare	*Sumare - Mamuju
15.	Mamuju - Padang	Binanga - Mamuju
16.	Mamuju - Tappalang	Korobatta - Mamuju
17.	Mamuju - Botteng	Botteng - Mamuju
18.	PUS - Aralle-Tabulahan	*Aralle - PolMas
19.	PUS - Mambi	Mambi - PolMas
20.	PUS - Rantebulahan	*Rantebulahan - PolMas
21.	PUS - Bambang	*Bambang - PolMas
22.	PUS - Mehalaan	*Mehalaan - PolMas
23.	Kalumpang	Binanga - Mamuju
24.	Mamasa	Mamasa - PolMas
25.	Rongkong Atas	Kanandede - Luwu
26.	Rongkong Bawah	Buka - Luwu
27.	Toraja-Sa'dan - Makale	Borake - TaTor
28.	Toala' - Palili'	Palopo - Luwu
29.	Masenrempulu-Enrekang	Enrekang
30.	Pattae'	Binuang - PolMas
31.	Seko - Tengah	Salutallang - Luwu
32.	Lemolang	Sabbang - Luwu
33.	Wotu	Wotu - Luwu
34.	Laiyolo - Barang-Barang	Barang-Barang - Selayar
35.	Topoiyo	*Budong-Budong - Mamuju
36.	Sarudu	*Sarudu - Mamuju
37.	Pamona - Tomoni	Maleku - Luwu
38.	Rampi	Masamba - Luwu
39.	Padoe	Wawandola - Luwu

Word List Number	Word List Language or Dialect Name	Name of Primary Informant(s), (age)
1.	Makassar - Gowa	Tjako (70); Umi Daeng Bau' (41)
2.	Konjo - Pesisir	6 men
3.	Selayar	Siming (38); Sitisalma (39)
4.	Bugis - Bone	Dr Husen Abas (49)
5.	Bugis - Luwu	Nawir Kube (36)
6.	Campalagian	Darwis (40)
7.	Mandar - Balanipa	Abdul Majid T. (54)
8.	Mandar - Majene	Haji H. Muh. Husain (55); Haji Abdurrachman Nur Mas'ud (43)
9.	Mandar - Pamboang	Drs Kaharuddin (29)
10.	Mandar - Sendana	Abdul Mo'in (43); R. Hoesein
11.	Mandar - Malunda	Muh. Achir Parampas (51); Muh. Jusuf Musa (52)
12.	Mamuju - Mamuju	Nasir (27); Engki (28)
13.	Mamuju - Sinyonyoi	Abdul Hafin Pangale (40)
14.	Mamuju - Sumare	Ami (42); Pedai' (43)
15.	Mamuju - Padang	Abdullah Rasjid (48); Razak Ahmed Sul
16.	Mamuju - Tappalang	Abu Yona (43); Tapa'na (45)
17.	Mamuju - Botteng	Saeni T. (43)
18.	PUS - Aralle-Tabulahan	Judami (36)
19.	PUS - Mambi	Abdul Latief (41)
20.	PUS - Rantebulahan	Yohanes Lumombang (32)
21.	PUS - Bambang	Muhlis (30)
22.	PUS - Mehalaan	Samuel Mangandu (42); Abraham Kambuno (41)
23.	Kalumpang	Markus Kaloli (60)
24.	Mamasa	D.M. Popang (42); Y. Maseka (39)
25.	Rongkong Atas	Manguliling (49); Rero' (80); Johanes Leboni (42); Halis (29)
26.	Rongkong Bawah	Bpk. Siang
27.	Toraja-Sa'dan - Makale	Hairuddin
28.	Toala' - Palili'	Namyuling (46); Tiu' (63); Siti Amina (46)
29.	Masenrempulu-Enrekang	Ibu Ballu (47)
30.	Pattae'	S. Sabara' (49)
31.	Seko - Tengah	Mangugu (44)
32.	Lemolang	M. Ramli (42)
33.	Wotu	Abdul Sarinung (60)
34.	Laiyolo - Barang-Barang	Ali (31)
35.	Topoiyo	Abdurrachman P. (60)
36.	Sarudu	M. Moriki (52); Pellias
37.	Pamona - Tomoni	Siwa Parman (52)
38.	Rampi	T. Sampeako (52)
39.	Padoe	

Word List Number	Word List Language or Dialect Name	Word List Reliability	Date	Linguist
1.	Makassar - Gowa	good	November 1982	C. Grimes
2.	Konjo - Pesisir	very good	November 1982	C. Grimes
3.	Selayar	very good	November 1982	C. Grimes
4.	Bugis - Bone	very good	March 1983	C. Grimes
5.	Bugis - Luwu	good	December 1982	C. Grimes
6.	Campalagian	good	January 1983	F. Dawson
7.	Mandar - Balanipa	good	January 1983	C. Grimes
8.	Mandar - Majene	very good	January 1983	C. Grimes
9.	Mandar - Pamboang	very good	January 1983	F. Dawson
10.	Mandar - Sendana	good	January 1983	F. Dawson
11.	Mandar - Malunda	good	January 1983	C. Grimes
12.	Mamuju - Mamuju	very good	January 1983	C. Grimes
13.	Mamuju - Sinyonyoi	good-fair	January 1983	C. Grimes
14.	Mamuju - Sumare	very good	January 1983	C. Grimes
15.	Mamuju - Padang	good	January 1983	F. Dawson
16.	Mamuju - Tappalang	very good	January 1983	C. Grimes
17.	Mamuju - Botteng	very good	January 1983	C. Grimes
18.	PUS - Aralle-Tabulahan	very good	January 1983	C. Grimes
19.	PUS - Mambi	very good	January 1983	F. Dawson
20.	PUS - Rantebulahan	good	January 1983	C. Grimes
21.	PUS - Bambang	good	January 1983	C. Grimes
22.	PUS - Mehalaan	very good	January 1983	C. Grimes
23.	Kalumpang	good	January 1983	F. Dawson
24.	Mamasa	very good	January 1983	C. Grimes
25.	Rongkong Atas	very good	December 1982	C. Grimes
26.	Rongkong Bawah	good	December 1982	C. Grimes
27.	Toraja-Sa'dan - Makale	good	December 1982	C. Grimes
28.	Toala' - Palili'	good	December 1982	C. Grimes
29.	Masenrempulu-Enrekang	very good	March 1983	C. Grimes
30.	Pattae'	good	January 1983	C. Grimes
31.	Seko - Tengah	good	December 1982	C. Grimes
32.	Lemolang	good	December 1982	C. Grimes
33.	Wotu	good-fair	December 1982	C. Grimes
34.	Laiyolo - Barang-Barang	very good	November 1982	C. Grimes
35.	Topoiyo	good	January 1983	F. Dawson
36.	Sarudu	good	January 1983	C. Grimes
37.	Pamona - Tomoni	very good	December 1982	C. Grimes
38.	Rampi	good	December 1982	C. Grimes
39.	Padoe	very good	December 1982	C. Grimes



Map 12

APPENDIX D

SUMMARY CLASSIFICATION OF SOUTH SULAWESI LANGUAGES

Phylum	Super-Stock	Stock	Family	Subfamily	Language
Austronesian	West Austronesian Superstock	South Sulawesi Stock		Makassar Subfamily	1. Makassar 2. Konjo 3. Selayar
				Bugis Family	4. Bugis 5. Campalagian
			Northern South Sulawesi Family		6. Mandar 7. Mamuju 8. PUS 9. Pattae'
				Toraja-Sa'dan Subfamily	10. Kalumpang 11. Mamasa 12. Rongkong 13. Toraja-Sa'dan 14. Toala'
			Masenrempulu Subfamily	15. Masenrempulu 16. Pattinjo	
			Seko Family	17. Seko Tengah 18. Seko Padang 19. Panasuan	
			20. Lemolang		
		Central Sulawesi Stock	Kaili-Pamona Family		21. Topoiyo 22. Benggaulu 23. Bada 24. Rampi 25. Pamona
				Kaili Subfamily	26. Kaili 27. Baras 28. Sarudu
			Bungku-Mori Family	29. Padoe	
		Muna-Buton Stock		30. Wotu 31. Laiyolo 32. Bonerate 33. Kalaotoa	

APPENDIX E

COMPARATIVE WORD LISTS

The word lists collected for this study are reproduced here. Symbols used in the word lists are described below. The data has been slightly phonemicised for the sake of simplicity, that is, affricates (tʃ, dʒ) are written (c, j) and length (C·, V·) is symbolised (CC, VV). It should be noted that occasionally unusual phonetic features are found.

SYMBOLS

[]	Phonetic data	CC	Long contoids are marked by a double symbol
/ /	Phonemic data		
C	Contoid/consonant	VV	Long vocoids are marked by a double symbol
V	Vocoid/vowel	ɕ	Fronted contoid
'	Stress in South Sulawesi languages usually occurs on the penultimate syllable. In such cases it is not marked in the word lists. Where stress deviates from the normal pattern or where stress may be unclear due to double vocoids, etc., it is marked with an apostrophe preceding the stressed syllable.	ɔ̣	Backed or retroflexed contoid
		ɕ̣	Syllabic contoid
		ɤ	Nasalsed vocoid
		vwv	Raised symbols indicate partial articulation, on-glides, or off-glides.

CONTOIDS

p	Voiceless bilabial stop	t	Voiceless alveolar stop
b	Voiced bilabial stop	d	Voiced alveolar stop
ɸ	Voiceless bilabial fricative	ɖ	Voiced alveolar fricative with ungrooved tongue blade (Note: not interdental)
ɸ	Voiced bilabial fricative		
f	Voiceless labiodental fricative	ɾ	Alveolar trill
v	Voiced labiodental fricative	ɻ	Alveolar flap

l	Lateral	k̚	Unreleased voiceless velar stop
ɺ	Lateral flap	g	Voiced velar stop
s	Voiceless alveolar grooved fricative	x	Voiceless velar fricative
ʒ	Voiced alveopalatal grooved fricative	ɣ	Voiced velar fricative
c	Voiceless alveopalatal grooved affricate [tʃ]	ʔ	Glottal stop
j	Voiced alveopalatal grooved affricate [dʒ]	h	Voiceless glottal fricative
tc, dj	Long affricate [ttʃ, ddʒ]	m	Voiced bilabial nasal
ɓ, ɗ	Imploded stop. Many languages exhibit a continuum of heavy to light to no implosion in free variation depending on emphasis.	n	Voiced alveolar nasal
mb	ɱd Prenasalised stop	ɲ	Voiced alveopalatal nasal
k	Voiceless velar stop	ŋ	Voiced velar nasal
		w	Non-syllabic /u/
		y	Non-syllabic /i/
		ɣ̥	Simultaneous voiced velar fricative and alveolar flap (found in the Topoiyo language).

VOCOIDS

i	High tense front unrounded vocoid	ɨ	High central unrounded vocoid
ɪ	High lax front unrounded vocoid	ʌ/ə	Mid central unrounded vocoid
e	Mid tense front unrounded vocoid	a	Low central unrounded vocoid
ɛ	Mid lax front unrounded vocoid	u	High tense back rounded vocoid
æ	Low tense front unrounded vocoid	ʊ	High lax back rounded vocoid
ā	Low lax front unrounded vocoid (found in the Aralle-Tabulahan dialect)	o	Mid tense back rounded vocoid
		ɔ	Mid lax back rounded vocoid

Unique phonetic features found in specific languages are noted here. For more data, see the word lists that follow. (See page 19 for list of language abbreviations.)

Selayar

In some words Selayar diverges from the usual South Sulawesi penultimate syllable stress pattern and exhibits antepenultimate stress. For example:

[si'lajaʔa]	<i>Selayar</i>
['lambeʔe]	<i>long</i>
['biiʔasa]	<i>uncooked rice</i>
['boŋolo]	<i>deaf</i>

Mandar

The Balanipa, Pamboang, and Malunda dialects all have a [ɖ] which sounds very much like the voiced interdental fricative of English but is actually articulated as a voiced alveolar fricative with ungrooved tongue blade. This sound is variously represented in the literature as d, dh, ɖ, or ɖ̃.

Mamuju

The Padang and Sinyoyoi dialects use [h] where the other dialects use [w] and /r/. Tappalang and Botteng substitute [h] for [w], but not for /r/. Mamuju and Sumare retain both [w] and /r/.

PUS

The Aralle-Tabulahan, Mambi and Rantebulahan dialects all use [h] where Bambang and Mehala'an use [w]. Aralle-Tabulahan and Bambang substitute [h] for /r/; the other dialects retain the /r/. Bambang reflects all word final nasals as [m]; the other dialects as [m], [n], or [ŋ]. Aralle-Tabulahan contrasts a low lax front unrounded vocoid [ā] (of Boston accent fame) with the usual low lax central unrounded vocoid [a] found throughout South Sulawesi. This unique vocoid is not a low tense front unrounded [æ]. For example:

['bāʔā]	<i>head</i>
['baʔa]	<i>house girder</i>
['ʔuhāŋ]	<i>shrimp</i>
['ʔuhaŋ]	<i>rain</i>

Mamasa

Mamasa has final unreleased voiceless velar stops [k̚]. The /t/ found in Mamasa has a slightly fronted quality [t̚].

Rongkong

Both dialects of Rongkong have unreleased final voiceless velar stops [k̚]. There also seems to be free variation between [b], [w] and [v].

Masenrempulu

The Enrekang dialect contrasts a back velar nasal [ŋ] with a normal velar nasal [ŋ]. Where the Enrekang dialect manifests [ŋ] many other South Sulawesi languages exhibit word-final [k] or glottal. For example:

['tasiŋ]	<i>sea</i>
['pusuŋ]	<i>nose</i>
[manuŋmanuŋ]	<i>bird</i>
['tanduŋ]	<i>horn</i>

Enrekang also has glottalisation or laryngealisation of vocoids [VʔV] which seems to function as a single phoneme (see Pike 1947:221).

Seko

Seko Tengah exhibits both long and short vocoids in the word-final position.

Topoiyo

Besides a normal voiced alveolar flapped [ɾ], Topoiyo also exhibits a sound which, after eliminating several other possibilities, seems to be a simultaneous backed [ɟ̠]. It is interesting to note that in Da'a (Pekava), a dialect of Kaili, [ɾ] is in variation with [ɟ] in some of the older forms of ceremonial speech (D. Barr, personal communication). Examples of the Topoiyo [ɟ̠] are:

[la'ug̠oʔ]	<i>rattan</i>
['bag̠aʔ]	<i>wind</i>
['g̠aa]	<i>blood</i>

Rampi

Rampi has a retroflexed lateral flap [ɭ̠].

English Indonesian	1. <i>tree</i> <i>pohon</i>	2. <i>leaf</i> <i>daun</i>	3. <i>root</i> <i>akar</i>
MAK	pokoʔ	lekoʔ	akaʔ
KNJ	pokoʔ	řauŋ	akaʔ
SEL	poʔoŋ	taha	akaʔ
BBN	poŋ	daŋ	uřĩʔ
BLW	bataŋ	daŋ	uřʌʔ
CAM	ponna	daʷn	balikaʔ
BAL	ponna	daʷn	uakeʔ
MAJ	ponna	daʷn	uwake
PBG	ponna	daʷn	uakeʔ
SEN	poʔaŋ	daʷn	uʔakeʔ
MAL	ponna	daʷn	uakeʔ
MMJ	poʔoŋ	daʷn	ʷwakaʔ
SNY	poaŋ	daʷn	uhakaʔ
SUM	poaŋ	daʷn	uwakaʔ
PDG	poaŋ	daʷn	uhakaʔ
TAP	puaŋ	daʷn	uhakaʔ
BOT	poaŋ	daʷn	uhakaʔ
A-T	poaŋ	lalaʔ	uhakaʔ
MBI	toʔ kaju	daun	uhakaʔ

RAN	to? kaju	daun	uhaka?
BAM	to?kaju	daum	uwaka?
MEH	kayu	da ^u n	uwaka?
KAL	pondanλ	daun	uwaka?na
MMS	to?	da ^u n	waka?
RKA	*gaʔonto?/bataŋ	da ^u n	owaka?
RKB	bataŋ	da ^u n	obaka
SAD	gaʔronto? kayu	da ^u n	buaka?
TLA	tempon	da ^u n	uʔa?
MSR	ito? kaju	da ^u n	uwaka?
PAT	ato?	da ^u n	?uʔa?
SEK	kayu	daun	owa?
LEM	ponkakau	tave	uwaka
WOT	batta	dau	?uʔʔa
LYL	pu?u	tafa	faka
TOP	puu	tabe	laʔi?
SAR	tabu	tabe	laʔi?
PMN	pu?u	ra	kale
RAM	loti	tave?	uwaka?
PDO	pu?uno	lebeno	haka

	4. <i>wood</i> <i>kayu</i>	5. <i>thorn</i> <i>duri</i>	6. <i>husk (coconut)</i> <i>tempurung</i>	7. <i>coconut</i> <i>kelapa</i>
MAK	---	katintiŋ	kaʔdaʔo	kaluku
KNJ	---	katintiŋ	saɿʔ	kaluku
SEL	kaju	katintiŋ	kaʔdaʔo	anjoʔo
BBN	ʔaju	duʔi	kaʔdaro	kaluku
BLW	aju	duʔi	ʃaŋaʔ	kaluku
CAM	aju	pasusuʔ	kaʔdaʔoŋoʔ	ŋoʔ
BAL	ayu	pesusuʔ	kaʔdaʔo	anjoʔo
MAJ	ʔayu	piʔsusu/tuʔɔʎ	kaʔdaʔo	anjoʔo
PBG	aʒu	pesusuʔ	kaʔdaʔo	anjoʔo
SEN	ayu	pesusuʔ	kaʔdaʔo	kaluku
MAL	kayu	pesusuʔ	kaʔraʔdo	kaluku
MMJ	kaju	pesusuʔ	kaʔdaʔo	anjoʔo
SNY	kaju	pesosoʔ	kaʔdaho	kaluku
SUM	kaju	pesoseʔ	kaʔdaʔo	anjoʔo
PDG	---	pesosoʔ	kaʔdaho	kaluku
TAP	kayu	peʔoʔo	kaʔdaʔo	kaluku
BOT	kaju	dui	kaʔdaʔo buluaŋ	kaluku
A-T	kaju	ɔuhi	kaʔdaho	kaluku
MBI	kaju	duʔi	kaʔdaʔo	kaluku

RAN	kaju	duři	ka?dařo	kaluku
BAM	kaju	duhi	kahoha?	kaluku
MEH	kayu	duři	kařařo	kaluku
KAL	kayu	duři	kařořu	kaluku
MMS	kayu	duři	kařořak	kaluku
RKA	kaju	duři	kandařo/*baŋa?	kaluku
RKB	kaju	duři	baŋa?	kaluku
SAD	kayu	duři	kařařo	kaluku
TLA	kaju	duři	baŋa?	kaluku
MSR	kaju	duři	kolaŋ	ňio?
PAT	kaju	duři	ka?dařo	kaluku
SEK	kayu	suřa	---	kaluku
LEM	kau	dui	kandařo	kaluku
WOT	papua	řui	baŋa	kaluku
LYL	kaju	řu ^{wi}	kufaŋjořo	jořo
TOP	koju	řui	baŋa?ŋgabulu?	kaluku
SAR	kayu	duři	baŋa?	kaluku
PMN	kaju	řu ^{wi}	baŋaŋ	kayuku
RAM	loti	řui	baŋa?	kořinka
PDO	kau	řui	baŋa	βenu

8. <i>banana</i> <i>pisang</i>	9. <i>betelnut</i> <i>sirih</i>	10. <i>rattan</i> <i>rotan</i>	11. <i>bamboo</i> <i>bambu</i>
MAK unti	leko paŋajai	řaukaŋ	bulɔ
KNJ loka	leko/dada	?uhe	pařřiŋ
SEL looka	koo ^m ba	lauřo	pařiŋ
BBN utti	ota	řaukaŋ	*přiriŋ/awo?
BLW utti	leko?	lauřo	pittuŋ
CAM lijo	mera?	ue	abo?
BAL loka	pameřa?	ube	tařřiŋ
MAJ loka	pamera?	uwe	tařřiŋ
PBG lužo	baulu	pesa?i?	mařepe?
SEN luyo	baulu	uwe	tařiŋ
MAL nužo	baulu	uwe	mařepe?
MMJ loka	ɓaulu	u ^w e	?ao
SNY puntih	binanjan	?uhe	?aho?
SUM loka	baulu	uwe	abo
PDG punti	bahulu	uhe	aho
TAP punti	bahulu	?uhe	pařřiŋ
BOT puṭṭi	ɓaulu	?uhe	?aho?
A-T punti	bahulu	?uhe	ɓalo
MBI punti	baulu	uhe	balo

RAN punti	baulu	uhe	tallaŋ
BAM punti	ɓaulu	ube	talla
MEH punti	kaʔemaʔ	ube	tallaŋ
KAL putti	baulu	uwe	tallaŋ
MMS punṭi	baulu	?ue	?aoʔ
RKA punti	ɓolu	uʷe	tallaŋ
RKB punti	dambolu	ue	tallaŋ
SAD punti	bolu	uʷe	tallaŋ
TLA punti/loka	lekoʔ	lauřo	pattuŋ
MSR putti	belu	uʷe	?ao
PAT putti	siři	řaukaŋ	ao
SEK putti	bahulu	uhe	pattuŋ/pařřiŋ/tallaŋ
LEM punti	baulu	lauřo	laelae
WOT punti	leko	řauřo	salolo
LYL loka	komba	luřo	p†řiŋ
TOP loka	legu	laugřoʔ	balabotu
SAR loka	legu	lauřo	aboʔ
PMN lokka	laumbe	lauřo	boyo
RAM lokaʔ	vuřařo	?ui	bařo
PDO pusi	ɓolulu	lauřo	ɓalo

12. <i>flower</i> <i>bunga</i>	13. <i>fruit</i> <i>buah</i>	14. <i>kunai grass</i> <i>alang-alang</i>	15. <i>rice on stalk</i> <i>padi</i>
MAK buᅇabuᅇa	řaponna	řea	ase
KNJ buᅇa	bu ^w a	řea	paře
SEL buᅇa/taj _u	bu ^w a	řea	bae
BBN buᅇa	bu ^w a	ařea	ase
BLW buᅇa	bua	dea	ase
CAM buᅇa	bu ^w a	dea	pamařiaᅇ
BAL buᅇa	bu ^w a	paᅇan	paře
MAJ buᅇa	bu ^w a	pařaᅇ	paře
PBG buᅇa	bua	paᅇan	boas
SEN buᅇa	bu ^w a	pařaᅇ	boas
MAL buᅇa	bu ^w a	paž _{an}	paře
MMJ buᅇa	bu ^w a	padaᅇ	paře
SNY buᅇa	bu ^w a	padaᅇ	pahe
SUM buᅇa	boa	padaᅇ	paře
PDG buᅇa	boa	padaᅇ	pahe
TAP buᅇa	boa	padaᅇ	paře
BOT buřabuřa	boa	padaᅇ	paře
A-T buᅇa	boa	padaᅇ	pāhe
MBI buřa?	boa	ře'a	paře

RAN	buŋa	bu ^w a	řea	paře
BAM	buŋa	bua	hea	pahe
MEH	buŋa	bu ^w a	řea	paře
KAL	buŋa	ka l u s i	ře ^Λ bai / re ^Λ bae	paře
MMS	buŋa	bu ^w a	řea	paře
RKA	buŋabuŋa	bua	řea	paře
RKB	buŋa	bua	řea	paře
SAD	buŋa	bua	řiya	paře
TLA	buŋa	bu ^w a	řea	paře
MSR	buŋa	caʔabi	dea	boʔbo
PAT	buŋa	bu ^w a	padaŋpadaŋ	paře
SEK	buŋabuŋa	hoana	'řeaa	heaʔ
LEM	buŋa	ovua	odana	opaře
WOT	buŋa	bae	dea	bae
LYL	buŋa	bakke	řea	bae
TOP	bubuŋa	bace	jonoʔ	pae
SAR	buŋa	bu ^w a	jono	pae
PMN	buŋa	bua	lee	pae
RAM	buŋa	vuaʔ	donaʔ	kina
PDO	buŋa	bue	řee	pae

16. <i>uncooked rice</i> <i>beras</i>	17. <i>cooked rice</i> <i>nasi</i>	18. <i>I</i> <i>aku</i>	19. <i>you (singular)</i> <i>engkau</i>
MAK 'beerasa	kanře	(i)nake	(i)kau
KNJ beřasa	kanře	nekke	kau
SEL 'bɪrɪrasa	kanře	nakke	kau
BBN b+rɪ?	inanře	iya?	iko
BLW b+rrɪ	inanře	ia	iko
CAM bara?	bo?bo?	aleu	alemu
BAL bařas	bombo?	iyao	?i?o
MAJ bařřas	?ande	yao	*?i?o/?ita
PBG bea?	bo?oŋ	yau	i?o
SEN bea?	peca?	iyau	i?o
MAL bea?	peca?	koi?	?ikko
MMJ boas	peca?	iYaku	iŋko
SNY bea?	peca?	kodi?	diyo
SUM bea	peca?	kodi?	iŋko
PDG bea	peca	kodi?	dio
TAP bea?	peca?	koi?	diyo
BOT bea?	bo?bo?	kodi?	diyo
A-T bea?	bo?bo?	kodi?	diyo
MBI bea?	bo?bo?	kao	iko

RAN	*bařřa?/baha?	bo?bo?	kado?	iko
BAM	baha?	bo?bo?	kao	iko
MEH	bařřa?	bo?bo?	kao	iko
KAL	bařa?	tumboh/tinande	aku	iko
MMS	bařřa?	bo?bo?	kao	iko
RKA	bařřa?	bo?bo?	aku	iko
RKB	bΛřřΛ?	bo?bo?	aku	iko
SAD	bΛřřΛ?	bo?bo?	aku	iko
TLA	bΛřřΛ?	bo?bo	aku	iko
MSR	bařřa	kinande	yaku	iko
PAT	bařa?	kinande	aku	iko
SEK	bařřa?	ki'nandee	'koi i	diyo
LEM	oviya	inande	ikodo	oiyo
WOT	bae	peca	iyau	iyu/ita
LYL	beři+si?	k+nanře	aku	ko?o
TOP	ohe	bobo	aku	iko
SAR	?onje	řuhe	aku	komi
PMN	bea	kina?a	aku	siko
RAM	boi	paŋka	aku	iŋko
PDO	?ihikuřo	ki'na	iyaku	'iiko

20. <i>he/she</i> <i>dia</i>	21. <i>we (exclusive)</i> <i>kami</i>	22. <i>we (inclusive)</i> <i>kita</i>	23. <i>sun</i> <i>matahari</i>
MAK iYa	(i)kate/(i)kambe	(i)kate/(i)kambe	allo
KNJ iYa	kambe/gitte	gitte	allo
SEL iya	kambe	d'itte	mata?allo
BBN iyaŕo	idi?manin	idi?manin	matasso
BLW alena	?ikkin	idi?manin	mate?isso
CAM alena	aleta	aleta	mataaso
BAL iya	iyami?	?ita?	mata?allo
MAJ ia	yami	ita (nasan)	mata?allo
PBG ia	yami?	ita?	matapa?dis
SEN ia	yami?	ita?	allo
MAL ?iya	kami?	kita?	matapa?di?
MMJ iya	in kai?	in kita?	mata?allo
SNY diya	kodi?nasan	kodi?nasan	mata?allo
SUM diya	*kadi?/kai	kita?	mata?allo
PDG ia	kai?	kita?	mataallo
TAP diya	kai?	kita?	mata?allo
BOT diyo	ki _u ta?	ki _u ta?	ma _u ta?allo
A-T diya	kami?	kita?	mata?allo
MBI dia	kami?	iya santa?a	mataallo

RAN	iko	kami?	kita? ya?asan	mata?allo
BAM	iya	kami?	kita?	mata?allo
MEH	iya	kami	kita	mata?allo
KAL	kamu	kami	kita	matanokullΛ?
MMS	iya	ki <u>ṭ</u> a	ki <u>ṭ</u> a?angana	ma <u>ṭ</u> a?allo
RKA	iya	kami	kita	mata?allo
RKB	iya	kami	kita	mata?allo
SAD	iya	kami	kita	mata?allo
TLA	ia	kamiŋ	kita?	mata?allo
MSR	ia	ikami	ikita?manan	mata?allo
PAT	iya	kita?	kita manan	mata?allo
SEK	dia	kami	'kita	kula?
LEM	oiyo	ikami	kita	oalo
WOT	isia	iyami	ita	mataiyo
LYL	siya	kami	kita	mata?ajo
TOP	laa	kami	jojo?o?	matae?o?
SAR	hiʃa	kai	kita	mata?eo
PMN	si?a	kami	kita	?eo
RAM	?io	iŋka	iŋki	moto?ando
PDO	umono	ikami	ikita	mataolo

24. <i>moon</i> <i>bulan</i>	25. <i>star</i> <i>bintang</i>	26. <i>water</i> <i>air</i>	27. <i>spring (water)</i> <i>mata air</i>
MAK bulan/bulaŋa	bintoeŋ	jeʔne	timbusu/mata jeʔne
KNJ bulan	bintoeŋ	ʔeʔe	mataʔeʔe
SEL bulan	bintoeŋ	*ʔeʔe/jeʔneʔ	eʔe mata
BBN ʔul+ŋ	vittoeŋ	wai	wai puttaŋ
BLW ul+ŋ	wittueŋ	wae	mata wae
CAM bulan	bintaŋ	uwe	mata uwe
BAL bulan	bittoeŋ	uwai	tambuʔan uwai
MAJ bulaŋ	bittoeŋ	uwai	mata ʷwai
PBG aʔappuaŋ	bittoeŋ	uai	mata uai
SEN aʔappuaŋ	bitoʔeŋ	uʔai	uʔai tumbuʔ
MAL aʔappuaŋ	bittoeŋ	uai	mata uwai
MMJ kaʔampuaŋ	bintoeŋ	ʷwai	mata ʷwai
SNY kahampuaŋ	bittoeŋ	uhai	mata uhai
SUM kaʔampuaŋ	bintoeŋ	ʷwai	mata ʷwai
PDG bulan	bittoeŋ	uhai	mata uhai
TAP bulaŋ	bintoeŋ	uhai	mata uhai
BOT bulaŋ	bittoeŋ	uhai	maʔa uhai
A-T bulaŋ	bintaŋ	uhai	mata uhai
MBI bulaŋ	bittoeŋ	uhai	mata uhai

RAN	bulan	bintan	uhai	*katumbunan uhai/mata uhai
BAM	bulam	binta	uwai	mata uwai
MEH	bulan	bintan	uwai	mata uwai
KAL	bulan	bittoin	ambe?	mata ambe?
MMS	bulan	bintoen	^u wai	mata uwai
RKA	bulan	bentoen	ubai	mata ubai
RKB	bulan	bentoen	^u wai	mata ^u wai
SAD	bulan	bintan	wai	mata wai
TLA	bulan	bintuen	wai	mata wai
MSR	bulan	řa?atuŋlanj	^u wai	waituwo
PAT	bulan	bittoen	wai	wai tubo
SEK	hulan	bittoen	uhai	kalimbuak?
LEM	bintoi	bintala	uwai	mata wai
WOT	bula	bintala	uwe	mata uwe
LYL	bula	bintoen	ufe	mata ufe
TOP	bulo?	bitue?	uwe	mata ue
SAR	bulan	bitoe	ube	mata?ube
PMN	buya	betu?e	?u ^w e	mata?u ^w e
RAM	vu ^ŷ a	betue?	?uwai	mata ?uwai
PDO	bule	tongimo	?uboi	mata?uboi

	28. <i>rain</i> <i>hujan</i>	29. <i>stone</i> <i>batu</i>	30. <i>sand</i> <i>pasir</i>	31. <i>earth/ground</i> <i>tanah</i>
MAK	bos i	batu	kassi	butta
KNJ	bossi	batu	kassi?	butta
SEL	bossi	batu	bone	tana
BBN	bos i	batu	g+ssi?	tana
BLW	bos i	batu	k+ssi/bone	tana
CAM	bos i	batu	bunjin	liña
BAL	uřan	batu	bunjin	lita?
MAJ	uřan	batu	bonde?	lita?
PBG	uřan	batu	bonde?	lita?
SEN	uřan	batu	bonde?	lita?
MAL	kuři bo	batu	bonnde?	tappo
MMJ	uřan	batu	bone	tampo
SNY	uhan	batu	bone	tampo
SUM	kuři bo	batu	bone	tampo
PDG	uhan	batu	boone	tampo
TAP	koři ho	batu	bone	tampo
BOT	?uřan	ba <u>u</u>	bonde?	li <u>ta</u> ?
A-T	uhan	batu	bunjin	tampo
MBI	uřan	batu	bunjin	lita?

RAN	uřan	batu	buŋin	litakʷ
BAM	ʔuham	batu	buŋim	litaʔ
MEH	uřan	batu	buŋin	litaʔ
KAL	uřan	batu	buŋin	litaʔ
MMS	uřan	baɬu	buŋin	liɬakʷ
RKA	uřan	batu	buŋin	*litakʷ /tana
RKB	uřan	batu	buŋin	litakʷ
SAD	uřan	batu	kasiʔ	pandaŋ
TLA	uřaŋ	batu	kassi/βone	lombu
MSR	βosi	batu	kassiʔ	tana
PAT	βossi	batu	gařassi	litaʔ
SEK	uřaŋ	hatu	huŋiŋ	litakʷ
LEM	uřa	ovatu	obone	otampo
WOT	uda	batu	bonebone	tana
LYL	uda	batu	bone	tana
TOP	ujoʔ	ubʌtu	βue řoja	tana
SAR	uja	batu	bone	tana
PMN	uja	batu	řaŋiʔi	tana
RAM	ʔuřaʔ	owatu	bone	voiʔ
PDO	ʔuse	βasu	one	βute

32. <i>cloud</i> <i>awan</i>	33. <i>wind</i> <i>angin</i>	34. <i>sea</i> <i>laut</i>	35. <i>forest</i> <i>hutan</i>
MAK řammaŋ	anin	tampařan	řoman
KNJ řammaŋ	anin	tampařan	bořon
SEL tai laŋi?	anin	tampařan	buřun
BBN řlluŋ	anin	tasi?	ali?
BLW ?řlluŋ	anin	tassi?	paŋala?
CAM nabaŋ	iři?	tasi	paŋala?
BAL ta?iři	?iři	sasi?	paŋale
MAJ tai anin	?anin	sasi?	paŋale
PBG tai anin	anin	le?bo?	paŋale
SEN taiyaŋin	?anin	le?bo?	paŋale
MAL tai anin	anin	le?bo?	paŋale
MMJ tai anin	anin	le?bo?	loppo
SNY ambuŋ	anin	le?bo?	paŋale
SUM tai anin	anin	sasi?	lopo
PDG ambuŋ	anin	le?bo?	loppo
TAP tai anin	anin	le?bo?	loppo
BOT gořonogořon	anin	le?bo?	paŋale
A-T ambuŋ	pembuhu?	le?bo?	kalane
MBI ambuŋ	pepohi	le?bo?	paŋala?

RAN	*ambun/gahun	*řehu?/bařa?	le?bo?	*paŋala?/paŋale
BAM	gambum	hibu?	le?bo?	paŋala?
MEH.	gabun	řibu	le?bo?	kaliāne
KAL.	'kaaun	bařa?/aŋin	tasi?	paŋala?
MMS.	guan	bařa?	tasi?	paŋala?
RKA.	gabun	aŋin/bařakʔ	tasikʔ	paŋala?
RKB.	gabun	aŋin	tasikʔ	paŋala?
SAD	salebu?	aŋin	tasik	paŋala?
TLA	awaŋ	aŋiŋ	tasi?	paŋala?
MSR	ambun	aŋin	tasiŋ	kabo
PAT	alluŋ	aŋiŋ	tasi?	paŋala?
SEK	ambuŋ	kusu	tasikʔ	paŋala?
LEM	ogavu	oŋalu	otasi	paŋala
WOT	allu	aŋi	tassi	paŋale
LYL	ta?iŋalu	ŋalu	ŋapa	řompo?
TOP	eja?a	bařa?	le?bo	kiha?
SAR	řou	poiři	tasi	?oma
PMN	limu	ŋoyu	tasi	paŋale
RAM	kini	pařowo	tahi?	lopo?
PDO	seřu	aŋi	tahi	te?olo

36. <i>mountain gunung</i>	37. <i>fire api</i>	38. <i>smoke asap</i>	39. <i>ashes abu</i>
MAK montcoŋ	pepe	ambu	au
KNJ buluʔ	ʔapi	ambu	ahu
SEL ʔulu	ʔapi	ambu	ahu
BBN buluʔ	ʔapi	řumpu	abu
BLW bulu	api	řumpu	awu
CAM buluʔ	ʔapi	řumpu	ʔabu
BAL buttu	ʔapi	řumbu	tai au
MAJ buttu	ʔapi	řumbu	tayau
PBG buttu	api	řumbu	taiYau
SEN buttu	ʔapi	řuŋbu	ta ⁱ yau
MAL buttu	ʔapi	řumbu	ta ⁱ ʒau
MMJ tanete	ʔapi	řambu	tajao
SNY tanete	ʔapi	hambu	taiahu
SUM tanete	ʔapi	řambu	tajau
PDG tanete	ʔapi	hambu	ta ⁱ yahu
TAP tanete	ʔapi	řambu	ta ^ʔ jahu
BOT ʔane ^ʔ e	ʔapi	řambu	ʔai ahu
A-T buntu	ʔapi	hambu	taihapu
MBI taneteʔ	opi	řambu	tai ahu

RAN	buntu	?api	řambu	tai ahu
BAM	tanete	?api	hambu	abu
MEH	tanete	?api	řambu	tai aβu
KAL	tanete	alutin	ořo	au
MMS	tanete	?api	řambu	au
RKA	buntu	?api	řambu	aβu
RKB	buntu	?api	řambu	aβu
SAD	buntu	?api	řambu	ao
TLA	buntu	?api	řambu	wau
MSR	buttu	?api	řumbu	au
PAT	buttu	?api	řumpu	au
SEK	tanete	?api	ořoo	ahu
LEM	omunķu	oapi	řaņasu	oavu
WOT	laře	apu	řaņasu	awwu
LYL	b+nto	apu	ombu	afu
TOP	munķu?	opu	ḡḡunḡḡḡḡḡḡ	tai yobu
SAR	bulu?	?api	řaņahu	aβu
PMN	buyu	apu	řaņasu	aβu
RAM	buļu?	?api	?ořo?	?avu
PDO	tamunķu	apui	ahu	ahu

	40. <i>hot</i> <i>panas</i>	41. <i>burn/roast</i> <i>bakar</i>	42. <i>cold</i> <i>dingin</i>	43. <i>night</i> <i>malam</i>
MAK	bambaŋ	tunu	diŋiŋ	baŋŋ ^Y i
KNJ	hambaŋ	ṭunu	diŋin	baŋgi
SEL	bambaŋ	tunu	diŋiŋ	βaŋgi
BBN	mapɪlla	tunu	makɪcɪ?	wɪnni
BLW	mapɪlla	tunu	macɪkke	wɪnni
CAM	maula?	itunu	macakke?	mabanni
BAL	lopa?	tunu	maɖiŋin	boŋi
MAJ	loppa	tunu	madiŋin	boŋi
PBG	loppa?	tunu	maɖiŋin	boŋi
SEN	loppa?	nitunu	madiŋiŋ	boŋi
MAL	maloppa?	tunu	maʒiŋin	boŋi
MMJ	panas	tunu	madiŋin	βoŋi
SNY	mapana?	mappaŋ	madiŋin	beŋi
SUM	mapana?	tunu	madiŋiŋ	beŋiŋ
PDG	mapanaʌ?	tunu	madiŋiŋ	beŋi
TAP	loppa?	tunu	madiŋiŋ	beŋiŋ
BOT	pana?	ṭunu	masakke	beŋi
A-T	malussu	ditunu	diŋiŋ	beŋi
MBI	malussu?	tunu	madiŋiŋ	beŋi

RAN	makula?	mantunu	mađin	boŋi
BAM	malussu	tunu	mađim	beŋi
MEH	malussu	tunu	masakke?	boŋi
KAL	malasu	sowe/tunu	mađin	boŋi
MMS	makula?	meande	mađin	boŋi
RKA	malassu/mapussu	tunu	mađin/masakka	boŋi
RKB	malassu/mapusu	*ditunu/isobe	mađin/masaŋkaŋ	boŋi/malilin
SAD	malassu	tunu	mađin	boŋi
TLA	malassu	tunu	macakke	boŋi
MSR	makula?	tunu	macakke	boŋi
PAT	kula?	tunu	maçakke?	boŋi
SEK	mepusu	tunu	masale	heŋi
LEM	malosu	itunu	mađi	makaindi
WOT	mapane	tunu	mađi	boŋi
LYL	pane	tunu	diŋin	boŋi
TOP	napeda	nitunu	nanjole	nabeŋi
SAR	mpane?	tunu	mlengi?	boŋi
PMN	mapane	řatunu	mařanindi	mabeŋi
RAM	mořaho	tunu	xoxoře?	vini
PDO	mokule	sinunu	mořini	boŋi

44. <i>fish</i> <i>ikan</i>	45. <i>bird</i> <i>burung</i>	46. <i>egg</i> <i>telur</i>	47. <i>dog</i> <i>anjing</i>
MAK juku	jaŋaŋjaŋaŋ	bayao	koŋkoŋ
KNJ juku	jaŋaŋjaŋaŋ	bayao	asu
SEL juku	jaŋaŋjaŋaŋ	'tanoŋo	asu
BBN bale	manu?manu?	it+illo?	asu
BLW bale	manumanu	itt+illo?	bokka
CAM bale	manu?manu?	tallo?	pinaka
BAL bau	manumanu	tallo?	asu
MAJ bau	manumanu	tallo?	asu
PBG bau	manumanu?	tallo?	pinaka
SEN pandeaŋaŋ	manumanu	tallo?	pinaka
MAL bau	manemane	tallo	asu
MMJ bau	manumanu	tallo?	pinaka
SNY bau	manomano	tullu	asu
SUM bau	manemaŋe?	tullu	asu
PDG bau	manomano?	tullu	asu
TAP bau	manemane	tullu	asu
BOT bau	manomano	tullu	asu
A-T bau	daŋsi	tullu	asu
MBI bau	dassi	tullu	asu

RAN	ɓau	dassi	tallo	asu
BAM	ɓau	dassi	tullu	asu
MEH	ɓau	dassi	tallu	asu
KAL	bau	*dassi/manu?	tallo?	asu
MMS	ɓale	dassi	ɗallu	asu
RKA	bete	*dassi/manumanu	tallu	asu
RKB	bete	manu?manuk ³	tallu	asu
SAD	bale	manukmanuk	tallo?	asu
TLA	bete	manu?manu?	tallo	asu
MSR	ɓale	manɣŋmanɣŋ	tallo	asu
PAT	ɓale	manu?manu?	tallo?	asu
SEK	bete	tadassi	lisa?	asu
LEM	obete	mamanu	tulu	oasu
WOT	bete	manumanu	buɗau	bokka
LYL	ɟuku?	ɟ+ŋjaŋaŋ	g ^ə rau	kiyau
TOP	bau	totonji	ŋdolu	didje?
SAR	bau	tonji	ŋtolu	ɗike?
PMN	bete	tonci	toyu	asu
RAM	ɓou	tinti	toɿu	ahu
PDO	ɓou	manumanu	sYu?ului	ɗahu

48.	49.	50.	51.
<i>fruit bat</i>	<i>louse</i>	<i>mosquito</i>	<i>rat</i>
<i>kalong</i>	<i>kutu</i>	<i>nyamuk</i>	<i>tikus</i>
MAK paʔnʔiki	kutu	lamuʔ	balao
KNJ paʔniki	kutu	buʔoto/kuʔsisili	balaho
SEL paʔniki	kutu	kaʔsissili	balaho
BBN panniq	ʔutu	namoʔ	belesu
BLW paniq/paniki	utu	kasisi	belesuʔ
CAM paniki	utu	damoʔ	balabo
BAL paniki	ʔutu	anamoʔ	balao
MAJ paniki	ʔutu	namokʔ	balao
PBG paniki	utu	namoʔ	balao
SEN paniki	uutu	kaʔasisi	balao
MAL paniki	ʔutu	kapissiʔ	balao
MMJ paniki	kutu	kasissiʔ	balao
SNY alon	kutu	kasissiʔ	lesse
SUM paniki	kutu	kasissiʔ	balao
PDG paniki	kutu	kasissiʔ	leese
TAP paniki	kutu	kasissiʔ	balaho
BOT paniki	kuʔu	kasissuʔ	balaho
A-T ledo	kutu	kampissiʔ	balaho
MBI ledo	kutu	kasisiʔ	balaho

RAN	ledo	kutu	kasisi	balaho
BAM	ledo	kutu	kasisi?	balabo
MEH	ledo	kutu	kasissi?	balabo
KAL	ledo	kutu	kasisi?	balau
MMS	ledo	kuṭu	kasisi?	balao
RKA	paniki	kutu	*kasisi?/nyamokʔ	balabo
RKB	paniki	kutu	kasisi?	balabo
SAD	paniki	kutu	kasisi?	balao
TLA	paniki	lisse	kasisi	balao
MSR	paniki	kutu	kasimu?	balao
PAT	ledo	kutu	kasissi?	balao
SEK	dupaŋ sorǎ	oto?	huʔotokʔ	balesuu
LEM	paniki	kutu	kařamu	valesu
WOT	paniki	utu	sani	balesu
LYL	pɪnɪkki	kutu	kɪsisili	bɪlafo
TOP	panici	kutu	sani?	bulehu
SAR	paniki	kutu	řomu?	balɛhu
PMN	řaupā	tuku	nojo	balesu
RAM	doupa	kutu	vuřoto?	vuɫɛhu?
PDO	kalo	kusu	siporo	tehʏu

	52. <i>snake</i> <i>ular</i>	53. <i>horn</i> <i>tanduk</i>	54. <i>tail</i> <i>ekor</i>	55. <i>black</i> <i>hitam</i>
MAK	ulařa?	tanřu?	poti	le?leŋ
KNJ	ulařa	tanřu?	poti	le?leŋ
SEL	sa?a	tanřu	pooti	etaŋ
BBN	ula?	tanřu?	ikko?	malotoŋ
BLW	ula?	tanřu	ikko?	maboloŋ
CAM	ula?	tanřu	eko?	malotoŋ
BAL	?ulař	tandu?	lelo?	malotoŋ
MAJ	?ulař	tandu?	lelo?	malotoŋ
PBG	ulař	tandu	bulubui?	malatoŋ
SEN	?ulař	tandu?	lelo?	malotoŋ
MAL	ulo	tandu?	lelo?	malotoŋ
MMJ	?ulo	tandu?	lelo	malotoŋ
SNY	saha	tandu?	lelo	malotoŋ
SUM	saba	tandu?	lelo	moloteŋ
PDG	saha	tandu?	lelo	malotoŋ
TAP	saha	tandu?	okki	malotteŋ
BOT	saha	tandu	ekko?	malottoŋ
A-T	?ile	tāndi?	oki	maloteŋ
MBI	ula?	tandu?	oŋki?	malota

RAN ula?	tandu?	eŋko?	maloton
BAM ula?	tandu?	eŋko?	malota
MEH ula?	tandu?	eŋko?	malotton
KAL ula?	tandu?	iko?	malo'to
MMS ula?	tandu?	eŋko?	maloton
RKA ula?	tanduk ³	ikko?	maloton
RKB ula?	tanřu?	ikko?	moloton
SAD ula?	tandu?	?ikko?	maloton
TLA ula?	tandu?	ikko?	maloton
MSR ula	tanduŋ	ikkon	malocon
PAT ula?	tanřu?	ekko?	maloton
SEK ile	tanduk ³	uki	makodoo
LEM oile	tandu?	oiku	maloto
WOT ulo	tanřu	iyu	maeta
LYL ulo	tanřu	iku	etta
TOP sa ^u la	tandu	lelo	nacebu
SAR ?ule	toonu?	lelo	malburu?
PMN ule	tondu	iku	maeta
RAM ule	tandu?	lelo	mo?iti
PDO ule	tand <u>u</u>	iki	me?eto

56. <i>white</i> <i>putih</i>	57. <i>red</i> <i>merah</i>	58. <i>yellow</i> <i>kuning</i>	59. <i>green</i> <i>hijau</i>
MAK keebo?	eeja	kunYi?	montcoŋ bulo
KNJ pute	eja	didi	moncoŋ
SEL pute	eja	didi	moncoŋ
BBN mapute	macella?	mařede	makudařa?
BLW mapute	macella?	mauññi	maido
CAM mapute	macalla?	mauñi?	makudařa?
BAL mapute	mamea	mařiři	makuřařa?
MAJ mapute	mamea	mařiři	kuřΛřřΛ
PBG mapute	mamea	mařiři	kuřařa?
SEN mapuute	mamea	mařiři	kuřařa?
MAL mapute	mamea	mařiři	kuřařa?
MMJ mapute	mamea	mařiři	makudařřa?
SNY mapute	mamea	mahihi	kaŋijo
SUM mapute	mamea	mařiři	ijo
PDG mapute	mamea	makuni?	makudahha?
TAP mapute	mamea	mařeři	makudařřa?
BOT mapute	mamea	mařiři	ijo
A-T mabusa	malea	mahihi	mahihoŋ
MBI mabusa	malea	mařři	malihuloŋ

RAN mabusa	malea	maʻiʻi	ijo
BAM mabusa	malea	mahihi	malebulum
MEH mabusa	malea	maʻiʻi	ijo
KAL mabusa	poʻaʻaŋ	maʻiʻi	mamata
MMS mabusa	malea	maʻiʻi	mai jo
RKA mabusa	malea/maʻaʻaŋ	maʻiʻi	maido
RKB mabusa	maʻaʻaŋ/malea	maʻiʻi	maido
SAD mabusa	maʻaʻaŋ	maʻiʻi	maido
TLA mabusa	maeja	makuñi?	maido
MSR mabusa	malea	maliʻi	makudaʻa
PAT mapute	maçela?	maʻidi	makudaʻa?
SEK mabusaa	maleaa	mapehadakʻ	maliholon
LEM mapute	maçala	makuñi	maido
WOT maputi	maeja	mauñi	mai?do
LYL putti	le?i	kuniŋ	monsoŋ
TOP naputi	nabaya	nakunni?	ijo
SAR mabula	ṃlei?	makuniŋ	makudaʻa?
PMN mabuya	manga	makuni	mayabuyu
RAM popuhi?	momea?	moʻiŋkokuñi	momata?
PDO mopute	motaha	moŋkuñi	molobulu

60.	<i>one</i>	61.	<i>two</i>	62.	<i>three</i>	63.	<i>four</i>
	<i>satu</i>		<i>dua</i>		<i>tiga</i>		<i>empat</i>
MAK	seʔře		řua		tallu		appaʔ
KNJ	seʔře		řua		tallu		?aʔpaʔ
SEL	seʔře		řua		tallu		?appaʔ
BBN	seʔdu		duʔa		t+llu		?+ppaʔ
BLW	s+ʔdi		duʔa		t+llu		+ppaʔ
CAM	cewa		dua		tallu		appaʔ
BAL	mesa		daʔdua		tallu		?apeʔ
MAJ	mesa		duʔa		talu		?ape
PBG	mesa		daʔdua		tallu		appeʔ
SEN	mesa		daʔdua		tallu		appeʔ
MAL	mesa		taʔdua		tallu		?appeʔ
MMJ	setto		duʔa		tallu		pataʔ
SNY	mesa		dedua		tallu		pataʔ
SUM	mesa		duʔa		tallu		pataʔ
PDG	meesa		duʔa		tallu		paataʔ
TAP	mesa		duʔa		tallu		?upaʔ
BOT	mesa		duʔa		tallu		?uppaʔ
A-T	mesa		dedua		tallu		?uppaʔ
MBI	mesa		dua		tallu		appaʔ

RAN	mesa	du ^W a	tallu	?appa?
BAM	mesa	dua	tallu	?appa?
MEH	mesa	du ^W a	tallu	?appa?
KAL	mesa	dua	tallu	appa?
MMS	mesa	du ^W a	tallu	?appa?
RKA	meesa?	d ^u a	tallu	?appa?
RKB	mesa	da?dua	tallu	?a?apa?
SAD	misa?	du ^W a	tallo/tallu	?a?apa?
TLA	mesa?	du ^W a	tallu	?a?pa?
MSR	mesa?	ho ^ñ e	tallu	?a?apa?
PAT	mesa	du ^W a	tal ^u	?appa?
SEK	mesa?	du ^W a	italu	?upa?
LEM	sambua	řombua	tal ^u	?ibə
WOT	saŋo	duaŋo	taluaŋo	patanjo
LYL	se?+nsa	řua	tal ^u	apa
TOP	hameha	řomeha	tallu	patta
SAR	hoŋu	řoŋu	tolu	?opo?
PMN	samba?a	řadua	tatogo	aopo
RAM	isa?	du ^W a	to ^ŷ u	iba
PDO	?aaso	o ^ř uo	otolu	opaa

64. <i>five</i> <i>lima</i>	65. <i>six</i> <i>enam</i>	66. <i>seven</i> <i>tujuh</i>	67. <i>eight</i> <i>delapan</i>
MAK lima	annaŋ	tuju	saŋantuju
KNJ lima	annaŋ	tuju	kaʃua
SEL lima	anaŋ	tuju	kaʃua
BBN lima	ɨnnɨŋ	pitu	aʃwa
BLW lima	ɨnnɨŋ	pitu	aʃua
CAM lima	annaŋ	pitu	aʃua
BAL lima	?anaŋ	pitu	?aʃu ^w a
MAJ lima	?anaŋ	pitu	?aʃua
PBG liima	annaŋ	piitu	aʃuwa
SEN lima	annaŋ	pitu	aʃua
MAL lima	?anaŋ	pitu	kaʃua?a
MMJ lima	?anaŋ	pitu	uwalu
SNY lima	?unuaŋ	pitu	kahua?a
SUM lima	?annaŋ	pitu	kaʃʃuwa?a
PDG lima	unnuŋ	pitu	kahuwa?a
TAP lima	?unnuŋ	pitu	kaʃʃuwa?a
BOT lima	?unuaŋ	pi <u>ɨ</u> tu	kaʃuwa?a
A-T lima	unnuŋ	pitu	kahua
MBI lima	unnuŋ	pitu	kaʃua

RAN	lima	ʔanan	pitu	kaʔua
BAM	lima	ʔannam	pitu	kahua
MEH	lima	ʔanan	pitu	kaʔua
KAL	lima	annʌn	pitu	kařua
MMS	lima	ʔanan	pi <u>u</u>	kaʔua
RKA	lima	anan	pitu	kaʔua
RKB	lima	anan	pitu	kařua
SAD	lima	anan	pitu	kaʔua
TLA	lima	ʌnnʌŋ	pitu	kařua
MSR	lima	ʌnn	pitu	kaʔua
PAT	lima	anaŋ	pitu	kaʔua
SEK	lima	unuŋ	pitu	sakkupaʔaŋ
LEM	lima	ʔini	pitu	uvalu
WOT	alima	ana	pitu	walu
LYL	lima	ana	pitu	falu
TOP	lima	onno	pittu	ubalu
SAR	lima	ʔono	pitu	valu/ʔalu
PMN	alima	aono	papitu	uwayu
RAM	limo	ʔoni	pitu	uwa <u>u</u>
PDO	olimo	ono	opitu	oalu

68. <i>nine</i> <i>sembilan</i>	69. <i>ten</i> <i>sepuluh</i>	70. <i>twenty</i> <i>dua puluh</i>	71. <i>one hundred</i> <i>seratus</i>
MAK salapaŋ	sampulo	řuampulo	sibilaŋaŋ
KNJ salapaŋ	sampulo	řuaŋpulo	sibilaŋaŋ
SEL kaʔassa	sampulo	řuampulo	sibilaŋaŋ
BBN aseřa	sippulo	duappulo	siřatuʔ
BLW aseřa	sippulo	duappulo	siřatu
CAM aseřa	sapulo	duapulo	seřatuʔ
BAL amessa	sappulo	duappulo	saŋatus
MAJ amesa	sapulo	duappulo	saŋatus
PBG amessa	sappulo	duappulo	saŋatus
SEN amessa	sappulo	duapulo	saŋatus
MAL kamesaʔa	sappulo	duappulo	saŋatuʔ
MMJ sasiyo	sampulo	duampulo	sapattiařa
SNY kamesaʔa	sampulo	duampulo	saŋatu
SUM kamesaʔa	sampulo	duampulo	saŋatu
PDG kamesaʔa	sampulo	duampulo	saŋaatuʔ
TAP kamesaʔa	sampulo	duampulo	saŋatuʔ
BOT kamesaʔa	sappulo	duappulo	saŋatuʔ
A-T kamesa	sampulo	đompulo	saŋatuʔ
MBI kamesa	sappulo	duappulo	saŋatuʔ

RAN kaseřa	sapulo	duapulo	sařatu
BAM kaseha	sapulo	duapulo	sahatu?
MEH kaseřa	sapulo	duapulo	sařatu?
KAL kasseřa	sapuulo	duapuulo	sařatu?
MMS kasseřa	sappulo	duappulo	sařaťu
RKA kasseřa	saŋpulo	duaŋpulo	sařatu?
RKB kasseřa	sampulo	duaŋpulo	sařatu
SAD kaseřa	saŋpulo	duaŋpulo	sařatu
TLA kasseřa	sampulo	duaŋpulo	sařatu
MSR kaseřa	sa?pulo	dua?pulo	sařatu
PAT kaseřa	sappulo	duappulo	sařřatu?
SEK kamesa?a	sappulo	iduapulona	saŋatu?
LEM sasiyo	sampulo	řompulo	sambuŋo
WOT sasio	sapulu	duapulu	satu
LYL siyo	spulu	řuapulu	sa?atu
TOP siyo	hambulu	řombulu	hotu
SAR siyo?	hampulu	řuampulu	hatu
PMN sasio	sampuyu	duampuyu	saatu
RAM hio	hampuľu?	řompuľu?	hanatu
PDO osio	hopulo	řuapulu	aso?etu

72. <i>one thousand</i> <i>seribu</i>	73. <i>all</i> <i>semua</i>	74. <i>many</i> <i>banyak</i>	75. <i>big</i> <i>besar</i>
MAK sisa?bu	i ^y anas i η	jai	lombo
KNJ sisa?bu	yanase?	lohe	bakka?
SEL sisa?bu	yanase?	lohe	bakka?
BBN siss+bu	iyaman+η	mega	battoa/*malopo
BLW siss+?bu	iyaman+η	maega	ba?doa
CAM sisa?bu	yamanη	maega	battoke?
BAL sallesořan	yanasan	mai?di	kaiyan
MAJ sallesořan	yanasan	mai?di	kaiyan
PBG sallesořan	yanasan	mai?di	ka ⁱ yan
SEN sallesořan	iηganana	mai?di	ka ⁱ yan
MAL salessořan	yanasan	mai?di	kaiyyan
MMJ sassa?bu	iyanasan	maso?o	kaiyyan
SNY sasa?bu	yanasan	masa?o	kaiyyan
SUM sallesořan	diapissan	maso?o	kaiyyan
PDG sasa?bu	dianasan	maso?o	ka ⁱ yan
TAP salessořan	diyanasan	mandan	ka?jan
BOT sasa?bu	diyanasan	mai?di	mabassa?
A-T saηsa?bu	diya?asan	mai?di	kaiyāη
MBI sasa?bu	iya?asanna	buda	kasalle

RAN sasa?bu	iya?asan	Ɓuda	kasalle
BAM sasa?bu	iya?asam	buda	kasalle
MEH sasa?bu	iya?asanna	buda	kasalle
KAL sasa?bu	iasan	buda	kasalle/lepo?
MMS sasa?bu	aŋgana	bu?dak?	kamai
RKA saŋsa?bu	yaŋsaŋ	buda	*batoa/gege/pasau?
RKB saŋsa?abu	ŋasan/mintu?	buda	batoa
SAD saŋsa?abu	mintu?	buda	kapu ^{Wa}
TLA sassa?bu	iyanaŋ	buda	battoa
MSR sa?sa?bu	iyamanan	buda	kacaŋ/*battoa
PAT sassa?bu	yamaŋ	buda	battoa
SEK sassabu	naŋ	baŋa?	sama
LEM sansovu	iyasana	mandala	kaiya
WOT saou ^u sao	iyamassa	mata?ba	mau?ge
LYL sinsohu	selealea	baŋi	mogge
TOP honjobu	kitahudu	nade?a	nabohe
SAR haŋjo?bu	haƆe	madea?	bohe?
PMN sancobu	řořoña	mařia	baŋke
RAM hasabu	loki?	vu ^v ŋi?	kode?
PDO asosobu	lobono	ořao	laŋkai

76. <i>small</i> <i>kecil</i>	77. <i>long</i> <i>panjang</i>	78. <i>short</i> <i>pendek</i>	79. <i>near</i> <i>dekat</i>
MAK tcaʔdi	laʔbu	bodo	baanʔi
KNJ caʔdi	laʔbu	ʃodo	ʃani
SEL kiʔdiʔ	ʔlambeʃe	ʃodoʃodo	mʃani
BBN baetcuʔ	malampeʔ	maponcoʔ	makaweʔ
BLW becu	malampuʔ	maponcoʔ	macawiʔ
CAM macunduʔ	malampeʔ	mapundiʔ	macabe
BAL ketcuʔ	malakka	mapoçiʔ	kaʃepu
MAJ kecuʔ	malakka	mapoçiʔ	kaʃeppu
PBG kecukecu	malakka	mapotciʔ	kaʃeppeʔ
SEN ketcuʔ	malakkaŋ	mapondiʔ	kadeppeʔ
MAL maʃanniʔ	malakka	mapotciʔ	kaʃeppeʔ
MMJ maʃanni	malanʃa	mapunjiʔ	madampiŋ
SNY mahinniʔ	malanʃa	maponjiʔ	kaduŋkaʔ
SUM maʃinniʔ	malambeʔ	maponjiʔ	kaduŋkuʔ
PDG mahinniʔ	malanʃa	maponndiʔ	kaduŋkuʔ
TAP maʃinniʔ	malambeʔ	maponndiʔ	kaduŋkuʔ
BOT maʃinni	malambeʔ	maponduʔ	kadukuʔ
A-T saboko	kalandu	kapodeʔ	maduŋkuʔ
MBI saboko	kalandu	kaʃempoʔ	kaduŋkuʔ

RAN	bařinni?	kalando	kapondi?	mařuku?
BAM	bahinni?	kalando	kapodi?	mahuku?
MEH	bařinni?	kalando	kapodi?	mařuku?
KAL	ba ⁱ tti?	kala?do?/malambe?	kapo?de?	mandappi?
MMS	bařinni	kalando	kapo _{ti}	madappi
RKA	bařini?	kalando	kapo _{di} ?	madappi
RKB	bařinni?	kalanřo	kapoddi?	madappi
SAD	bittv?	kalando	kondi	madappv(t)
TLA	be _{gu}	malando	mapo?di	mindappi?
MSR	bitcu	malando	mapondi	m _v ndo?opi
PAT	ba _{it} cu	malampe?	mapon _{co} ?	ma _{ca} be?
SEK	'supii	sahu?	kahodik?	duku?
LEM	mařini	kandate	kapode	juju _u ŋku
WOT	bacici	manřate	mampo?do	mas _v s _v
LYL	k _i k _i di?	miřate	popo?do	s _i sumpe
TOP	nacace?i	napaŋgu	nařeřede	namohu
SAR	kei?	m ^o noe	m ^o re?de	mohu
PMN	kokodi	mařate	dedeke	mosu
RAM	kokiyu	kuřau?	haŋkokotu	do _{du} ŋku
PDO	de _{de} eiki	men'taa	o _{bu} ?o _{bu} ŋ _{du}	ombe?ombe _{da}

	80. <i>far</i> <i>jauh</i>	81. <i>full</i> <i>penuh</i>	82. <i>new</i> <i>baru</i>	83. <i>good</i> <i>baik</i>
MAK	bella	řassi	beřu	baji
KNJ	leře	rassi	beřu	haji?
SEL	deře	panno	řau	řaji
BBN	mabela	pino	mabařu	makissin
BLW	mabela	botco	bařu	makissin
CAM	mala'taa	panoo	bařu	macoa
BAL	kařambo	panno	bařu	mařoa
MAJ	kařau	panno	bařu	macoa
PBG	kařoa/kařambo?	panno	bařu	macoa
SEN	kařambo?	panno	bařu	maacoa
MAL	kařambo?	bukke?	bařu	maacoa
MMJ	mařau/*kařau	punno	řo?o	macoa
SNY	kahao	punno	řo?o	macoa
SUM	kařao	bukke?	řo?o	macoa
PDG	makahao	bukke?	řo?o	mapia
TAP	kařao	bukke?	řo?o	macapa
BOT	kařao	řukke	řo?o	mapiya
A-T	kahao	punno	bakahu	mapiya
MBI	kařao	ponno	bakařu	mapia

RAN	mambela	ponno	bakařu	mapiya
BAM	mambela	ponno	bakahu	mapiya
MEH	mambela	ponno	bakařu	mapiya
KAL	mambella	ponno	bakařu	mapi?da?
MMS	mambela	ponno	bakařu	mapiya
RKA	mambela	buke	ba?řu	matokanj/maballo/mabelo
RKB	mambela	buke	ba?řu	maballo
SAD	mambela	pono	bařu	melo
TLA	mambela	buke	bařu	maballo
MSR	mambela	ponno	bařu	*macege?/makassiŋ
PAT	mabela	ponno	bařu	makanja?
SEK	ka'řaoo	sakoo	bakařu	makasa?
LEM	kařao	bukke	vow	malessi
WOT	mařido	buke	kuba	maballo
LYL	m+řido	bukke	bau	m+lapu
TOP	nakabao	naponu	nabou	nalolo
SAR	m ^a řa?	ponu	bařu	mabelo
PMN	kabao	buke	do ^o ?u	madago
RAM	mo?ela	buha?	vo ^v řa?	mořomi?
PDO	olai	bu'uke	bo?u	moiko

84.	<i>round</i>	85.	<i>dry</i>	86.	<i>to dry</i>	87.	<i>no</i>
	<i>bulat</i>		<i>kering</i>		<i>jemur</i>		<i>tidak</i>
MAK	boʻdoŋ		kalotoʻoʻ?		alloi		teenaʻ
KNJ	boʻdoŋ		řaŋko		aŋaluʷi		anřeʻ
SEL	boʻdʻoŋ		taŋko		alloi		gele
BBN	malebu		mařakko		maŋiŋsso		deʻ
BLW	malebu		mařakko		iŋssoi		deʻ
CAM	malebu		mařako		iasso		aʻdiŋ
BAL	malebu		mařaʻe		alloi		andiaŋ
MAJ	malebu		mařaʻe		malloi		ʻandiaŋ
PBG	malebu		mařaʻe		paʻdissi		iʻda
SEN	malebu		mařaʻe		nialloi		iʻda
MAL	tillepoŋ		mařogaŋ		paʻdissi		ʻaʻde
MMJ	kalebu		mařogaŋ		alloi		ʻuʻde
SNY	kalebu		mahogaŋ		alloi		ʻuʻde
SUM	kalebu		mařogaŋ		alloi		ʻuʻde
PDG	kalebu		mahogaŋ		maŋŋalo		uʻde
TAP	kalebu		mabaŋi		nialloi		ʻuʻde
BOT	kalebu		mabaŋi		dialloi		ʻuʻde
A-T	kalebu		mabaŋi		paŋallo		ʻuʻda
MBI	kalebu		mabaŋi		maŋallo		uʻdai

RAN kalebu/*malepon	mabanj	diyalloi	*tae?/ta?a
BAM kalebu	mabanj	na?alloi	ta?a
MEH kalebu	mabanj	dialloi	da?a
KAL makalebu	mařeko?	pakull ^h ?	ta?da
MMS kalebu	mařekko	dialloi	tae?
RKA kalebu	made?no/mařanke	mentin ^h allo	te?eřa
RKB malepon	mařanke/made?no	mentin ^h allo	tae?
SAD malepon	mařenko	di ^h yalloi	tae?/ta?
TLA malebu	mařenko	alloi/mintualloi	tae?
MSR malebu	mařekko	manallo	nojo?o
PAT malebu	mařekko	dialloi	tae?
SEK maka'lemoo	matada?	man ^h aloi	'ařii
LEM kalevu	mařanke	mempuwai	demo
WOT malimbu	makossi	manapanaiyo	edo
LYL bogu	t ^h enko	aajoni	ginřo
TOP nakalebu	nanou	nipabai	dohola
SAR m ^o lyonu	banj	poi	meřiya
PMN maliyogu	manao	řapuay	aře?e
RAM ma ^h e?enu	mobani	mampihilo?	hawa?
PDO bo?boko	mosu?i	mepiei	uuu

88. <i>this</i> <i>ini</i>	89. <i>that</i> <i>itu</i>	90. <i>here</i> <i>di sini</i>	91. <i>there</i> <i>di situ</i>
MAK anne	anjo/injo	andřinni	anjořeŋ/anjoeŋ
KNJ unni	injo	kunni	konjo
SEL unni	injo/intu	ři?inni	ři?injo
BBN iyae	iyařo	kumaye	kuřo
BLW iyae	iyařo	ko ^w e	kořo
CAM iane?e	iařo?o	řini	řia?
BAL dii?e	di?o	dindini	dindi?o
MAJ di?e	di?o	dini	indi?o
PBG di?e	di?o	indini?	indio
SEN di?e	di?o	indini?	indi?o
MAL inde?e	itto?o	indedi?dinie	ittořio?o
MMJ inne	itte	dinne	dittu
SNY inde?e	indo?o	dinde	dindo?o
SUM inde	indo?o	dinde	diitiŋ
PDG innde?e	inndo?o	dinnde	nando?o
TAP inde?e	indo?o	dinde	diřao
BOT inde?e	indo?o	nonende?e	indo?ořau
A-T inde?e	indo?o	dinde	nono
MBI inde?e	indo?o	eta inde?e	eta indo?o

RAN inde	di'o	inde?inde?e	diyokodi'o
BAM inde	diyona	etainde	etadiyo
MEH inde	dio'o	inde	dio'o
KAL inde	dio	inde	dio
MMS inde	ittin	inde	ittin
RKA iyate?e	iyato'o	indete?e	indetu'u
RKB iyate	iyatu	indete	indetu
SAD inde	iYamo'to	inde'te	yamo'to
TLA iyate	iyato	'indete	indeto
MSR iyate?	iya'tijiyo	iyate?e	iyatijiyo
PAT inde?e	iyatidiyo'o	dokote?e	diyotidiyo'o
SEK aře?e/akkaře?e	akkařoe/ařoe	indete?e	indeto?e
LEM dei	doiyo	'indene	indolala
WOT iyaniYe	ittue	innini	giYatu
LYL si?i	itu	řisi?i	řit+řiya
TOP heye?	hetue	ařeye?	ařetu
SAR hei	mboi	řei	mboi
PMN sei	setu	iřei	iřetu
RAM hiye?e	to?iye?	ihe?e	ito'o
PDO unie	ula?a	andea	lehea

92. <i>inside</i> <i>di dalam</i>	93. <i>above</i> <i>di atas</i>	94. <i>outside</i> <i>di luar</i>	95. <i>under</i> <i>di bawah</i>
MAK ?ilalaŋ	?iřate	?ipantařa (ŋ)	?iřawa
KNJ ilalaŋ	irate	pantařaŋ	iřaha
SEL lalaŋaŋ	řateaŋ	pantařaŋ	řahaŋaŋ
BBN řilaliŋ	řias+?	řisaliw+ŋ	řiawa
BLW ilaliŋ	ři ass+?	saliw+ŋ	řiawa
CAM lalaŋ	ase?	salibaŋ	tondo bawa?
BAL di lalaŋ	*di aya/di ɓao	dissalibaŋ	dioŋ
MAJ di lalaŋ	di aya	sumbaliŋ	tondořioŋ
PBG ilalaŋ	dibao	saliwaŋ	tondona?oŋ/dioŋ
SEN di lalaŋ	di aiya	di salibaŋ	di oŋ
MAL di lalaŋ	di ɓao	di řipo	di ɓoi?
MMJ jaliŋ	dibau	disulibaŋ	jauŋ
SNY jaliŋ	dibaho	dilau?	dihoi?
SUM dilaiŋ	dibau	disulibaŋ	diboi?
PDG (i)yaaliŋ	dibaaho	disulibaŋ	dihoi?
TAP ilaiŋ	dibaho	disulibaŋ	dihoi
BOT laliŋ	baho	disulibaŋ	hoi
A-T ?ilaliŋ	diaho	disalibaŋ	dihoi
MBI illaliŋ	iyahu	sulibaŋ	ihoi

RAN	illalam	iyaho	saluyan	diyoihi?
BAM	eta?illa'am	etaiyabo	illamsalibam	etadiyo
MEH	illalan	iyabo	salian	diyo
KAL	ilalan	iyau/iyao	isallian	dio
MMS	ilalan	iyao	diyo salian	dioŋ
RKA	ila'an	řampiyabo/abo	salian	rampedioŋ/dioŋan
RKB	ilalan	iyabo	sallian	dioŋ
SAD	inde to'lan	inde to'do	sal'yanan	inde to'yoŋ
TLA	lallin	jao	saliaŋ	jalliŋ
MSR	lalan	daonan	salianan	jioŋan
PAT	lalaŋ	daoŋaŋ	saliaŋ	dioŋaŋ
SEK	ilalin	iyaho	ipedane	ihoi?
LEM	ilalu	ivombo	saliva	ivoi
WOT	ila'ra	itamene	isalima	itambe
LYL	dalala'ra	řibafo	řibifi	ritambe
TOP	řebolo	mařibongo?	mařidaña	mariuneno
SAR	'la'ana	ri bongo/ri babo	sabaliku	ři peo
PMN	ři'řayanya	ři'babonya	řisamba'likunya	ři'a'anya
RAM	ila'ıi	itanti	ihowa'ıi	ivovoi?
PDO	la'ono	babono	buŋkuno	etotono

96. <i>in front of</i> <i>di depan</i>	97. <i>behind</i> <i>di belakang</i>	98. <i>east</i> <i>timur</i>	99. <i>west</i> <i>barat</i>
MAK řidalekaŋ	ři bokuaŋ	'timbořo?	wařat
KNJ řiYɔlo	řiboko	matallo/'tимоřo	bařat
SEL řiYa?řakaŋ	ři boko	řajanaŋ/'tимоřo	laukaŋ/bařat
BBN řiolo	řimunři	alau?	ořai?
BLW ři olo	ři boko?	timo?	bař+?
CAM ařiolona	imundři	timo?	bařa?
BAL diolo	dipondo?	timoř	bařa?
MAJ di olo	di boe?	---	---
PBG diolo	dipondo?	timoř	bařa?
SEN di olo	di bui?	timur	bařat
MAL di olo	di pondo?	timoř	bařa?
MMJ diolo	diboko	timoř	bařa?
SNY diolo	diboko	timo?	baha?
SUM diolo	diboko?	timoř	bařa?
PDG diolo	dibooko	timo?	baha?
TAP diolo	diboko?	timoř	bařa?
BOT diolo	dikebo?	timo?	bařa?
A-T diolo	dikebo?	kasse?beaŋallo	di katempu?aŋ
MBI diolo	dikebo?	di mata allo	di katampuaŋ

RAN diyo?olo	diyoboko	kabutuan allo	katambusan
BAM diyo?olo	diyoboko	kalembasan mata?allo	kalendusanallo
MEH diyo?olo	diyoboko?	mata?allo	bařa?
KAL itiņayo	diboko?	timuř	bařat
MMS diyo ƣiņayo	diyo boko?	ƣimuř	bařa?
RKA iollo	iḃundi	ka'butuan allo	ka'botoan allo
RKB sa?de	boko	timuř	bařat
SAD tiņayo	diboko?	matallo	kalambunan
TLA jiyoolo	jioundi	timo?	bařa?
MSR joloan	řumundian	timořa/*timo?	kalabutan
PAT diyo?olo	diyomunři	timokaņ	wařa?
SEK itiņaņo	ikebo?	kalemba? anna?kula?	kalilianna kula?
LEM ijořu	iboko	řampenao	řampenae
WOT idulu	imunři	itamono	itamene
LYL ritḃiņiyo	riteliku	selatḃ	bařḃ?
TOP řiņaņo?	řibenjo?	timo?	bařa
SAR řiņayo	tAḃAņguři?	timuř	bařa?
PMN řisuařa	řitaliku	pebete?eo	kasoyo?eo
RAM ihinařo	itundu	moto?ando	kotompuha
PDO ři?ařono	ři ḃuņkuno	?imata?olo	so'oka

100. <i>edge</i> <i>pinggir</i>	101. <i>skin</i> <i>kulit</i>	102. <i>meat/flesh</i> <i>daging</i>	103. <i>blood</i> <i>darah</i>
MAK biřin	bukulin	assi	tceřa?
KNJ biřin	bukulen	assi	řařa
SEL biřin	balulin	assi	řařa
BBN wiřin	uli?	juku	dařa
BLW wiřin	uli?	juku?	dařa
CAM biřin	uli?	lise?	dařa
BAL biřin	?uli?	?issi	ceřa?
MAJ biřin	?uli?	?issi	ceřa?
PBG biřin	uli?	issi	teřa?
SEN biřinna	uli?	issina	teřa?
MAL biřin	kuli?	?issi	teřa?
MMJ biřin	lolo?	insi	řařa
SNY bihin	lollo?	balle	haha
SUM beřin	lollo?	issi	řařa
PDG bihin	lollo?	issi	haha
TAP beřin	lollo?	?issi	řařa
BOT se?de	lollo?	?issi	řařa
A-T behin	lolo?	ġale	haha
MBI beřin	lollo?	ġalale	řařa

RAN	biřiq	lollo	ɓale	řařa
BAM	bihim	kuli?	ɓale	haha
MEH	biřiq	kuli?	ɓale	řařa
KAL	saʔden^^	kuli?	bale	řařa
MMS	biřiq	kuli?	issi	řařa
RKA	biřiq	kuli?	*jukuʔ/?issi	řařa
RKB	biřiq	kuliʔ/balulaŋ	isina	řařa
SAD	řandanna	kuli?	duku?	řařa
TLA	biřiq	kuli	juku?	lařa
MSR	biřiq/*řandan	kuli?	juku?	lomba
PAT	biřiq	kuli?	lise?	dařa
SEK	ihih	kuli?	hale	řaʔa
LEM	ivivi	kolomba	obau	ovase
WOT	ibibi	uli	ɗyuku	řa
LYL	biifi	kuli	isi	řaʔa
TOP	biʔino	kuli	ih	gřaa
SAR	bibi	kɔluma	juku	*řaʔ/lei
PMN	biβinya	pela	saŋa	daa
RAM	vivi	ko ^v i	bau	řaʔa
PDO	biβino	kuli	ɓau	řea

	104. <i>bone</i> <i>tulang</i>	105. <i>fat</i> <i>lemak/gemuk</i>	106. <i>hair</i> <i>rambut</i>	107. <i>body hair/feather</i> <i>bulu</i>
MAK	buku	janna	?uu	bulu
KNJ	buku	lunřa?	?uhu?	bulu
SEL	βuku	lunřa?	?uhu?	bulu
BBN	buku	lunřa	gim+?	bulu
BLW	buku	loppo	wilua	bulubulu
CAM	tulaŋ	mařumbo	belua?	bulu
BAL	buku	loppo	bilua?	bulu
MAJ	buku	loppo	belua	bulu
PBG	a?do/buku	mařumbo	belua?	bulu
SEN	tulaŋ	ka i imbaŋ	belu'a?	bulu
MAL	buku	loppo	belua?	bulu
MMJ	buku	lompo	belua?	bulu
SNY	buku	ma lamma	beluha?	bulu
SUM	buku	lompo	belua?	bulu
PDG	buku	lompo	beluha?	bulu
TAP	βuku	lompo	beluha?	bulu
BOT	buku	loppo	beluha?	bulu
A-T	buku	lompo	beluha	bulu
MBI	buku	ma lompo	beluha?	bulu

RAN	buku	ma lamma	beluhakʔ	bulu
BAM	buku	lombo	beluaʔ	bulu
MEH	buku	lombo	beluaʔ	bulu
KAL	buku	loppo	beluaʔ	bulu
MMS	buku	lombo	beluakʔ	beluakʔ
RKA	buku	lombo/loppo	beluakʔ	bulu
RKB	buku	loppo	beluakʔ	bulubulu
SAD	buku	lo ^m po	beluak	bulu
TLA	buku	loppo	bilua	bulu
MSR	buku	loppo	biluaŋ	bulu
PAT	buku	loppo	biluaʔ	bulu
SEK	'buʔuu	'loppoo	bakulakʔ	hulu
LEM	obuu	oloppo	velua	ovulu
WOT	buku	lombo	balu ^w a	bulu
LYL	buku	mbaka	b+lua	bulu
TOP	ʔuku	lonu	ʔuluboʔo	ʔuluʔa ⁱ ya
SAR	ʔuku	lomu	*belua/ʔulubo	ʔulubulu
PMN	ʔuku	boko	ʔuyua	ʔuyu
RAM	vuku	lomboʔ	vilolo ^ʔ	vilolo ^ʔ
PDO	ʔuku	taba	ʔuu	ʔuu

108. <i>head</i> <i>kepala</i>	109. <i>ear</i> <i>telinga</i>	110. <i>eye</i> <i>mata</i>	111. <i>nose</i> <i>hidung</i>
MAK ?ulu	toli	mata	ka?muřu
KNJ uluh	toli	mata	ka?muřuŋ
SEL ?ulu	toli	mata	ka?muřu
BBN ulu	datculi	mata	iŋŋ+?
BLW ulu	dautculi	mata	iŋ+?
CAM ulu	tuliŋ	mata	ene?
BAL ?ulu	taliŋa	mata	pudunŋ
MAJ ?ulu	taliŋa	mata	pudunŋ
PBG ulu	taliŋa	mata	puřunŋ
SEN ulu	taliŋa	mata	pudunŋ
MAL ?ulu	taliŋa	mata	pužunŋ
MMJ ?a?ba?	taliŋa	mata	pudunŋ
SNY ?ulu	taliŋa	mata	pudunŋ
SUM ?a?ba?	taliŋa	mata	pudunŋ
PDG uulu	taliŋa	mata	pudunŋ
TAP ?a?ba?	taliŋa	mata	pudunŋ
BOT ?ulu	ḡaliŋa	mata	pudunŋ
A-T bā?ā	taliŋa	mata	pudunŋ
MBI ba?a?	taliŋa	mata	pudunŋ

RAN ?ulu	taliŋa	mata	pudukʔ
BAM ?ulu	taliŋa	mata	illa
MEH ?ulu	taliŋa	mata	illoŋ
KAL ulu	taliŋʌ	mata	illo
MMS ?ulu	tʌliŋa	maʔa	illoŋ
RKA ?ulu	taliŋa	mata	illoŋ
RKB ?ulu	taliŋʌ	mata	illoŋ
SAD ulu	taliŋa	mata	illoŋ
TLA ulu	taliŋa	mata	illoŋ
MSR ?ulu	taliŋa	mata	pudun
PAT ?ulu	taliŋa	mata	ineʔ
SEK baʔakʔ	taliŋa	mata	iloŋ
LEM ovaa	taliŋa	omata	oilo
WOT baa	taliŋa	mata	aŋo
LYL baʔa	tʌliŋa	mata	aŋo
TOP boʔo	taliŋo	mata	aŋe
SAR bo	taliŋa	mata	?oŋe
PMN boʔo	taliŋa	mata	eŋo
RAM tutuʔ	toʔina	mata	?onu
PDO ?ulu	biʔi	mata	?eŋe

	112. <i>mouth</i> <i>mulut</i>	113. <i>lip</i> <i>bibir</i>	114. <i>tooth</i> <i>gigi</i>	115. <i>tongue</i> <i>lidah</i>
MAK	baowa	bibeře?	gigi	liila
KNJ	ɓaba	bibeře?	gigi	lila
SEL	ɓaba	mořimoři	gigi	lila
BBN	timu	ɓibe?	isi	lila
BLW	timu	timu	isi	lilla
CAM	timɔŋ/timɔ	timɔn	isi	pallepa
BAL	ŋaŋa	labe	řiŋe	lila
MAJ	ŋaŋa	labe	řiŋe	palepa
PBG	ŋaŋa	labe	řiŋe	issinŋaŋa/lila
SEN	laabe	biri labe	řiŋe	liila
MAL	ŋaŋa	labe	řiŋe	lila
MMJ	ŋaŋa	labe	řiŋe	lila
SNY	ŋaŋa	labe	hiŋe	lila
SUM	ŋaŋa	labe	ŋiře	lila
PDG	ŋaŋa	laabe	hiŋe	lila
TAP	ŋaŋa	labe	řiŋe	lila
BOT	suwa	labe	isi	lila
A-T	sua	bibi	?isi	lila
MBI	sada	bibi	isi	lila

RAN	sadaŋ	bibi	isi	lila
BAM	pudu?	bibi	isi	lila
MEH	pudu?	bibi	issi	lila
KAL	pudu?	pudu?	isi	lilana
MMS	puduᵛ	biŋi puduᵛ	isi	lila
RKA	puduk	biŋiŋ puduk	?isi	lila
RKB	puduᵛ	biŋiŋ puduᵛ	isi	lila
SAD	puduk	---	isi	lila
TLA	pudu?	bibe?	isi	lila
MSR	ŋaŋŋa	timu	isi	lila
PAT	sadaŋ	timu	?isi	lila
SEK	'suaa	ka'lambuu	anisi	'lilaa
LEM	ovulu	osume	obaga/obaga	olila
WOT	sumba	sumba	ba?ga	lila
LYL	ŋaŋa	mŋsu	ŋisi	dila
TOP	ŋaŋa	kuliŋuju	ŋihi?	jila
SAR	ŋaŋa	bibi	ŋihi	jila
PMN	ŋaŋa	bibi	ŋisi	jila
RAM	?ome?	vivi	ŋihj	lila?
PDO	pinᵛu	kuli pinᵛu	ŋisi	?elo

116.	<i>nail/claw</i>	117.	<i>foot</i>	118.	<i>knee</i>	119.	<i>hand</i>
	<i>kuku</i>		<i>kaki</i>		<i>lutut</i>		<i>tangan</i>
MAK	kanuku		bankeŋ		kulantu?		lima
KNJ	kanuku		bankeŋ		kolantu?		lima
SEL	kanuku		bankiŋ		kalantu?		lima
BBN	kanuku		aje		?uttu?		jaři
BLW	kanuku		a ₂ je		?uttu?		jaři
CAM	kanuku		aje		uttu		lima
BAL	kanuku		lette?		utti?		lima
MAJ	kanuku		lete?		?uti?		lima
PBG	kanuku		lette?		utti?		lima
SEN	kanuku		lette?		utti?		lima
MAL	kanuku		bitti?		kuttu?		lima
MMJ	kanuku		bitti?		guntu?		lima
SNY	kanuku		bitti?		guntu?		lima
SUM	kanuku		b ₁ tti?		guntu?		lima
PDG	kanuku		bitti?		guntu?		liima
TAP	kanuku		bitti?		kuntu?		ta?je
BOT	kanuku		b ₁ tti		k ₁ ttu?		ta ₁ ino
A-T	kahukki		b ₁ tti?		kuntu?		ta ₁ ye
MBI	kanuku		bitti?		kuntu?		ta ₁ ye

RAN	kanuku	bitti?	guntu?	lima
BAM	kanuku	bittu?	guntu?	lima
MEH	kanuku	bitti?	guntu?	lima
KAL	kanuku	lette?/biti?	kutu?	lima
MMS	kanuku	lentek ²	gun <u>ṭ</u> u?	lima
RKA	kanuku	latte?	guntu ² /kuntu?	lima
RKB	kanuku	late?	kuntu?	lima/palla?
SAD	kanuku	lentek	guntuk	lima
TLA	kanuku	a <u>ṅ</u> je	guntu?	lima
MSR	kanuku	a <u>ṅ</u> je	guttu?	lima
PAT	kanuku	a <u>ṅ</u> je	guttu?	lima
SEK	kini	koko?	kuttu?	kakkan
LEM	kolupa	obiti	okuntu	okangka
WOT	an <u>ṅ</u> u	a <u>ṅ</u> je	kaputu	lima
LYL	k <u>ṅ</u> nuku	b <u>ṅ</u> k <u>ṅ</u>	t <u>ṅ</u> putu	lima
TOP	kanupa	kada	kottu	pale
SAR	k <u>ṅ</u> nupa?	kada?	kotu	pale
PMN	kayupa	biti	bukotu	pale
RAM	ko <u>ṅ</u> upa?	biti	kotu?	ko <u>ṅ</u> ave?
PDO	kuku	ka <u>ṅ</u> e	olutu	kae

120. <i>stomach</i> <i>perut</i>	121. <i>neck</i> <i>leher</i>	122. <i>breast</i> <i>susu</i>	123. <i>liver</i> <i>hati</i>
MAK battan	kallon	susu	ate
KNJ batan	kallon	susu	ate
SEL pompon	kallon	susu	ate
BBN bauwa	ɬillon	susu	ate
BLW babu ^w a	ollon	susu	ati/ate
CAM pařu?	allon	susu	ate
BAL aře?	bařo	susu	?ate
MAJ ?aře?	bařo	susu	?ate
PBG aře?	bařo	susu	ate
SEN aře?	bařo	susu	aate
MAL ?aře?	bařoko	susu	?ate
MMJ ?ařa?	bařoko	susu	?ate
SNY ?aha?	bahoko	susu	?ate
SUM ?ařa?	bařoko	susu	?ate
PDG aha?	bahoko	susu	ate
TAP ?ařřa?	bařoko	susu	?ate
BOT ɬambu	bařoko	susu	?aɬe
A-T kompen	bahoko	susu	?ate
MBI ařa?	bařoko	susu	ate

RAN tambu?	bařoko	susu	?ate
BAM tambu?	bahoko	susu	?ate
MEH tambu?	bařoko	susu	?ate
KAL tambu?	kollo	susu	ate
MMS ṭambukʔ	kollon	susu	aṭe
RKA tambuk	kollon	susu	?ate
RKB tambukʔ	bařoko	susu	ate
SAD tambuk	bařoko	susu	ate
TLA tambu?	kollon	susu	ati/ate
MSR baʔataŋ	kolon	*kanyoeʔ/susu	ate
PAT tambu?	kollon	susu	?ate
SEK balambaŋ	bařakoo	susu	?atee
LEM otai	buřoko	osusu	oati
WOT ompo	buřo	susu	ate
LYL pompon	b+řoko	susu	ate
TOP toyiʔ	loʔo	suhu	ate
SAR tai	tʌmoʔo	suhu	?ati
PMN kompo	leʔe	susu	?ate
RAM hiŋaʔi	doʔoʔ	?omiʔ	?ate
PDO kompo	beʔu	uʷo	?ate

124. <i>face</i> <i>muka</i>	125. <i>faeces</i> <i>tahi</i>	126. <i>urine</i> <i>air kencing</i>	127. <i>deaf</i> <i>tuli</i>
MAK řupa	tai	mea	tonŋoloʔ
KNJ řupa	tai	mea	boŋoloʔ
SEL řupa	tai	jeʔneʔmea	'boŋolo
BBN řupa	tai	teme	matařu
BLW tappa	tai	teme	tařu
CAM řupa	dai	teme	biŋa
BAL řupa	tai	teme	biŋa
MAJ řupa	ta	teme	biŋa
PBG řupa	tai	teme	biŋa
SEN řupa	kandiŋ	ubai teme	biŋa
MAL řupa	tai	teme	biŋa
MMJ řupa	tai	teme	boŋoŋ
SNY hupa	kandiŋ	teme	boŋoŋ
SUM řupa	tai	teme	boŋoŋ
PDG huupa	tai	teme	boŋoŋ
TAP řupa	tai	teme	boŋoŋ
BOT řupa	ṭai	ṭeme	biŋa
A-T lindo	tai	teme	biŋa
MBI lindo	tai	teme	biŋa

RAN	lindo	tai	teme	biŋa
BAM	lindo	tai	tene	biŋa
MEH	lindo	tai	tene	biŋa
KAL	řupa	ta?da	tene	tařu
MMS	lindo	ṭai	ṭene	ṭařu
RKA	lindo	tai	teme	tařu
RKB	řupa	tai	tene	tařu
SAD	lindo	tai	tene	tařu
TLA	řupa/lindo	tai	teme	tařu
MSR	řupu	tai	ceme	matařu
PAT	řupa	tai	teme	tařu
SEK	sila	taii	tumah _ṭ i	pida?
LEM	olindo/ořupa	otai	oteme	boŋo
WOT	řo'u	tai	uwelee	tařu
LYL	řupa	ta?i	ufele?e	boŋolo?
TOP	lenge	tai	nahini	naboŋo
SAR	lenje	tai	loi	boŋo
PMN	liyo	ta?i	iyoi	bota
RAM	lipo	tede?	nene?	bono?
PDO	řa?i	ta?i	?eme	moŋo

128. <i>blind</i> <i>buta</i>	129. <i>person</i> <i>orang</i>	130. <i>man</i> <i>laki-laki</i>	131. <i>woman</i> <i>perempuan</i>
MAK buta	tau	buřa?ne	baine
KNJ huta	tau	buřu?ne	bahine
SEL buta	tau	buřa?ne	bahine
BBN wuta	tau	uřane	makunřai
BLW buta	tau	ořoane	makunřai
CAM buta	kalaki	bořoane	tobaiene
BAL buta	tau	tommuane	tobaine
MAJ buta	tau	tomuane	tobaine
PBG buta	tau	tommuane	tobaine
SEN buta	tau	tummuane	tobaine
MAL buta	tau	tommuane	tobaine
MMJ buta	todapa?	tomuane	tobaine
SNY buta	todapa?	tomuane	tobahine
SUM buta	todapa?	tommuane	tobaine
PDG buta	todaapa	tommuane	tobahine
TAP buta	tau	tomuane	tobahine
BOT buřa	řau	řomuane	řobaine
A-T buta	tau	muane	bahine
MBI buta	tau	muane	baine

RAN buta	tau	muane	baine
BAM buta	tau	muane	baine
MEH buta	tau	muane	baine
KAL buta	tau	muane	baine
MMS buta	tau	muane	baine
RKA buta	tau	muane	baine
RKB buta	tau	muane	baine
SAD buta	tau	muane	baine
TLA buta	tau	muane	baine
MSR buta	tau	tumuane	tubiřaŋ
PAT buta	tau	tomuane	tobaine
SEK buta	tau	mane	ba'hiine
LEM buta	tauna	tomuane	tobaine
WOT buta	ito	muane	bawine
LYL filo	ito	muane	bine
TOP nabuta	todapa	tobanje	tobine
SAR buta	manusia	tobange	tobine
PMN buta	tau	tuama	be?a
RAM bilo	toa	toma?ani	tovove?o
PDO mořabu	mia	tama	iřobai

	132. <i>husband</i> <i>suami</i>	133. <i>wife</i> <i>isteri</i>	134. <i>father</i> <i>ayah</i>	135. <i>mother</i> <i>ibu</i>
MAK	buřa?nena	bainena	maŋge	amma?
KNJ	buřu?nena	bahinena	ama	anřoŋ
SEL	buřa?nena	bahinena	amma	ando?
BBN	lakka i	baine	ambo?	indo?
BLW	lakka i	awine	ambo	umma?
CAM	lakka i	baine	ampo	indřo
BAL	muane	baineta	kama?	kindo?
MAJ	muane	baine	kama?	kindo?
PBG	muane	baine	pua?	indo
SEN	muane	baine	ama	indo?
MAL	muane	baine	ambe?	indo?
MMJ	muane	baine	ambe?	indo?
SNY	muane	bahine	ambe	indo?
SUM	muane	baine	?ambe	indo?
PDG	muane	bahine	ambe?	indo?
TAP	muane	bahine	ambe	indo
BOT	muanena	bainena	?ambe	?indo
A-T	muanena	bahinena	ambe?	indo?
MBI	muanena	bainena	ambe?	indo?

RAN	muanena	bainena	ambe?	indo?
BAM	muanena	bainena	ambe	indo
MEH	muanena	bainena	ambe	indo
KAL	muanena	bainena	ambe?	indo?
MMS	muanena	bainena	ambe?	indo?
RKA	muanena	bainena	ambe?	indo?
RKB	muanena	bainena	ambe?	indo
SAD	muanena	bainena	ambe?	indo?
TLA	muane	baine	ambe	indo?
MSR	muane	biʔaŋ	ambe?	indo
PAT	muane	baine	ambo?	indo?
SEK	ma'neena	bahi'neena	'amaa	'inaa
LEM	kadena	kadena	?ama	?ina
WOT	beʔei	beʔei	ama	ina
LYL	biʔei	biʔei	ama	ina?
TOP	ʔoŋo	ʔoŋo	mama	nene
SAR	ʔoŋo	ʔoŋo	tuama	tina
PMN	laŋkai	ʔoŋo	?uma	?ine
RAM	maʔani	xantambi	?umo?	ino?
PDO	tamano	sowboʔino	uma	ine

136. <i>name</i> <i>nama</i>	137. <i>grandparent</i> <i>nenek</i>	138. <i>elder sibling</i> <i>kakak</i>	139. <i>younger sibling</i> <i>adik</i>
MAK ařeŋ	dato	kaka?	andi?
KNJ ařeŋ	bohe	kaka	aři?
SEL ařeŋ	pua	kaka	aři?
BBN as+ŋ	nene?	daæŋ	anři?
BLW ass+ŋ	nene?	kaka	anři
CAM asaŋ	kanne?	kale	adi
BAL saŋa	kanne?	kaka	kandi?
MAJ saŋa	kane	kaka	kandi?
PBG saŋa	nene?	kaka	andi
SEN saŋa	kanne?	luluaře	andi
MAL saŋa	nene	kaka	andi?
MMJ aŋařaŋ	nene?	kaka?	adi
SNY saŋa	nene	kaka?	andi?
SUM saŋa	nene?	kaka?	adi
PDG saŋa	nene?	kaka?	adi?
TAP saŋa	nene	kaka	adi
BOT saŋa	nene	kaka	adi
A-T saŋa	nene?	kaka?	adi?
MBI saŋa	nene?	kaka?	adi

RAN	saŋa	nene?	kaka?	adi?
BAM	saŋa	nene?	kaka?	adi
MEH	saŋa	nene?	kaka?	adi
KAL	saŋa	nene?	kaka?	adi
MMS	saŋa	nene?	kaka?	adi
RKA	saŋa	nene	kaka	adi
RKB	saŋa	nene	kaka	adi
SAD	saŋa	nene?	kaka?	adi?
TLA	saŋa	nene?	kaka	adi
MSR	saŋa	nene?	kaka?	andi
PAT	saŋa	nene?	kaka?	andi?
SEK	'konaa	appe	ka?a	adi
LEM	osaŋa	opue	vutuna	adina
WOT	saŋa	pua	kaka	an'i
LYL	saŋa	pua	aka	an'i
TOP	ga'ra	pue	tuaka	tuwei
SAR	haŋa	pue	tuaka	tuai
PMN	to'o	kai	kaka	tua'i
RAM	kona?	uwe?	koka?	hidiyo
PDO	ne'eno	uwe	kaka	hae

	140. <i>grandchild</i> <i>cucu</i>		141. <i>uncle</i> <i>paman/om</i>		142. <i>aunt</i> <i>bibi/tante</i>		143. <i>friend</i> <i>teman</i>
MAK	cucu		puřina		puřina		samboři
KNJ	ampu		puřina		puřina bahine		uřaη
SEL	ampu		puřina		bibi		bahaʔaη
BBN	ıppo		amuře		anuře		siloη
BLW	ʔıppo		amuře		amuře		sibawa/raηıη
CAM	appo		amponaoře		indřonaoře		sola
BAL	appo		amanauře		indonauře		sammuane
MAJ	appo		amanauře		indonauře		samuane
PBG	appo		amauře		indouře		sammuane
SEN	appo		amanauře		indonauře		sola
MAL	appo		ambeuře		indouře		sammuane
MMJ	ampo		pinoma		pinindo		daηaη
SNY	ampo		puaʔ		pinindo		sola
SUM	ampo		puaʔ		nuře		sola
PDG	anampo		puaʔ		nuhe		sola
TAP	ampo		muře		nuře		sola
BOT	appo		pua		indouře		sola
A-T	ampo		puaʔ		indouhe		sola
MBI	ampo		puaʔ		indouře		sola

RAN ampo	*pua?/ambeuře	indouře	solaku
BAM ampo	pua?	tanta	solaku
MEH ampo	pua?	indouře	sola
KAL appo	muře	indouře	samuane
MMS ampo	ambeulu?	indoulu?	sola
RKA ampo	ambe muře	indo muře	sola
RKB pasusuan	muře	muře	sola
SAD ampo	pa?mbeřan	pa?indořan	solata
TLA ampo	uwa?	muře	sola
MSR appo	ambeuře	indouře	sola
PAT appo	ambeuře	indo?uře	sola
SEK appe	'ama 'muře	'inaa 'muře	'solaa
LEM puena	umana	indona	řařana
WOT ana opu	amuře	inauře	řařa
LYL susu	tetta	bibi	baha?an
TOP kumbu	manje	tina	jo
SAR mokumpu	mange	pinořina?	jo?o
PMN makumpu	tama	ba?a	yunu
RAM ?o ^h uwe	pino?umo?	pino?ino?	?ava
PDO ana uwe	maama	neine	balindo

	144. <i>guest</i> <i>tamu</i>	145. <i>slave</i> <i>budak</i>	146. <i>bride price</i> <i>mas kawin</i>	147. <i>string/rope</i> <i>tali</i>
MAK	toana	?ata	sunřaŋ	oteře?
KNJ	tubattu	ata	sunřaŋ	tulu?
SEL	tobattu	ata	sunřaŋ	tulu?
BBN	toana	ata	sompa	tulu?
BLW	topole	ata	sompa	tulu
CAM	toana	sabua	pasořoŋ	tulu?
BAL	toana	batua	passořoŋ	gulaŋ
MAJ	to ^w ana	batua	sořoŋ	gulaŋ
PBG	toana	batua	sořoŋ	gulaŋ
SEN	toana	batua	passořoŋ	petuyu?
MAL	toana	batua	passořoŋ	petuž ^u ?
MMJ	toana	batua	passořoŋ	belajaŋ
SNY	tosenka	batuha	pasohoŋ	belayaŋ
SUM	toana?	batu ^{wa}	passořoŋ	gulaŋ
PDG	tosubbe?	batua	pa?sohoŋ	belajaŋ
TAP	tosahe	kaunaŋ	passořoŋ	belajaŋ
BOT	to ^s ahe	batua	sořoŋ	*belajaŋ/petuju
A-T	tosahe	sabua?	somba	kundaliŋ
MBI	tosuleta	sabua?	somba	kunda li

RAN	*tosuleku/tosaekue	sabua?	somba	pesaŋke?
BAM	tosule	sabua?	mekutana	uli?
MEH	tosae	sabua?	sořoŋ	uli?
KAL	tosae/toleppa	kaunan	pa?kada	kařiři?
MMS	tosae	sabuak?	somba	*pesaŋke?/gondali
RKA	tořatu	kaunan	pakundai	ulaŋ
RKB	tosae	kaunan	alli kavin	ulaŋ
SAD	tořatu	kaunan	tana?bulawan	ulaŋ
TLA	tořampo	konaŋ	somba	tulu?
MSR	tammuku	konan	somba	utte
PAT	toana	sa?bua?	sompa	tulu?
SEK	tobuřu?	kunaŋ	---	?ulaŋ
LEM	tosae	battuana	osomba	valaa
WOT	toawa	batua	somba	alařa
LYL	itonkafa	b+tua	b+lafa p+f+rei	k+lařa
TOP	tořata	batuo	pasořo	bului
SAR	tořata	b+ua	sunda	poho?
PMN	lingona	batua	somba	baya
RAM	tođoŋka?	havi?	pamone?	pehilu?
PDO	mYahabe	ata	oli	ula/kolořo

148. <i>road</i> <i>jalan</i>	149. <i>boat</i> <i>perahu</i>	150. <i>knife (small)</i> <i>pisau</i>	151. <i>machete</i> <i>parang</i>
MAK agañ/oloañ	biseañ	ladiñ	beřañ
KNJ annořañ	lopi	piso	bassi/beřañ
SEL lalañ	lopi	piso	beřañ
BBN lal+ñ	lopi	piso	bañkuñ
BLW lal+ñ	loppi	piso	bañkuñ
CAM lalañ	lopi	kobi	kobi batoa
BAL tañalalañ	lopi	kobi	kobi
MAJ tañalalañ	lopi	kobi?	kobi? kayañ
PBG taññalalañ	lopi	kobikobi?	kobi?ka'iyañ
SEN tañgalalañ	lopi	kobi?	kobi? ka'iyañ
MAL batattana	lopi	kayañ	piso
MMJ tañalalañ	lopi	boñañ	piso
SNY tañalalañ	lopi	boñañ	piso
SUM tañalalañ	lopi	boñañ	piso
PDG lalañ	lopi	boñañ	piiso
TAP lalañ	lopi	boñañ	piso
BOT lalañ	lopi	boñañ	piso
A-T lalañ	lopi	tiiba?	piso
MBI lalañ	lopi	tiba?	piso

RAN	lalam	lopi	piso	piso
BAM	lalam	lopi	tiba?	piso
MEH	lalan	lopi	tiba?	piso
KAL	lumikka	lopi	piso	la?bo?
MMS	lalan	lopi	piso	la?bo
RKA	lalan/batatta	lembaŋ	cobo?	piso
RKB	lalan	lembaŋ/lopi	piso	la?bo/baŋkuŋ
SAD	lalan	lopi	piso	la?bo?
TLA	lalaŋ	kolli	piso	baŋkuŋ
MSR	lalan	londe	piso	la?aBo
PAT	taŋalalaŋ	lopi	piso	baŋkuŋ
SEK	dalaŋ	'loopi/lembaŋ	ana?basi	basi
LEM	olaa	olemba	opiso	opiso
WOT	dala	lemba	piso	ambeŋa
LYL	dala	biŋka	piso	berin
TOP	jala	lopi	babe cicei	babe buhe
SAR	jalan	sakaya	ladi	ba?be
PMN	jaya	ɕuaŋa	tibo	labu
RAM	laŋa	lemba	?ahe?kokiyu?	?ahe?
PDO	*sala/kolekoleko	baŋka	piso	obu

152. <i>rice mortar</i> lesung	153. <i>rice pestle</i> alu	154. <i>pound (rice)</i> menumbuk (<i>padi</i>)	155. <i>salt</i> garam
MAK assuŋ	ʔalu	adoŋka ase	tceʔla
KNJ assuŋ	anaʔassuŋ	adeŋka paře	ceʔla
SEL assuŋ	anaʔassuŋ	aʔdeŋka bae	seʔla
BBN paluŋɿŋ	ʔalu	manampu ʔase	pɿdje
BLW paluŋɿŋ	alu	manampu asse	pɿʔje
CAM i sʷŋ	panampuʔ	mannampuʔ pamadian	sia
BAL essuŋ	pařiʔdiʔ	mařiʔdiʔ paře	siya
MAJ issuŋ	pařiʔdiʔ	mařiʔdiʔ paře	siya
PBG issu	pařidiʔ	mařiʔdiʔ boas	sia
SEN issuŋ	paluŋan	pařiʔdi boas	sia
MAL issuŋ	pařiʔdiʔ	mařiʔdiʔ paře	siya
MMJ insuŋ	ʔalu	malambuʔ paře	siya
SNY insoŋ	ʔalu	manutu pahe	siya
SUM inseŋ	ʔalu	manutu paře	siya
PDG insoŋ	alu	manutu pahe	sia
TAP inseŋ	ʔalu	mařřiʔdiʔ paře	siya
BOT issoŋ	pelambu	malambuʔ pare	siya
A-T inseŋ	pelambuʔ	malambuʔ pahe	siya
MBI issa	pelambuʔ	malambuʔ paře	sia

RAN	issonj	pelambu?	mallambu? paŕa	siya
BAM	issa	pelambu?	mulambu? pahe	siya
MEH	issonj	pelambu?	malambu? paře	siya
KAL	issonj	alu	lumambu? paře	sia/ma?sin
MMS	issonj	?alu	lumambuk paře	siya
RKA	issonj	?alu	lumambu? paře	siya
RKB	issonj	?alu	malambuk' paře	siya
SAD	issonj	?alu	mařiso paře	siya
TLA	issonj	?alu	malambu? paře	sia
MSR	issonj	pitu?utunj	mařido bo?obo	sia
PAT	issonj	?alu	malambu? paře	siya
SEK	issonj	?alu	maŕuřa hea?	siya
LEM	pořintoa	?alu/pořinto	mořinto	opadje
WOT	lossu	ananalossu	memantutu bae	unu
LYL	losonj	analosonj	padeŕka bae	giřiŕ
TOP	nunju	jolu	nanuñu pae	sia
SAR	nonju	jalu	malmbayu pae	poi?
PMN	noncu	?iyayu	mombaju pae	buře
RAM	nqhy	?aľu	mabuhu kina	buľe
PDO	nohy	?alu	mo?use pae	ohiyo

156. <i>sugar</i> <i>gula</i>	157. <i>what</i> <i>apa</i>	158. <i>who</i> <i>siapa</i>	159. <i>where</i> <i>di mana</i>
MAK golla	?apa	ina i	ke i ma i
KNJ golla	?apa	ina i	ante ųe
SEL golla	?apa	ina e	rite ?e
BBN golla	aga	iga	kegi
BLW golla	apa	niga	keganond ųoi
CAM golla	aga	na i	nund ųoi
BAL golla	?apa	inna v	innanae ųe i
MAJ golla	apa	ina e	? inano ųoi
PBG golla	apa	ina i	innanao ųoi
SEN golla	apa	ina i	inna
MAL golla	apa	minna	umbanae ųe i
MMJ golla	?apa	sema	di umba
SNY golla	aka	menna	umba indo ?o
SUM golla	aka	minna	di umba
PDG golla	aka	menna	di umba
TAP golla	aka	minna	di umba
BOT golla	aka	menna	umbane ųe
A-T kolla	aka	menna	umbanae ųe
MBI golla	aka	menna	umbanae ųe i

RAN golla	aka	mennako	umbane i
BAM golla	aka	menna	umbane i
MEH golla	aka	menna	umbane i
KAL kolla	apa	mɛnna	umbanane i
MMS golla	aka	benna	umbanane i
RKA golla	apa	minna	umbane i
RKB golla	apa	minna	umbanane i
SAD golla	apa	indato	umbani
TLA golla	apa	benna	umbanane i
MSR golla	apa	nae	ombo inani? i
PAT golla	?apa	menda	umbosune iyo
SEK kolla	aka	sav	i umba/'hami i
LEM ogolla	apa	oseati	umbanasae
WOT gola	aga	sema	melařa'ni
LYL p+ganga	apea	nae	ři t+?+mae
TOP gola	hema	hemahe	umopamohano
SAR gula	nuapa	hema	'řapai
PMN gola	injaa	incema	řimbe? i
RAM gořa	hayo	?ehime	?imbo
PDO gola	bio	'?aine yo	a indeřiyo

	160. <i>why</i> <i>mengapa</i>	161. <i>how</i> <i>bagaimana</i>	162. <i>how many</i> <i>berapa</i>	163. <i>thirsty</i> <i>haus</i>
MAK	aŋŋapa i	anteikama	siapa	tuřeře
KNJ	aŋuʎa	anteʎekamua	sikuʎa	tiřeře
SEL	ŋuʎa i	anteʎikamua	sikuʎa	tiřeře
BBN	maag i	pekug i	siaga	madikka
BLW	'maaga i	'maaga i	siaga	madikka
CAM	maʎaga	i ndokua	siaga	maʎakko
BAL	'ŋapa i	me 'apa i	sa 'ŋapa i	mamaʎaŋ
MAJ	ma 'ŋapa i	me? 'apa i	saŋapa	mamaʎaŋ
PBG	maŋapa i	me?apa i	saŋapa	mamaʎaŋ
SEN	maŋapa i	i nnabassa	saapa	mamaʎaŋ
MAL	maŋapa i tto	me 'apa i tto?o	saŋapa	mamaʎaŋ
MMJ	maŋapa	umbatente	saŋapa	mamaʎaŋ
SNY	maŋaka	maŋakami	saŋaka	mamahanaŋ
SUM	maŋaka	umbanoa	saŋaka	mabaʎaŋ
PDG	maŋaka	umbano?a	saŋaka	mahahaŋ
TAP	maŋaka	umbanoa	saŋaka	mahaʎaŋ
BOT	akade	umbanoa	saŋaka	mamaʎaŋ
A-T	akade	umbanoa	saŋaka	māhāhāŋ
MBI	akaʎi	umbasusi	saŋaka	makamaʎa

RAN	akaʔi	umbasusi	saŋaka	maʔake baʔoko
BAM	maʔ'akahe	maʔaka'teeʔem	sanaka	mabaham
MEH	maʔakaʔia	umbasusi	saŋaka	mabaŋi baʔoko
KAL	maʔapa	matumbae	piʔa/saŋapa	mawaʔaŋ
MMS	umbanakua	umbanakua	piʔa	maʔekkoʔ kolloŋ
RKA	'maʔpai	ma'tumbai	piʔa	luwaʔʔaŋ
RKB	ma'apai/ma'tumbai	umbanakua	piʔa/saŋapa	lowaʔaŋ
SAD	umbanokoa	umbaʔasusi	piʔa	maʔaʔaŋ
TLA	ma'tumbai	ma'tumbai	piʔa	madakka/mawaʔaŋ
MSR	'napai	ombonakua	piʔa	mawaʔaŋ
PAT	maŋapaʌ	umbonakua	piʔa	maʔakka
SEK	'tumbai	ma'ttumbai	piʔa	ma'haaʔa
LEM	'mapai	'mapai	saapa	maŋkadou
WOT	maga'ya	magami	saiya	madakka
LYL	p+kiya	f+renu	s+kiya	m+rau
TOP	naciodila	nacie	hanjio	naboto
SAR	maʔkiya	bibaʔi	haŋgiya	moʔo'loʔ
PMN	ibeʔi	ʔeʔambeʔi	saŋkuja	modoʔu
RAM	mahampo	mahampi	haʔumbo	maŋkumaʔoʔ
PDO	mombiyo	helindee	opiyo	mokoʔare

	164. <i>drink</i> <i>minum</i>	165. <i>hungry</i> <i>lapar</i>	166. <i>eat</i> <i>makan</i>	167. <i>bite</i> <i>gigit</i>
MAK	aŋinun	'tcipuřu?	aŋanře	kokko?
KNJ	ŋinun	pa?ře	aŋanře	aŋikki?
SEL	ŋinun	pa?ře	ŋanře	aŋo?ko
BBN	minun	malupu?	manře	maŋokko?
BLW	minun	malupu?	manře	kukku
CAM	amminum	malibasaŋ	ammandře	naoko?
BAL	mandundu	tamba?i	ummande	mambokko
MAJ	mandundu	tamba?e	?umande	mambokko
PBG	mandundu	tamba?i	ummande	mambokko
SEN	mandundu	tamba?i	umande	makkekke
MAL	mandundu	buřořaŋ	mande	makkeke
MMJ	me?enu/*maŋinun	buřořaŋ	kumande	mebokko
SNY	me?enuŋ	buhohaŋ	mande	maŋkeki?
SUM	me?enuŋ	buřořaŋ	mande	maŋkeki?
PDG	me?enuŋ	bohohaŋ	mande	maŋkeki?
TAP	me?enuŋ	buřořaŋ	mande	maŋkeki?
BOT	menuŋ	bořořaŋ	mande	makekke
A-T	menuŋ	tadea?	mande	maŋkeki?
MBI	ummenuŋ	tadea?	ummande	maŋkeki?

RAN	umiřu?	ta?dea?	umande	maŋkeke?
BAM	mujhy?	tadea?	maŋande	maŋkeke?
MEH	muiřu	tadea?	maŋande	maŋkeke?
KAL	ma?inu?	tade?ʌ?	kumande	makeke?
MMS	ummiřu?	ɬadea	kumande	pakela?
RKA	uminu?	lobaři	kumande	maŋkeke?
RKB	minu?	lobari/taŋadia	kumanře/kumande	maŋkeke?
SAD	maŋiřu	taŋdiya?	kumande	nabeŋa
TLA	maŋinu	lawarři	kumande	maŋkeŋke
MSR	mi so?	loppe	kumande	makkekke
PAT	miřu?	tandea?	kumande	makkekke
SEK	'meenuŋ	kařařoaŋ	'mandee	makkeki?
LEM	inu	buřořa	mande	kekki
WOT	minu	maleso	manře	maŋabaga
LYL	lodu	ma?ařa	kanře	piki?ki?
TOP	nařinu	nařo	naŋgoni	nikoto
SAR	ŋŋinu	maleto	ŋŋgoni	*dikiki/dikoto
PMN	maŋinu	maořo	maŋkoni	mekambaři
RAM	ma?inu	bi lořa	maŋka	mekokuku
PDO	mo?inu	mokoniŋgo	moŋ'gaa	mekařasi

168. <i>see</i> <i>lihat</i>	169. <i>hear</i> <i>dengar</i>	170. <i>sleep</i> <i>tidur</i>	171. <i>know</i> <i>tahu</i>
MAK tcini?	allaneri	tinřo	assen
KNJ anitte	lanęe	tinřo	anuse?
SEL anjanjan	a'lanęe	tinřo	ņisse?
BBN makita	mařenkalina	matinřo	iss+ņ
BLW makkita	naenkalina/nas+?diņ	matinřo	naiss+ņ
CAM naita	marinkaina	matindřo	isen
BAL me?ita	ma?eřani	matindo	uissan
MAJ me?ita	ma?eřřani	matindo	?uissan
PBG me?ita	ma?iřanņi	matindo	naissan
SEN naita	maiřanņi	matindo	naissan
MAL maņita	maņeřani	matindo	kuissan
MMJ maņkita	manřanņo	matindo	nainsan
SNY maņita	mahiņi	matindo	insan
SUM maņita	mařřiņi	matindo	insan
PDG maņņiita	mahhiņņi	matindo	naiņsan
TAP maņita	mařřiņi	matindo	nainsan
BOT meiņa	pařiņi	maņindo	naissan
A-T maņita	mahiņi	*hahe/metindo	kuinsan
MBI ---	nařiņi	řaře	muissan

RAN *mampetua?/manene?i	mampeřani?i	*tomamma metindo	kuissan
BAM maŋita	ma?peh̃iŋi	mamma?	kuissam
MEH ma?petua?	ma?peřani	metindo	muisan
KAL ma?penenne?	mapeřani	mama?/metuřu	naissan
MMS mennene?	pařani	mamma	kuissanan
RKA mentiřo	ma?peřaŋi	mamma?	issan/tandai
RKB mentiřo	mapeřaŋi	matindo	naisan
SAD m̃niřo	ma?peřani	mama?	kuissan/kutandai
TLA mintiřo	nasa?diŋ	matindo/mamma?	naisseŋ
MSR m̃kkita	mapesa?adiŋ	matindo	dissen
PAT makkita	mapesa?diŋ	matindo	kuisseŋ
SEK maŋhele	massadiŋ	matuřu	issan
LEM navele	nadoŋi	matuřu	nainsa
WOT mopaita	mopeřa'ŋo	matuřu	řusani
LYL p̃loŋa	p̃nraŋo	koleŋ	saniya
TOP nicito	niepe	naleta	ninjoku
SAR maŋhilo?	maŋepe	matuřu	ninja?
PMN melotosi	mampe'doŋeka	yoře	nuincani
RAM pa?aŋki?	mampehořumna	totuřu	řaha?
PDO mosue	mořoŋoi	motuři	monto?oři

172.	<i>awake</i> <i>bangun</i>	173.	<i>wake someone up</i> <i>membangunkan</i>	174.	<i>dead</i> <i>mati</i>	175.	<i>swim</i> <i>berenang</i>
MAK	ambaŋuŋ		auřonřon		mate		allane
KNJ	ambaŋ		anřonřon		mate		a?lane
SEL	ambaŋ		anřonřon		mate		a?lane
BBN	moto		mat+ddu?		---		nane
BLW	tokkoŋ		pato?koŋi		mate		nane
CAM	moto?		mapamoto?		mate		amořon
BAL	membue?		mattundaŋ		mate		ummořon
MAJ	membue		matundaŋ		mate		umořon
PBG	membue?		mappabue?		maate		ummořon
SEN	membue?		mappabue?		mate		ummořon
MAL	membraŋoŋ		mattundaŋ		mate		umořoŋ
MMJ	membraŋoŋ		tundaŋi		mate		molane
SNY	membraŋoŋ		nitundaŋ		mate		molane
SUM	membraŋoŋ		tundaŋi		mate		molane
PDG	membraŋoŋ		mentundaŋi		mate		molane
TAP	membraŋoŋ		mampabaŋoŋ		mate		molane
BOT	membua		'dodoi		ma _u te		mořon
A-T	kaleha		dipakaleha		mate		moheŋ
MBI	kaleha		mařodo		mate		miŋkaja

RAN	baŋon	baŋonko	mate	meŋkaoʔon
BAM	miliʔ	mopamiliʔ	mate	mɥhɔ
MEH	baŋon	baŋonani	mate	meŋkaya
KAL	motoʔ	kupomotoʔ	mate	molane
MMS	milikʔ	dipamilikʔ	bonno	meŋkayaʔ
RKA	motokʔ	tundani	mate	umoʔon
RKB	motokʔ	pamotokki	mate	moʔon
SAD	millik	dipamilik/ditundan	mate	unoʔon
TLA	tonkon	tundani	mate	minango
MSR	micin	mattundan	mate	maʔon
PAT	motoʔ	pamotoʔi	mate	moʔon
SEK	maʔon	maŋgaʔon	mate	moʔon
LEM	meaʔo	leeni	mate	meluu
WOT	tomonko	liye'a	mate	minango
LYL	baŋun	baŋunɛa	mate	pɪnango
TOP	nambaŋu	nilice	namati	nangoŋu
SAR	*nemato/ŋbano	likeʔ	mate	ŋnaŋu
PMN	mambaŋu	mabaŋu	mate	menaŋu
RAM	meʔaʔo	meʔoʔai	mahi	meloiʔuʔu
PDO	mebaŋu	baŋuo	maate	numaŋoi

176. <i>walk</i> <i>berjalan</i>	177. <i>lie down</i> <i>berbaring</i>	178. <i>sing</i> <i>menyanyi</i>	179. <i>vomit</i> <i>muntah</i>
MAK aʔjappa	anřaʔbařaʔba	akeloŋ	taʔlane
KNJ aʔliŋka	ammene	akkeloŋ	amiřua
SEL ʔaʔliŋka	tinřotinřo/angoliŋgoliŋ	akkeloŋ	meřuwa
BBN jokka	leuʔleuʔ	makkeloŋ	tallua
BLW jokka	leuʔleuʔ	makkeloŋ	tallua
CAM aʔjalika	aloli	makeloŋ	ařugaʔ
BAL melamba	meloliʔ	meʔeloŋ	tilua
MAJ melamba	meloliʔ	meʔeloŋ	tilua
PBG mellamba	melloliʔ	meʔeloŋ	tiluwa
SEN mellamba	melloliʔ	maeloŋ	tilua
MAL mellamba	meloliʔ	makkedoŋ	tilua
MMJ mellampa	melloliʔ	makkeloŋ	tilua
SNY mellao	melloi	makkeloŋ	tiloah
SUM mellao	meloliʔ	makkeloŋ	tiloa
PDG mellao	matindotindo	makkeloŋ	tiloa
TAP mellao	melloli	makkeloŋ	tiloa
BOT melao	maʔbařebeřeʔ	makkeloŋ	řtiloa
A-T mellao	lenteŋlenteŋ	maʔkeloŋ	tiloa
MBI mellao	matindo	maʔkeloŋ	tiloa

RAN	melinka	metindotindo	makkelon	tilua
BAM	mellao	metindo	menani	tilua
MEH	mellao	metindo	menani	tilua
KAL	lumikka	melloli?	menani	tilua
MMS	menono?	mamma?	menani	tilua
RKA	luminka	matindotindo	sumejo	tilua
RKB	luminka	mengiři?	sumejo	tilua
SAD	luminka	mama?	mnani	tiluwa
TLA	duminka	leŋleŋ	makkelon/sumejo	tiluwa
MSR	lumamba	matindotindo	makkelon	tilaŋe/laŋe
PAT	lumikka	matindotindo	makkelon	tilua
SEK	me'laukkiŋ	matuřu	sumejo	telo
LEM	motenka	mattuřu/melentu	mokelo	tiko
WOT	m+paiba	leŋaleŋ	moello	tollua
LYL	p+laŋa	k+ŋkoleŋ	k+ŋkelon	t+lua
TOP	namako	nalaleta	nacelo	natelua
SAR	mamako	masagole	*mada?de/meñañi	motilua
PMN	melinja	meina	moŋayu	meluwa
RAM	matenka?	mehobobuřa?	mořiŋa	helua?
PDO	kolekoleko	motuři	menani	memelu

180. <i>laugh</i> tertawa	181. <i>itch</i> gatal	182. <i>sleepy/yawn</i> mengantuk	183. <i>child</i> anak
MAK amakala	katala	ta?du?du?	ana?
KNJ numakkala	ola?	ta?du?du?	ana?
SEL gege	'katala	ta?do?do?	ana?
BBN mecawa	makati?	cakařu?du?	ana?
BLW micawa	mati?	cakkařu?du?	an+
CAM macawa	makatiŋ	cakařudu?	ana?
BAL mecawa	makau?	maŋattu?	*nana?eke/ana?
MAJ mecawa	makau	maŋatu?	?ana?
PBG metawa	makau?	maŋattu?	ana?
SEN metawa	makatiŋ	maŋatu	ana?
MAL metawa	makatiŋ	maŋattu?	ana?
MMJ medawa	makatiŋ	titundu	ana?
SNY metaha	makatiŋ	titundu	anana
SUM metaba	makati	titundu	ana?
PDG metaha	makati?	situndu	ana?
TAP metaha	makatiŋ	maŋatu?	ana?
BOT meṭaha	makaṭi	sikaṭindo	ana?
A-T metaha	mākāti?	situndu	ana?
MBI metaha	makati?	tikařu?du?	ana?

RAN metaha	makati?	tikařu?du	anak ⁷
BAM metababa	makati?	tikahu?du?	ana?
MEH metawa	makati?	tikařu?du?	ana?
KAL metawa	makatti?	tikařu?du?	ana?
MMS meçawa	makatti?	ṭikařu?du?	anak ⁷
RKA metawa	makati?	tiŋkařu?řu?	anak ⁷
RKB metawa	makati?	tiŋkařu?du	pea
SAD metawa	makati?	tikařu?du	piYa
TLA mitawa	makati	cakařu?du/taŋkařu?du	ana
MSR mitawa	makati?	kařu?udu?	*anaŋ/pepea
PAT meçawa	makati?	cakkařu?du?	ana?
SEK mataha	mekao	lose	kanakanak
LEM metawa	makakatti	tiŋkařuddu/matitundu	ana?
WOT metawa	makakata	matatunřu	ŋana
LYL piŋiře	kikata	kido?do?	ana
TOP natitaba	nakakata	natunumatano	ana?
SAR tetawa	makau?	mařoyomata	ana?
PMN mo?gele	makakata	mařiamoyoře	anaŋgodi
RAM kokaře?	mokati	haŋkoloļe?o	ana?
PDO ma?aba	meçuhu	mokokatuři	?ana

184. <i>sky</i> <i>langit</i>	185. <i>fly</i> (v) <i>terbang</i>	186. <i>come</i> <i>datang</i>	187. <i>stand</i> <i>berdiri</i>
MAK laŋi	anři?ba?	battu	amenten
KNJ laŋi	ři?ba?	battu	amelten
SEL laŋi?	?a?ři?ba?	battu	amenten
BBN laŋi?	luttu?	pole	t+ttŋ
BLW laŋi	luttu/luttu?	pole	tořŋ
CAM laŋi?	allutu?	pole	akkede?
BAL *laŋi?/naban	meluttus	pole	meke?de?
MAJ laŋi?	lumutus	pole	mike?de?
PBG laŋi?	mella ⁱ yaŋ	pole	metto?do?/mekke?de?
SEN naawaŋ	mella ⁱ yaŋ	pole	metto?do?
MAL laŋi	lumayaŋ	pole	metta?daŋ
MMJ laŋi?	meřři?ba?	su?be	meŋkařřo
SNY laŋi?	mehi?ba?	su?be	meŋkaho
SUM laŋi?	meři?ba?	su?be	meŋkařřo
PDG naahaŋ	melollo?	subbe	meŋkahho
TAP laŋi?	lumolo?	lambi?	meŋkařřo
BOT laŋi	melolo?	sule	meřa?daŋ
A-T laŋi?	mellolo?	sule	ke?de?
MBI nahaŋ	mintia?	sule	meŋke?de?

RAN laŋi?	mentiya?	sule	ke?de?ke?de?
BAM laŋi?	mentia?	sule	ke?de?
MEH laŋi?	mentiya?	sule	ke?de?
KAL laŋi?	mettia?	sae	ke?de?
MMS laŋi?	mentiya?	sa?e	ke?de?
RKA laŋi?	tumea	řatu/sae	ke?de?
RKB laŋi?	tumiya	řatu/sae	ke?de?/bendan
SAD laŋi?	mentiya	sae	ke?de?
TLA laŋi	mentiya	řampo/pole	'ke?ede
MSR laŋi?	luttu	řatu	ke?eden
PAT laŋi?	luttu?	pole	ke?de?
SEK laŋi?	dumolo?	buřu?	tede?
LEM olaŋi	mevořo	donka	totořa
WOT bula	mola	awa	mařo
LYL laŋi?	p+laka	kafa	tanř+iŋ
TOP laŋi?	nakakařambua	nařata	nakakoře
SAR laŋi?	meboro	řata	mukore?
PMN yaŋi	moyoko	jela/řata	mekakoře
RAM laŋi?	meloka	donka?	metoti?i
PDO laŋi	mombaane	haabe	mengoti

	188. <i>cough</i> <i>batuk</i>	189. <i>spit</i> <i>meludah</i>	190. <i>cry</i> <i>menangis</i>	191. <i>dream</i> <i>bermimpi</i>
MAK	taʔřoko	apiʔřu	aŋařřu	assoʔna
KNJ	see	apeʔřu	aŋařaŋ	asoʔna
SEL	seʔe	apeʔřu	ŋařaŋ	asoʔna
BBN	moře	mammitcu	tʌri	katulutulu
BLW	moře	mammitcu	k+řřaʔ	katulutulu
CAM	meke	anecu	assaŋiʔ	anippi
BAL	meke	tiʔuðu	sumaŋiʔ	maŋipi
MAJ	meke	tiʔuřu	sumaŋiʔ	maŋipi
PBG	seʔdeŋ/meke	tiʔuðu	sumaŋi	maŋipi
SEN	seʔdeŋ	mettiuřu	sumaŋŋiʔ	maŋipi
MAL	seʔdeŋ	mettikkužu	sumaŋi	maŋipi
MMJ	seʔdeŋ	metiŋkudu	sumaŋiʔ	mansoʔna
SNY	seʔdeŋ	mantŋkudui	humuseŋ	maŋipi
SUM	seʔdeŋ	mentiŋkudu	sumaŋi	maŋipi
PDG	seʔdeŋ	mentiŋkudu	humuseŋ	maŋŋipi
TAP	seʔdeŋ	mentiŋkudu	sumaŋiʔ	maŋŋipi
BOT	seʔdeŋ	metikudu	sumaŋiʔ	maŋipi
A-T	seʔdeŋ	mentiŋkudu	museŋ	maŋipi
MBI	seʔdeŋ	meŋtiʔkudu	ummuseŋ	maŋimpi

RAN tokkoʔtokkoʔ	maʔtikkudu	sumaŋiʔ	maŋimpi
BAM tokkoʔ	mentikkudu	sumaŋhɔ	maŋimpi
MEH tokkoʔ	maʔtikkudu	sumaŋiʔ	maŋimpi
KAL toʔkoʔ	maʔtikkudu	tumaŋiʔ	meŋippi
MMS ʔokkoʔ	ʔikudu	ʔumaŋiʔ	maŋimpi
RKA meke	mentin̄kudu	tumaŋi	maŋimpi
RKB mekemeke	maŋtin̄udu	tumaŋiʔ	maŋimpi
SAD moʔe	tiʔtudu	tumaŋi	maŋimpi/maʔtindo
TLA 'meʔese/meke	mamiɕu/mintudu	komařřa/tumaŋi	katuluutulu
MSR meke	maɕikkudu	maŋŋa	kaloaloa
PAT moʔe	maŋi ʔɕu	tumaŋiʔ	katulutulu
SEK meiʔ	metikkudu	kumiʔʌkʔ	mepatuuʔu
LEM ovatu	metudusi	teʔia	katulutulu
WOT momeme	monussu	tomaŋi	katulutulu
LYL ki-mekeʔ	piʔfiʔje	taŋi	piŋipi
TOP batu	natailu	najio	naŋipi
SAR maŋhumpu	maŋtiliku	maŋgiyoʔ	moʔompoʔ
PMN memeke	meʔuwelu	tumaŋi	maŋipi
RAM mekahaʔ	meliku	meʔoŋa	mepototuŋu
PDO meheŋge	meʔonui	meibi	moʔipi

192. <i>pregnant</i> <i>mengandung</i>	193. <i>old</i> <i>tua</i>	194. <i>river</i> <i>sungai</i>	195. <i>kill</i> <i>bunuh</i>
MAK teanaŋ	toa	binana	amuno
KNJ tianaŋ	toa	binana	sihunohuno
SEL tianaŋ	towa	ɓalaŋ	amuno
BBN mattampu	matoa	salo?	ma?bunu
BLW mattampu?	matoa	salo?	pauno
CAM eppaŋu?	matoa	binana	buno
BAL battaŋ	mabubeŋ	*mandaŋ/benaŋa	mappatei
MAJ battaŋ	mabubeŋ	benana	ma'patei
PBG battaŋ	matua	lembaŋ	mappatei
SEN battaŋ	tubaŋabaŋa?	lembaŋ	pate
MAL battaŋ	matua	lembaŋ	ma'patei
MMJ tiana	matua	lelo?	mampatei
SNY mamboloŋ	matuha	sallu	mambuno
SUM mamboloŋ	matua	lembaŋ	mepatei
PDG tiana	matua	salu	mampatei
TAP tiana	matua	lembaŋ	mampatei
BOT kebattaŋ	matua	salu	meepatei
A-T kehataŋ	tua	uhai kaiyaŋ	mepatei
MBI kehatta	matua	salu	patei

RAN	kebattan	matua	salu	mampatei
BAM	kebatta	matuam	salu	mampattei
MEH	kebattan	matua	salu	mampatei
KAL	kea'tan	matesse?	bone	papatean
MMS	kebat ^u tan	matua	salu	papoko
RKA	keba'tan	matua	salu	pa'patean
RKB	keba'tan	matua/matesen	sallu	papatean
SAD	gi'ya'tan	matua	salu	mamoko
TLA	kiwa'dan	matua	salu	papatean
MSR	kiba'atan	matua	sa'adan	bunoi
PAT	kibattan	matua	salu	mapatei
SEK	masambo	matuaa	haun	mappatei
LEM	kalaea	matodi	osalu	papatea
WOT	tinai	matua	to'runa	mapapatei
LYL	ki'ti'uai	tu'a	mala	labunu
TOP	natinoi	natuo	salu	nipapate
SAR	motinai	tua	salu	mampatehi
PMN	tiana	matu'a	ko'o'uwe	mampapate
RAM	mohinonai'i	moto'di	'uwai	me'o'o'oko?
PDO	momeni	mosu'o	ko'ono	mompapate

196. <i>sit</i> <i>duduk</i>	197. <i>bathe</i> <i>mandi</i>	198. <i>bathe someone</i> <i>mandikan</i>	199. <i>fall</i> <i>jatuh</i>
MAK amempo	aje?ne?	an'je?neki	'tu?guřu
KNJ sidon	anřiyō	niřiyō	da?buŋ
SEL tolon	anřiyō	la'řiyoi	a?da?pe?
BBN tudan	caŋme	macaŋme	maŋnřuŋ
BLW cado	c+me	c+mei	boto
CAM acidokkon	andřio	dioi	mabuan
BAL me?ořo	mandoe?	pan'doe?i	beme?
MAJ me?ořo	mandoe?	mapandoe?	beme?
PBG me?esun/me?ořo	mandoe?	pandoe?i	bemme?
SEN me?esun	mandoi	pandoei	s imbi?
MAL menesun	mandiu?	pandiu?i	dondon
MMJ mençoko	mendius	mampandius	lamme
SNY mençoko	mendiyo?	mempependiyo?	lamme ^h
SUM mencoko	mendiyo	dio?	dondon
PDG mentoko	mendio	dio?i	lamme
TAP mençoko	mendiyo?	mandiyo?	dondon
BOT meçoko	mendiyo?	nidiyo?	dondon
A-T mokko?	mendiyo?	mampopendiyo?	dondon
MBI mentoko	mendio	dio?i	dondon

RAN *tadonko/mokko	mendio?	mandio?	metoban/řonno?
BAM mokko?	mandiyo?	diyo?i	mettoba
MEH tadonkon	mendio	dio?i	řonno?
KAL misu?	mendio?	dio?i	řonno?
MMS ma?loko	mendiyo?	didiyo?	řonok ⁷ /dondon
RKA umisuk ⁷	mindiyo?	ma?diyo/diyo?i	meřonno?/melolin/mela?pok ⁷
RKB misu?/tado?ko	mendiyo?	diyo?i	mela?pok ⁷ /meřonno
SAD no?oko?	mendiyo?	n ⁷ diyo?	toban
TLA cado/tadokko	minjiyo	pinjiyo?i	boto/řono
MSR cumadokko	mindiyu	diyo	řunu
PAT mepo?	mandiyo?	*mappandiyo?/ma?diyo?	mabuan
SEK meson	dumoi?	'doi?i	mař ⁷ ΛSSΛη/madeppek ⁷
LEM mosuda	medoi	doi?i	boto
WOT tomonko	manřiyu	padřiyuΛ	botto
LYL t ⁷ tořo	p ⁷ nřiyu	p ⁷ nřiyuΛ	nřau
TOP namoha	naneu	kuneu	nanabu
SAR mΛhuřa	mΛniyu?	mΛmpΛniyu?	m ⁷ nabu?
PMN motunda	mandiyu	mampandiyu	manabu
RAM mahu ⁷ řa	mendiu	n ⁷ diu?i	monavu?
PDO mentořo	me?đolo	đumolo?o	te?đonta

200. <i>drop</i> <i>jatuhkan</i>	201. <i>give</i> <i>memberi</i>	202. <i>speak</i> <i>bicara</i>
MAK antu?'guřaŋi	assaře	bitcařa
KNJ nipada?buŋ	asaře	appau
SEL appada?pe?	assaře	?a?bi sařa
BBN mapamʌnřuŋ	ma?beře	ma?bicařa
BLW boto ^w aŋi	ařeŋi	bicařa/pau
CAM buaŋi	beaŋi	mapau
BAL be 'mmeaŋi	mambeaŋ	mappau
MAJ mambemeaŋ	ma?ałli	mapau
PBG bemmeaŋi	mambeı	mappau
SEN simbiaŋi	mappi beŋaŋ	mappau
MAL dondoŋani	mambeı	mappao
MMJ lammeaŋ	mambeı	kanakana
SNY lammeaŋ	mambeaŋ	ma?bicaha
SUM dondoŋaŋ	mampebea	bitcařa
PDG lammeaŋ	sibeabea	makkankana
TAP mandondoŋaŋ	mambea	makanakana
BOT didondoŋan	mambea	makkada
A-T didondoŋaŋ	maŋalle	ma?kada
MBI *maŋdoŋdoŋaŋ/dondoŋaŋaŋi	be?iŋ	ma?tula?

RAN	diřonnosan	mapebeʔen	*maʔtulaʔ/maʔkada
BAM	tobaŋani	nabeʔem	maʔtulaʔ
MEH	řo'nnokani	beŋani	maʔtulaʔ
KAL	řonnosanni	maʔpebeŋan	maʔkada
MMS	diřonosan	dibeŋan/dibeʔen	maŋtula
RKA	řo'nosanni/laʔ'pokani	mabeŋan	makada
RKB	ro'noani/la'pokani	ibeʔen	makada/mapau
SAD	diřonosan	diben	maʔkada
TLA	řonoʔokaŋi	beŋi	bicařa/pau
MSR	řu'nusani	ŋdaʔi	makkareba/maʔbicařa
PAT	buaŋi	maŋalli	mappau
SEK	deppekiŋ	maŋhea	mo'suaa
LEM	bo'toai	ambei	sipappau/sipopeilua
WOT	pa'botoa	doiya	mopau
LYL	pitiʔbuŋea	saia	bisařa
TOP	nabumutue	bagi	natundu
SAR	nabui	'baika	bicařa
PMN	mampakanabu	mabai	mompao
RAM	ʔonoʔakiʔi	mepaʔani	maviha ^v lo
PDO	đontaiyo	moʔoli	mepau/mepai/mepabu

NOTES

¹The major non-South Sulawesi languages spoken in the province are detailed below:

Javanese

About 25,000 Javanese were settled in Kecamatan Wonomulyo in Kabupaten Polmas by the Dutch in 1937 and remain there today. In addition, extensive government relocation projects are currently underway in Kecamatans Malangke, Bone-Bone, Wotu, and Mangkutana of Kabupaten Luwu and in Kecamatan Kulukku of Kabupaten Mamuju.

Balinese

In Kecamatan Bone-Bone of Kabupaten Luwu there are large communities of Balinese transmigrants. The *Peta bahasa* reports that Balinese is also spoken in South Sulawesi on the distant island of Sailus (Kabupaten Pangkep) which is geographically near Bali. These inhabitants may be native to the island.

Chinese languages

Between 30,000-50,000 people of Hokkien, Kwantung (Canton), and Mandarin origins reside throughout the urban areas of the province, working mostly as merchants. Many of Chinese descent in Ujung Pandang speak Makassar as their first language.

²Of the 39 word lists taken, only the Sarudu language informant was not born of Sarudu parents and thus failed the screening. However, he had grown up in a Sarudu-speaking village and showed no hesitation with his responses.

³The taxonomic levels used in this study are adapted from Smith (1984) which he used in a preliminary classification of the languages of Sabah involving more than 60,000 pairings of word lists. This current study combined with our study of the languages of North Maluku (to appear) involves pairing of over 1,000 word lists in which Smith's levels were of significant value for analysis.

⁴It could correctly be argued, however, that this becomes a kind of chicken-and-egg question. That is, the taxonomic levels are determined by natural groupings, and the groupings, in turn, are determined by the taxonomic levels. In spite of this apparent difficulty, it is nevertheless useful to extend the levels of the obvious groupings to those groupings which are not so immediately apparent.

⁵Hockett, in his discussion about the distinctions between language and dialect, provides a useful perspective to the unproductive dispute over taxonomic boundaries:

A *language*, as just asserted, is a collection of more or less similar idiolects. A *dialect* is just the same thing, with this difference: when both terms are used in a single discussion, the degree of similarity of the idiolects in a single dialect is presumed to be greater than that of all the idiolects in the language (1958:322).

⁶Researchers of South Sulawesi must sort through a confusion of place names, language names and spelling variations encountered in the literature, on maps, and in travel throughout the province.

In the identification of language names two problems are frequently encountered. On the one hand, several terms may be used for a single language, while on the other, a single term may actually represent several languages. The basis of the confusion seems to be with the nature of Indonesian. For example, Bahasa X can mean either:

- (1) the language called X; or
- (2) a language spoken in the place called X.

Overdifferentiation frequently occurs when different language informants give the name of each of their villages for the name of the language they speak. Overdifferentiation also occurs when various ethnic groups each give their own term in referring to a specific ethnic group. For example, speakers of one language in Kabupaten Mamuju refer to themselves as Kalumpang while speakers of Toraja-Sa'dan refer to this group as Ma'ki.

Underdifferentiation occurs when the name of a geographical area is used to represent several languages in an area, for example, Luwu. Esser (1938) lists a Luwu' Group within his South Celebes Group. It is unclear exactly which languages he includes in this. Bahasa Luwu as it is currently used in South Sulawesi can refer to any of the languages spoken in Kabupaten Luwu. It is most frequently used to mean either the Luwu dialect of Bugis, or the Toala' language, but which of the two is often difficult to determine. Furthermore, Luwu is not to be confused with Luwuk, the administrative capital of Kabupaten Luwuk-Banggai on the far eastern arm of Central Sulawesi.

A third problem in dealing with language names is that a single name may represent two or more places. For example, there is a village named Kalumpang in Kabupaten Mamuju and another by the same name in Kabupaten Sidenrang, although villages of the same name are not always separated by such distances.

Thus, in light of these three types of problems it is not always clear that one writer's language name can be equated with another writer's language of the same name.

Spelling variations occur due to both a variety of spelling conventions, for example, modern Indonesian, Dutch, German, etc., and the lack of standardised orthographies for South Sulawesi languages, whose words are used in place and language names. The most common types of spelling variations for South Sulawesi linguistic features are listed below:

- (a) *Preglottalised stops* may be represented by an apostrophe preceding the stop, by a double stop, or a geminate vowel preceding the stop. For example, the following spelling variations are all found:

Sa'dan, Saddan, Saadan: the name of a major river in South Sulawesi.

Sa'bang, Sabbang, Saabang: a town in Kabupaten Luwu.

- (b) *Consonant length* is a feature found in many South Sulawesi languages. It is most frequently represented by a geminate consonant. However, occasionally length is not recognised and only a single consonant occurs. In Soppeng, the double consonant symbolises consonant length. The variation Sopenng is also found as a spelling of the same place name.
- (c) *Word final nasals* are frequently velarised due to the influence of dominant South Sulawesi languages which allow only velar nasals in the word final position. For example, Sa'dang is another alternate spelling for the Sa'dan River (in combination with the other variations listed above).
- (d) *Glottal stop* in most South Sulawesi languages carries a high functional load and is almost always contrastive with /k/. However, pressure to conform to the orthographic conventions of Indonesian has neutralised contrast between the two. Word final glottal stops are frequently either represented by /k/ or omitted. Word medial glottals may be unmarked.
- (e) *Nasalisation preceding a stop* in word medial positions is occasionally represented by a double stop.
- (f) *Imploded stops* lose their distinctiveness and are usually symbolised as normal stops, but may also follow the spelling variations described under preglottalised stops above.
- (g) *Other sounds* not represented in standard orthographies are symbolised in numerous and creative ways such as the high central unrounded vocoid [ɨ] in Bugis. Ware and Wara are both spellings for ['warɨ?], the area around Palopo/Paloppo in Kabupaten Luwu. The distinctive voiced alveolar fricative [ɖ] found in Mandar dialects has been represented by d, dh, ð, and ɖ.

⁷B.F. Matthes was a German missionary who wrote dictionaries and grammars of Bugis and Makassar. He also translated the Bible into those two languages.

⁸Mills has 'carried out a rather informal lexicostatistical survey – informal in the sense that the raw percentages are used, without taking Standard Error into account' (1975:490). Following the guidelines outlined in Simons (1977b:122ff.), we have permuted the cognate percentages of Mills' 200-word list and 100-word list comparisons (1975:492) to reveal more clearly the relevant patterns. No relations have been changed, only the order of their display has been rearranged.

Mills' Duri-Cakka (DuC) and Duri-Kalosi (DuK) have been averaged to a single cognate percentage representing Masenrempulu (Msr). (On Mills' 200-word list DuC and DuK share 84.6% cognates and on the 100-word list 86.8%.) The permuted matrices are shown opposite.

In both charts the following patterns are manifested, which parallel the patterns shown by our own lexicostatistic percentages:

- (a) Makassar and Bugis show the pattern of successive divergence from the rest of the Stock with Makassar being the more divergent of the two.
- (b) Within the South Sulawesi Stock, Seko shows some distance from the other members.

MAK		MILLS' 200-WORD LIST COMPARISONS					
39.3	BUG						
34.6	44.5	MDR					
34.9	42.1	60.8	MMJ				
33.0	45.3	58.5	69.8	PUS			
30.9	44.0	54.2	58.9	67.1	SAD		
33.9	49.0	52.0	54.2	61.7	72.7	MSR	
26.7	29.8	37.1	48.4	43.9	42.9	42.1	SEKO

MAK		MILLS' 100-WORD LIST COMPARISONS					
44.5	BUG						
36.0	50.5	MDR					
33.0	44.3	66.0	MMJ				
33.3	48.4	63.0	74.6	PUS			
33.0	46.0	60.0	60.3	72.9	SAD		
34.6	52.5	54.5	56.7	65.9	76.8	MSR	
31.8	35.6	41.4	49.5	49.5	50.5	49.8	SEKO

Figure 21: MILLS' SOUTH SULAWESI COGNATE PERCENTAGES

(c) Mandar, Mamuju, PUS, Sa'dan, and Masenrempulu (our Northern South Sulawesi Family) show statistically significant internal cohesion grouped together and statistically significant external differences separating them from the other members of the South Sulawesi Stock (see Simons 1977c).

(d) Bugis and Masenrempulu show slight convergence.

⁹Sneddon lists Mandar as having 267,000 speakers, but he includes the Botteng-Tappalang dialect in this figure. We place Botteng and Tappalang as dialects of Mamuju.

¹⁰Sneddon's figure of 77,000 speakers does not include Botteng and Tappalang.

¹¹There are various speculations as to the origin of the term 'Toraja', a common explanation being that it is derived from Bugis *to-riaja* *people of the highlands*. The term Toraja was used at least as far back as Adriani and Kruyt (1914) as a linguistic cover term for the group of languages in the mountainous centre of Sulawesi, a large portion of the current province of Central Sulawesi. Confusion develops over the fact that modern use of the word by inhabitants of Sulawesi is restricted to the general Toraja-Sa'dan

area in Kabupaten Tana Toraja in the province of South Sulawesi. The people of Central Sulawesi are culturally and linguistically distinct from the Toraja-Sa'dan people. Indonesian scholars representing the government have suggested the use of the name Kaili-Pamona for the former 'Toraja Group' referring to the group of languages in the centre of Sulawesi (Barr, Barr and Salombe 1979:32). We follow this suggestion.

¹² Sneddon's figure of 202,000 probably includes speakers of Pattinjo.

¹³ The Laskowskes give the following figures of lexical similarity:

Seko Padang - Seko Tengah	=	71%
Seko Padang - Panasuan	=	63%
Seko Tengah - Panasuan	=	67%

¹⁴ Sneddon gives a figure of 5,000.

¹⁵ The following languages have also been reported by various sources, but while in the general geographical areas in which they were reported to be, we were unable to confirm their existence. We list the reports here in the hopes that other investigators will be able to explore the reports and rumours more thoroughly:

Laposo

Reported by the *Peta bahasa* and by oral sources to live on the isolated slopes of Laposo Mountain in Kabupaten Barru.

Latimojong

This group is reported by the *Peta bahasa* to exist on the slopes of Latimojong Mountain in south-west Kabupaten Luwu. This group may very possibly be speakers of Toala' (Bugis to'alɨ? *people of the forest*), who live in the area.

Baliase

Also mentioned in the *Peta bahasa*, this group is reported to hide in the forest around the slopes of Baliase Mountain in central Kabupaten Luwu. The story has it that they live in tree houses and generally make life difficult for hunters of rattan and damar. Although our informants in the area were not familiar with such reports, they speculated that the rumours might possibly refer to some isolated speakers of Rampi.

Topembuni

Officials in Kabupaten Mamuju reported the existence of an isolated hunting and gathering group near the headwaters of the Budong-Budong River. Although signs of this group have been found periodically in the jungle, it is reported that for two generations attempts to make official contact with the group have not met with success. The name given to the group was interpreted as *people who hide*.

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