Genetic Inheritance in the Malayic languages of Kotawaringin Barat, Indonesia

by

Chad K. White

(Under the direction of Jared Klein)

Abstract

This thesis will attempt to classify the languages of Kotawaringin Barat, Kalimantan Tengah, Indonesia using comparative analysis and dialectology. Comparison will be made with Proto-Malayic and other comparative dialectal studies to determine if the KoBar languages are autochthonous to Borneo or part of a back-migration of Malay languages from outside Borneo. If they are autochthonous, then I will seek to place them in the network of Malayic dialects based on phonological changes. Finally, the internal relationships of the languages will be determined based on sound changes. It is my hope that this paper will move forward the study of Malayic languages on Borneo.

Index words: Malayic, Malay, Language, Historical Linguistics, Comparative Linguistics, Dialectology, Borneo, Kotawaringin Barat, back-migration, Kalimantan Tengah, Banjar, Kendayan, Iban, (academic)

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Dedication

To Becky and my boys

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Finally, I thank you Lord for giving me the desire and ability to do historical linguistics and for making it possible for me to get this degree while writing on Indonesian languages. To you belongs all the glory!

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	Primary Data Sources	
AD	Air Dua	Wood 2000
BAK	Bakonsu	Wood 2000
BER	Beruta	Wood 2000
BNT	Bunut	Wood 2000
BTK	Batu Kotam	Wood 2000
DNG	Diung	Wood 2000
GC	Guci	Wood 2000
GND	Gandis	Wood 2000
KDG	Kudangan	Wood 2000
KLR	Kelurahan Raja	Wood 2000
KM10	KM10	Wood 2000
KNB	Kenambui	Wood 2000
KNJ	Keninjal	Hudson 1967
KNP	Kinipan	Wood 2000
KNTM	Keninjal – Tumbang Manjul	Meyers 2003
KRB	Kerabu	Wood 2000
LDK	Landau Kantu	Wood 2000
LMB	Laman Baru	Wood 2000
MND	Mandawai	Wood 2000
NBL	Nanga Belantikan	Wood 2000
NBT	Nibung Terjun	Wood 2000
NGA	Ngaju	Wood 2000

NGB	Nanga Bulik	Wood 2000
NGM	Nanga Mua	Wood 2000
NPL	Nanga Polikodan	Wood 2000
PBBA	Benawai Agung	Wood 2002
PBBD	Bedaha	Sugono 2002
PBBT	Betanung	Sugono 2002
PBLS	Laman Satong	Sugono 2002
PBNN	Nanga Nuak	Sugono 2002
PBNP	Natai Panjang	Sugono 2002
PBPK	Pesaguan Kiri	Sugono 2002
PBPN	Penyarang	Sugono 2002
PBRJ	Randau Jungkal	Sugono 2002
PBSM	Sei Matamata	Sugono 2002
PDK	Pudu Kuali	Wood 2000
PHN	Penahan	Wood 2000
PNB	Penyombaan	Wood 2000
PNBA	Penyombaan (Arut River)	Wood 2000
PND	Pandau	Wood 2000
PNK	Pangkut	Wood 2000
PPJ	Pasir Panjang	Wood 2000
RDU	Riam Durian	Wood 2000
RM	Riam	Wood 2000
RMT	Riam Tinggi	Wood 2000
RND	Rangda	Wood 2000
RNG	Rungun	Wood 2000
RTU	Runtu	Wood 2000
SEK	Sekombulan	Wood 2000

SGB	Sungai Buluh	Wood 2000
SGBA	Sanggau – Bagan Asam	Collins (pers. comm.)
SGIK	Sanggau – Ilir Kota	Collins (pers. comm.)
SGKL	Sanggau – Kalampok	Collins (pers. comm.)
SGSR	Sanggau – Sungai Ringin	Collins (pers. comm.)
SKM	Sukarame	Wood 2000
SKR	Sukaraja	Wood 2000
SMB	Sambi	Wood 2000
SMN	Semantun	Wood 2000
SMT	Sungai Mentawa	Wood 2000
SNK	Sungkup	Wood 2000
SUL	Sulung	Wood 2000
TAM	Tamiang	Wood 2000
TMP	Tamuan – Parit	Rice 2000
TNJ	Tanjung Putri	Wood 2000
TPB	Tapin Bini	Wood 2000
UMP	Umpang	Wood 2000

Other Abbreviations

BH	Banjar Hulu	Adelaar 1992a
BNJ	Banjar	Wood 2000
C	consonant	
IBN	Iban	Adelaar 1992a
IND	Indonesian	Wood 2000
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet	
JKT	Jakartanese	Adelaar 1992a
KoBar	Kotawaringin Barat	

MIN	Minangkabau	Adelaar 1992a
PMP	Proto Malayo-Polynesian	
PM	Proto Malay	
SM	Standard Malaysian	Wood 2000
SWY	Serawai	Adelaar 1992a
V	vowel	

Chapter 1

Introduction

> "Dayak Ilung, a Delang woman, married a man named Patis Sebatang, a member of the royal family of Minangkabau. He returned to Minangkabau with their small son. For years Patis Sebatang regaled his son with stories of his Kalimantan mother's beauty. Eventually the son and his new wife sailed in search of Dayak Ilung, but when they found her she was very old and no longer beautiful. The son refused to acknowledge her and she put a curse on him saying, 'If you are my son, then your ship will capsize and you and your wife will turn to stone.' There is a mountain alongside the Belantikan river that is supposed to be the capsized ship."
>
> — Widespread local legend —

The Malayo-Polynesian (MP) languages can be traced back to a common ancestor language, believed to be spoken on the island of Formosa around 5000 years ago (Bellwood et al 1995). Today this language family comprises over 1200 languages (Gordon Jr. 2005), spoken in Madagascar off the coast of Africa and from Myanmar across Malaysia and Indonesia into the Great Pacific Basin. The island of Borneo is populated by many speakers of Malayic languages. The Malayic languages subgroup under the Malayic branch of western Malayo-Polynesian. The grouping or subgrouping of the Malayic languages on Borneo is still unsettled as research has been very limited in past years. Several prominent scholars have done work in the northern and western parts of Borneo including Malaysia and the Indonesian province, Kalimantan Barat, but less work has been done in the south, especially the south-central part of the island. The island has also been the center of a long-running debate over whether it is the homeland of the Malay languages. In the last ten years scholars have become increasingly

confident that Borneo is the homeland of the Malayic languages. Because these languages have been located in situ for over three thousand years, there has been much language contact between the languages leaving language boundaries difficult to decipher.

A report published by Wood (2000) studied the Malayic languages in Kotawaringin Barat just over the eastern provincial border of Kalimantan Barat. Kotawaringin Barat (further referred to as KoBar) is located in the southwest corner of Kalimantan Tengah. Wood's research was based on lexicostatistics, recorded text testing, and sociolinguistic questionnaires. Wood (2000) found five Malayic language clusters, but did not answer questions about how these dialects relate to the rest of the Malayic languages on the island. My goal is to place these languages in the network of Malayic languages on Borneo. I will primarily use comparative analysis and methods of dialectology to accomplish this.

1.1 Background Information

1.1.1 Geographical Setting

The island of Borneo is divided between three different countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei. Indonesia's part, Kalimantan, consists of more than two thirds of the island and is divided into four provinces: Kalimantan Barat (West), Kalimantan Selatan (South), Kalimantan Tengah (Central), and Kalimantan Timor (East). Kalimantan Tengah is divided into 14 regencies (kabupaten). The primary data included in this study is from three regencies in the southwest corner of Kaliman Tengah: Kabupaten Sukamara, Kabupaten Lamandau, and Kabupaten Kotawaringin Barat. Kotawaringin Barat is the largest at 10,759 square km and a population of 189,407 people. Lamandau is 6,414 square km and has a population of 47,969 people. Sukamara is 3,827 square km and has a population of 29,561 people (Wikipedia 2008). These three regencies are drained by two main river systems. Kabupaten Sukamara is primarily drained by the Jelai river and includes nine of the 48 main data points in the study. Lamandau and Kotawaringin Barat are drained by the Delang, Lamandau, Belantikan, Polikodan, Bulik, and Arut rivers which drain into the Kotawaringin River. The longest of

those tributaries is the Arut which runs north to south along most of the eastern border of Kotawaringin Barat. Nineteen of the data points are located on the Arut River. Most of the area is lowlands covered by forests.

1.1.2 Linguistic Setting

The island is known for its high degree of ethnic, biological, and linguistic diversity. There are 205 languages on the island of Borneo, of which 83 are located in Kalimantan (Gordon Jr. 2005). At least 17 different Malayic varieties are believed to exist on the island of Borneo. That number has increased from 6 varieties in Wurm and Hattori (1983),[1] to nine varieties in Collins (1990) to 17 varieties in Collins (1999) (Collins 2001a). An increase in research and interest in the Malayic languages on Borneo in the last fifteen years has contributed to this increase; however, the ruggedness of the island makes it difficult for data collection. Those numbers will likely increase still further in the future.

There are several other languages immediately around the KoBar area. Barito speaking peoples dwell to the northeast of the KoBar area and Banjar speaking peoples live from the mouth of the Jelai River eastward along the coast between the KoBar villages and the Java sea. I expect the greatest contact influence on the KoBar languages to be from Banjar because travel is often by river and both KoBar and Banjar speakers live along the same river systems. Banjar is classified under the Malay branch of the Malayic languages.

Wood (2000) reports that "a legend from the Delang and Lamandau River valleys claims that the languages spoken in those areas were brought to Kalimantan (or at least influenced) by a royal delegation from Minang." Minang or Minangkabau is located in Central Sumatra, so there is a possibility that some of the languages in the current study are exo-Bornean Malay languages.

[1] Wurm and Hattori actually reported 10 Malay languages, but according to Collins (2001a) only six were real Malay varieties.

1.1.3 Previous Research

Alexander Adelaar and James Collins are two of the foremost authorities on Malayic language studies today. To my knowledge, neither they, nor anyone else, have written on the position of the Malayic languages of KoBar. Adelaar (1992a) has laid the groundwork for comparative analysis of Malayic languages with his study "Proto Malayic: the Reconstruction of its Phonology and Parts of its Lexicon and Morphology." I will use that publication as one basis for my research. Adelaar (2005b) discusses the phonological and morphosyntactic characteristics of some (but not all) Malayic dialects and touches on the problems associated with subgrouping the Malayic languages on Borneo. He also goes into the history of the discussions of the Malay homeland. Collins (2001b) gives basic details about the languages in Ketapang district in Kalimantan Barat, west and north across the provincial border from Kotawaringin Barat. Collins (2004) also discusses the Ibanic languages which are thought by some to form part of one of the branches within the Malayic language family. He has done a number of dialect studies in various parts of the island of Borneo including the Menterap dialect (2002) and the Tola Dayak dialect (2004), "a Malayic variant" in spite of its name. Adelaar has also contributed to dialect studies with discussions of Salako (1991; 1992b) and Belangin (2006).

Research of Malayic varieties in Central Kalimantan is very limited. Wood (2000) reports that a handful of anthropological reports have been written since the 16th century. Cense and Uhlenbeck (1958) mentioned a Malay language as existing in this area and Hudson published a wordlist from the KoBar area, but I have not seen any of these reports.

1.2 Data Sources

My data is primarily taken from Wood (2000), a lexicostatistical report on the languages in Kotawaringin Barat.[2] KoBar is the kabupaten furthest southwest in Central Kalimantan

[2]I will use KoBar to refer to Kabupaten Kotawaringin Barat and the two other regencies to the west of Kotawaringin Barat in Kalimantan Tengah

province. The survey was done "for the purpose of gathering information about the language situation, culture, and economic conditions in the rural communities of Kotawaringin Barat." The goal was to "design a series of community-based development projects" that would "focus on equipping local people with the knowledge and practical skills they need to improve their own economic situation and general well being." These projects would need to be carried out in the local vernacular and so the underlying goal was to determine which of the local vernacular(s) would be best for language development (Wood 2000). In addition to elicitation of wordlists, Wood also used recorded text testing and took sociolinguistic questionaires.

The wordlist data consists of 48 wordlists taken over a one year period in 1998 and 1999. The wordlist is 348 words and is based on the Borneo Wordlist which was "developed in Sabah, Malaysia, and refined in Kalimantan Tengah in August of 1998" (Wood 2000). Wood did not give any more information about how the Borneo Wordlist was developed. The first 200 words are from Swadesh, but I do not know the reasoning for her choice of the remaining 148 words. Each wordlist is transcribed in IPA and glossed in both English and Indonesian.

For comparison Wood included in her study Standard Malaysian (SM) and Banjar (BNJ). Standard Malaysian is based on both Standard Indonesian and Standard Malay spoken in Malaysia. Banjar is a Malayic language spoken in the coastal areas of eastern and southern Borneo. In addition to these I have four Sanggau wordlists (from Collins pers. comm.), a Keninjal wordlist from Meyers et al (2003), a Keninjal wordlist from Hudson (1967), a Tamuan wordlist (Rice 2000), and ten lists published by Dendy Sugono (2002). Keninjal and Tamuan are Malayic languages found on the island of Borneo directly to the east and north of KoBar. Sanggau is also Malayic, but is located north and west of KoBar. The Sanggau lists have 327 items and the Keninjal and Tamuan lists have 275 items. The ten lists from Sugono are 200 item Swadesh lists and are all taken from Kalimantan Barat to the west and north of KoBar. They are reported to be Malayic, but that is unconfirmed. I will primarily use these wordlists from outside KoBar for reference.

Wood reports that the KoBar varieties are divided into five isolect [3] clusters with as low as 66% shared vocabulary between the clusters. Inside each cluster the variation ranges from 80% to 100%. Lexicostatistic analysis has shown that the two Keninjal lists and the Tamuan list are around 70% lexically similar to the KoBar lists. Figure 1.1 shows a map of the KoBar isolects and the clustering as determined by Wood. Note that the area to the west on the map is Kalimantan Barat. The main languages in this study touch the provincial border, but none are in that province. The two Keninjal lists are to the north-east, just off the map and the Tamuan list is east, just off the map.

In contrast to the clustering done by Wood (2000), I posit the groupings listed in figure 1.2. For now I will simply introduce these groups. Later on I will lay out the basis for these groupings. It is given here so the reader can more easily contrast the differences between the two. Additionally, Wood used the full names of her data points and I have maintained that notation on her map. In contrast, in the map of my groupings I have used abbreviations. Hopefully this will also be an aid to the reader to quickly match the abbreviation with the full name.

1.3 Methodology

I will use a combination of comparative linguistics and dialectology to help place the KoBar languages in the Malayic language network. I will use comparative analysis to uncover distinctive features in the KoBar languages. The comparative method uses wordlists to find regularly recurring correspondence sets in cognate forms of the speech varieties being studied. These correspondence sets allow us to reconstruct the original sound in the proto-language. Establishing a set of proto-sounds for a proto-language allows us to reconstruct the phonology and lexicon of the proto-language. Working from the proto-language to the present day forms of

[3]Hudson (1967) proposed the term isolect "for any language unit that is accorded a separate name by its speakers, regardless of whether it is, technically, a dialect or language." I follow the many Austronesianists who have used the term in this same way because it is "connotationally neutral" as to whether the variety in focus is a language or dialect of a language.

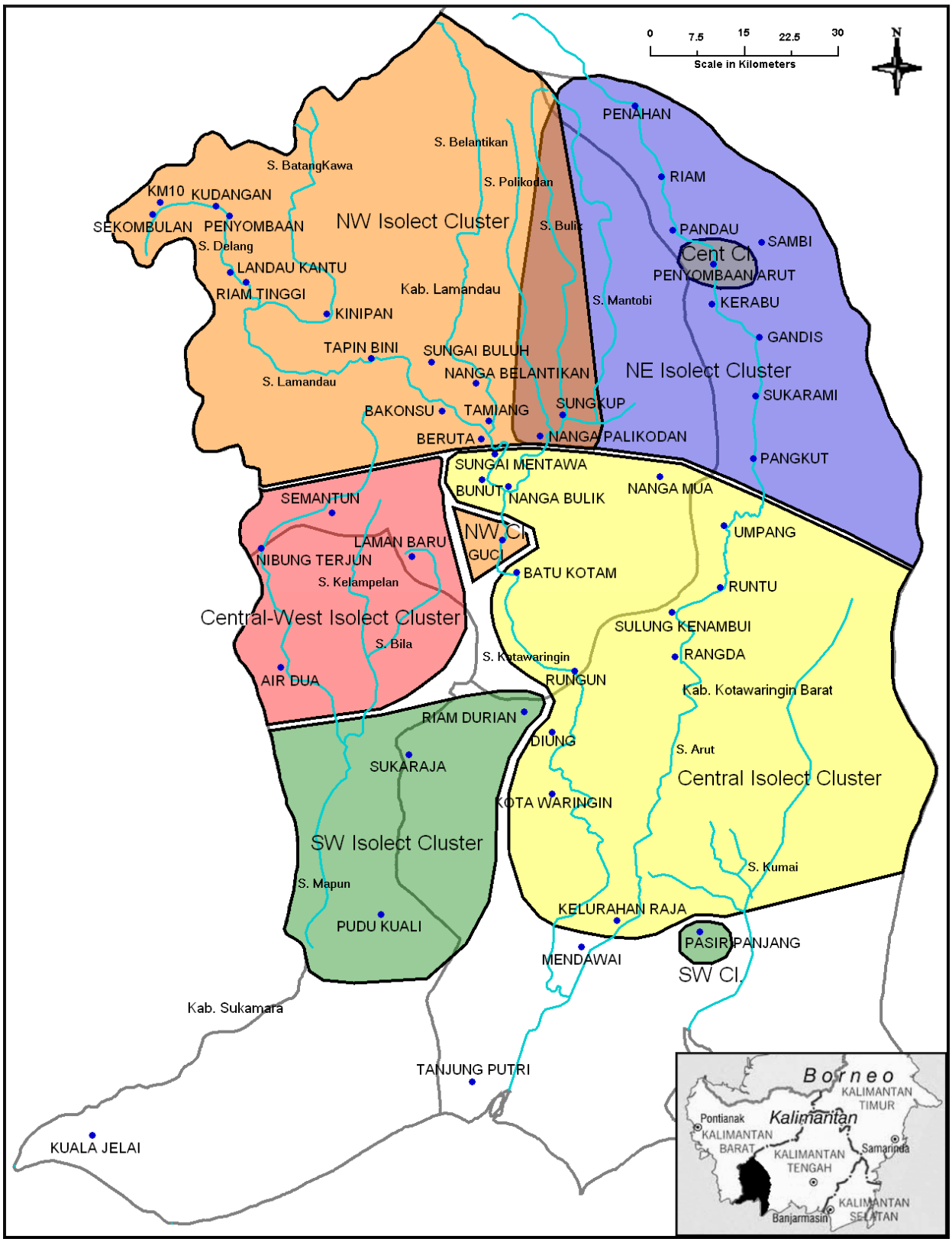

Figure 1.1: Map of KoBar isolects with Wood clusters

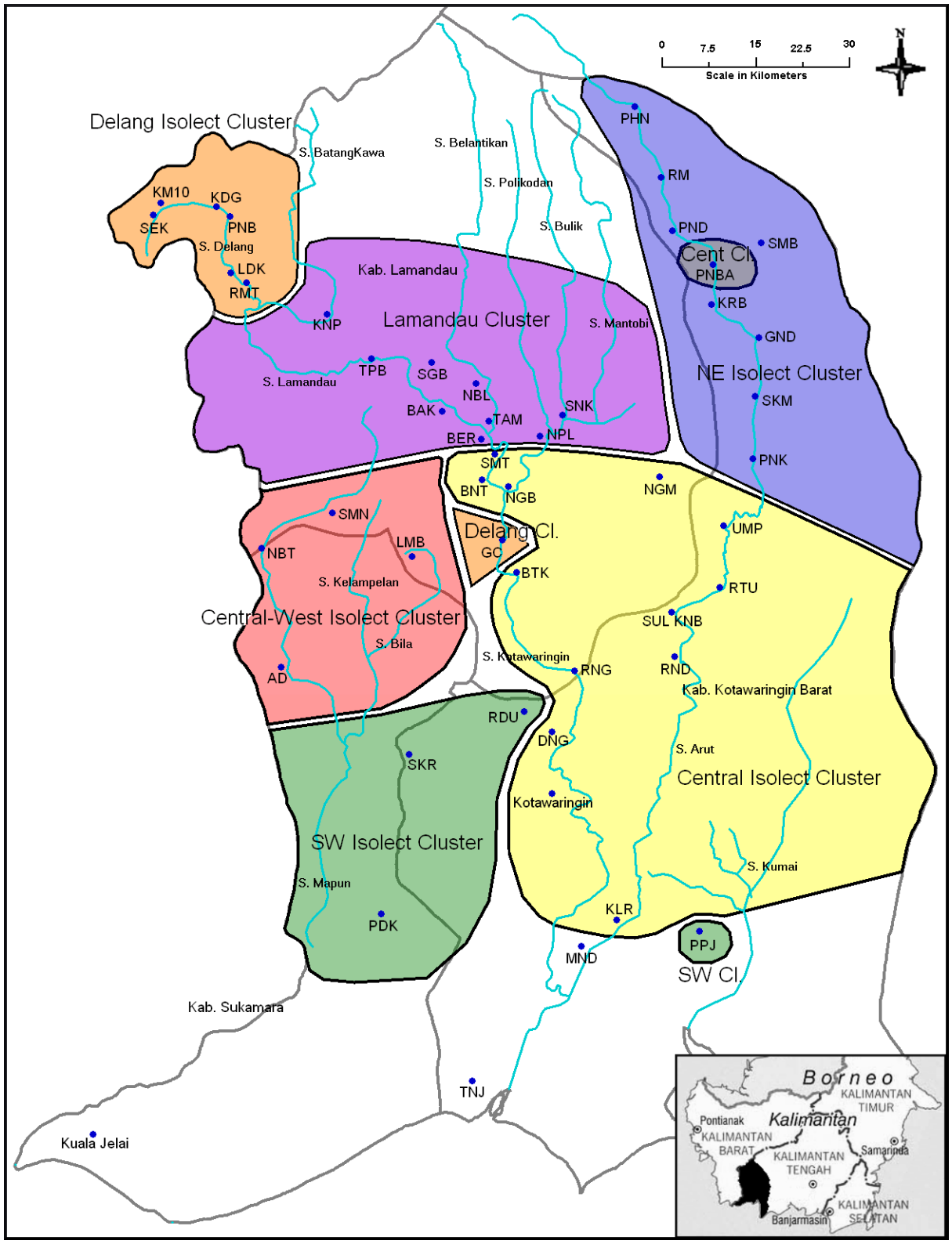

Figure 1.2: Map of KoBar isolects with my clusters

a language allows us to see where innovations and retentions have occurred. It is those innovations which indicate a shared history of development that help us determine the language classification and define dialect boundaries within the language.

The two proto-languages most applicable to this research are Proto-Malayic (PM) (Adelaar 1992a, 2005a) and Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP). For his reconstruction of PM Adelaar used Minangkabau (MIN) in West Sumatra, Upstream Banjarese (BH – Banjar Hulu) on the south coast of Borneo, Middle Malay,[4] Iban (IBN) in western Borneo, Jakartanese (JKT), and Standard Malay (SM). I will make use of his set of 11 phonological developments (Adelaar 1992a) and three additional phonological developments (Adelaar 2005a) which define PM. PMP reconstructions have many sources, but I will primarily draw from forms compiled by Blust (1995, 1999, 2002). PMP has a few thousand reconstructed forms and PM has over 700 to draw from. I fully expect the KoBar wordlists to fall under PM and will evaluate their position under PM based upon innovations and retentions.

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

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

Retentions do not help in defining dialect boundaries as they show that the varieties in question came from the same mother language. However, where distinctive sets of innovations occur regularly across two or more varieties we can conclude that these exclusively shared

[4]His wordlist is Seraway (SWY), a language from Palembang, southern Sumatra.

innovations are of one dialect. Conversely where the innovations differ we can conclude that those varieties are of different dialects.

Granted it is not as cut and dry as it sounds above. When villages A, B, and C share one set of innovations, but villages A, D, and E share another set one cannot conclude wholeheartedly that villages A, B, and C are in one dialect. We need to grade the innovations in terms of how natural or frequent the change is across all languages. If the change is an easy or natural one, it could have occurred simultaneously, but independently, in two varieties. This does not show that they are within one dialect. Changes that are less natural are the most important ones to use for defining dialects and their boundaries. My hope is that these two tools will enable me to draw some fairly good conclusions about the KoBar languages.

1.4 Malayic versus Malay

To begin this section several terms need to be defined. Some of these languages are called Malayic and others are called Malay. This is confusing to say the least, but the distinction is based on genetic criteria. The term Malayic was introduced by Dyen (1965) when he defined the "Malayic Hesion" under the "Javo-Sumatran Hesion." Hudson (1967) introduced the term Dayak or Land Dayak which was used to refer to languages which were not closely related to any outside Borneo and were non-Muslim, while Cense and Uhlenbeck (1958) used the term Malay to refer to languages which were related to those on Sumatra. Hudson saw over the course of his work that there were languages on Borneo which were labeled as Land Dayak, but were more related to those on Sumatra (Hudson 1970). He coined the term "Malayic-Dayak" for those languages which are generally non-Muslim and related to Malayic. This contrasted with the term Land Dayak, as defined above. He used the third term, Malayic, for languages which were probably under a Proto-Malayic branch of Malayo-Polynesian. The membership of this branch was different from that of Dyen's Malayic Hesion, but Hudson seems to have used Dyen's terminology.

Adelaar (1992a, 2005a) reconstructed Proto-Malayic (PM) which encompasses all the Malay and Malayic language varieties. Of the six languages which Adelaar used (see above for the list) all of them are considered Malay languages except Iban, which is considered a Malayic language. The reasoning is that the Malayic isolects are more distantly related to each other than the Malay varieties are to each other. They are outside the Malay core of the family. Most if not all the languages which fall under PM on Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula are Malay languages. On the other hand, many of the languages on Borneo are assumed to be or have been classified as Malayic.

The term Malayic-Dayak has recently begun being replaced by other terms in scholarly writing (Collins 2001b, 2002). The headword 'Dayak' in the Malayic-Dayak languages implies that those languages are Dayak, when in fact they are Malayic. Collins is the only scholar I have seen openly state that he does not like the term. He has suggested the term Dayak-Malayic which shows the Malayic stock of the language and the non-Muslim religion of its speakers. In this paper I will use the terminology as summarized below:

- Land Dayak — non-Muslim, non-Malayic dialects, autochthonous to Borneo
- Dayak-Malayic — non-Muslim, Malayic dialects, autochthonous to Borneo
- Malayic — high order term encompassing all the languages under Proto-Malayic
- Malay — only those languages which originate on Sumatra and therefore if located on Borneo must be part of a back-migration[5] of Malay speakers from Sumatra.

1.4.1 Malayic Homeland

Much research over the last half century has gone into the question of where the Malayic language homeland is. Blust (1985) first proposed Borneo as the Malayic homeland. Before that the theories had focused on either mainland Southeast Asia or central Sumatra. The main argument (summarized from Adelaar 2004) is based on Sapir's model which says that

[5]This term will be explained below.

the linguistic homeland of a language is in the area where genetic diversity is greatest. If the whole island is considered in the calculation of genetic diversity it is fairly safe to say that Borneo is pretty diverse. Additionally, Western Borneo is considered to be more diverse, so the tendency is to say that Western Borneo is the specific place of the Malayic homeland. There is still a debate, however, with some scholars saying the homeland is in SW Borneo, some saying NW Borneo, and some just Western Borneo. Common to all these is the Western part of Borneo, so that is at least a starting point for establishing the homeland of the Malayic languages.

1.4.2 Malay Homeland

There is also a Malay language homeland as opposed to the Malayic homeland. Tadmor (2002) believes that Sumatra is the homeland for Malay. He believes that Malayic speakers left Borneo and migrated to Sumatra. Once there they developed their own culture and identity, called Melayu, and spread throughout Sumatra and onto peninsular Malaysia. They controlled the trade routes through the region and in time began to establish trade with peoples on Borneo and on many islands to the east. One of the characteristics of Malay speaking-peoples is that they are typically Muslim. This fact is important for classifiying some of the KoBar isolects.

Tadmor focuses on the diversity argument saying that while diversity is a valid argument, it must be qualified. Homeland arguments need to be based on diversity that is caused by internal change, not by language contact. Language contact can happen very rapidly and create diversity that looks like many internal changes over time. That is his main argument against Borneo as the homeland of Malay. He believes that much of the diversity in the Malay languages on the island of Borneo is due to language contact.

Tadmor argues for south-central Sumatra as the homeland because “all ethnic groups of this region speak Malay languages, coast to coast, with no signs of substrate, including the most isolated groups in the interior” (2002). These Malay languages are diverse, but not

because of contact, and they are classifiable. Adelaar (2004) supports Tadmor, but Collins (1989b) does not. Collins believes that archaeological discoveries of Indian artifacts from the 8th century in Western Borneo indicate that the Melayu culture developed there first and then spread to Sumatra. The development of the Melayu culture and location of its homeland is more controversial than the location of the Malayic homeland. It seems more plausible to me that Sumatra is the homeland of Malay.

1.4.3 Malayic Language Subgrouping

The Malayic languages have been grouped according to genetic criteria by Adelaar as sketched out above. Adelaar and Prentice (1996) have divided the Malay languages according to sociolinguistic criteria: 1) literary Malay varieties, 2) trade Malay and 3) vernacular Malay varieties. The literary Malay varieties were largely associated with court languages and writings produced therein, and which developed into the national languages of Malaysia and Indonesia. The trade Malay varieties are pidgin languages, many of which have become the mother tongue of speech communities. The vernacular Malay varieties are the genetically inherited Malay varieties. This is a sociolinguistic division which is not that helpful for comparative purposes.

While the Malay languages in the Malayic family have spread out primarily from Sumatra, the Malayic languages are largely composed of the languages which were left on Borneo when the original Malay speakers migrated to Sumatra. They comprise a large dialect chain that has been difficult for scholars to sort out. Adelaar (2004) and Collins (2001b) have affirmed at least two dialects of Malayic on the island of Borneo. They are Ibanic (including Balau, Mualang, and Ketungau) and Kendayan (including Keninjal and Salako). It would be tempting to take these groups as genetic subgroups, but they are dialect groupings more than genetic groupings. Collins in his report on Menterap (2002) shows how their language does not subgroup with Kendayan or Ibanic and is therefore in its own group under Malayic. I have not seen anyone refute this analysis, but neither have I seen others include Menterap

as a distinct group. Further, Adelaar (2004) says that "a separate language status for Ibanic and Kendayan is warranted on the basis of the differences they show at several linguistic levels between each other and with Malay ...." He does not mention Menterap and says it would be "speculative" to posit more branches. However, even these two languages have some overlapping and conflicting isogloss lines between them. There will likely be more languages defined as part of this dialect continuum, but whether we can really do more than just define a dialect chain remains to be seen.

The only real genetic division of languages that can be defined for the Bornean Malayic languages is merely an echo of the overall Malayic language division. There are the autochthonous Malayic languages which form the dialect chain for one branch. The second branch is composed of the Malay speakers whose ancestors were involved in a back-migration from Sumatra. The great Malay-speaking empire of the 7th – 13th centuries was located at Srivijaya in southern Sumatra (Andaya 2004). It is from here and its Malay port successors controlling the Straits of Malacca that Adelaar (2004) and other scholars indicate that a back-migration took place to Borneo. These Malay-speaking immigrants from Sumatra are the source of the second subgroup which is identified on Borneo. Their languages are predominantly located in coastal areas of the island and are often used as trade languages in addition to being first languages for some speakers.

1.5 Hypotheses

Prior to this study the KoBar languages have been classified only on the basis of a lexicostatistical analysis. I want to put them through comparative analysis and make a comparison with PM. It should be fairly simple to prove that they are Malayic languages. A tougher question is whether they fall under the Malayic or Malay node. If it turns out to be the latter, then they must be part of the back-migration of Malay from Sumatra. As mentioned in the paragraph above it is possible that some of the languages are part of the back-migration and some are autochthonous to Borneo. I will work toward placing the rest, if not all, of the

isolects in the Malayic dialect continuum that exists in Borneo. Finally, I expect there to be some aberrant forms in my data. These will most likely be from contact with Indonesian or a neighboring Bidayuhic or Barito language.

Proving whether the KoBar languages are Malay or Malayic will be difficult. To prove they are Malayic, I need to prove that they don't share in innovations found in Malay. On the other hand, to prove that the languages are Malay, I need to find sound changes in the KoBar isolects which are also unique to Malay.

If they prove to be Malayic, then the next step will be to place them in the Malayic dialect continuum. Several comparative studies of Malayic and Malay isolects on Borneo have been done. Collins has studied Kutai Malay (1990), Menterap (2002) and Tola' Dayak (2004). Adelaar has written on the phonology and grammar of Salako, a Kendayan language (1991; 2002) as well as a classificatory paper on Belangin (2006). I compile a list of sound changes from these studies of Bornean isolects in order to compare them with the KoBar sound changes. As Collins did in his study of Menterap, I state whether the KoBar languages are Kendayan or Ibanic. They fall under neither language, so I compare them with other Malayic dialects in the dialect continuum of autochthonous Malayic varieties on Borneo.

Whether the KoBar languages can be placed in a subgroup remains to be seen; however, Adelaar has consistently refrained from any wholesale classification of the Malayic languages on Borneo. "The past twenty years have not brought us any closer to a solid internal classification of the Malayic language subgroup" (2004). Tadmor's theory is that much of the variation on Borneo is from substratal influence. If that is true, then classifying these languages would indeed be difficult.

Chapter 2

KoBar isolects: Malay or Malayic?

2.1 Introduction

The KoBar languages have been reported to be relatively closely related (Wood 2000) to each other, but from my research on the languages, I find that there is a split between the languages. Two-thirds of them are more closely related to the Malayic languages which reside primarily elsewhere on the island of Borneo and the rest are more closely related to the Malay languages found on the island of Sumatra. First, let's get an idea of what the KoBar languages are like phonetically.

2.2 KoBar Phoneme System

My data is not extensive enough to prove each of these phonemes with minimal pairs, so this section is really just to give the reader an idea of the phoneme system. All the phonemes are listed in tables 2.1 and 2.2 using IPA.

The PM consonant system is almost identical to the KoBar consonant system. The only difference is in the glottal stop. Whereas Adelaar (1992a) reconstructed a glottal stop for PM, I don't think that the glottal stop is phonemic in the KoBar consonant system. It does occur, but tends to occur after final vowels or in place of final stops, especially velar stops, e.g. 'chicken' *manuk*, but also *manuʔ* or after final vowel, 'stone' *batu*, but also *batuʔ*.[1] Adelaar reconstructed a glottal stop on the basis of Iban, but stated that the other five

[1]This may be due to the orthographic choice of the eliciter. In Indonesian final stops are unreleased. There may be a KoBar final velar stop, but if it is unreleased, it would be difficult to tell the difference between that and a glottal stop.

isolects in his study lost this consonant. Voiced stops do not occur in word-final position, but they do occur in initial and medial position.

Note also that since the wordlists are taken in IPA, they use *j* for the semivowel and not *y* like the standard Indonesian spelling. Most of the PMP and PM reconstructions use *y*, e.g. PM **hayam* 'chicken' > KoBar *ajam*. Both forms are presumably pronounced the same apart from the loss of initial *h*. Related to this is the voiced palatal affricate which in the proto-languages is represented with *j*. The KoBar wordlists again follow the IPA standard and use *ʤ* , e.g. PM **hujan* 'rain' > KoBar *huʤan*. The voiceless palatal affricate is the same, e.g. PM **caciŋ* 'worm' > KoBar *ʧaʧikŋ*.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stop vcls	*p*	*t*		*k*	(*ʔ*)
stop vcd	*b*	*d*		*g*	
affricate			*ʧ*, *ʤ*		
nasal	*m*	*n*	*ɲ*	*ŋ*	
fricative		*s*			*h*
liquid		*r*, *l*			
semivowel	*w*		*j*		

Table 2.1: KoBar Consonant Phonemes

Proto-Malayic has a four-vowel system with *i*, *u*, *ə*, and *a*. Many Malayic languages have expanded this to a six-vowel system adding a front and back mid-vowel.

The KoBar isolects have added the mid-back vowel, but I don't believe *e* is a phoneme in these isolects in general. It is probably a phoneme of PHN and RM, but my data is not extensive enough to demonstrate this. Most likely it is a result of sound changes primarily involving loss of *r* and monophthongization of **-ay*. See section 4.5 below for more.

The diphthong *ay* is also written *ai* or *aj*. Likewise the diphthong *aw* is also written *au*.

In keeping strictly to the notation in the data I will use *a* for the low central vowel. This corresponds to **a* used in PMP and PM, e.g. **hujan* 'rain' > KoBar *huʤan*.

	front	central	back
high	*i*		*u*
mid	(*e*)	*ə*	*o*
low		*a*	
diphthongs	*ay*		*aw*

Table 2.2: KoBar Vowel Phonemes

2.3 Malayic Indeed

The goal of this section is to determine if the KoBar languages are at least Malayic. In order to distinguish them from the Malay languages across the Java Sea, I also need to find innovations in them which are not found in Malay. In this section I will establish only that they fall under PM and no more. Later in the chapter I compare their innovations with those of other Malayic languages on Borneo. First let's compare the KoBar isolects with the innovations that define Proto-Malayic. There are 14 innovations that PM underwent from PMP (taken from Adelaar 2005a). The KoBar isolects follow all 14 innovations, although a couple of them are weakly attested.

2.3.1 PM's 14 Innovations

1. PMP **j*[2] > PM **d*

PMP **ijuŋ* PM **hiduŋ* PNB *hidukŋ* SMB *hiduk* 'nose'

PMP **pajay* PM **padi* KDG *padi* RNG *padi* 'rice'

[2]The PMP phoneme written **j* is thought to have been either a voiced velar fricative or a palatized voiced velar stop.

PMP *huaji* TPB *adi?* PDK *adik* ‘younger sibling’

2. PMP *z > PM *j[3]

PMP *zaRum PM *jarum RDU ʤarum BER ʤarupm ‘needle’

PMP *quzan PM *hujan SEK huʤatn AD huʤan ‘rain’

PMP *zaqit PM *jahit KDG n-ʧohit PDK ʧahit ‘sew’

3. PMP *w- > PM Ø

PMP *wahiR PM *air KM10 arai SKR ai? ‘water’

PMP *wakaR PM *akar BER akar NGM akar ‘root’

4. PMP *R (and *r) > PM *r

PMP *Rumaq PM *rumah TPB rumah UMP rumah ‘house’

PMP *quRat PM *hurat RMT urat BNT ʊrat ‘vein’

PMP *bibiR PM *bibir NBL bibir SMT bibɪr ‘lip’

5. PMP *q > PM *h

PMP *tuqa PM *tuha(?) RMT tuho PNK tuha ‘old’

PMP *taqun PM *tahun KM10 tɔhun GND tahut ‘year’

6. PMP *h > PM Ø (except between vowels, or when followed by ə)

PMP *hanin PM *aŋin SEK aŋin AD aŋin ‘wind’

PMP *tuhəd PM *tuØət PND tuunt BTK lutut ‘knee’

PMP *tebuh PM *təbu TPB tobu NGB tɛbu ‘sugar cane’

[3]PMP *z and PM *j are both regarded as being voiced palatal affricates, therefore this is only an “apparent” change.

7. PMP *-iw* > PM *-i*

PMP **laRiw* PM **lari* KDG *rari* BNT *lari* 'run'

Adelaar gives several other examples, but I don't have them in my data.

8. PMP *-uy* > PM *-i*

PMP **hapuy* PM **api* SGB *api* KLR *api* 'fire'

PMP **anduy* PM **mandi?*[4] KDG *mandi* GC *mani* 'bathe'

9. PMP *-ay* split unconditionally to PM *-ay* and *-i*

PMP **qatay* PM **hati* PHN *hati* SMT *hati* 'liver'

PMP **matay* PM **mati* LDK *mati* SMN *mati* 'dead'

PMP **pajay* PM **padi* SNK *padi* PNBA *padi* 'rice paddy'

PMP **quay* PM no reconstruction KDG *huwi* SNK *hui* 'rattan'

For the second part of the split Adelaar gives PMP **gaway* 'to organize a ritual' > PM **gaway* and PMP **tapay* 'to ferment' > PM **tapay* 'yeast'. Those two items were not elicited from KoBar. I do have PM **suŋay* 'river' > KoBar *suŋaj* which shows retention of the diphthong and a few isolects with PMP **anay* 'termite' > KoBar *anaj-anaj*.

10. PMP *-aw* split to PM *-aw* and *-u*

PMP **hizaw* PM **hijau* PNB *hijau* AD *hijaw* 'green'

PMP **pisaw* PM **pisaw* NBL *isaw* PNK *isaw*[5] 'knife'

Adelaar's examples for the change to *-u* include PMP **lakaw* 'to go' > PM **laku*, PMP **lalaw* 'to surpass' > PM **lalu*, and PMP **buRaw* 'to hunt, chase' > PM **buru*. Many

[4]The initial *m* is likely a residue from the verbal prefix *meN-*

[5]Most isolects have *ladiŋ* or a related form.

isolects reflect *u* in PMP **dagew*[6] > PM **dagu?* > KoBar *dagu?* 'chin'.

11. -CxCy- reduction (*-CxCy- > *-Cy-)

PMP **tuqəlan* PM **tulaŋ* PNB *tulakŋ* PHN *tulak* 'bone'

PMP **qaləsəm* PM **m-asəm*[7] TPB *mansap* KLR *masam* 'sour'

12. Heterorganic nasal/stop clusters become homorganic to following stop

PMP **diŋdiŋ* PM **dindiŋ* SEK *dindikŋ* KRB *dindik* 'wall'

PMP **gemgem* PM **gəŋgəm* PND *goŋap* NPL *goŋgapm* 'hold'

13. Final voiced stops became devoiced

PMP **lahud* PM **laut* RMT *laut* GC *lawt* 'sea, toward the sea'

PMP **ubaj* PM **ubat* KNP *ubat* BTK *obat* 'medicine'

14. Homorganic nasal accretion between initial schwa and following stop

PMP **həpat* PM **əmpat* KM10 *ompat* UMP *ompat* 'four'

PMP **se(m)pit* PM **səmpit* AD *sempit* BTK *sɛmpit* 'narrow'

The KoBar languages follow all 14 innovations that define PM. From that evidence they are solidly inside the Malayic family. Can they be further grouped under Malay? Do they follow sound changes that Malay underwent?

[6]This reconstruction by Nothofer (1984) is based only on Malay *dagu* 'chin' and Sundanese *gado* 'chin'. The evidence for this reconstruction is therefore not very extensive, so it is likely a local development rather than an inheritance from PMP.

[7]The initial nasal is probably due to an assimilation process involving a nasal prefix. Adelaar does not explain this change.

2.4 Malay on the Lurk

Some but not all of the KoBar languages are, I believe, part of the back-migration of Malay from outside Borneo. Generally speaking, the Central isolect cluster (as defined by Wood) is Malay as opposed to Malayic. That includes SMT, BNT, NGB, BTK, RNG, DNG, PNBA, NGM, UMP, RTU, KNB, RND, and KLR.[8] They show sound changes that are in common with Malay and a number of lexical replacements that are common in Malay, but not other Bornean Malayic isolects. The rest of the clusters have archaic lexemes from Malayic that Malay does not share.

2.4.1 In Common with Malay

Sound Changes in Common with Malay

The following sound changes are diagnostic for determining if the Central cluster isolects are Malay: nasal accretion before final stops, stop accretion before final nasals, merger of PM **b* and **w* to *w* between *a* vowels, high vowels in antepenultimate syllables, and loss of *h*. The Malay split of high vowels and PM final **-a* > *-o* are not diagnostic, but are included for a well-rounded discussion.

The Central Cluster isolects do not participate in nasal accretion before final stops or stop accretion before final nasals. Stop and nasal accretion is found outside Borneo in Malay isolects on Sumatra, so the fact that they do not participate in this change does not necessarily point toward an origin on Sumatra. The Central-West cluster and the SW cluster also do not participate in this change.

SM has merged PM **b* and **w* to *w* between *a* vowels. The Central cluster has also done this in *bawah* 'under'. The only exception is PNBA which has *babah*. The NW cluster and the NE cluster have *babah*. PNBA is located in the middle of the NE cluster and I believe that since it follows all the rest of the changes and lexical similarities below, it most

[8] Excluded from this list is SUL which I believe is a Banjar isolect (see 4.8) and PPJ because it retains *dilah*. See below for details.

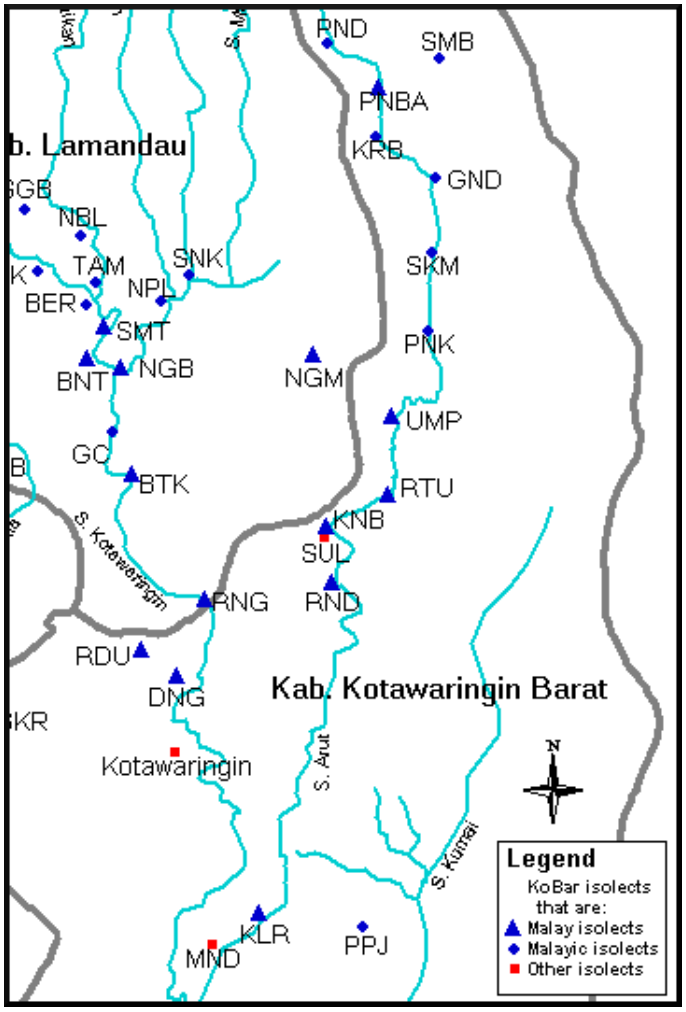

Figure 2.1: The Malay isolects of the Central cluster

likely borrowed this form from the NE cluster isolects. I still include it as a member of the back-migration isolect cluster. The Central-West and the SW clusters also undergo this lenition.

In most Malayic isolects a high vowel in an antepenultimate syllable is realized as *ə*. But it is often retained if the vowel is followed by another vowel or *h*. In the KoBar languages we have *buhaja* or *buaja* 'crocodile'. Adelaar (1992a) noted two of his six dialects where this was not always the case. BH and MIN retain the high vowels in environments outside a following *h* or vowel. Adelaar gives as examples PM **kulilиŋ* 'go or turn around' MIN *kulili^{ə}ŋ*, BH *kulilиŋ*, other isolects *kəlilиŋ*; PM **sumaŋət* 'spirit, soul' MIN *sumaŋe^{ʔ}*, BH *sumaŋat*, SM *səmaŋat*.

The northern isolects have *bahaja* in all isolects, but several have a second form elicited with antepenultimate *u*. Most of the southern isolects retain antepenultimate *u*. It is once again notable that the Central-West and SW isolect cluster predominantly have antepenultimate *u* in this form. The high vowel is preceding an *h*, but I have noted it here partly because the northern isolects all have *bahaja*. They merge the high vowels where the Central cluster does not. This sound change needs further study.

There is some loss of *h* in the Central cluster. Adelaar (2006) says, "Standard Malay **h* was maintained in some words (including those in which it occurs between like vowels), but lost in others. Where it was maintained, it is usually in free variation with Ø (especially in spoken language)." Accordingly, many Malay isolects have partial or full loss of *h*. Table 2.3 shows a few examples of loss in the Central isolect cluster.

However, there are three times this number of forms which show no loss of *h*. Table 2.4 shows the forms with no loss in any Central cluster isolect. The pattern is similar to what we find in other Malay isolects.

Final glottal stop is lost in Malay, but it seems to be retained in some of the Central cluster isolects on the Arut river (only the Eastern isolects). Table 2.5 shows some examples.

Central cluster	Malay isolect	Isolects with no loss	gloss
tai	IND *tai*	None	'excrement'
tiaŋ	SM *tiaŋ*	None	'housepost'
tua	SM *tua*	None	'old'
utaŋ	SM *hutaŋ*	BTK, RNG	'debt'
liat	IND *lihat*	BNT, NGB, BTK, RNG	'see'
perau	SM *perahu*	SMT, BNT, NGB, BTK, RNG	'canoe'

Table 2.3: Central cluster loss of *h*

Central cl.	Malay isolect	gloss	Central cl.	Malay isolect	gloss
huɕan	*huɕan*	'rain'	*hari*	*hari*	'day'
hiduŋ	*(h)iduŋ*	'nose'	*leher*	*leher*	'neck'
bahu	*ba(h)u*	'shoulder'	*hati*	*hati*	'liver'
paha?	*paha*	'thigh'	*tuhut*	*lutut*	'knee'
hilaŋ	*hilaŋ*	'lose'	*halu(?)*	*alu*	'pestle'
habu	*abu*	'ashes'	*haus*	*haus*	'thirsty'
pahit	*pahit*	'bitter'	*hituŋ*	*hituŋ*	'count'
hitam	*hitam*	'black'	*hiɕaw*	*hiɕau*	'green'

Table 2.4: Some forms with no loss of *h* in the Central cluster

PM	SM	Central iso.	non-Central iso.	gloss
**nasi?*	*nasi*	*nasi?*	*nasi*	'rice'
**lima?*	*lima*	*lima?*	*lima*	'five'
**tuli?*	*tuli*	*tuli?*	*tiŋal, tuli*	'deaf'
**mandi?*	*mandi*	*mandi?*	*mandi, mani?*	'bathe'
**tahi?*	*tahi*	*tai?*	*tahi*	'excrement'

Table 2.5: Glottal Stop in the Central cluster

This certainly appears to be evidence of retention, but I believe that a wider set of forms show this is not the case. Final glottal stop was lost in these isolects, but it has been reintroduced in some forms with a final open syllable. Compare the forms in table 2.6.

PM	SM	Central iso.	non-Central iso.	gloss
	kəpala	*kapalaʔ*	*kepala*	'head'
**kA-iri, kibaʔ*	*kiri*	*kiriʔ*	*kiba(ʔ)*	'left'
	tombak	*dohaʔ*	*doha(ʔ)*	'spear'
**ina*	*pərempuan*	*batinaʔ*	*batina(ʔ)*	'woman'

Table 2.6: Central cluster Glottal Stop after final vowels

Adelaar (1992a) has a good explanation for Iban which may apply here too. "In an earlier stage of Iban, it was a non-phonemic glottal stop heard after any monophthongic final-vowel phoneme." We have some final vowels without the glottal stop now because of either processes of monophthongization of final vowels or borrowing. This change needs more study, but time does not permit it.

Additionally, final glottal stop corresponds with *-k* in other isolects. Final *-k* and glottal stop are most likely in free variation with each other. Many Malayo-Polynesian languages regularly do not release final voiceless stops. The forms in table 2.7 illustrate this change. I suspect that in the Central cluster final glottal stop is not a phoneme.

PM	SM	Central iso.	non-Central iso.	gloss
**pandak*	*pendek*	*pandaʔ/k*	*pandaʔ/k*	'short'
	adik	*adiʔ*	*adi(ʔ/k)*	'younger sibling'
**ləmək*	*ləmak*	*lomaʔ*	*loma(ʔ/k)*	'fat'

Table 2.7: Central cluster glottal stop and *-k*

PM high vowels **i* and **u* split. **i* to *i* and *e* and **u* to *u* and *o*, but only in some Malayic languages. Banjar and Iban do not participate in the split at all. SM, MIN, SWY, and JKT

all participate to various degrees, but the same forms do not undergo the split. For example SM *oraŋ* and MIN *uraŋ* 'person' shows both sides of the split. But in other sets MIN and SM agree with each other, SM *putih*, MIN *puti^{ə}h* 'white' (Adelaar 1992a). It is not possible to state that in a particular set of forms Malayic languages maintained *u* and in a different set of forms shifted it to *o*.

The KoBar data show a similar inconsistent pattern. The split is certainly there, but it shows up in all isolects, not just the Central cluster. Note that similar to Adelaar's six Malayic isolects, none of these isolects all shift to *o* or *u*. Table 2.8 shows a few examples of this split and indicates the direction of the shift for each form. Given the scattered nature of this change it could be seen as variant outcomes of the phoneme **u* rather than a split. In either case it is not helpful as a diagnostic for the Central isolect cluster.

PM	KoBar	notes	gloss
**bulan*	*bulan*	in all isolects	'month'
**hujan*	*huʤan*	in all isolects	'rain'
**puhun*	*pohon, puhun*	*o* in all clusters, except NE	'tree'
**ubat*	*ubat, obat*	*o* only in Central isolect cluster, BAK, PDK	'medicine'
**uraŋ*	*uraŋ, oraŋ*	*u* in most isolects	'human'

Table 2.8: Split of PM **u* and **i* in KoBar

An innovation that is closest to being a "pan-Sumatran Malay innovation" (Anderbeck 2003) is PM final **-a* > *-o*. If the Central cluster isolects migrated from Sumatra, then they should have this innovation as well. Such is not the case. Only six isolects from the NW cluster have this change and none of the Central cluster isolects have it. A couple of examples will suffice: PM **apa* 'what' > NW cluster *apo*, other isolects *apa*, PM **dada* 'chest' > NW cluster *dado*, other isolects *dada*.

Tadmor (2003) believes this shift is an areal feature, which he terms "final /a/ mutation." It comes from Sanskrit via Javanese into many Malay languages and other languages Malay

has had contact with. Southeastern Borneo was heavily influenced by Javanese (Tadmor citing Ras (1968)). Banjarese shows this influence particularly well, but it does not have final /a/ mutation. Ras (1968) says that Banjarese is a contact language with roots in Malay, but it has been heavily influenced by Javanese and the local Dayak languages. Tadmor says this is the reason for lack of the mutation. Interestingly, he indicates that Ngaju and Maanyan exhibit this feature. Maybe the NW isolect cluster got it that way. It is also possible that it is an independent innovation in that cluster. At any rate it does not help with classifying the Central cluster as Malay.

A summary of the sound changes that the Central cluster has in common with Malay shows that both Malay and the Central cluster do not participate in nasal accretion before final stops or stop accretion before final nasals. They both merge to *w* PM **b* and **w* and show partial loss of **h*. Both Malay and the Central cluster retain antepenultimate high vowels, but this feature is based on only one lexical item, which may simply be shared. The Malay split of high vowels occurs in the Central cluster, but also in most of the other isolects in one form or another. PM final **-a* > *-o* does not occur in the Central cluster, so it is not helpful as a diagnostic.

Lexical Items in Common with Malay

The Central cluster isolects have a number of lexical items that are unique to Malay or take the same shape as those in Malay.

1. *baharu* 'new' in the other clusters is shortened to *baru* in the Central cluster. SM and IND have *baru* also.

2. The Central cluster has *baŋu* 'water' (< Javanese), other isolects *arai*

3. *besok*, SM *besok*, other isolects *habu/hobu* 'tomorrow'

4. *merah*, SM *merah*, other isolects *mirah* 'red'

5. *kubur*, SM *kubur* (< Arabic *qubūr* 'grave'), other isolects *pasar* 'bury'

6. *rotan*, SM *rotan*, other isolects *hui* 'rattan'

7. *ajam*, SM *ajam*, other isolects *manuk* 'chicken'

8. All of the Central cluster, except KLR, have *badan* 'body' (< Arabic *badan* 'body') where many other non-Central isolects have *tubuh*). I think that *badan* is being borrowed into the other isolects and that is why there are a number of them with the second form. This form is also shared with SM, e.g. *badan* 'body'.

Finally, the Central isolect cluster follows Malay in having the innovative forms *lidah* 'tongue' and *tiga* 'three' where the non-Central cluster isolects have archaic forms.

Most of the NE cluster, the Central-West cluster, and the SW cluster (including PPJ) have *dilah* < PM **dilah* 'tongue'. Malay languages have undergone metathesis to *lidah*. If these isolects were Malay, then they would have *lidah*.

Adelaar (1992a) indicates that for PM **dilah* 'tongue' SM, MIN, SWY, and JKT have undergone metathesis to *lidah*. Iban has *dilah* and BH in my data has *ilat*. Some KoBar isolects exhibit this change and some do not.

Most of the isolects in the NW cluster have metathesis to *lidah*. TPB, SGB, and TAM in the southern part of the cluster have *dilah*. SNK, NPL, and GC are isolects that are between the NW and NE clusters and they also have *dilah*. Does the fact that the more northerly isolects have the metathesis suggest that they have contact influence from the north and west? None of the Keninjal lists or PB lists from KalBar to the west and north of KoBar retain *dilah*. Contact does not seem to be a likely cause for this metathesis. It must be an independent change that is spreading through KoBar.

The five northernmost isolects in the NE cluster have *didah*. Then at GND and SKM we get *dilah*. PNK, in the NE cluster, has *ilant*. The change appears to be working its way up this river system.

At first look it is hard to tell if the *didah* forms come from *lidah* or *dilah*. For now I have to leave *didah* unexplained, except to say that it is not borrowed from a non-Malayic language of Borneo.

The Central-West cluster has only SMT, the data point farthest north on that river, with *dilah*. The rest show metathesis. The metathesis seems to be working its way north from the sea like above. However, SKR and RDU from the SW cluster also show *dilah*. They are located off the river system, and so more isolated. That seems a reasonable cause that they have not undergone this change yet.

This is evidence that the isolects without metathesis are not Malay. As mentioned above SM and MIN underwent metathesis. That so many of the non-Central isolects do not have metathesis is evidence that they are not Malay stock from Sumatra or elsewhere off the island of Borneo.

tolu 'three' < PM **təlu* in NE cluster and TAM is an archaic form. SM and most Malay isolects have replaced *təlu* with *tiga*.

Based on the sound changes, shared lexemes, and lack of archaic lexemes I believe that the Central isolect cluster is Malay and must be part of a back-migration from Sumatra or elsewhere outside Borneo. Before we can say for sure, it is possible that they are related to Banjar which is a Malay isolect located between the KoBar isolects and the Java Sea.

2.4.2 Banjar to the South

There is a pocket of Banjar speakers to the south of the KoBar languages. If these southern isolects are also part of the back-migration of Malay, then there should be some similarities between them because they are both Malay. Can these isolects be classified as Banjar languages? Or are they part of their own back-migration? What evidence is there that links this Central cluster to Banjar? First, a set of sound changes.

1. Banjar does not participate in nasal or stop accretion like the Central cluster.

2. Banjar participates in the merger of PM **b* and **w* to *w*. BH, BNJ, and SUL all have *bawah* 'under'.

3. According to Adelaar (1992a) Banjar Hulu does not lose non-word final *h*. I have Adelaar's BH list and it agrees with that analysis, but the second Banjar list, taken from Wood (2000), does not completely agree. There are quite a number of forms with initial and medial loss of *h*. I don't have any information on where this list was taken, so I can't really evaluate it. I will go with Adelaar's list because it agrees, at least on this point, with Sulung, which I believe to be a Banjar isolect (see 4.8). That there is some loss in the Central isolect cluster seems to point toward Sumatran influence or origin. Most Malay isolects lost *h* in initial and medial position. It is also possible that this is an independent change.

4. Antepenultimate *u* is retained in Banjar *buhaja* 'crocodile' as it is in the Central cluster.

5. The fate of penultimate *ə* differentiates BH from the Central cluster. In most KoBar isolects penultimate **ə* shifts to *o*, but in BH it merges with *a* in that position. Mergers are irreversible, so I believe this to be the strongest evidence that the Central cluster isolects are not Banjar isolects. A few examples are: PM **bəras* 'rice' > KoBar *boras*, BH and SUL *baras*, PM **pərut* 'belly' > KoBar *porut*, BH and SUL *parut*, PM **ləmək* 'fat, oil' > KoBar *lomak*, BH and SUL *lamak*.

6. The Malay split of PM **u* to *o* and *u* is not shared by BH. Most, but not all, Malay isolects were affected by this split. SM has *oraŋ* 'person' < PM **uraŋ* and *otak* 'brain' < PM **u(n)tək*. According to Adelaar (1992a) BH[9] was not affected by this change. All the KoBar languages show evidence of this split, but it is more evident in the Central cluster.

7. BH, like the Central isolect cluster, does not retain final glottal stop (Adelaar 1992a).

[9]Iban also did not undergo this split.

Of the lexical items that the Central cluster shares with Malay, Banjar only shares four. Table 2.9 shows a comparison between a non-Central cluster isolect, a Central cluster isolect, Banjar, and Sulung.[10] Note that in 'defecate' all of the Central cluster isolects have *berak* along with SM. Most of the other isolects have *bariha* with metathesis of the *r* and *h*.

non-Central	Central	Banjar	Sulung	gloss
baharu	*baru*	*haŋar*	*haŋar*	'new'
arai	*baɲu*	*baɲu*	*baɲu*	'water'
hobu	*besok*	*esʊk*	*isok*	'tomorrow'
pasar	*kubur*	*ma-ŋubur*	*pa-kubur-an*	'bury'
mirah	*merah*	*habaŋ*	*abaŋ, merah*	'red'
hui, rotan	*rotan*	*paɪkat*	*pajkat*	'rattan'
manuʔ	*ajam*	*ajam*	*hajam*	'chicken'
tubuh	*badan*	*awak*	*awak*	'body'
bariha, biha	*bɛrak*	*ba-hɪraʔ*	*ba-hiraʔ*	'defecate'

Table 2.9: Comparison of Banjar and KoBar lexical items

The Central isolect cluster is not Banjar based on the linguistic evidence. Most notable are the split of **u* and **o* which Banjar does not share and the merger in Banjar of penultimate **ə* and **a* which the Central cluster does not share. Added to that is the difference in a number of vocabulary items between the Central cluster and Banjar.

There is also religious separation of the Central cluster from the rest of the isolects. Malay-speakers, as they developed their own culture on Sumatra, also converted to Islam. For that reason, most areas where Malay is spoken are also Muslim. Wood (2000) says that "the population is nearly 100% Islamic" in the Central cluster. She reports (pers. comm.)

[10]I include Sulung here for two reasons: first, I believe it to be a Banjar isolect and second, given its location in the middle of the Central cluster, I would have expected it to be more similar to the Central cluster isolects than it is.

that the other isolect clusters are either Christian or Kaharingan. This is good evidence that the Central isolect cluster is exo-Bornean Malay.

Is there any evidence that points away from labeling this Central cluster as Malay? The only thing I have found thus far is the apparent retention of PM **sidaʔ* 'they' in most KoBar isolects including the Central cluster. The expected Malay form, *mereka*, is borrowed from Javanese. The actual realization of the form in many isolects is *siaʔ* with unexplained loss of medial *d*. Maybe it came from or crossed with PM **ia* 'he' which is realized in a handful of isolects as *io*. On further searching through Sumatran Malay wordlists, I did find that Kerinci has *sidə*. The presence of this form is therefore not counter-evidence to their being Malay because that form is found in at least one dialect of Malay on Sumatra.

Banjar is a Malay isolect, but it is different from the Central cluster. I don't think the Central cluster languages are Banjar, so that means that they must be part of their own back-migration from Malay speaking areas.

2.4.3 Conclusion

The KoBar languages as a whole are Malayic. Comparison with the 14 innovations which define Malayic in Adelaar (1992a, 2005a) shows that they follow all of them. Additionally, the Central cluster of isolects is Malay, that is, part of a back migration of Malay isolects from Sumatra or elsewhere outside Borneo. They share at least five sound changes and 8 lexical items that are unique to Malay. They do not share two archaic lexical items that are also not found in Malay and the religion in the Central cluster is Islamic as is that of most Malay language speakers. Sulung is located in the middle of the Central isolect cluster and it is a Banjar language, part of the Malay back migration to Sumatra. The Central cluster isolects are not Banjar though. Banjar does not undergo the split of **i* and **u* like the Central cluster and the Central cluster does not merge penultimate **ə* and **a* like Banjar does. The Central cluster isolects are not Banjar, so I have concluded that they are Malay.

Chapter 3

Dialectal Placement

So far we have labeled 14 isolects from the Central cluster as Malay (back-migration) and not Banjar. What about the rest of the isolects? If they are not Malay and not Banjar, then they must be part of the Malayic languages which are autochthonous to the island of Borneo. Section 1.4.3 demonstrated the three-fold division of the Malayic languages: Malay, Iban, and Kendayan. The latter two have been distinguished from each other and Malay by a number of sound changes.

In this chapter I first compare the KoBar isolects and Kendayan and Iban to determine if they subgroup under either of those subgroups. If they do not, then further comparison will be made with other Malayic isolects on Borneo to see if these remaining KoBar isolects identify with any of them. The isolects for which I have studies are Menterap (Collins 2002), Tola' Dayak (Collins and Alloy 2004) and Kutai Malay (Collins 1990).

I am including a map of these dialects in figure 3.1. The locations of these isolects is my best approximation of where they reside. The map is not intended to be authoritative with regard to their locations. For Iban, Kendayan, and Kutai Malay, I used the locations as given in Gordon Jr. (2005). For Menterap and Tola' Dayak I approximated the locations based on maps or written descriptions given in the respective publications noted above.

3.1 Kendayan and Iban

Kendayan is located in the northwest part of Kalimantan Barat, roughly 300 km from the KoBar isolects. It is defined by the presence of nasal preplosion, reduction of nasal plus

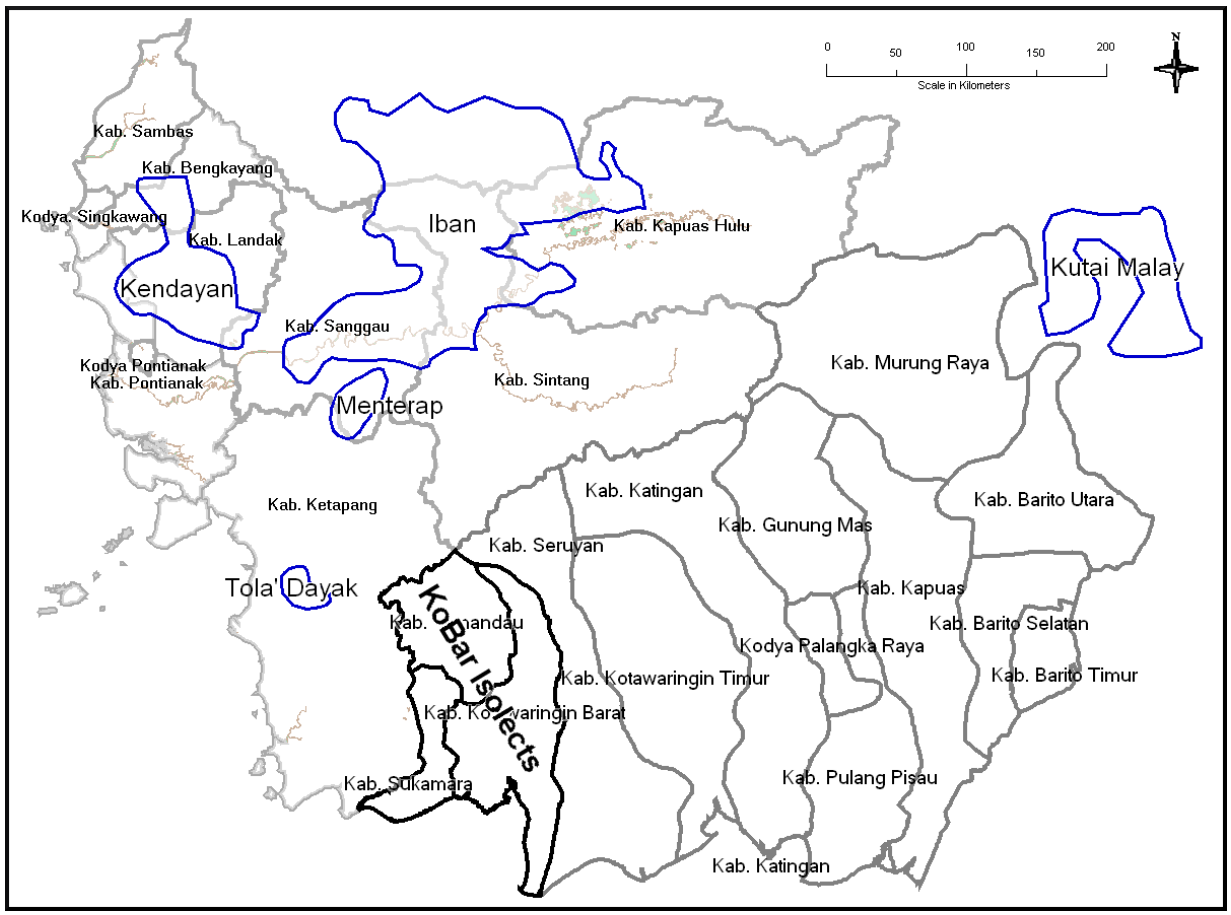

Figure 3.1: Other Malay and Malayic dialects on Borneo

homorganic voiced stop clusters to the nasal, monophthongization of diphthongs, and penultimate *ə > *a*. Iban[1] is located in north central Kalimantan Barat and to the north over much of Sarawak. Its closest distance to the KoBar language area is about 200 km. It is defined primarily by loss of initial and medial **h*, loss of intervocalic **-ʔ-* (but retention of final **-ʔ*), and final syllable **ə > *a*. I have taken the sound changes that define Kendayan and Iban from Adelaar (2006). A comparison of the KoBar isolects with Kendayan and Iban shows that they cannot be placed in either subgroup.

[1]The Iban forms in this section are all taken from Adelaar (2006), not from Adelaar (1992a). I will not use the IBN abbreviation as it is reserved for forms taken from his earlier publication.

3.1.1 Lenition of *b between *a* Vowels

Kendayan and Iban do not undergo lenition of **b* between *a* vowels. In SM there is a merger of PM **b* and **w* between *a* vowels. Only the NW and NE isolect clusters retain a distinction between *b* and *w* in this environment. We expect to see the Central isolect cluster undergo this change because they are Malay; however, it is curious that the Central West and SW clusters also undergo the lenition. I only have one word that demonstrates the change: PM **babah* 'under, below' > SM *bawah*, KNP (NW cluster) *babah*, PND (NE cluster) *babah*, other isolects *bawah*. Guci is the only isolect in the NW cluster that has *bawah*. I believe that to be borrowed from a Central cluster isolect because Guci is located on the Western edge of the Central cluster. Guci follows most of the other sound changes that distinguish the NW cluster. See 4.2 for more details. The Kobar isolects agree with both Kendayan and Iban in this sound change.

3.1.2 Initial and Medial *h

In initial position PM **h-* was lost in both Iban and Kendayan, but in medial position **-h-* was lost in Iban and retained in Kendayan. SM only partially loses it in both environments. The NW and NE isolect clusters (the northern clusters) do not lose initial or medial **h* at all, so they are different from Iban and Kendayan. The two western clusters, the SW cluster and the Central-West cluster, do not lose initial **h*, but sporadically lose medial **h*, so they are more similar to SM in partial loss. Table 3.1 gives examples of initial and medial **h*.

There are a few forms which do not follow this pattern. **h* is lost everywhere in PM **hisəp* 'suck' > Northern clusters *insap(m)*, Western clusters *insap*, and Kendayan, Iban *insap*. PM **lihat* 'see' > Northern clusters *nia(n)t* and Western clusters *lihat*. This form is so variant in the Northern clusters that it is possible that it is not cognate with the PM form.

PM	Kendayan	Iban	Northern clusters	Western clusters	gloss
**hijaw*	*iʤo*	*iʤaw*	*hiʤaw*	*hiʤaw*	‘green’
**hiduŋ*	*idukŋ*	*iduŋ*	*hidukŋ*	*hiduŋ*	‘nose’
**jahət*	*jahat*	*jai?*	*ʤahai*	*ʤahat*	‘bad, evil’
**tahun*	*tahutn*	*taun*	*tahu(t)n*	*tahun*	‘year’
**jahit*	*jahit*	*jait*	*ʤahit*	*ʤahit*	‘sew’
**tuha(?)*	*tuhà*	*tuay*	*tuha*	*tu(h)a*	‘old’
**tihaŋ*			*tiha(k)ŋ*	*ti(h)aŋ*	‘house post’

Table 3.1: **h* in Northern and Western clusters

3.1.3 Final Glottal Stop

SM loses PM **-ʔ*, but Kendayan and Iban retain it. Some KoBar isolects seem to retain **-ʔ*. This is most prevalent in the NW isolect cluster. Notably, KNP, BAK, SGB, and TAM do not participate in the change in more than a few forms. It almost does not occur in the western clusters at all. I have only two examples with forms from both Kendayan and Iban: PM **nasiʔ* ‘rice’, Kendayan *nasiʔ*, Iban *asiʔ*, NW isolects *nasi(ʔ)* and PM **mandiʔ* ‘bathe’, Kendayan *maniʔ*, Iban *pandiʔ*, NW isolects *mandi, maniʔ*.

There are a few forms where we expect to see final glottal stop, but it does not show up. Five isolects in the NW cluster have *maniʔ* ‘bathe’ <PM **mandiʔ*, while the rest have *mandi*. Only KM10 has final glottal stop for PM **rusoʔ* ‘deer’ and it even has a second form elicited without the glottal stop. PM **tawaʔ* ‘laugh’ does not have any NW cluster isolects with a final glottal stop. Most have *tatawa*.

The NW cluster has quite a number of other glottal stops which cannot be inherited. As in the Central cluster they occur after the vowel of final open syllables and instead of final *-k*, so we get forms like: PM **sA-* ‘one’, PNB, KDG, and LDK *satuʔ*, SM (PM not available)

pantʃi ‘cooking pot’, in eight NW cluster isolects *pantʃiʔ*. Final *-k* forms are much more numerous: PM **baik* ‘good’, NW isolects *boiʔ, baiʔ*, PM **ləmək* ‘fat’, NW isolects *lomaʔ/k*, SM (no PM available) *pendek* ‘short’, NW isolects *pan(d)aʔ/k*. Almost all the final *-k* forms have several isolects with both a *-k* form and a *-ʔ* form elicited.

I am not sure whether to say that the NW isolects have retained final glottal stop or not. It is possible that they have added the glottal stop back in the forms where it looks inherited. If that is the case, then they do not identify with Kendayan or Iban in this sound change.

3.1.4 Intervocalic **-ʔ-*

PM intervocalic **-ʔ-* is retained in Kendayan, is lost or shifts to *-h-* in Malay (Adelaar 2006), and lost completely in Iban. I have only one form that demonstrates this change and that is PM **tuʔət*[2] ‘knee’. Kendayan *tuʔut* shows the retention and Iban *tuut* shows a loss. SM *lutut* is cognate and shows the loss and contraction of the vowels in the second syllable. Most NW cluster isolects have *putut* with contraction of the vowels and most NE cluster isolects have *tuunt* without the vowel contraction, so most of the KoBar isolects lose medial glottal stop. In this sound change they do not agree with Kendayan and agree with Iban.

3.1.5 Final Nasal Preplosion

Kendayan has final nasal preplosion for all stops while Iban and SM do not. The KoBar isolects have this same change in the northern isolects. Section 4.1.1 gives more details, so I will only give a couple of examples. PM **ma-lə(hØ)əm* ‘night’ > KoBar *malapm, malap*, PM **bulan* ‘moon, month’ > KoBar *bulatn, bulat*, PM **tahun* ‘year’ > KoBar *tohutn, tahun*, PM **buruŋ* ‘bird’ > KoBar *burukŋ, buruk*.

[2]The reader may note that the PM reconstruction given in other parts of this thesis is **tuØət*. Adelaar (2006) says that his 1992 reconstruction with medial Ø was to “indicate that it was in essence a non-phonemic entity, but it may have been phonemic considering that a phonemic **ʔ* probably also occurred in final position.” Thus he used it as evidence for intervocalic glottal stop.

3.1.6 Homorganic Nasal Plus Stop Cluster Reduction

Kendayan reduces homorganic nasal plus voiced stop clusters to the nasal, while Iban does not. Adelaar (2006) gives several forms, but I have data for only one of them: PM **mandiʔ* 'bathe' > Iban *pandiʔ*, Kendayan *maniʔ*. The KoBar isolects do have some of this occurring, but it is not a widespread change. The isolects that participate the most are the southern isolects in the NW cluster. The upper six isolects are the Delang cluster and they only have a few forms that undergo the change. The Delang cluster has *mandi(ʔ)* 'bathe', but outside the NW cluster all isolects have *mandi*. I rather think that this sound change is an independent change in some of the NW cluster isolects and is not related to the change in Kendayan.

3.1.7 Monophthongization of **-aw* and **-ay*

Kendayan monophthongizes PM **-aw* and **-ay* while Iban and SM do not. Only the two northernmost isolects in the NE cluster do this at all in the KoBar isolects, PHN and RM. Two examples are: PM **lantay* > Kendayan *lante*, Iban *lantay*, PHN *lante* 'floor' and PM **hijaw* > Kendayan *ijo*, Iban *ijɑw*, RM *hiʤo* 'green'. For more details on PHN and RM see 4.5.

3.1.8 Penultimate Syllable ə

PM penultimate syllable **ə* > ə in SM and Iban, but *a* in Kendayan. Kendayan undergoes a merger of penultimate ə and *a*. In most of the KoBar isolects penultimate **ə* > *o*, so the distinction is maintained. The Central-West cluster has undergone the same merger as Kendayan though. Compare the forms in table 3.2, but see 4.4 for more examples of the KoBar isolects.

3.1.9 Nasal Accretion before Intervocalic *s*

Both Kendayan and Iban participate in this change, but Adelaar notes that it does not occur in all forms where it is possible. The KoBar isolects do this as well, but the change

PM	Kendayan	Iban	Cent-West	Other isolects	gloss
**əmpat*	*ampat*	*əmpat*	*empat, ampat*	*ompat*	'four'
**ənəm*	*anam*	*ənam*	*enam, anam*	*onam*	'six'
**dəŋər*	*daŋar*	*diŋa* (irreg.)	*diŋaj, daŋaj*	*diŋa(ʔ), doŋar*	'hear'
**kəniŋ*	*kaniŋ*	*kəniŋ*	*kaniŋ*	*koniŋ*	'forehead'

Table 3.2: Penultimate **ə* in Kendayan and Iban

is most evident in the northermost NW isolects. Only four forms show this change at all in the KoBar isolects. The only form that has the change in most isolects is PM **hisəp* > Kendayan *insap*, Iban *ansah*, KoBar *insa(m)p* 'suck, inhale'.

3.1.10 Not Kendayan or Ibanic

It seems to me that all the sound changes from Kendayan and Iban are represented in one or more of the KoBar isolects, but none of the sound changes are realized in a group of isolects such that they can be labeled as Kendayan or Iban. Kendayan and Iban do not undergo lenition of **b* between *a* vowels and neither do the KoBar isolects. KoBar seems to agree with Iban in not merging penultimate **ə* and **a* and in the loss of medial **-ʔ-*. On the other hand KoBar agrees with Kendayan in final nasal preplosion and retention of **-h-*. KoBar disagrees with Kendayan and Ibanic loss of initial **h-*. Kendayan and Iban retain final **-ʔ*, but KoBar loses it. From that mix of sound changes, I conclude that the KoBar isolects do not subgroup with either Kendayan or Iban.

3.2 Other Malayic Varieties in Borneo

3.2.1 Kutai Malay

Collins (1990) has identified a low-order subgroup of Malay varieties, which share three sound changes. Kutai Malay, the main focus of his study, is located in East Kalimantan. It is reported to have two dialects, but only one of them undergoes the three sound changes. The other dialects he includes in this subgroup are located in Brunei and in Sambas at the northern tip of West Kalimantan. All three are quite distant from the isolects in this study.

The sound changes are as follows. First, in disyllabic words consonants following *ə* were geminated. Second, **ə* merged with **a* in *a*. Last **a* split to *ə* after voiced obstruents and *a* elsewhere. Table 3.3, taken from Collins, shows the progression in one Kutai Malay dialect.

PM	Gemination	Vowel merger	Vowel split	gloss
**səbut*	> *səbbut*	> *sabbut*		'to utter'
**cabut*		> *cabut*		'to yank out'
**salin*		> *salin*		'to copy'
**jalin*		> *jalin*	>*jəlin*	'to plait'

Table 3.3: Sound changes in Kutai Malay

Collins' conclusion was that since this set of sound changes is also shared with dialects in Brunei and Sambas, these dialects must be from the same stock. It is important that the KoBar isolects do not exhibit this set of changes. I don't have in my data any of the forms that Collins used, but I do have some parallel forms that will demonstrate the absence of this set of changes. There is no gemination after **ə*, e.g. PM **təlur* > KoBar *tolur* 'egg'. Second, there is no merger of **ə* and **a*. Contrast PM **təlur* > KoBar *tolur* 'egg' with PM **tali* > KoBar *tali*. Third, *a* and *ə* both occur after voiced obstruents, e.g. PM **batu* > KoBar *batu* 'stone' and PM **bəras* > KoBar *boras*[3] 'rice'. Based on this evidence, the KoBar isolects do not subgroup with Kutai Malay.

[3]With **ə* > KoBar *o*

3.2.2 Menterap

Menterap is a small set of isolects spoken by approximately 1000 people. They are located in the middle of Kalimantan Barat on a tributary of the Sekadau river. According to Collins (2002) this small set of isolects has been repeatedly overlooked in language atlases and studies of the languages of this region. His conclusion is that the Menterap isolects are not Ibanic or Kendayan, but must belong to their own separate branch of Malayic. These conclusions are based on two main innovations present in Menterap that are not shared outside this area. In addition to these innovations, the KoBar isolects and Menterap share another innovation which, although not good as a diagnostic, needs to be at least noted.

Nasal preplosion is present in the Menterap data, but given that it is present in many other Malayic varieties as well as Bidayuhic (see 4.1.1 for more details), it is not diagnostic for subgrouping purposes. The first of the two main sound changes Collins noted is a shift from **a* to *ə* in penultimate syllables. He gives PM **kaki* 'leg, foot' > Menterap *kəkʌy*, PM **datəŋ* 'come' > Menterap *dətaᵏŋ*, and PM **m/andiʔ* 'bathe' > Menterap *mənʌyʔ*. We will see in 4.1.2 that some KoBar isolects have a change of penultimate **a* > *ə*, but it is not a general change. It only occurs in very specific environments in the KoBar isolects. For two of the three forms that Collins gave, the KoBar isolects have *kɑki* 'leg, foot' and *mandi* 'bathe'. 'come' was not elicited by Wood (2000).

A second sound change which Collins (2002) says is diagnostic for subgrouping Menterap is loss of non-final **l*. The change does not occur in all forms in all Menterap isolects, but there are about 25 forms in which **l* is lost in all isolects. Collins does not give the Menterap forms, but instead gives the PM forms in which **l* is dropped. Some of those with PM and KoBar are: PM **kulit* 'skin' > KoBar *kulit*, PM *təlur* 'egg' > KoBar *tolor*, PM **bulan* 'moon' > Kobar *bulan*, PM **ləmak* 'fat' > KoBar *lomak*. From these forms it is clear that the KoBar isolects do not identify with Menterap in the loss of *l*.

The amount of data included in Collins' paper is limited, so assessment of other sound changes is difficult. I believe that the lack of agreement between Menterap and KoBar in the

shift of penultimate **a* to *ə* and loss of non-final **l* is enough evidence to say that they do not share a common history beyond Proto-Malayic.

3.2.3 Tola' Dayak

Collins and Alloy (2004) have written about the Tola' Dayak languages located due west of the KoBar isolects across the provincial border in Kalimantan Barat (West). They estimate that there are less than 1000 speakers of Tola' Dayak in the region. Ketapang Malay is the regional lingua franca spoken by more than 200,000 people. Collins notes striking lexical similarities between Ketapang Malay and Tola' Dayak, but concludes that they are different languages based on phonological and morphological differences. Those differences are what make the Tola' Dayak language different from other Malayic isolects, so I will compare them with the KoBar isolects to see if they might possibly subgroup together.

Tola' Dayak undergoes final nasal preplosion like many of the other isolects we have looked at. While this change may be a good sound change for drawing lines around a small subset of isolects, this is not helpful for macro subgrouping because it occurs independently in quite a number of Austronesian languages as noted above in 3.2.2.

Penultimate **ə* shifts to *o*. Collins says that "many other Malayic variants in western Borneo have undergone this sound change." He does not say which variants or give examples. This sound change is interesting because the NW, NE and SW isolect clusters undergo this change (see 4.1.3). I would like to know which other Malayic varieties Collins is referring to that have undergone this sound change. It is possible that this could be a criteria for subgrouping the isolects in SW Borneo. This is a good sound change to follow up on. For now I don't think anything can be made of this change, which looks to be shared. Table 3.4 shows some forms from KoBar and Tola' Dayak for comparison.

PM **a* > Tola' Dayak *ɛ* in final open syllable. Examples he gives are PM **mata* 'eye' > Tola' Dayak *matɛ*, PM **dada* 'chest' > Tola' Dayak *dadɛ*, and PM *buŋa(ʔ)* 'flower' > Tola' Dayak *buŋɛ*. A number of the KoBar isolects have a similar sound change whereby

PM	Tola' Dayak	KoBar	gloss
**pərut*	*porut*	*porut*	'belly'
**təlur*	*tolo?*	*tolur*	'egg'
**ləmak*	*lomak*	*lomak*	'fat'

Table 3.4: Penultimate **ə* to *o* in TD

PM final **a* becomes *o*. The same forms given above in the KoBar isolects are respectively *mato*, *dado*, and *buŋa*.[4] I don't think that these sound changes are related or due to similar processes that would put them in a subgroup together.

Tola' Dayak shares only one sound change with the KoBar isolects. Follow up study needs to be done on the change of penultimate **ə* to *o*. It might be possible to build a set of sound changes that would define a southern subgroup of Malayic languages starting with that one sound change. For now, it seems doubtful that the Kobar isolects and Tola' Dayak share a common history more recently than at the level of Proto-Malayic.

3.3 Conclusion

The last question to ask is whether these isolects share a unique set of changes such that they form their own subgroup. The northern isolects group more closely together than the southern isolects. They all share nasal preplosion, but as we've seen, that sound change is common in a number of Malay isolects and is therefore a poor criterion for subgrouping. The northern clusters all share the innovation penultimate **a* > *ə* when the final syllable ends in *a*, i.e. in the environment C_Ca#. I am not aware of this sound change in any other

[4] 'flower' is discussed below in 4.1.3. A summary is that the glottal stop is preventing the change there.

Malayic isolects. More details and examples are given in 4.1. The northern clusters also shift penultimate *ə to *o*. [5]

On the basis of those two changes, one could say that this is a unique subgroup in the Malayic family on Borneo, but it seems a bit weak. These isolects seem more like loosely connected isolects with a few changes in common, but really more part of a dialect chain that extends through the area. More study of the isolects in a broader area might reveal that those two sound changes are not known outside this area. That is not a question that I can address. If those two sound changes are unique to KoBar, then other evidence from morphology and syntax would be needed to solidly postulate a separate subgroup.

I have compared the sound changes which Kendayan and Iban undergo to the northern isolects. There were a few sound changes shared with both Kendayan and Iban and then several others that were not shared with either one. I concluded that the KoBar isolects do not subgroup with either of those Malayic subgroups. Again, comparing shared sound changes, I compared the KoBar isolects with Kutai Malay, Menterap, and Tola' Dayak. My conclusion was that they don't share enough sound changes to subgroup with those dialects either.

They do not, however, form their own subgroup, because they share only two unique sound changes. Rather, they are part of a large dialect chain of autochthonous Malayic isolects that runs across Borneo. It is possible that with wider study, they may be placed in a subgroup with other Malayic isolects on Borneo. The data in this study is purely phonological, which is not broad enough to draw any large scale subgrouping conclusions.

[5]Penultimate *ə also shifted in Iban, but there the shift was to *a*, not *o*. In Iban it is a merger with *a*, whereas in KoBar the distinction is retained between penultimate *a* and *ə*. More details and examples again are given in 4.1.

Chapter 4

Internal Relations

This chapter will deal with "the rest" of the isolects after the Central isolect cluster since we have determined those isolects to be Malay. I found that there is a solid division between the northern and southern isolects. All the northern isolects have

- Nasal preplosion
- A change of PM penultimate **a* to *ə* when the ultimate syllable is open and ends in *a*
- A change of PM penultimate **ə* to *o*. But this development occurs also in the SW isolect cluster. I believe it is an independent development in the SW cluster and that it is still good evidence linking the two northern clusters together (see below).

The Delang cluster apart from the rest of the NW isolect cluster shares

- A change of word final **a* to *o*
- A change of penultimate **a* to *o* before high vowels
- Nasal accretion before medial *s*

Most of the non-Delang isolects shift a final nasal to a stop, a further development of nasal preplosion. The NE isolect cluster shows nasal accretion before final stops and loses *r* in all environments. And last, the NE cluster is further divided into southern and northern clusters with Penahan and Riam undergoing monophthongization of diphthongs. Figure 4.1 shows these sound changes as they are distributed across a map.

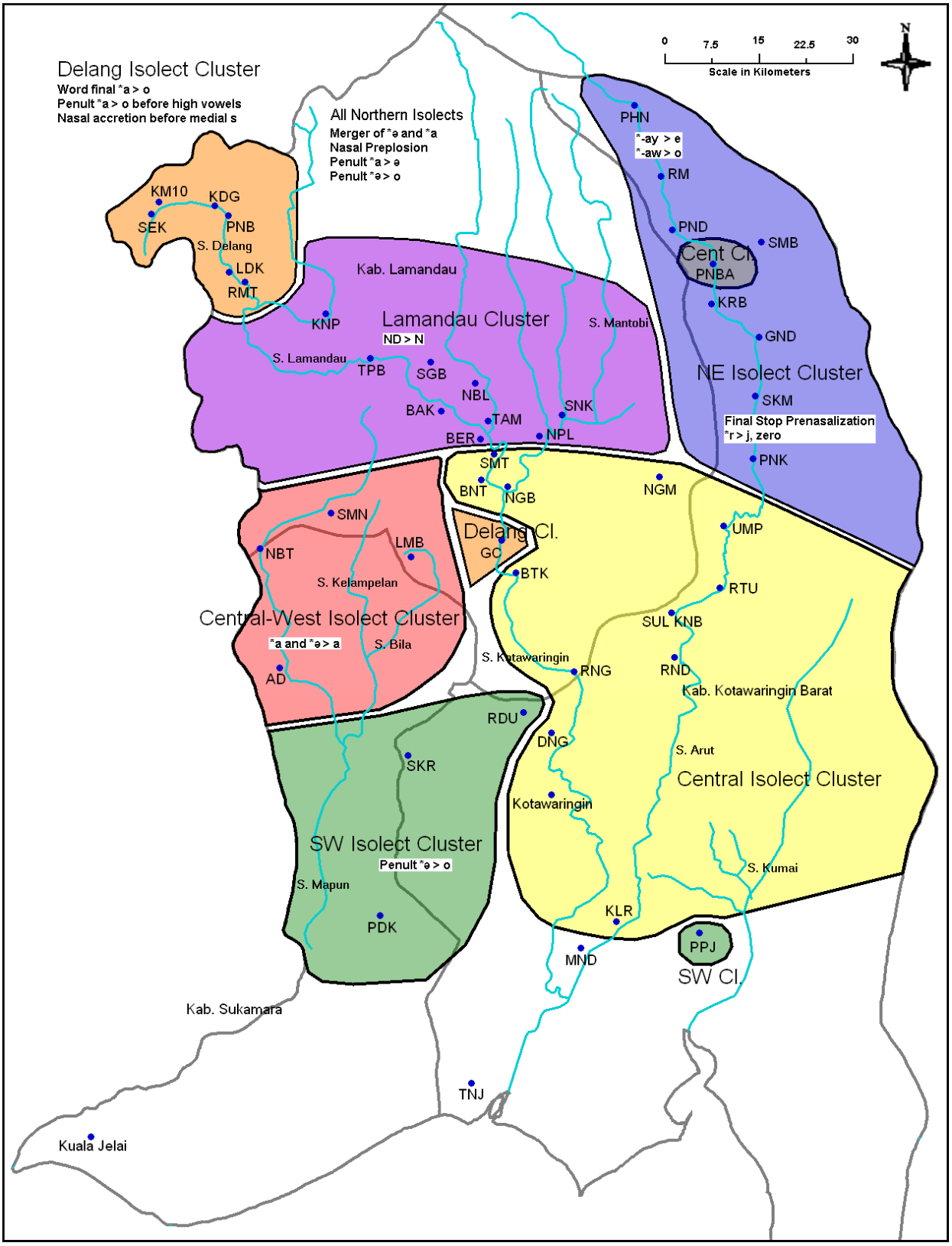

Figure 4.1: Sound changes which define the Kobar clusters

4.1 Changes Common in the Northern Isolects

I begin with a change that is not helpful for subgrouping and applies to all the KoBar isolects, but needs to be noted. PM *ə and *a merged to *a* in final syllables in most Malayic dialects (Adelaar 1992a). The KoBar Malayic isolects are no different. Table 4.1 shows three representative isolects from KoBar where the change has occurred.

PM	KM10	NBT	UMP	gloss
*ənəm	*onam*	*enam*	*onam*	'six'
*tanəm	*tanam*	*tanam*	*tanam*	'to plant'
*gatəl	*go-gatal*	*gatal*	*gatal*	'to itch'
*darah	*darah*	*darʌh*	*darah*	'blood'
*bulan	*bulan*	*bulan*	*bulan*	'moon'
*əmpat	*ompat*	*empat*	*ompat*	'four'

Table 4.1: Merger of *ə and *a

4.1.1 Nasal Preplosion

Final nasal preplosion is where a stop is added before a final nasal when the syllable onset is not a nasal. According to Blust (1997), the term 'nasal preplosion' was coined by Court (1967) in his discussion of features of Mentu Land Dayak. Blust traced the occurrence of this feature and found it in the Chamic languages in Vietnam, the Urak Lawoi' languages of Thailand, Rejang, Lom and Mentawai (non-Malayic languages on or near Sumatra), Tunjung (a Barito language of East Kalimantan), and other Malayic and Bidayuhic languages in West Kalimantan and Sarawak. Nasal preplosion occurs in a number of languages spread across a large area in the western Malayo-Polynesian speaking area. Blust concludes that nasal preplosion in West Kalimantan and Sarwak is an areal feature as it cuts across several language families, but it is probably not due to contact. It has "arisen repeatedly" on Borneo from Banggi in the north to Mahakam in East Kalimantan to the area in West Kalimantan

and Sarawak. Since these three regions are widely separated from each other, he concludes that diffusion is not the mechanism governing its spread and it must be due to independent innovation.

We can now add Central Kalimantan to Blust's list, but whether the occurrence here of nasal preplosion is connected to the West Kalimantan area is hard to tell. Only the NW and NE isolect clusters undergo this change, but all these northern isolects undergo it without exception. Some of the southern NW cluster isolects (the non-Delang isolects as defined in 4.2) and the NE cluster isolects take this change a step further. Once the stop is inserted, the final nasal is dropped. This part of the change does not include SGB, BER, SNK, NPL, or GC from the NW cluster. These five isolects, except Guci, do have at least one form where the nasal is dropped altogether. I have included Guci with the Delang clusters partly because it does not undergo this second part of the shift at all. Table 4.2 gives some examples.

PM	NW cluster	NE cluster	gloss
**ma-lə(hØ)əm*	*malapm*	*malap*	'night'
**hujan*	*huʤatn*	*huʤat*	'rain'
**daun*	*doutn*	*daut*	'leaf'
**pisaŋ*	*pisakŋ*	*pisak*	'banana'
**hiduŋ*	*hidukŋ*	*hiduk*	'nose'

Table 4.2: Nasal preplosion in northern KoBar isolects

The northern isolect clusters undergo a number of processes involving nasals. In addition to nasal preplosion, some of the isolects undergo loss of final stop after nasal preplosion, nasal plus stop cluster reduction, and final stop prenasalization. These changes will be discussed in detail below, but figure 4.2 shows which isolects undergo each change.

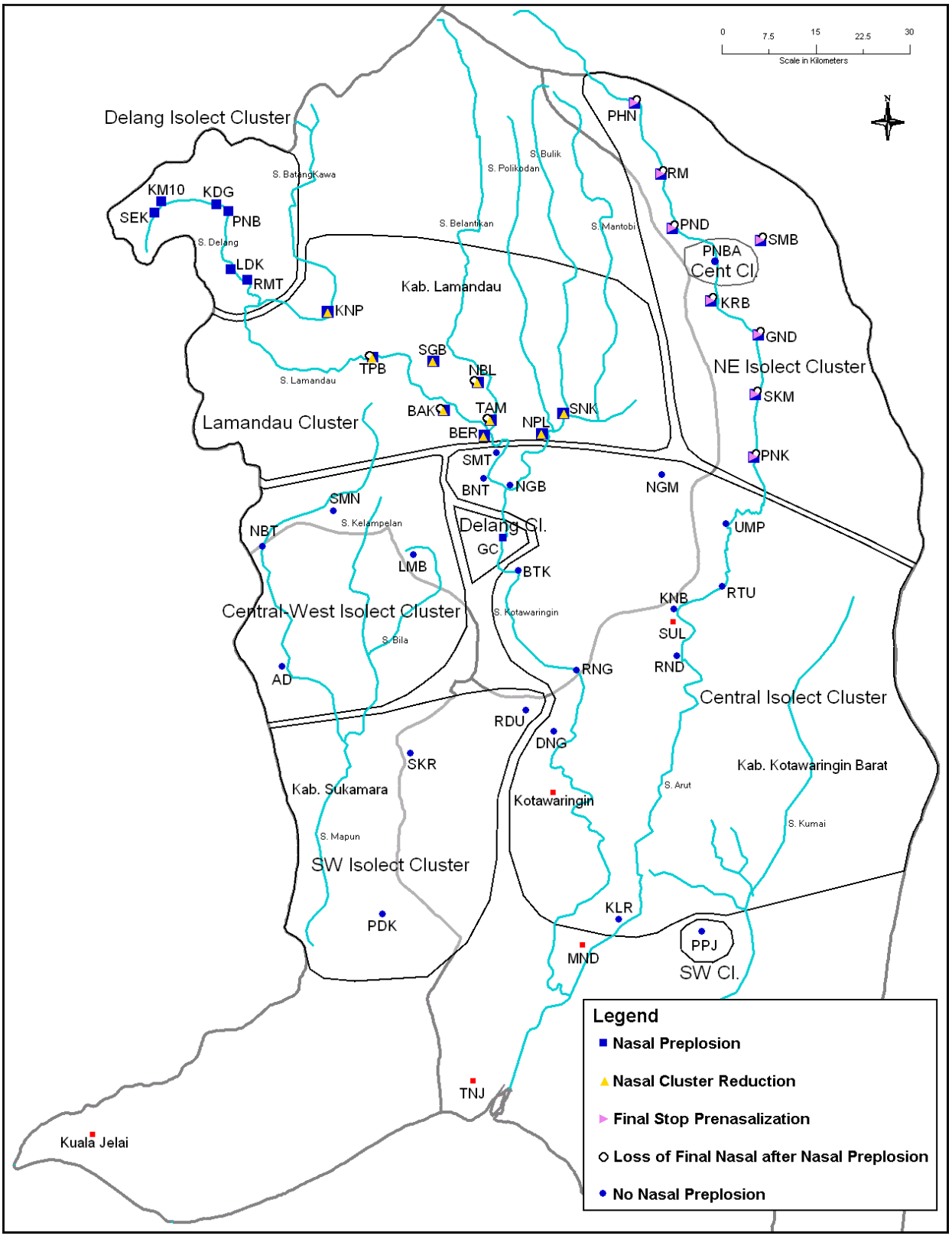

Figure 4.2: All nasal processes including final nasal preplosion

4.1.2 Penultimate *a to ə

PM penultimate *a > ə when the ultimate syllable is open and has *a*. This change feeds the regular change of PM penultimate *ə to *o* (see next section) and only occurs in the NW and NE clusters. Table 4.3[1] shows forms from each isolect cluster including those which do not undergo this change. Outside the instances defined in the table PM penultimate *a > *a* in all isolects. The lower half of the table gives some examples where penultimate *a does not shift because the final syllable is not open and does not have *a*.

PM	NW	NE	Cent-West	SW	gloss
*mana(ʔ)	di mono	di moni	di mana	di mana	'where'
	bəropo	bajopa	berapa	bɛropo	'how many'
*si-apa	sopo	sopa	siapa	sapa	'who'
*apa(ʔ)	bopaj	ompaj	bapa	bapaʔ	'father'
*tanəm	tanam	tanam	tanam	tanam	'plant'
*laŋit	laŋi(n)t	laŋint	laŋit	laŋit	'sky'
*habu	habu	habu	habu	habu	'ashes'
*tali	tali	tali	tali	tali	'rope'

Table 4.3: Penultimate *a to ə

There is one form which doesn't seem to fit this pattern. PM *apa KoBar *apa* 'what' occurs in most isolects with penultimate *a*. I don't have an explanation of why *apa* does not shift when *siapa* 'who' does. This change may be restricted to forms with a consonantal syllable onset. PM *buhaya 'crocodile' might agree with this possibility if we assume that the *h* is not strong enough to count as a consonantal onset. It is always *a* in the KoBar isolects and sometimes the *h* is dropped, e.g. *bu(h)aja*.

Also of interest are PM *tawaʔ 'laugh' , and PM *paha(ʔ) 'thigh', which are realized with penultimate *a* in all isolects. I am inclined to think that the glottal stop has prevented

[1]The penultimate *o* in *bɛropo* in the SW cluster is unexplained.

the change because the syllable is then not a final open syllable. The two forms in the table where there is a possible final glottal stop, as reconstructed by Adelaar, must have not had the final glottal stop, otherwise the change would not have occurred.

4.1.3 Penultimate *ə to *o*

PM penultimate *ə > *o* in all the northern isolects. Table 4.4 shows examples from each isolect cluster including the western isolects for comparison. This change is fed in the NW and NE clusters by the above change of penultimate **a* to *ə*. See table 4.3 for examples of the change from **a*. In those two clusters there is a partial merger in *a* (> *o*) of PM penultimate **a* and **ə*. That is, penultimate **a* in the environment _Ca# merges with penultimate **ə*. Other instances of penultimate **a* remain *a*. In the Central-West isolect cluster there is also a merger in *a* of PM penultimate **a* and **ə*.

PM	NW	NE	Cent-West	SW	gloss
**bəras*	*boras*	*bojas*	*baras*	*boras*	'rice'
**ləmək*	*lomak*	*lomak*	*lamak*	*loma?*	'fat'
**pərut*	*porut*	*pojunt*	*parut*	*porut*	'belly'
**təbu*	*tobu*	*tobu*	*tabu*	*tobu*	'sugar cane'
**bəli*	*boli*	*boli*	*bali*	*boli*	'buy'

Table 4.4: Penultimate *ə to *o*

The table shows that the SW cluster also undergoes this change, but I believe that it must be an independent change because the SW isolect cluster does not undergo any of the other changes which define the northern isolects. They do not undergo nasal preplosion or penultimate **a* to *ə*.[2]

[2]Additionally, the SW cluster is more like the Central isolect cluster lexically. It shares more lexical items with Malay than the northern clusters. I wanted to group them with the set of Malay isolects, but I did not feel that the evidence was strong enough to do so.

So the NW and NE isolects have nasal preplosion, the change of penultimate *a to ə, and the change of penultimate *ə to *o* in common. They can be further divided into several smaller clusters.

4.2 The Delang Cluster

I will call the six northernmost isolects on the Delang river the Delang isolect cluster. They are part of the NW cluster (as defined by Wood). I also include in the Delang cluster Guci, which is located on the Kotawaringin river and which Wood identified as part of the larger NW cluster. The Delang cluster shares three phonological innovations which are not present or almost not present in the rest of the KoBar isolects. Additionally, they do not participate in the secondary loss of a final nasal after nasal preplosion has taken place. See 4.1.1 for more details.

4.2.1 Word Final *a to *o*

Word final *a > *o*. This is an unconditioned change. The rest of the isolects have word final *a to *a*. I found 29 forms that display this change. Table 4.5 shows a handful of them. As is mentioned above near the end of 2.4.1, Tadmor (2003) has studied "final /a/ mutation" in the Western Malayo-Polynesian languages. Tadmor's conclusion is that this feature is from Sanskrit influence on Javanese. It then spread to other Malayo-Polynesian languages via Javanese. I don't know how these isolects could have come under Javanese influence. If they got the sound change from Indonesian or another language which Javanese influenced, then we would expect to see influence from that language. I believe that this occurrence of word final *a to *o* is an independent innovation.

4.2.2 Penultimate *a* to *o* before High Vowels

Penultimate *a > *o* in the Delang cluster when followed by a high vowel. An intervening *h* does not prevent the change, but any other consonant prevents it. Note that this rule affects

PM	Delang isolects	Other isolects	gloss
**dua(ʔ)*	*duo*	*dua*	'two'
**mata*	*mato*	*mata*	'eye'
**buhaya*	*bahajo*	*buhaja, buaja*	'crocodile'
**apa*	*apo*	*apa*	'what'
**taŋgaʔ*	*taŋgo*	*taŋga*	'ladder'

Table 4.5: Word final *a in the Delang cluster

a different set of forms from the rule in 4.1.2 where penultimate **a* shifts to *ə* when the ultimate syllable is open and has *a*. At least 14 forms in the data show this change. Table 4.6 shows a few of them and some contrasting forms with an intervening consonant.

PM	Delang isolect	Other isolects	gloss
**naik*	*noɪk*	*naik*	'climb'
**jahit*	*mən-ʤohit*	*ʤahit*	'sew'
**tahiʔ*	*tohi*	*tahi*	'excrement'
**tahun*	*tohutn*	*tahutn*	'year'
**daun*	*doutn*	*daut*	'leaf'
not reconstructed	*bohu*	*bahu*	'shoulder'
**pasir*	*pasir*	*pasir*	'sand'
**jarum*	*jarupm*	*jarup*	'needle'
**halu*	*halu*	*halu*	'pestle'

Table 4.6: Penultimate *a before a high vowel in the Delang cluster

In PM **ba/hiraʔ* metathesis of the *h* and the *r* has occurred so that we get Delang cluster *boriaʔ*. The shift to *o* must have occurred before the metathesis, otherwise the outcome would

have been ***baria*. The progression from PM was **bahiraʔ* > **bohiraʔ* > *boriaʔ*. Although *o* occurs here in the antepenultimate syllable, it still seems to follow this rule.

Kinipan (KNP), the next village down river from the Delang cluster, also participates in this change in two forms: KNP *pahit, pohit* 'bitter' and KNP *ʤohit* 'sew'.

Two forms which I would have expected to undergo this change, but which do not are: PM **haus* 'thirsty', Delang *haus* and *main* 'play' (cf. IND *main*). *main* does not undergo nasal preplosion, which marks it as a borrowed form. I do not see any reason that they do not shift, so I presume they are both borrowed from Indonesian or another Malay isolect.

4.2.3 Nasal Accretion before Medial *s*

Four forms show nasal accretion before s: 'wet', 'smoke', 'suck', and 'cook'. I will refer to it as accretion after Adelaar (2006) rather than excresence. Many of the northern clusters have at least one form that shows this change, but the Delang cluster is the most consistent. KNP, which is the next village down the river from Delang, does not have the change at all. The only form which shows the change in almost all the northern clusters is PM *hi(ŋ)səp* 'suck'. The nasal is tentatively reconstructed for this form, but Adelaar (2006) gives PM **hisəp*, which is different from his 1992 reconstruction with a medial nasal. The nasal may or may not be inherited in this form. Most isolects have *insap*. The second most prevalent form is PM **m/asak* 'cook' where 13 of 24 isolects have *mansaʔ*. In all but one of the rest of the isolects, the wordlist response for 'cook' is not cognate.

Only the Delang cluster and BAK show the change in PM **asəp* 'smoke', KoBar *ansap*. The change in PM *basah* 'wet', KoBar *bansah* is limited to just the Delang cluster.

Did this feature start in the Delang cluster and then spread to the other isolects? I don't think that is what happened, given the spread of *insap* across almost all the isolects including the Western isolects. Nibung Terjun stands out in the Central-West isolect cluster in that it has nasal accretion in all four forms. I am unsure what to make of the distribution and can just report it here as I see it.

4.3 The Lamandau Cluster Isolects

With the definition of the Delang cluster the rest of the NW isolects form their own cluster which I have termed the Lamandau cluster after the river on which they reside. The isolects included in this cluster are KNP, TPB, BAK, NBL, SGB, TAM, and BER. These isolects undergo nasal preplosion, the change of penultimate **a* to *ə*, and the change of penultimate **ə* to *o*, but they do not participate in the three additional changes which define the Delang cluster.

The Lamandau cluster has a tendency to reduce homorganic nasal plus voiced stop clusters to the nasal. I say tendency because this sound change is not completely regular. It does also occur in a few forms outside this cluster, but it is much more regular in the Lamandau cluster. Table 4.7 gives a sample of forms.

PM	Lamandau	Delang	Other isolects	gloss
**pandak*	*pana?*	*panda?*	*panda?*	'short'
**mani?*	*mani(?), mandi*	*mandi(?)*	*mandi*	'bathe'
**dindiŋ*	*dinik(ŋ), dindik(ŋ)*	*dindiŋ*	*dindik, dindiŋ*	'wall'
not cognate	*tiŋal*	*tiŋ(g)al*	*tiŋ(g)al*	'live'

Table 4.7: Homorganic nasal plus stop cluster reduction in the Lamandau cluster

What about Nanga Polikodan and Sungkup? It is reported by Wood (2000) that the people in Nanga Polikodan moved there from the NE cluster area. According to Wood's research NPL and SNK share 98% of their vocabulary, but only around 88-90% with the other NW and NE cluster isolects. They don't seem to really group with either cluster from a lexicostatistic standpoint. They do follow the three defining sound changes with the rest of the northern clusters, i.e. nasal preplosion, penultimate **a* > *ə*, and penultimate **ə* > *o*. NPL and SNK do not undergo the NE cluster loss of **r* or final stop prenasalization. That leaves them in the same category in terms of sound changes with the Lamandau cluster, so I include them in that cluster. If they migrated from the NE cluster area, then it must have

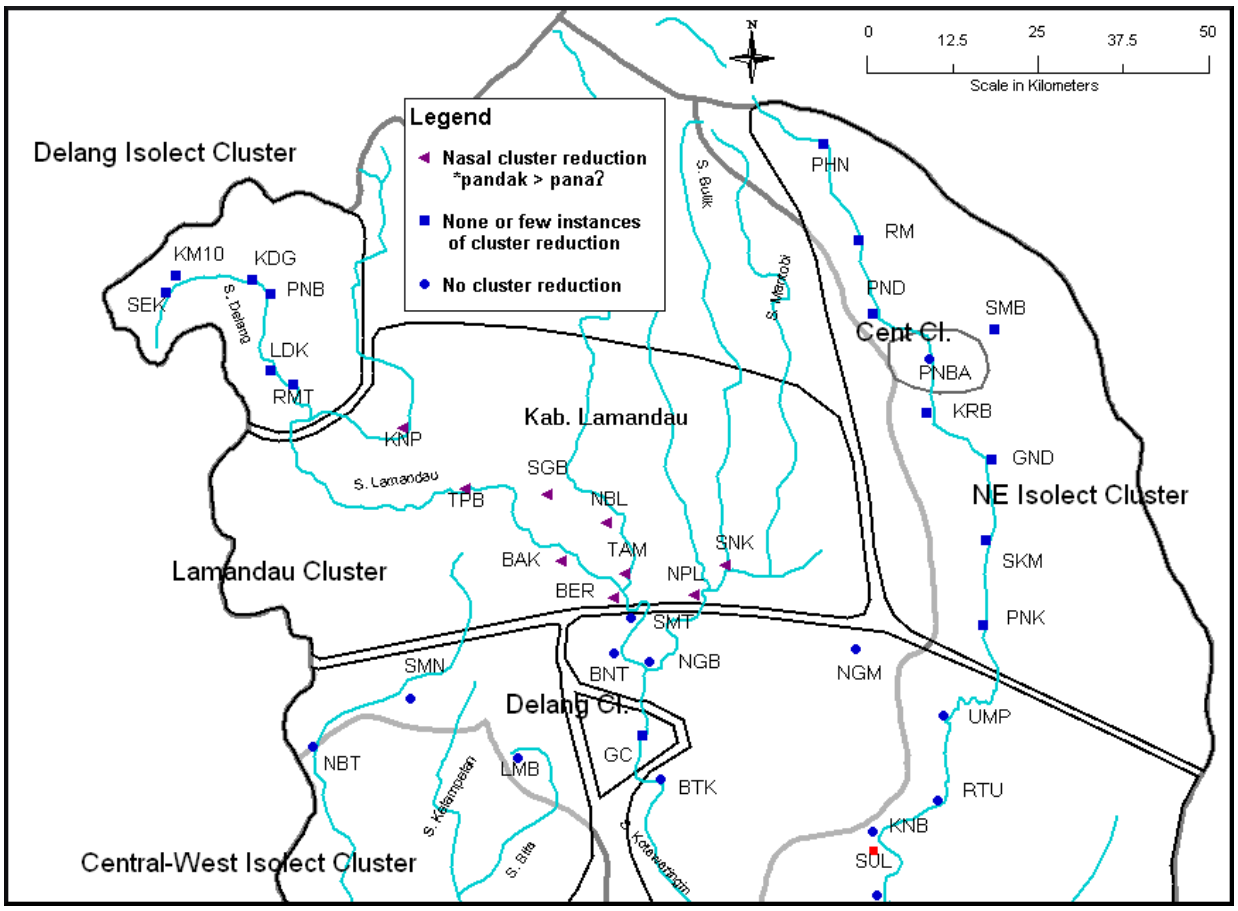

Figure 4.3: Nasal cluster reduction in Lamandau isolect cluster

been before the two NE cluster sound changes took place. The isolects in the Lamandau cluster as defined by nasal cluster reduction are shown in figure 4.3.

One interesting sound change in Tapin Bini (TPB) is final stop post-nasalization. This change occurs about 25 times in TPB and there are only a handful of instances of this in all the other varieties put together. Table 4.8 shows some examples with other isolects for comparison.

This change only occurs at labial and alveolar positions. Velar stops tend toward glottal stop or remain a velar stop. The only examples I have of a velar seeming to undergo this change is probably a borrowed form: PM **ba/hira?* 'defecate', TPB *borakŋ* < IND *berak*

PM	TPB	other isolects	gloss
**sayap*	*sajapm*	*saja(m)p*	'wing'
**hatəp*	*hatapm*	*hatap*	'roof'
**asəp*	*asapm*	*asap*	'smoke'
**bukit*	*bukitn*	*buki(n)t*	'mountain'
**əmpat*	*ompatn*	*ompat*	'four'
**pərut*	*porutn*	*porut*	'belly'

Table 4.8: Postnasalization in TPB

(maybe?). Some examples of velar stops from TPB are *baik* 'good', *buru?* 'rotten', *pana?* 'short', and *gomuk* 'fat'.

4.4 NE Cluster Isolects

The NE isolects share two sound changes that distinguish them from the NW isolects. They are final stop prenasalization and loss of *r*.

4.4.1 Final Stop Prenasalization

Final stop prenasalization occurs in all the NE isolects. It is excrescence of a nasal before an inherited final stop. This only occurs in labial and alveolar positions. Final velar stops either stay a velar stop or alternate with a glottal stop. Table 4.9 gives some examples and figure 4.4 shows which isolects undergo the change.

4.4.2 Loss of **r*

The NE cluster isolects share a loss of **r* (or a change to *j*) in all environments. This does not include SNK or NPL. Table 4.10 shows some examples of the change.

PM	NE isolect	Other isolects	gloss
hi(ŋ)səp	*insamp*	*i(n)sap*	‘suck’
**hatəp*	*hatamp*	*hatap*	‘roof’
**bukit*	*bukint*	*bukit*	‘mountain’
**bərat*	*bojant*	*borat*	‘heavy’
**duduk*	*dudu(k), dudu(ʔ)*	*dudu(k), dudu(ʔ)*	‘to sit’
**pandak*	*pandaʔ*	*pan(d)ak, pan(d)aʔ*	‘short’

Table 4.9: Final stop prenasalization in NE isolects

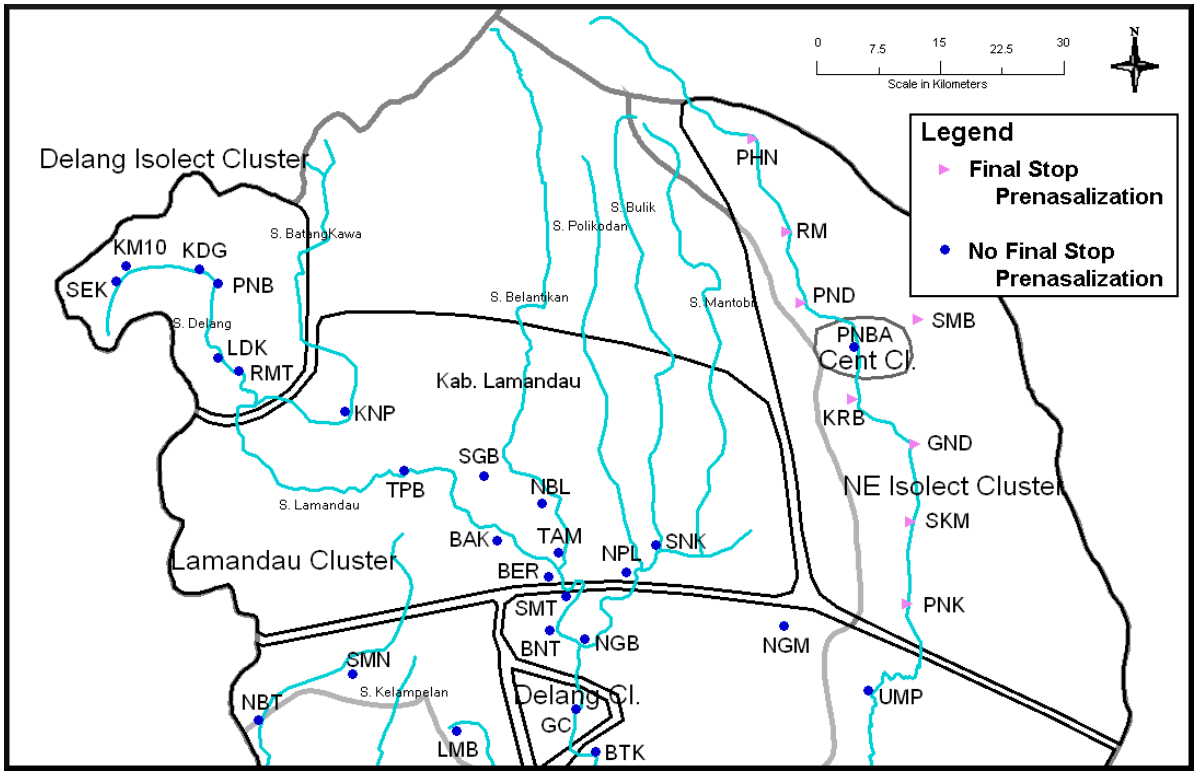

Figure 4.4: Final stop prenasalization in the NE isolect cluster

PM	NE cluster	Other isolects	gloss
**rumah*	*juma(h)*	*rumah*	'house'
**sA-ribu*	*sa-jibu*	*sə-ribu*	'thousand'
**duriʔ*	*duwi*	*duri*	'thorn'
**darah*	*dajah*	*darah*	'blood'
**bibir*	*bibi*	*bibir*	'lip'
**air*	*ajaj*	*arai*	'water'

Table 4.10: Loss of *r* in the NE Cluster isolects

There are a few exceptions: *harum* 'smell', *timur* 'east', *barat* 'west', and *arak* 'rice wine'. *arak* is borrowed from Arabic or Persian *'araq* 'strong drink' and I am pretty certain the other exceptions are borrowed from other languages via Indonesian.

4.5 Penahan and Riam

PHN and RM in the NE cluster monophthongize the diphthongs *-ay* and *-aw*. So we get the forms in table 4.11. One of the characteristics of Malayic is that these diphthongs are not monophthongized, so does this change indicate that these isolects are not Malayic? They follow the rest of the changes that define Malayic, so I think this is an independent innovation.

A vowel approximation seems to operate in medial diphthongs as well, but it is not a complete monophthongization. Compare other isolects *naik* 'climb', but PHN and RM *naek* and other isolects *kajil* 'fishline', but PHN and RM *kael*. If full monophthongization was occurring, then we would expect *nek** and *kel**, but what appears to be happening is a lowering of *i* to *e*. It seems safest to say that medial diphthongs undergo vowel lowering.

This sound change is particularly interesting in these two isolects when it is combined with the loss of *r*. Compare other NE isolects *bakajaj* 'urinate', but PHN and RM *bakae*.

PM	PHN/RM	Other isolects	gloss
**suŋay*	*suŋe*	*suŋaj*	'river'
**lantay*	*lante*	*lantaj*	'floor'
	kumbe	*kumbaj*	'call'
**hijaw*	*hiʤo*	*hiʤaw*	'green'
	iso	*isaw*	'machete'
**kau(ʔ)*	*iko*	*ikaw*	'you'

Table 4.11: Monophthongization in PHN and RM

This form shows up only in the NE isolects where *r* is lost, but I am assuming that the form was a compound with *araj* 'water' similar to **bak-araj*. This would show up in the NE isolects as *bak-ajaj*, but in PHN and RM 'water' is *ae*. The progression is something like this: *bak-araj* > *bak-aaj** (loss of *r*) > *bak-ae* (vowel lowering/merger). Another form with loss of *r* is 'pay'. Most northern isolects have *bajar* 'pay'. The NE isolect cluster has *bajaj*, but PHN and RM *bae*. This is again more like vowel merger than monophthongization. After the loss of *r* the merger of the *a* and *aj* lowered the final vowel to *e*. Table 4.12 shows a few more examples where this occurs.

PM	PHN and RM	other isolects	gloss
**bayar*	*bae*	*bajar*	'pay'
**ulər*	*ulae(h)*	*ular*	'snake'
	tibaj/tiba$^{\varepsilon}$h	*tibar*	'throw away'
**dəŋər*	*doŋa^{e}*	*diŋar, diŋaʔ*	'hear'
**jəmur*	*ʤombu^{e}*	*ʤomur*	'dry'

Table 4.12: PHN and RM loss of *r*

Monophthongization, while not a rare sound change in Malayo-Polynesian languages, does not occur in the KoBar region in any of the other isolects. On the strength of that, I believe PHN and RM subgroup together within the NE isolect cluster.

4.6 Central-West Isolect Cluster

The Central-West isolect cluster has only one change that can be used to define it as a cluster. It merges penultimate *a and *ə to *a* where the northern isolects and even the SW cluster of isolects maintain a distinction. Table 4.13 gives some examples of this merger from the Central-West cluster.

PM	Cent-West	other isolects	gloss
*padi	padi	padi	'rice in the field'
*tanəm	tanam	tanam	'to plant'
*bəras	baras	boras	'uncooked rice'
*pərut	parut	porut	'belly'

Table 4.13: Central-West merger of penultimate *a and *ə in *a*

4.7 Southwest Isolect Cluster

The SW isolect cluster shifts penultimate *ə to *o* the same as the northern isolects. It does not share with the northern isolects final nasal preplosion or penultimate *a to ə when the final syllable is open and has *a*. For this reason I think the Southwest Cluster has undergone this change independently and does not subgroup with the northern clusters.

What about Pasir Panjang (PPJ)? Wood (2000) states that PPJ moved from the SW cluster area to its present location south of the Central cluster. Looking at the sound changes, PPJ fits in with the SW isolect cluster. The main change that it follows is the shift of penultimate *ə to *o*. It also does not undergo final nasal preplosion or penultimate *a to ə like the northern clusters do.

These two western clusters do not participate in most of the sound changes that define the northern clusters. I would group them together except that they each have one sound change that the other isolect cluster does not share. It makes me wonder if I need to dig deeper to see if they aren't really Malay together with the Central cluster.

4.8 Sulung

Where does Sulung fit with the rest of the isolects? Based on lexical and phonological evidence as well as on stories about the origins of its speakers, Sulung is a Banjar isolect.

Sulung merges penultimate *ə and *a and retains intervocalic *-h- when most of the isolects around it lose this sound. Sulung also shares a number of lexical items with Banjar that the Kobar isolects do not share.

1. In most KoBar isolects penultimate *ə shifts to *o*, but in BH it shifts to *a*. Mergers are irreversible, so I believe this to be the strongest evidence that Sulung is a Banjar isolect. Table 4.14 shows this change.

PM	Sulung	BH	other isolects	gloss
*mata	mataʔ	mata	mata	'eye'
*tanəm	ma-nanam	tanam	tanam	'to plant'
*bəras	baras	baras	boras	'uncooked rice'
*pərut	parot	parut	porut	'belly'

Table 4.14: Sulung merger of penultimate *a and *ə in *a*

2. Sulung retains PM intervocalic *h where many isolects drop it. There are quite a number of isolects that do retain *h, but Sulung is unique in that most of the Central isolect cluster does drop *h in a subset of forms where Sulung does not drop it. According to Adelaar (1992a) BH does not drop word-initial or medial *h*. Table 4.15 shows this retention including one example of initial *h*.

Sulung	Runtu	Kenambui	Umpang	Rangda	gloss
hajam	*ajam*	*ajam*	*ajam*	*ajam*	‘chicken’
buhaja?	*buaja?*	*buaja?*	*buaja?*	*buaja?*	‘crocodile’
tahʊn	*taun*	*taun*	*taun*	*taun*	‘year’
tahi?	*tai?*	*tai?*	*tai?*	*tai?*	‘excrement’
ma-lihat	*liat*	*ma-liat*	*liat*	*ma-liat*	‘see’
tuha?	*tua?*	*tua?*	*tua?*	*tua?*	‘old’

Table 4.15: Sulung intervocalic **h* retention

Some other forms in which most if not all Central cluster isolects retain *h* are *bahu* ‘shoulder’, *paha* ‘thigh’, *pait, pahit* ‘sour’, and *ʤait, ʤahit* ’bad, evil’.

3. Lexical evidence strongly suggests that Sulung is Banjar. I found 28 forms that are shared between Sulung and Banjar that are not shared by the KoBar isolects. Compare the forms in table 4.16 which shows BH, Sulung, and then the three Central cluster villages which are closest to Sulung.

Banjar	Runtu	Sulung	Kenambui	Rangda	gloss
karaŋgan	*pasir*	*karaŋgan*	*pasir*	*pasir*	‘sand’
nisan	*tɔbu?*	*nisan*	*tɔbu?*	*tɔbu?*	‘sugar cane’
alar	*sajap*	*halar*	*sajap*	*sajap*	‘wing’
tadʊŋ	*ular*	*taduŋ*	*ular*	*ular*	‘snake’
awak	*badan*	*awak*	*badan*	*badan*	‘body’
kanŋ	*alis*	*kaniŋ*	*alis*	*alis*	‘eyebrow’
piŋgulu?	*lɛhɛr*	*gulu?*	*lɛhɛr*	*lɛhɛr*	‘neck’

Table 4.16: Shared Banjar and Sulung lexemes

I consider the lexical evidence pretty strong given that Sulung is surrounded by other non-Banjar isolects. These forms are not borrowed from KoBar. Wood (2000) reported that the people of Sulung migrated there from eastern Borneo. This seems to agree with the sound changes and lexical evidence, so I conclude that Sulung is a dialect of Banjar. A separate study could be written on the place of Sulung in the Banjar language framework.

4.9 Mandawai and Tanjung Putri

The previous chapters have ignored Mandawai (MND) and Tanjung Putri (TNJ), but I will only be able to do a short analysis on them in this paper. Both are located south of the KoBar isolects in the Banjar-speaking region. MND is located on river Arut just a few kilometers from Kelurahan Raja. TNJ is located a few kilometers from the river Arut near the Java Sea. Wood (2000) reported that these two isolects seemed more like Ngaju than Malayic. Ngaju is a Barito language, which is Malayo-Polynesian, but not Malayic. They are 86% lexically similar to each other and around 70% lexically similar to Ngaju, according to her research.

In my research, I have seen lexical similarities with Ngaju in both of these isolects as well. First, I want to compare them with the 14 sound changes which define Malayic. Assuming that they do not fit into that category, I will then compare them with the larger Barito languages. I will use Hudson (1967) to compare sound changes between these two isolects and the Barito languages. I will also try to point out any lexical similarities which these two isolects share with the Barito languages and which Malay does not share.

4.9.1 PM Sound Changes

Mandawai and Tanjung Putri are not Malayic isolects. Of the 14 sound changes in Adelaar (1992a, 2005a) they undergo 1, 2, 6, 7, 11, and 12. They do not undergo 4, 5, 8, 9, 13, and 14. Changes 3 and 10 are undetermined for lack of cognate forms. Each change is given below in the same style as in 2.3.1.

1. PMP *j > PM *d

PMP *ijuŋ PM *hiduŋ MND *hiduŋ* TNJ *hiduŋ* ‘nose’

PMP *pajay PM *padi MND *pare* TNJ *pare* ‘rice’

PMP *huaji MND *adiŋ* TNJ *adŋ* ‘younger sibling’

PMP *ŋajan MND *aran* TNJ *aran* ‘name’

PMP *pija MND *pɛrɛ* TNJ *pirɛ* ‘how much, how many’

It appears that MND and TNJ undergo a change of PMP *j to *r*. *adiŋ* is likely borrowed (maybe from Indonesian?).

2. PMP *z > PM *j* They undergo this change.

PMP *zaqit PM *jahit MND *mɛn-ʤahɪt* TNJ *ʤahɪt* ‘sew’

PMP *quzan PM *hujan MND *uʤan* TNJ *uʤan* ‘rain’

PMP *luzaq PM *ludah*[3] MND *ma-luʤa* TNJ *luʤa* ‘spit’

PMP *Zual PM *jual MND *man-ʤual* TNJ *n-ʤual* ‘sell’

3. PMP *w- > PM Ø

There were not any reflexes of etyma with initial *w- in the available data from MND and TNJ. I therefore cannot assess whether they undergo this change.

4. PMP *R (and *r) > PM *r

PMP *Rumaq PM *rumah MND *huma?* TNJ *huma?* ‘house’

PMP *quRat PM *hurat MND *uhat* TNJ *uhat* ‘vein’

PMP *bibiR PM *bibir MND *bibih* TNJ *bibih* ‘lip’

MND and TNJ merged PMP *R and *r to *r*. A subsequent change has further shifted *r to *h*.

[3]With unexplained *d* instead of the expected *j* (IPA ʤ).

5. PMP *q > PM *h

PMP *quay* MND *uej* TNJ *uwej* 'rattan'

PMP *taqun* PM *tahun* MND *tɑun* TNJ *tahun*[4] 'year'

PMP *buaq* PM *buah* MND *buɑʔ* TNJ *buɑ* 'fruit'

PMP *quzan* PM *hujan* MND *uʤɑn* TNJ *uʤɑn* 'rain'

PMP *baqeRu* PM *baharu* MND *bahuwa* TNJ *bahuwa*.

While the form *bahuwa* appears to have retained PMP *q as *h*, it is more likely that the *h* derives from *R with metathesis, e.g. *baqeRu > *baRuqa > *bahua > *bahuwa*. PMP *q is lost in these isolects. Where *q appears, it is probably a secondary development or an indication of the fact that the form in which it appears is borrowed.

6. PMP *h > PM Ø(except between vowels, or when followed by ə)

PMP *hanin* PM *aŋin* MND *aŋɪm* TNJ *aŋɪm* 'wind'

PMP *tuhəd* PM *tuØət* MND *kɑ-lutut* TNJ *lutut* 'knee'

PMP *tebuh* PM *təbu* MND *tebu* TNJ *tɛbu* 'sugar cane'

PMP *h is lost in MND and TNJ.

7. PMP *-iw > PM *-i*. They probably undergo this change.

PMP *laRiw* PM *lari* MND *hɑ-dari* TNJ *hɑ-dari* 'run'

PMP *kahiw* PM *kayuʔ* MND *kaju* TNJ *kaju* 'wood'

8. PMP *-uy > PM *-i*. They retain this diphthong.

PMP *hapuy* PM *api* MND *apui* TNJ *apuj* 'fire'

PMP *anduy* PM *mandiʔ* MND *mandwi* TNJ *manduj* 'bathe'

[4]This is probably borrowed.

9. PMP **-ay* split to PM **-ay* and **-i*. They do not undergo this split.

PMP **qatay* PM **hati* MND *atej* TNJ *hatej* 'liver'

PMP **matay* PM **mati* MND *matej* TNJ *matej* 'dead'

PMP **pajay* PM **padi* MND *pare* TNJ *pare* 'rice paddy'

For the second part of the split Adelaar gives PMP **gaway* 'to organize a ritual' > PM **gaway* and PMP **tapay* 'to ferment' > PM **tapay* 'yeast'. Those two items were not elicited from KoBar. I do have PM **suŋay* 'river' > MND *suŋaj* TNJ *suŋaj* which shows retention of the diphthong.

10. PMP **-aw* split to PM **-aw* and **-u*

PMP **hizaw* PM **hijau* MND *hijau* TNJ *hijaw* 'green'

PMP **pisaw* PM **pisaw* TNJ *pisaw*[5] 'knife'

Adelaar's examples for the change to *-u* include PMP **lakaw* 'to go' > PM **laku*, PMP **lalaw* 'to surpass' > PM **lalu*, and PMP **buRaw* 'to hunt, chase' > PM **buru*. MND and TNJ reflect *u* in PMP **dagew* (cf. footnote on page 21 above) 'chin' > PM **dagu?* > MNE *ʤagu* TNJ *dagu*. This form appears, however, to be borrowed.

11. Cluster reduction (*-CxCy- > *-Cy-). They undergo this change.

PMP **tuqəlan* PM **tulaŋ* MND *tulaŋ* TNJ *tulaŋ* 'bone'

PMP **qaləsəm* PM **masəm* (cf. footnote on page 21 above) MND *masem* TNJ *masɛm* 'sour'

12. Heterorganic nasal/stop clusters become homorganic to following stop. They probably undergo this change.

PMP **diŋdiŋ* PM **dindiŋ* MND *dindiŋ* TNJ *dɪndɪŋ* 'wall'

[5]MND has *ladiŋ* like most of the KoBar isolects. The Ngaju list I have from Wood has *pisaw*.

13. Final voiced stops became devoiced. They undergo this change.

PMP **lahud* PM **laut* MND *laut* TNJ *laut* 'sea, toward the sea'

PMP **ubaj* PM **ubat* MND *obat* TNJ *obat* 'medicine'

14. Homorganic nasal accretion between initial schwa and following stop. They do not undergo this change.

PMP **həpat* PM **əmpat* MND *epat* TNJ *epat* 'four'

4.9.2 Barito Sound Changes

According to Hudson (1967) the Barito languages are divided into East Barito, West Barito, and Barito-Mahakam. Western Barito is divided into Southwest and Northwest Barito. Based on the sound changes he gives, MND and TNJ probably subgroup under Southwest Barito. Figure 4.5 shows the Barito subgrouping with Hudson's proto-Barito phonemes. In his analysis he did not work from PMP, but from his own reconstruction of Proto-Barito. I will attempt to match up his Proto-Barito phonemes with PMP as a starting point for comparison of each sound change.

Western Barito shifts PMP **z* to *ʤ* (PM **j*) where Eastern Barito shifts it to *r*. The Proto-Barito phoneme is **tj* as some branches of Western Barito reflect *ʧ*, e.g. NW Barito *utjan* and SW Barito *udjan* 'rain'. Eastern Barito has *uran* 'rain', which contrasts with MND and TNJ *uʤan*, showing these latter two identify with Western Barito.

Western Barito retains Proto-Barito **h* where Eastern Barito shifts it to *j*. The example Hudson gives is Western Barito *ahem* Eastern Barito *ajem* 'anteater', but I don't have this item in my data. The PMP form is **qaRem* 'pangolin' (or 'spiny anteater'). This is reflected in sound change 4 above where PMP **R,*r* merge in PM **r*. MND and TNJ both reflect *h* in the forms above which again identifies them with Western Barito.

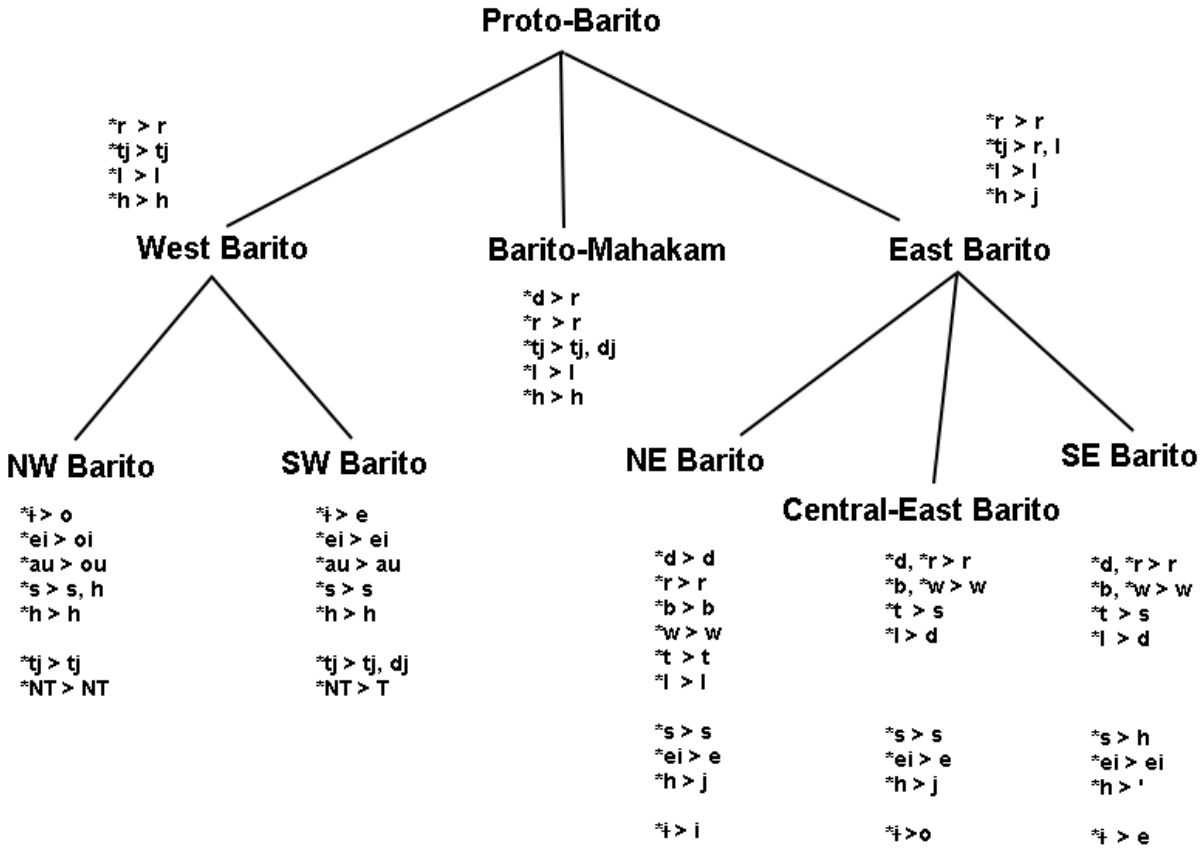

Figure 4.5: Hudson's sound changes which define the Barito subgroups

Southwest and Northwest Barito are differentiated by four sound changes. The first one involves a sound whose PMP source is unclear to me, so I cannot trace it. Proto-Barito **i* > Southwest Barito *e lewu* 'village' and Northwest Barito *o lowu* 'village'.

The second change involves a shift of PMP **-ay* to Southwest Barito *-ei* and Northwest Barito *-oi*. The Barito languages do not undergo the same split that PM has undergone. Hudson's example is Southwest Barito *atei*, Northwest Barito *atoi*, MND *atey*, TNJ *hatej*.

Third is the shift of PMP **-aw* to Southwest Barito *-au* and Northwest Barito *-ou*. This is unlike the PM split to *-au* and *-u* (see sound change 10 above). His example is Southwest Barito *balau* 'hair' and Northwest Barito *balou* 'hair', cf. MND *balau*, TNJ *balaw* 'hair'.

The last sound change is PMP **s* > Southwest Barito *s* and Northwest Barito *h*. The two examples Hudson gives both involve word-final **s*, so at first it is unclear if the sound change is only for PMP **s* in that environment: PMP **nipis* 'thin', MND *ba-nipis*, TNJ *tɪpis* 'thin' and PMP **beras*, MND *behas*, TNJ *behas* 'rice'. I have found initial and medial instances where PMP **s* is retained as well, e.g. PMP **suŋay* > MND *suŋaj* TNJ *suŋaj* 'river' and PMP **asu*, MND *asu*, TNJ *asu*. However, in looking through Hudson's wordlists I have found instances where Northeast Barito also retains initial and medial **s*, so I believe this change should apply only to **s* in word-final position.

The change in MND and TNJ of PMP **z* to *ʤ* and the retention of PMP **h* where East Barito shifts it to *j* identify MND and TNJ with Western Barito. The latter change is a retention, but is still diagnostic for identifying Eastern and Western Barito isolects.

Of the four sound changes which differentiate NW and SW Barito, only PMP **-ay* > SW Barito *-ei* is a true innovation in SW Barito. The rest are retentions from PMP, but they are useful for differentiating NW and SW Barito. MND and TNJ identify with Southwest Barito against NW Barito in two SW Barito retentions. This is evidence that they are not Malay and not even Northwest Barito. They subgroup under Southwest Barito.

There are also a number of lexical items which these two isolects have in common with other Barito dialects and which Malay does not share. Table 4.17 shows a handful of exam-

ples. This only represents the lexemes I found in a quick search through the first 100 words of my wordlists. I am sure there are many more similar examples in the wordlists.

PMP	PM	SM	KoBar	Ngaju	MND/TNJ	gloss
**hulaR*	**ulər*	*ular*	*ular*	*handɪpe*	*handipe*	'snake'
**qulej*	**caciŋ*	*ʧaʧiŋ*	*ʧaʧiŋ*	*handʌlai*	*handa(l)ai*	'worm'
	**ba/hiraʔ*	*berak*	*berak*	*mam-aniʔ*	*mɛm-ani(ʔ)*	'defecate'
**qulu*	**huluʔ*	*kəpala*	*kapala*	*kolok*	*takulut*	'head'
**buhek*	**rambut*	*rambut*	*buʔ, rambut*	*balaᵘ*	*balau*	'hair'
**taliŋa*	*tAliŋa(ʔ)*	*təliŋa*	*taliŋa*	*pindiŋ*	*pɪndiŋ*	'ear'

Table 4.17: Common lexemes shared by Barito and MND/TNJ

Further study should certainly be done on these two isolects to flesh out the set of sound changes they undergo and the lexical similarities they share with Barito. My intention here has not been a complete analysis, but to show that they are not Malayic and that they are Barito. It is meant to be a guide for further research and not a final analysis of the classification of these two isolects.

4.10 Conclusion

The sound changes which define the northern isolects as a subgroup are nasal preplosion, the change of penultimate **a* to *ə* when the final syllable is open and has *a*, and the change of penultimate **ə* to *o*. This last change is shared with the SW isolect cluster, but I believe that to be an independent development.

The Delang cluster is defined by three sound changes: word final **a* > *o*, penultimate **a* > *o* before high vowels, and nasal accretion before medial *s*.

The Lamandau cluster is defined by reduction of homorganic nasal plus voiced stop clusters to the nasal. These isolects undergo the changes that define the northern isolects,

but they do not participate in the three changes of the Delang cluster. Also included in the Lamandau cluster are Sungkup and Nanga Polikodan.

The NE cluster isolects are defined by final stop prenasalization and loss of **r*. Penahan and Riam are further differentiated by monophthongization of the diphthongs **-ay* and **-aw*.

The Central-West cluster is defined by the merger of penultimate **a* and **ə*. This change is not shared with any of the other KoBar isolects. The Central-West cluster also does not participate in any of the changes that the northern isolects undergo. The SW cluster is defined by the change of penultimate **ə* to *o*, which is shared by the northern clusters. There are no other changes which the SW cluster shares with the northern clusters.

Chapter 5

Some Malay and Some Malayic

The isolects in this study are located in Kotawaringin Barat in the southwest corner of Kalimantan Tengah, Indonesia. Lexicostatistic analysis of these isolects, done by Wood (2000), found five isolect clusters. The isolect clusters had as low as 66% shared vocabulary between them with variation inside the clusters ranging from 80% to 100% similarity. Over the course of my research I have found evidence to divide the isolects into six clusters. The evidence for each of these clusters is not equally solid, but my goal here has been to accumulate the best possible evidence for these groupings. Hopefully, future research will be able to solidify the evidence where it is found lacking.

The Central cluster of isolects is most likely Malay, that is, part of the back-migration of Malay languages from Sumatra. Nestled in the middle of the Central isolect cluster is Sulung, which was determined to be a Banjar isolect. The NW isolect cluster, as given by Wood, was broken into two clusters. The six northernmost isolects form the Delang cluster and the rest of the isolects from the NW cluster form the Lamandau isolect cluster. The NE isolect cluster was left intact, except that the two northernmost isolects in the NE cluster seem to form their own additional cluster. I did not label it as such, but just noted it. The Central-West cluster and the Southwest cluster remain as Wood defined them.

5.1 The Malay Central Cluster

We began chapter two by comparing the 14 sound changes which define Malayic with the KoBar isolects to find out if they were Malayic. They follow all 14 sound changes. We then turned to a comparison of sound changes in common with Malay. Four sound changes, lexical

items in common with Malay, and the presence of innovative lexemes in non-Central isolects define the Central isolect cluster as Malay.

The Central isolect cluster does not participate in nasal accretion before final stops or stop accretion before final nasals, unlike all the isolects of the NW and NE clusters. While some Malay isolects outside Borneo do undergo this change, it is a helpful dividing line between the KoBar isolects.

Many Malay isolects undergo lenition of **b* (to *w*) between *a* vowels. It is a partial merger of **b* and **w*. The Central, SW, and Central-West isolect clusters undergo this change, but the rest of the isolects (the northern isolects) do not.

High vowels in antepenultimate syllables shift to *ə* in most Malayic isolects if they are not followed by another vowel or *h*. In some Malay isolects high vowels are retained even outside this phonological constraint. In *bu(h)aja* 'crocodile' the Central isolect cluster retains the antepenultimate high vowel. This is based on only one form, so it could be due to a shared lexical item. The high vowel is also followed by *h*, but I have noted it here partly because the rest of the isolects all have *bahaja*. They merge the antepenultimate high vowels with *a* where the Central cluster does not. This is a sound change that needs more study to be really diagnostic in defining the Central isolect cluster as Malay.

Many Malay isolects undergo partial loss of **h* and the Central isolect cluster also undergoes this sound change. Final glottal stop is lost in Malay. It appears to be retained in the Central isolect cluster, but I believe that is due to reintroduction of glottal stop in some forms.

Most Malay isolects undergo split of PM **i* (to *i and e*) and **u* (to *u and o*). This shows up in the Central cluster too. The Central cluster also shares ten lexical items which are unique to Malay. A final sociolinguistic piece of evidence is that generally speaking Malay isolects are spoken by Muslims. The Central isolect cluster alone is Muslim, while the rest of the KoBar isolects are spoken by either Christians or people of the Kaharingan religion. These

sound changes, lexical items, and sociolinguistic evidence together show that the Central isolect cluster is Malay.

Nestled in the middle of the Central isolect cluster is Sulung, a Banjar isolect. It is displaced from other Banjar speaking areas and yet it exclusively shares nearly 30 lexical items with Banjar. Like Banjar, Sulung retains intervocalic *h* and merges PM penultimate **a* and **ə* in *a*. Is it possible that the Central isolect cluster is actually Banjar, a Malay isolect from SE Borneo? Sound changes show that this is not the case. The best evidence is the merger of PM penultimate **a* and **ə* in *a*. The Central isolect cluster does not undergo this change and since mergers cannot be undone, they must not be that closely related. Sulung also does not undergo the split of **i* and **u* like the Central isolect cluster. The final conclusion is that the Central isolect cluster must be Malay, that is, back-migration from Sumatra or elsewhere outside Borneo.

5.2 KoBar Relations with Dialects outside KoBar

A logical conclusion is that the rest of the isolects outside the Central cluster must be autochthonous Malayic languages of Borneo. The Malayic languages, which are native to Borneo, have been subgrouped into three branches: Kendayan, Ibanic, and the rest. In Chapter three I compared the non-Central isolects with Kendayan and Iban to see if they could be subgrouped with either of these, but found that they cannot. They share some sound changes with both Kendayan and Iban, some with just Kendayan and some with just Iban.

Kendayan, Iban, and the KoBar isolects agree in not undergoing lenition of **b* between *a* vowels. The KoBar isolects agree with Kendayan in final nasal preplosion and retention of **-h-*, but they agree with Iban in not merging penultimate **ə* and **a* and in the loss of medial **-ʔ-*. Initial **h-* was lost in both Kendayan and Iban, but retained in most KoBar isolects. The KoBar isolects lost **-ʔ* while both Kendayan and Iban retained it. The KoBar isolects

do not show any preference for either subgroup, so I conclude that they do not subgroup under either branch.

We then looked at several other descriptions of Malayic varieties located on Borneo to see if the KoBar isolects identify with any of them. Kutai Malay, located in East Kalimantan, has a set of three interrelated sound changes which it shares with Malay languages in Brunei and Sambas, West Kalimantan: gemination of consonants following *ə*, merger of **ə* and **a* in *a*, and split of **a* to *ə* after voiced obstruents and *a* elsewhere. The KoBar isolects do not undergo any of these sound changes, so I concluded that they are not closely related to Kutai Malay.

Menterap is located NW of the KoBar area in West Kalimantan. It shifts PM penultimate **a* to *ə* in all environments. The KoBar isolects also have a similar sound change, but it occurs in a specific environment, not generally. Menterap also loses non-final **l* in many forms, but the KoBar isolects again do not undergo this change. I concluded that they are not closely related to Menterap either.

Last, we looked at Tola' Dayak, a small set of isolects located less than a hundred kilometers west of the KoBar isolects. Like the KoBar isolects, Tola' Dayak undergoes nasal preplosion and the shift of penultimate **ə* to *o*. Those were the only similarities that I found, but the author of the only available study of these isolects, gave his full wordlist in an appendix. Given the proximity of Tola' Dayak to the KoBar region, I would like to do a full comparison between these two sets of isolects using his wordlist. It may be possible to posit a set of sound changes that would help define another subgroup for the Malayic isolects which are autochthonous to Borneo.

This chapter ended by considering the possibility that these KoBar isolects form their own subgroup among the Malayic isolects of Borneo. The northern isolect clusters come the closest to forming a separate subgroup. There are only two sound changes which are unique to these isolects: shift of penultimate **a* to *ə* when the final syllable ends in *a* and shift of penultimate **ə* to *o*. Those two sound changes are a bit weak for forming a solid subgroup. I

concluded that I need to study a broader area in southern Kalimantan in order to postulate any solid Malayic subgroup outside Kendayan and Iban.

5.3 KoBar Isolect Clustering

In chapter 4 I turned to the KoBar isolects themselves and examined the clustering given by Wood (2000). I found that the NW and NE isolect clusters have three sound changes in common: nasal preplosion, shift of PM penultimate *a to ə when the ultimate syllable is open and ends in *a*, and shift of PM penultimate *ə to *o*.

The NW isolect cluster I divided into two clusters. The Delang cluster consists of the six northernmost isolects of the NW isolect cluster and shares shift of word final *a to *o*, shift of penultimate *a to *o* before high vowels, and nasal accretion before medial *s*.

The Lamandau isolect cluster, consisting of the rest of the isolects from the NW isolect cluster, shares shift of final nasals to a stop after nasal preplosion. This is the only exclusive sound change which defines this cluster.

The NE isolect cluster shares nasal accretion before final stops and loses *r* in all environments. PHN and RM in the NE isolect cluster share monophthongization of dipthongs. I did not break the NE isolect cluster into two parts, but just noted that PHN and RM have one sound change which sets them apart from the rest of this cluster.

The Central-West isolect cluster is set apart by a merger of penultimate *a and *ə in *a* when all other isolects maintain a distinction between the two. The SW isolect cluster shifts penultimate *ə to *o*. I would have liked to have assigned these two western clusters to their own cluster, but these two opposing sound changes prevent that. I suspect that the Central-West cluster may somehow be Malay as with the Central cluster, but I have not found evidence yet that really proves this.

5.4 Further Research

I would like to spend more time looking for evidence that the Central isolect cluster is indeed Malay. Specifically, it would be nice to pinpoint where its speakers must have migrated from. Finding unique shared sound changes with another Malay dialect would solidify their position as Malay and not as part of the Malayic dialect chain.

I did not have enough instances of antepenultimate high vowels to solidly define the processes they are undergoing. Getting more data will be necessary to use the changes involving these vowels to help prove the Central cluster is Malay.

The Western clusters have more vocabulary in common with the Central isolect cluster than they do with the northern clusters. Are they also part of a back-migration of Malay-speakers from Sumatra? Or is this due to contact with Banjar to the south? Sulung also needs to be studied further to figure out which Banjar dialect it belongs to.

Finally, I did not get to dig much into contact-related phenomena. I am certain there are a number of borrowed words from Indonesian in these isolects. It would be good to ferret these out. I would also like to find out if there is influence from other non-Malayic languages spoken on Borneo.

I only did light study of Mandawai and Tanjung Putri. Sound changes they have undergone show that they are Southwest Barito isolects. What influence have they had on the KoBar isolects? Is there borrowing or structural diffusion in either direction? Why are they seemingly displaced from the main Barito speaking areas to the east? Fully fleshing out the sound changes they undergo and identifying more borrowed words to or from the KoBar isolects will help answer some of these questions.

The KoBar isolects are an interesting set of varied isolects. Most of them are part of the large Malayic dialect chain which runs through West and Central Kalimantan. I hope at some point that they can be subgrouped more specifically within this dialect chain. Also a small set of the KoBar isolects are Malay, but not Banjar Malay. Future study will reveal where they came from and how they got to be where they are. I hope this study will contribute

toward the completion of these goals and the larger goals of subgrouping the Malayic isolects on Borneo.

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Appendix

Selected KoBar Wordlists

Because of the large volume of data canvassed in this thesis, I have chosen to limit the material in this appendix to one wordlist from each of the clusters as I have defined them. I have also included all of the displaced isolects and several isolects with points of interest recognized in the thesis. Sulung, Mandawai and Tanjung Putri are also included as they are different languages from most of the KoBar isolects. The isolects included in this appendix are given in figure 1 at the end of the wordlists.

A few of the wordlists have a small number of final offglide vowels which would not display properly in a table. I have entered them as capital letters where they occur, e.g. Riam *lumpʊᴵ* 'mud' becomes *lumpʊ*I. The vowels E, I, O, and U all appear in these lists.

	English	Indonesian	KM10	Guci	Tapin Bini
1	mountain	gunung	bukit	gʊnuŋ, bukɪt	bukitn
2	earth	tanah	tanah	tanʌh	tanah
3	sand	pasir	korosi	pasir	pasir
4	stone	batu	batu	batu	batu, korakaŋ
5	mud	lumpur	lutaʔ, lutak	lumpʊr	lumpur
6	water	air	araj?, arai	araj	araj
7	river	sungai	suŋai, suŋaj	suŋaj	suŋaj
8	sea	laut	laut, lout	lawt	laut, lautn
9	moon	bulan	bulan	bʊlan	bulat
10	star	bintang	bintaŋ, bɪntaŋ	bintaŋ	bintak
11	sky	langit	laŋɪt, laŋɪn	laŋɪt	laŋɪnt
12	cloud	awan	awan	awan	awat

	English	Indonesian	KM10	Guci	Tapin Bini
13	wind	angin	aŋɪm, bunakau	aŋɪm	aŋin
14	rain	hujan	huʤʌn, huʤatn	hʊʤatn	huʤat
15	thunder	guntur	guntur	gʊntur	guntur
16	lightning	kilat	kilat	kilat	kilatn
17	rainbow	pelangi	siandaŋ	sɛlalo	suwanak
18	shadow	bayangan	kam-bajaŋ, kam-bajakn	kam-ajakŋ	ka-ma-ajak
19	day	hari	hari	hari	ari
20	year	tahun	tohutn, tɔhun	tohutn	tahʊt
21	morning	pagi	sunsukn	sʊŋsukŋ	suŋsuk
22	night	malam	malam	malapm	malap
23	noon	siang	toŋa hari, bɛŋ arian	toŋʌ hari	toŋah ari
24	afternoon	sore	baba hari	ba-hari	babah hari
25	yesterday	kemarin	so-maman	kɛmajʌ	salap pani
26	tomorrow	besok	hobu	hobu	hobuʔ
27	forest	hutan	ro-rimbo, ro-rimboʔ	hutan-rimo	hutat
28	tree	pohon	bataŋ, kaju	bataŋ	pohon, kaju
29	bark	kulit kayu	kulit kaju	kʊlit kaju	kulit kaju
30	leaf	daun	doun, doutn	doutn	daut
31	thorn	duri	duri	dʊri	duri
32	root	akar	akar	akar	akar
33	ironwood	kayu besi	bulitn, bʊlin	bʊlitn	bulit
34	flower	bunga	kombakn, kombaŋ	buŋo, komakŋ	buŋa
35	fruit	buah	buah	buʌh	buah
36	banana	pisang	pisaŋ	pisaŋ	pisak
37	durian	durian	duritn, durin	dʊriʌ	durɪt

	English	Indonesian	KM10	Guci	Tapin Bini
38	coconut tree	pohon kelapa	pohotn ɲiuʔ, ɲiu	nijur	ɲiur
39	sugar cane	tebu	tobu	tobu	tobu
40	eggplant	terong	toruŋ, torukn	torukn	torok
41	sago tree	pohon sagu	kaju sagu	—	batak sagu
42	sago flour	tepung sagu	sagu	—	sagu
43	cassava	singkong	hubi	ŋalʌ	ubi kaju
44	taro	keladi	kɛladi, keladi	kɛladi	kaladi
45	rattan	rotan	rotan, rotatn	hui	hui
46	kapuk tree	pohon kapok	kaju kapuk	kapok	bataŋ kapokŋ
47	bird	burung	buruŋ, burukn	bʊrukŋ, tɛoŋ	buruk
48	wing	sayap	sajap, sajab	sajap	sajapm
49	feather	bulu	bulu	bʊlu	bulu
50	tail	ekor	iku, ikuʔ	iku	ikuʔ
51	egg	telur	runti, runtiʔ	tolʊr	tolor
52	crow	burung gagak	dondakn	danakŋ	donak
53	fish	ikan	ikan, ikatn	lowut	lauʔ
54	snake	ular	ular	ular	ular
55	crocodile	buaya	bahajo, bohajo	bahajo	bahaja
56	chicken	ayam	manuk	manuk	manoʔ
57	deer	rusa	rusoʔ, ruso	baɕakŋ	rusa
58	rat	tikus	tikus	tikus	tikʊs
59	dog	anjing	kuduʔ	kuduk	kuduʔ
60	worm	cacing	ʧaʧiŋ, ʧaʧikn	ʧaʧiŋ	ʧaʧ
61	fly	lalat	lalat	lalat	lalatnik
62	mosquito	nyamuk	roŋint, rɔŋit	roŋɪt	ɲamuʔ
63	spider	laba-laba	ko-baŋkaŋ, ko-baŋkatn	kʌ-baŋkaŋ, kʌ-baŋkakŋ	bama
64	termite	rayap	bubuʔ, koŋkoriho	rajap	somõnt

	English	Indonesian	KM10	Guci	Tapin Bini
65	butterfly	kupu-kupu	bambo	bamo	bama, ra-rama
66	skin	kulit	kulɪt, kulit	kʊlit	kulitn, kulit
67	sweat	keringat	radaʔ, radak	poluh	poluh
68	blood	darah	darah	darʌh	darah
69	body	badan	tubuh	bukakŋ tubuh	badat, tubuh
70	bone	tulang	tulaŋ	tulakŋ	tulak
71	urine	air kencing	araɛ kunsiŋ, araj kunsikn	ara konsikŋ	araj komih
72	urinate	kencing	kunsiŋ, kunsikn	konsikŋ	komih
73	excrement	tai	tohiʔ, tohi	tohi	tahi
74	defecate	berak	boriaʔ	bɛriho	borakŋ, biha
75	vein	urat	urat	urat	uratn
76	head	kepala	kepalaʔ, kɛpalo	kapalo	kapalaʔ
77	face	muka	muho	muho	muha
78	forehead	dahi	koniŋ, kɔniŋ	kohi	koniŋ
79	hair	rambut	rambut	rambʊt	buʔ
80	lip	bibir	bibir, bibɪr	bibɪr	bibir
81	mouth	mulut	mulut, ɲau	ɲawo	ɲawa
82	teeth	gigi	gigi	gigi	gigi
83	tongue	lidah	lidah	dilʌh	dilah
84	nose	hidung	hiduŋ, hidukn	hidukŋ	hiduk
85	cheek	pipi	pipi	pipin, pipitn	pipi
86	chin	dagu	koŋkam, kaŋkapn	dagu	kaŋkap
87	ear	telinga	kɛlindakan, kɛlindaŋan	ponikŋ	ponik
88	eye	mata	mato, matɔ	mato	mata
89	eyebrow	alis	alis, bulu baŋkau	alis	bulu baŋkaw

	English	Indonesian	KM10	Guci	Tapin Bini
90	eyelashes	bulu mata	bulu mato, bulu matɔ	bʊlo mato	bulu mata
91	brain	otak	unta, untaʔ	untʌk	untaʔ
92	neck	leher	lihi, lihiʔ	lihɪr	lihir
93	chest	dada	dado, dadoʔ	dado	dada
94	breast	buah dada	susu, susuʔ	susu	susu
95	breast milk	air susu ibu	air susu ibu, susuʔ	araj susu	susu inaʔ
96	rib	tulang rusuk	tulaŋ rusuk, tulak rusu	tulaŋ rusu	tulak rusuʔ, tulaŋ rusuʔ
97	heart	jantung	ʤantuŋ, ʤantukn	ʤantukŋ	ʤantuk
98	lungs	paru-paru	hati kompul	paru-paru	paru-paru
99	back	punggung	bɛlikat, blikat	sɛbulʌ bɛlakakŋ	balakap
100	shoulder	bahu	bohu	bohu	bahu
101	belly	perut	porut	porut	porutn
102	intestines	usus	porut soni, porut sibulen	liŋkarʌ porʊt, porʊt	ʊsus
103	liver	hati	hati	hati	hati
104	hand	tangan	taŋan, loŋan, ʤari	loŋan	loŋan
105	elbow	siku	siku	siku	siku
106	palm	telapak tangan	tampo ʤari	dampo	talapak ʤari, dampa ʤari
107	finger	jari	ʤari, tunʤuk	ʤɛrigi	tuɲuʔ
108	fingernail	kuku jari	silu	silu	silu
109	leg	kaki	kaki	kaki	kaki
110	thigh	paha	paho	paho	paha
111	knee	lutut	po-kutut	ʊtut	pa-kututn
112	toe	jari kaki	gɛriʤi kaki, ʤamai kaki	ʤɛriʤi kaki	tuɲuʔ kaki

	English	Indonesian	KM10	Guci	Tapin Bini
113	heel	tumit	tumit, tumɪn	tumit	tumint
114	sole	talapak kaki	tampo kaki, tanpo kaki	dampo kaki	talapaʔ kaki
115	see	lihat	me-niat, nian	nampaj	tiant, ɲiant
116	blind	buta	buto	buto	buta
117	hear	dengar	diŋaʔ, diŋa	doŋar	diŋaʔ
118	deaf	tuli	tiŋal	tuli	tuliʔ
119	smell	cium bau	man-ʧium, ʧɪum	ɲium	ʧiup
120	fragrant	wangi	loma, bow lomaʔ	bo harupm	harup
121	itch	gatal	go-gatal	gatal	gatal
122	scratch	garuk	bo-gaju, gajuʔ	garuŋ	gaju
123	boil	bisul	boŋkaʔ, lukɔ	bisul, barʌh	bisu
124	scar	bekas luka	kantat , kantat	bokas luko	kantat luka
125	vomit	muntah	mutah, manuʔ	mutʌh	mutah
126	head lice	kutu	kutu	kutu	kutu
127	animal lice	kutu	kutu, sanit	hamo	romu
128	cough	batuk	batuk, batuʔ	batua	batuʔ
129	dead	mati	mati	mati	mati
130	bury	kubur	di-pasar	pasar	kubur
131	sit	duduk	duduk, duduʔ	duduk	duduʔ
132	stand	berdiri	bo-dirin, bo-dɪritn	ba-diri	ba-diriʔ
133	sleep	tidur	tiduʔ, taŋ	tiduʔ, tiduk	nonaʔ
134	forget	lupa	ko-lupatn, ko-lupan	ka-lupaʔ-an	ka-lupa-an
135	dream	mimpi	mimpi, mɪmpi	mimpi	mimpi
136	live	tinggal	tiŋgal, bon-diam-an	tiŋgal	tiŋal
137	wait	tunggu	tanti	tanti	tanti

	English	Indonesian	KM10	Guci	Tapin Bini
138	walk	jalan kaki	ba-ʤalan kaki, bo-ʤalatn kaki	ba-ʤalan	ba-ʤalak kaki
139	play	bermain	ŋaso, muŋ-kasoʔ	ŋaso	ŋasa
140	go home	pulang	pulaŋ, pulakn	pulakŋ	pulak
141	fly	terbang	torobaŋ, torobakn	robakŋ, robaŋ	tarobak
142	climb	naik	no, noɪk	noi	naik
143	descend	turun	turun, turutn	tʊrun	turut
144	fall	jatuh	ʤatuʔ	ʤatu	ʤatuʔ
145	stab	tikam	tikatn, tuhu	nikapm	tikap
146	suck	isap	isap, ŋulut	isap	insapm
147	bite	gigit	ŋotap, kuis	ŋotap	gigi
148	blow	tiup	tiup-mo, kombah	niup	ʧiupm, ʧiup
149	dig	gali	gali, ŋali	gali, ŋali	kali
150	kick	tendang	sipak	nanakŋ	sepak, sepakŋ
151	pull	tarik	tari, dudus	tari	tariʔ
152	push	dorong	sʊruk-an , tula-an	sʊrukŋ	suruk-an
153	run	lari	rari, n-gidiʔ-an	rari	rari
154	spit	meludah	migah	ba-luʤʌh	ba-luʤah, luʤah
155	throw away	buang	buaŋ-an , di-buahk-an	buakŋ	buak
156	turn	putar	putar, bo-putar	pasaŋ, boŋamp	putar
157	hide	sembunyi	bɛ-tapu, ombak-an	bʌ-tapu	ba-tapuʔ
158	stick to	lekat	bɛ-rakit, bɔ-taŋkil	mɛ-rikɪt	ba-takil
159	tether	ikat	kobat, mo-ŋɔbat	kobat	kobatn, korutn
160	wipe	lap	paliti, di-gasaʔ	lap	gasaʔ
161	lose	hilang	hilaŋ, hilakn	hilakŋ	hilak
162	give	beri	onʤiʔi, onʤu	bori	koɲuʔ
163	steal	curi	ŋolit, ŋɔlit	ŋolit	kolitn

	English	Indonesian	KM10	Guci	Tapin Bini
164	choose	pilih	pilih, di-pilihi	kantipʌ, kantipi	pilih
165	hold	genggam	ʤuʤut	kopakŋ	pigapm
166	wash	cuci tangan	basu-i, mam-baso-i	basuh	basuʔ
167	wash	cuci kain	topas, n-topas	topas	ba-topas
168	bathe	mandi	mandi	mani	maniʔ
169	bad	jahat	ʤahat	ʤahat	ʤahajʔ
170	good	baik	boi, boiʔ	bajk	baiʔ
171	dirty	kotor	kɔtɔr, kotor	kotor	kotor
172	dry	kering	raŋkai	raŋkaj	korik
173	lie (v.)	bohong (ber-)	tumbuk-an , tunbuŋ	pam-ulaʔ-an	pa-bulaʔ-an
174	cry	menangis	mɛ-naŋis, naŋis	naŋis	naŋis
175	tear	air mata	araj mato, araɛʔ matɔ	ajaj mato	arai mata
176	laugh	tertawa	totao	tawo	tatawa
177	angry	marah	godi	gusar	godi
178	punch	tinju	tinʤu	tinʤu	tiɲu
179	be afraid	takut	golaʔ, golak	golak	golaʔ
180	call	panggil	tiŋkaw, tɪŋkao	dodaw	dodaw
181	talk	bicara	bo-pandir, bo-pandır	pander, ba-pandır	ba-panir
182	tell	beri tahu	padah-an, di-pandir-an	bori tohu	kasih tahu
183	left	kiri	kibaʔ	kibo	kibaʔ
184	right	kanan	kanan	kanan	kanan
185	east	timur	timur	timʊr	timur
186	west	barat	barat	barat	barat
187	plant	tanam	tanam	tanam	tanam

	English	Indonesian	KM10	Guci	Tapin Bini
188	dibble stick	tugal	tugɑl	nugɑl	tugɑl
189	dry	jemur	ʤombur, ʤombur-ɑn	ʤomʊr	ʤomur
190	pound	menumbuk	nutuʔ, me-nʊtu	nutu	tumuʔ, tutu
191	mortar	lesung	linsuk-ɑn	linsuk-ʌn	linsuk-ɑŋ
192	pestle	alu	hɑlu	hɑlu	hɑlu
193	winnow	menampi	mɛ-nɑmpi, tɑmpi	nɑmpi	tɑmpi
194	rice field	ladang padi	lɑkɑw, lɑkɑo	humo	humɑ
195	field	ladang	lɑkɑo, kobun	kobutn	kobʊt
196	house in a field	gubuk	pɑ-tuŋgu-ɑn	mɛn-tirukŋ	ponuʔ
197	raft	rakit	lɑntiŋ, lɑntikn	rɑkit	lɑntik
198	canoe	perahu	pɔrɔhu	prohu	pɑrɑhu
199	canoe paddle	dayung	pɛŋ-ɑjuh, kɑjuʔ	pɛŋɑju	dɑjuk
200	fish line	pancing	koil, kɔil	pɑnʧitn	pɑʧik
201	kill	bunuh	di-mɑti-i , bunuh	bunʊh	bunuh
202	trail	jalan setapak	ʤɑlɑn tikus	ʤɑlɑtn sɛtɑpɑk	ʤɑlɑt sɑtɑpɑk
203	knife	pisau	lɑdiŋ, porɑkn	lɑdikŋ	lɑdik
204	spear	tombak	tumbɑʔ	tumɑk	tumɑʔ
205	blow gun	sumpit	sumpit-ɑn	sumpit-ɑn	sumpit-ɑn
206	rope	tali	tɑli	tɑli	tɑli
207	machete	parang	porɑ, iŋgɑp	pɑrɑŋ, pɑrɑkŋ	isipm
208	sheath	sarung parang	sɑruŋ pukɑkŋ, sɑruŋ	kumpɑkŋ	sɑruk, kumpɑk
209	comb	sisir	surɑi, surɑj	sisɪr	sisir
210	broom	sapu	sɛsɑpu, sosɑpu	sɑpu, sɛsɑpu	sɑpu, sɑsɑpu
211	weave	anyam	ɑɲɑm	ɑɲɑm	ɑɲɑm
212	sew	jahit	men-ʤoihit, ʤɔhit	ʤohit	ʤɑhitn

	English	Indonesian	KM10	Guci	Tapin Bini
213	needle	jarum	ʤajum, ʤaiukn	ʤarupm	ʤarup
214	medicine	obat	ubat	tɛntamo	ubant
215	rice	padi	padi	padi	padi
216	rice	beras	boras, bɔras	boras	boras
217	rice	nasi	ɲasiʔ, ɲasik	nasi	nasiʔ
218	husk of rice	sekam	kopuʔ, krahaʔ	kopu, kopum	kopu
219	salt	garam	garam, garatn	garapm	garap
220	fat	lemak	lomak, lomaʔ, loma	lomak	lomaʔ
221	boil	mendidih	bo-goraʔ	bo-gurak, bo-guraʔ	ba-guraʔ
222	cook	masak	be-api	basuman	mansaʔ
223	cooking pot	panci	pantʃi, pantʃiʔ	kɛntʃɛkŋ, kɛntʃɛŋ	pantʃi
224	dipper	gayung	gajuŋ, gajukn	gajuŋ	gajuk
225	fire	api	api	api	api
226	ashes	abu	habu	habu	habu
227	firewood	kayu api	suluh	kaju-api	umʊt
228	fire place	tungku	tuŋku	tuŋku	tuŋku
229	stick (wood)	kayu	kaju	kaju	kaju
230	smoke	asap	ansap	asapm	asapm
231	burn	bakar	ʧutʃul	ʤuʤul	ʧutʃur
232	eat	makan	makan, makatn	makatn	makat
233	hungry	lapar	ko-lapar-an	kʌ-lapar-ʌn	ka-lapar-an
234	full	kenyang	koɲaŋ, kɔɲaŋ	koɲaŋ	koɲaŋ
235	drink	minum	minum	mɪmum	minum
236	thirsty	haus	haus, ke-rahaŋ-an	haus, radakŋ	ka-lahan
237	swallow	telan	tolaŋ, di-tolatn	tolatn	tolat
238	bitter	pahit	pɔhit, poihit	pohit	pahitn

	English	Indonesian	KM10	Guci	Tapin Bini
239	sour	asam	mansam, mansapm	asam, masam	mansap
240	sweet	manis	manis	maŋant	manɪs
241	ginger	jahe	sɔliaʔ, laijaʔ, laʤo	lio	haliaʔ
242	betel leaf	daun sirih	doun sirih, sirih	dautn sɪrɪh	daut sirih
243	betel nut	pinang	pinaŋ, tɛkano	pinaŋ	pinaŋ
244	chew betel nut	makan pinang	makan pinaŋ	makan pinaŋ	pinaŋ
245	lime	kapur	kapur	kapʊr	kapur
246	rice wine	arak	tua, araʔ	tuak	araʔ
247	younger sibling	adik	adiŋ, adikn	adikŋ	adiʔ
248	father	bapak	bopaj	umpaj	ompaʔ
249	mother	ibu	indaj	inuʔ	inaʔ
250	husband	suami	laki	laki	laki
251	wife	isteri	bini	biniŋ	bini
252	man	laki-laki	la-laki	laki-laki, lɛ-laki	la-laki
253	woman	perempuan	botina	bɛtino	batinaʔ
254	widow	janda	balu, baluʔ	ʤanda	balu
255	child	anak kecil	bobiaʔ	anak kɔʧit	babiak koʧitn
256	offspring	keturunan	ʧuʧu	anak ʧuʧu, kɛ-torutn	ka-turut-an
257	person	orang	urakn, ujaŋ	urakŋ	urak
258	friend	kawan	kawal	kawal	kanti
259	slave	hamba	tambah, paʧal	ba-tugur	hulut
260	name	nama	damo, damɔ	namo	nama
261	know	kenal	tuho	konal	kanal
262	sell	jual	ʤual, bɛ-ʤual	ʤual	ʤual

	English	Indonesian	KM10	Guci	Tapin Bini
263	buy	beli	mom-boli	boli	boli
264	debt	hutang	hutakn, utaŋ	hutakŋ	hutak
265	pay	bayar	bajar, barai	bajar	bajar
266	ring	cincin	ʧintʃitm, ʧintʃim	ʧintʃitn	ʧintʃit
267	loincloth	cawat	sabu, sabuʔ	sabu	sabuʔ
268	sarong	sarung	tapih, kampuh	karukŋ	kumpak
269	trousers	celana panjang	sɛlawar panʤakŋ, salawar panʤaŋ	sɛlawar panʤatn	salawar baɲak
270	pillow	bantal	bantal	bantalʌ	bantal
271	house	rumah	rumah	rumʌh	rumah
272	longhouse	rumah panjang	rumah panʤaŋ, botakn	rumʌh panʤatn	rumah baɲak
273	house post	tiang rumah	tihaŋ rumah , tihakn	tihakŋ rumah	tihap rumah
274	ladder	tangga	taŋgo	taŋgo	taŋal
275	wall	dinding	dindiŋ, dindikn	tinitn	dinik
276	floor	lantai	lantaj	lantaj	lantaj
277	roof	atap	hatap	hatap	hatap, hatapm
278	space under a house	kolong rumah	baba rumah , pompaŋgal	bawah rumʌ	kolong rumah
279	fence	pagar	pagar	pagar	pagar
280	mat	tikar	tikar	tikar	tikar
281	one	satu	satu, sa-buti	satu	satu
282	two	dua	duo	duʌ	dua
283	three	tiga	tigo	tigʌ	tiga
284	four	empat	ompat	ompat	ompatn
285	five	lima	limaʔ	limo	lima
286	six	enam	onam	onam	onam

	English	Indonesian	KM10	Guci	Tapin Bini
287	seven	tujuh	tuʤuh	tuʤuh	tuʤuh
288	eight	delapan	dolapn, dɔlapan	dɛlapatn	dalapat
289	nine	sembilan	sombilatn, sɔmbilan	sɛmbilatn	samilap
290	ten	sepuluh	so-puluh, so-pulu	sɛ-pʊluh	sa-puluh
291	hundred	seratus	so-ratus	sɛ-ratus	sa-ratus
292	thousand	seribu	so-ribu	sɛ-ribu	sa-ribu
293	all	semua	sogalo	sɛmaŋaʔa	samua
294	count	hitung	bilaŋ, di-bilak-i	hitukŋ	hituk
295	big	besar	bosar, rajo	bosar	bosar
296	short	pendek	pandaʔ	panʌh	panaʔ
297	hand span	jengkal	so-kilatn, kilaŋ	kilatn	kilat
298	long	panjang	panʤaŋ, panʤakn	panʤatn	ba ɲak
299	many	banyak	baɲak, baɲaʔ	baɲak	baɲaʔ
300	wide	lebar	luar	luar	luar
301	narrow	sempit	kɔʧit	kopi	kopiʔ
302	far	jauh	ʤou, ʤɔuh	ʤaw	ʤauh
303	near	dekat	dampiŋ, dampikn	dampikŋ	hampik
304	under	di bawah	di babah	bawah	di babah
305	rotten	busuk	buruk, buruʔ	buruʔ	buruʔ
306	wet	basah	bansah	basʌh	basah
307	sharp	tajam	taʤam, taʤapm	mansuʔ	taʤiap
308	dull	tumpul	tumpul	tumpʊl	tumpʊl
309	short	pendek	pandaʔ	panʌh	panaʔ
310	fat	gemuk	gomuʔ, gomu	gomuk	gomuk
311	full	penuh	bisiʔ, bisi	ponuh	ponuh
312	hard	keras	koriŋ, korikn	koras	korik
313	heavy	berat	bɔrat	borat	boratn

	English	Indonesian	KM10	Guci	Tapin Bini
314	hot	panas	haɲan, haɲat	haɲant	haɲant
315	cold	dingin	diŋin, diŋm	ka-ʧapʌ	ʧolapm
316	deep	dalam	dalam, dalapm	dalapm	dalap
317	skinny	kurus	rinkaŋ, riŋkatn	kurus, ko-rɪtn	riŋkap
318	small	kecil	kɔʧit	koʧɪt	koʧitn
319	straight	lurus	buʤur	buʤur	buʤur
320	strong	kuat	kuat	kuat	kuatn
321	thick	tebal	tobal	tobal	tobal
322	thin	tipis	lipis	lipis	lipis
323	new	baru	baharu	bʌharu	baharu
324	old	lama	mana, manah	lamata	lamatn
325	old	tua	tuho, duwo	tuho	tuha
326	fast	cepat	ʧopat, ʤoʤandʒakn	ʧopat	ʧopatn
327	black	hitam	hitapm	hitapm	hitap
328	green	hijau	hiʤau	hiʤaw	hiʤaw
329	white	putih	putih	putih	putih
330	yellow	kuning	kuniŋ	kuniŋ	kuniŋ
331	red	merah	mirah	mirʌh	mirah
332	not	bukan	bukan, bukaj	lain, lajn	bukaj
333	not	tidak	ʧado	ʧado	ʧada
334	how many	berapa	beropo, brɔpɔ	bɛropo	baropa
335	what	apa	apo	apo	apa, maapa
336	when	kapan	som-bilo	ka-bilo	ka-bilaw
337	where	di mana	di mono	di mono	di muna
338	who	siapa	sopo	sopo	sopa
339	I	saya	aku	aku	aku
340	you	kamu	kulo	kolaj	kolaj

	English	Indonesian	KM10	Guci	Tapin Bini
341	he	dia	dii, kulo	iɲo	kolaj
342	we	kami	koi	kaji	kami
343	we	kita	kito	kito	kita
343	you all	kalian	—	—	—
345	they	mereka	sia	iɲo	sidaʔ
346	we two	kita berdua	kito duo	kito duo	kita dua
347	wine	tuak	tuaʔ	—	tuaʔ
348	hornbill	tingang	tiŋaŋ	bʊrukŋ tiŋaŋ, bʊrukŋ tiukŋ	tiŋaŋ

	English	Indonesian	Tamiang	Nanga Polikodan	Sungkup
1	mountain	gunung	bukit, bukɪt	bukit, bukɪt	bukit, bʊkɪt
2	earth	tanah	tanah, tana	tanah, tanʌh	tanah, tanʌh
3	sand	pasir	pasir	pasir	pasir
4	stone	batu	batu	batu	batu
5	mud	lumpur	lumpur, lutaʔ	lumpur, lumpʊr	lumpur
6	water	air	araj	araj	araI, araj
7	river	sungai	suŋaj	suŋaI, suŋaj	suŋaI, suŋaj
8	sea	laut	laut	lawt, tɔŋah	laut, lowut
9	moon	bulan	bulan, bulat	bulan, bulatn	bulan, bulatn
10	star	bintang	bintaŋ, bɪntaŋ	bintaŋ, bintakŋ	bintaŋ, bintakŋ
11	sky	langit	laŋit, laŋɪt	laŋit	laŋit, laŋint
12	cloud	awan	awan	awan	awan
13	wind	angin	aŋin, ribut	ribut	aŋin, riwut, riβut
14	rain	hujan	huʤan, huʤat	huʤan, huʤatn	huʤan, huʤatn
15	thunder	guntur	guntur	guntur	guntur
16	lightning	kilat	kilat	kilat	kilat, kilatn
17	rainbow	pelangi	swandak, suanak	kələlawa, kɛlalawa	kələlawa, kɛlɛlawa

	English	Indonesian	Tamiang	Nanga Polikodan	Sungkup
18	shadow	bayangan	bɑjɑk, ɑjɑk	kʌm-bɑ-bɑjɑŋ, kʌm-i-bɑjɑkŋ, kəm-ɑjɑk	kəm-bʌjʌŋ, kɑm-ɑjɑkŋ
19	day	hari	ɑri	hɑri, ɑri	ɑri
20	year	tahun	tɑhun, tɑhut	tɑhun, tɑhut	tɑhun, tɑhutn
21	morning	pagi	sunsuʔ, sunsukn	sunsuŋ, suŋsukŋ, suŋsuk	sunsukŋ, sunsuŋ
22	night	malam	mɑlɑp	mɑlɑm, mɑlɑp	mɑlɑm, mɑlɑpm
23	noon	siang	siɑk, siɑʔ	siɑŋ, tɛŋʌ hɑri	siɑkŋ, siɑk
24	afternoon	sore	bɑ-hɑri	bɑ-hɑri	bʌ-hɑri, bɑ-hɑri
25	yesterday	kemarin	komɑj, mɑlɑpɪn	komɑj, komɑI	komɑI, komɑjɑn
26	tomorrow	besok	hobu, hobuʔ	hobuʔ, hɔbuʔ	hobu, hɔbuʔ
27	forest	hutan	hutɑt, rɪmbɑ	bʌbʌs, rimbʌh	bʌbʌs, rimʌ
28	tree	pohon	kɑju, konʊk	pohon, bɑtɑk	bɑtɑŋ, honukŋ
29	bark	kulit kayu	kulit kɑju, kulɪt	kulit kɑju, kʊlit kɑju	kulit kɑju
30	leaf	daun	dɑut	dɑwn, dɑut	dɑun, dɑutn
31	thorn	duri	duri	duri	duri
32	root	akar	ɑkɑr	ɑkɑr	ɑkɑr, ʊrɑtn
33	ironwood	kayu besi	bulit, bulɪt	bulit, bulian	bulin, bʊlitn
34	flower	bunga	buŋɑ, kombɑk	buŋɑ, buŋʌ	buŋɑ, buŋʌ, kombɑkŋ
35	fruit	buah	buɑh	buʌh, buɑh	buʌh, buɑh
36	banana	pisang	pisɑk	pisɑŋ, pisɑk	pisɑŋ, pisɑkŋ
37	durian	durian	durit, durɪtn	duritn, durit, durin	durin, dʊritn
38	coconut tree	pohon kelapa	bɑtɑŋ ɲiur, ɲur	bɑtɑk nijur	pɔhɔt ɲiun, niur
39	sugar cane	tebu	tobu	tɛbu, tɔbu	tobu, tɔbu

	English	Indonesian	Tamiang	Nanga Polikodan	Sungkup
40	eggplant	terong	toruk	tɛroŋ, torukŋ, tərukn	torukŋ, təruŋ
41	sago tree	pohon sagu	batɑŋ sɑgu, sɑguk	batɑk sɑgu	pəhɔt sɑgu
42	sago flour	tepung sagu	sɑgu	sɑgu	sɑgu
43	cassava	singkong	ubi	ubi	ubi
44	taro	keladi	kaladi, kɛladi	kəladi, kɛladi	kəladi, kɛladi
45	rattan	rotan	hui, hoi	rotan, hui, huj	hui
46	kapuk tree	pohon kapok	batɑŋ kɑpok, kɑpuk	batɑk-kɑpuŋk, kɑpok	pəhɔt-kɑpuk, honukŋ-kɑpukŋ
47	bird	burung	buruk, burʊk	buruŋ, burukŋ, burukn	buruŋ, bʊrukŋ
48	wing	sayap	sɑjɑp, sɑjɑm	sɑjɑp, sɑjɑmp	sɑjɑp
49	feather	bulu	bulu, buluʔ	bulu	bulu
50	tail	ekor	iku, ikuʔ	ɛkor, ikuʔ, ikʊʔ	ekɔr, iku
51	egg	telur	tolur, tɔlor	tolur, tɔlɔr	tolʊr, tɔlur
52	crow	burung gagak	dondɑk, donɑk	dondɑkŋ, dɔnɑk	buruŋ dondɑŋ, donɑkŋ
53	fish	ikan	lɑu	ikɑn, lɑuʔ, lɑwuʔ	lɑwtn, lɑuʔ
54	snake	ular	ulɑr	ulɑr	ulɑr
55	crocodile	buaya	bɑhɑjɑ	bɑhɑjɑ, bɑhɑjʌ	bʌhɑjʌh
56	chicken	ayam	mɑnuʔ, mɑnu	mɑnuʔ	mɑnukŋ, mɑnuʔ
57	deer	rusa	bɑɕɑkn, bɑɕɑk	bɑɕɑkŋ, bɑɕɑk	rusʌ, bɑɕɑŋ
58	rat	tikus	tikus	tikus	tikus
59	dog	anjing	kudu, kudʊ	kuduʔ	kuduk, kuduʔ
60	worm	cacing	ʧɑʧik	ʧɑʧiŋ, ʧɑʧikŋ	ʧɑʧiŋ, ʧɑʧitn, ʧɑʧit
61	fly	lalat	lɑlɑt, lɑŋɑw	lɑŋɑw	lɑŋɑw
62	mosquito	nyamuk	ɲɑmuʔ, ɲɑmu	ɲɑmuʔ	ɲɑmuk

	English	Indonesian	Tamiang	Nanga Polikodan	Sungkup
63	spider	laba-laba	baŋkak, ka-baŋkak	baŋkaŋ, baŋkakŋ, siŋant	baŋkaŋ, siŋant
64	termite	rayap	saŋkariha, somut	kapakŋ, lalɔtaʔ	bubuk, saŋkariha
65	butterfly	kupu-kupu	bamba	bamʌ, bʌmʌ, rarama	bamʌ, rama, rʌ-rʌma
66	skin	kulit	kulɪt, kulit	kulit, kulint	kulit
67	sweat	keringat	poluh	poluh, pɔluh, pɛluh	polutn, pɔluh
68	blood	darah	darah	darʌh, darah	darʌh, darah
69	body	badan	tubuh, bukak	tubuh, bukakŋ	badan, bukakŋ
70	bone	tulang	tulak	tulaŋ, tulakŋ, tulak	tulaŋ, tulakŋ
71	urine	air kencing	arai komih, araɛ komih	araj komiʔ, araj kɔmih	araI komih, araı kɔmih
72	urinate	kencing	komih	komiʔ, kɔmih	komih, kɔmih
73	excrement	tai	tahi	taj, tahi	tahi
74	defecate	berak	bərihah, bariha	briha, biha	bəriha, bariha
75	vein	urat	urat	urat, urant	urat
76	head	kepala	kəpala, kapala	kəpala, kɛpala	kəpala, kɛpalʌ
77	face	muka	muha	muka, muha, muha	muha, muhʌ
78	forehead	dahi	dahi, daŋkih	dahi, daŋkih	dahi
79	hair	rambut	buʔ	buʔu, buʔ	buʔu, buʔuʔ
80	lip	bibir	bibir, bibır	bibir, bıbır	bibir, bibır
81	mouth	mulut	ɲawa	ɳawa, ɲawʌ	ɲawa, ɲawʌ
82	teeth	gigi	gigi	gigi	gigi
83	tongue	lidah	dila, dilah	dilah, dilʌh	dilah, dilʌh

	English	Indonesian	Tamiang	Nanga Polikodan	Sungkup
84	nose	hidung	hiduk	hiduŋ, hidukŋ, hiduk	hidukŋ
85	cheek	pipi	pipi	pipi	pipi
86	chin	dagu	kaŋkapn, kaŋkap	kaŋkapm, kaŋkap	dagu, kaŋkapm
87	ear	telinga	ponik, ponɪk	pɔnik, ponikŋ	pɔndikŋ, bonikŋ
88	eye	mata	mata	mata, matʌ	mata, matʌ
89	eyebrow	alis	baŋkaw, dahi	alis, baŋkaw, kaniŋ	alis
90	eyelashes	bulu mata	bulu mata	bulu mata, bulu matʌ	bulu mata, bulu matʌ
91	brain	otak	unta	untaʔ, untʌh	untaʔ, untakŋ
92	neck	leher	lihir , lihɪr	lihɪr, lɪhɪr	lihɪr, lɪhɪr
93	chest	dada	dada	dada, dadʌ	dada, dadʌ
94	breast	buah dada	susu	buah-dadʌ, susu	susu
95	breast milk	air susu ibu	arae susu, susu	araj susu	araiʔ susu
96	rib	tulang rusuk	tulak rusuk, tulak rusu	tulaŋ rusuk, tulak rusuk, tulakŋ rusukŋ	tulaŋ rusuk, tulakŋ rusukŋ
97	heart	jantung	ʤantuk	ʤantuŋ, ʤantukŋ, ʤantuk	ʤantuŋ, ʤantukŋ
98	lungs	paru-paru	paru-paru, hompul	paru-paru, kompul	hompul, hɔmpul
99	back	punggung	tulak bəlakak, bɛlakat	puŋgukŋ, puŋuk	piŋgaŋ, bɛlikakŋ
100	shoulder	bahu	bahu	bahu	bahu
101	belly	perut	porut	porut, pɔrut	porut, pɔrut
102	intestines	usus	porut bosar	usus, porut ra	usus, porut
103	liver	hati	hati	hati	hati
104	hand	tangan	loŋan, ʤari	loŋan, lɔŋan	loŋan, lɔŋan

	English	Indonesian	Tamiang	Nanga Polikodan	Sungkup
105	elbow	siku	siku	siku	siku
106	palm	telapak tangan	dampa	təlapak ʤari, ʤampal, damʌ ʤari	dampa ʤari, dampa
107	finger	jari	tunʤuk, tunʤu	ʤari, tuɲuʔ	ʤari, tunʤuʔ
108	fingernail	kuku jari	silu, ʃilu	silu	silu
109	leg	kaki	kaki	kaki	kaki
110	thigh	paha	paha	paha, pahʌ	paha
111	knee	lutut	kutut, kapala tut	kapalʌ tuʔutn, kəpala tut	kapalʌ tuʔunt, kəpala tut
112	toe	jari kaki	ʤari kaki, ʤeriʤi kaki	ʤari kaki, tuɲuʔ kaki	ʤari kaki, ʤəriʤi
113	heel	tumit	tumit, tumɪt	tumit, tumint	tumit, tumɪnt
114	sole	talapak kaki	dampa kaki, tampa kaki	təlapak kaki, damp kaki	dampa kaki, dampʌ kaki
115	see	lihat	nihat, ma-nampaj	nampaj, nampaI	nampaj, ʧɔliʔ
116	blind	buta	buta	buta, butʌ	buta, butʌ
117	hear	dengar	man-diŋa, doŋar	dɔŋar, noŋar	dɔŋar, noŋar
118	deaf	tuli	tuli, bambal	tuli, bamal	tuliʔ, bʌmbal
119	smell	cium bau	ʧium, ʧiup	ʧium, ʧiup	mən-ʧium, ʧiupm
120	fragrant	wangi	harup, harupm	harum	harupm, harum
121	itch	gatal	gatal	gatal	gatal
122	scratch	garuk	garuk, ba-gaju	garu	bə-garuʔ, garu
123	boil	bisul	bisul, lamujuŋ	bisul, lamuɲuŋ, lamuɲu	bisul
124	scar	bekas luka	kantat	bɔkas luka, kantat, kalit	kantat
125	vomit	muntah	mutah	mutah, mutʌh	mutah, mutʌh

	English	Indonesian	Tamiang	Nanga Polikodan	Sungkup
126	head lice	kutu	kutu, gutu	gutu	gutu
127	animal lice	kutu	hamɑ, romu	gutu, hamɑ	gutu, tokɑl, hamɑ
128	cough	batuk	bɑtuk	bɑtuʔ, bɑtukŋ	bɑtuk
129	dead	mati	mɑti	mɑti	mɑti
130	bury	kubur	pɑsɑr, mɛm-pɑsɑr	kubur, pɑsɑr	posɑr-ɑn, muɑŋ
131	sit	duduk	duduk, dudu?	duduk, dudu?	duduk
132	stand	berdiri	bə-dirit, bɑ-dirɪtn	bɛr-diritn, bɑ-dirit, kuɑs	bən-dirin, bʌ-diritn
133	sleep	tidur	nonɑʔ	tidur, tiur	tiur
134	forget	lupa	kɑ-lupɑ, kɑ-lupɑʔ-ɑn	kə-lupɑ-ɑn, kɑ-lupʌ	kə-lupɑʔ-ɑ, kɑ-lupʌ
135	dream	mimpi	mimpi, mɪmpi	mimpi	mimpi
136	live	tinggal	tiŋɑl, diɑp	tiŋɑl	tiŋɑl, bə-diɑm
137	wait	tunggu	tɑnti	tɑnti	tuŋgu, tɑnti
138	walk	jalan kaki	ʤalan kɑki, bɑ-ʤalɑt kɑki	bʌ-ʤalan kɑki, bʌ-ʤalɑt kɑki	bʌ-ʤalan kɑki, bə-ʤalan kɑki
139	play	bermain	mɑ-ŋɑsɑ, ŋɑsɑ	bə-mɑin, ŋɑsʌ	ber-mɑin, ŋɑsɑl
140	go home	pulang	pulɑk	pulɑk, pulɑkŋ	pulɑŋ
141	fly	terbang	tɑrobɑkn, tɑrobɑk	tərobɑk, tɑrobɑkŋ	tərobɑŋ, tɑrobɑkŋ
142	climb	naik	nɑi	nɑik, nɑiʔ	nɑjik, nɑiʔ
143	descend	turun	turut	turutn, turut	turun, turutn
144	fall	jatuh	ʤɑtuʔ, ʤɑtu	ʤɑtuk, ʤɑtu	ʤɑtuh
145	stab	tikam	tikɑp, dɛ-tikɑp	pɑtuʔ, pɑtuh	tikɑm, tikɑpm
146	suck	isap	insɑp, uɲut	insɑp, insɑpm, insɑmp	mə-isɑp, insɑmp
147	bite	gigit	di-kotɑp, kotɑp	gigit, kɔtump	kotump
148	blow	tiup	tiup, ʧiup	ʧiump, ʧiʔup	ʧiup, nium
149	dig	gali	mə-ŋɑlih, mɑ-ŋɑli	gɑli, kɑli	gɑli

	English	Indonesian	Tamiang	Nanga Polikodan	Sungkup
150	kick	tendang	sepɑk, səpɑk	təndɑŋ, tɑnɑkŋ	sepɑk, sepɑkŋ
151	pull	tarik	di-tɑri, tɑri	tɑriʔ, tɑri	tɑrɪk, nɑri, ʤuʤut
152	push	dorong	suruk, di-tulɑk	surukŋ, suruk	sɔrɔŋ, surukŋ
153	run	lari	lɑri, gɑ-ŋuɑkn	lɑri, dɑri	lɑri, gɑŋ-guɑk-ɑn, gən-guɑŋ-ɑn
154	spit	meludah	luʤɑh	luʤɑ, luʤʌh	luʤɑh, luʤʌ
155	throw away	buang	buɑʔ, di-tibɑr	tibɑr-kɑn	tibɑr
156	turn	putar	kisɑr, kɛlɪlɪkn	bɑ-putɑr, gɑsikŋ	putɑr, bʌ-kɑlilikŋ
157	hide	sembunyi	bə-tɑpu, bɑ-tɑpo	bə-tɑpuʔ, bɑ-tɑpu	bɑ-tɑpu, tɔpuʔ-kɑn
158	stick to	lekat	bɑ-likit, mɑ-rikɪt	bə-tɑkil, tɑkil	tɑkil
159	tether	ikat	kobɑt	kobɑt, kobɑnt	kobɑnt, kɔbɑt
160	wipe	lap	lɑp	mə-lɑp, lɑpm	um-pus, bɑrosi-kɑn
161	lose	hilang	hilɑk	hilɑkŋ, hilɑk	hilɑ k-ɑn, hilɑkŋ
162	give	beri	koɲi	bori, kɔɲuʔ, onuʔ-ɑn	koɲuʔ
163	steal	curi	kolit, ŋolɪt	kolit, ŋɔlint	ŋolit, ŋolint
164	choose	pilih	pilih, mɑ-mili	pilih	pilih
165	hold	genggam	pigɑp	goŋgɑpm, gɔŋɑp	goŋgɑpm, ʧɑmɑʔ
166	wash	cuci tangan	bɑsu	bɑsuk, mɑsuh	bɑ-basuh, bɑsuk
167	wash	cuci kain	topɑs	tɔpɑs, topɑs, kɑjitn	bɑ-tɔpɑs, bɑ-topɑs
168	bathe	mandi	mɑndi	mɑndi, mɑniʔ	mɑniʔ
169	bad	jahat	ʤɑhɑjʔ, tidɑ bɑik	ʤɑhɑt, ʤɑhɑjt, ʤɑhɑIʔ	ʤɑhɑjt, ʤɑhɑIʔ
170	good	baik	bɑik, bɑi	bɑjik, bɑiʔ	bɑik, bɑjik
171	dirty	kotor	kotor	kɔtɔr, kotor	kɔtɔr, kotor

	English	Indonesian	Tamiang	Nanga Polikodan	Sungkup
172	dry	kering	korik, raŋkai	kɔrik, raŋkaj	koritn, raŋkaɪ
173	lie (v.)	bohong (ber-)	pa-bulaʔ-an	pəm-bulaʔ-an	pa-bulaʔ-an
174	cry	menangis	mə-naŋis, naŋis	naŋis	naŋis
175	tear	air mata	araj mata	araj mata, ajaj matʌ	araI mata, arajmatʌ
176	laugh	tertawa	tətawa, gau	gaʔuʔ, gauʔ	gauʔ, gawutn
177	angry	marah	gusar	gusar	gusar
178	punch	tinju	tinʤu	tiŋu	tinʤu, tinu
179	be afraid	takut	golaʔ	golaʔ, golakŋ	golakŋ, paŋ-olaʔ-an
180	call	panggil	dodawo, dɛ-ʃoru	kumaj, kumaI	kiajaw, soru
181	talk	bicara	ba-pander, ba-panɪr	ba-panir	ba-pandir, ba-panɪr
182	tell	beri tahu	bəri tahu, paŋgɪl	ka-tahu-an, di-podah-an	ba-padah, di-ponɪr-an
183	left	kiri	kiba	kiba, kibʌh	kiba, kibʌ
184	right	kanan	kanan	kanan	kanan
185	east	timur	timur	timur, timʊr	timur
186	west	barat	barat	barat	barat
187	plant	tanam	tanam, tan-taman-an	tanam	bə-tanam, tan-tonam-an
188	dibble stick	tugal	tugal	tugal	tugal, mə-nugal
189	dry	jemur	ʤomur	ʤomur, ʤɔmur	ʤomur, bə-ʤɔmur
190	pound	menumbuk	tutu, mɛ-nutuk	tutuʔ	tutu, mə-nutu
191	mortar	lesung	linsuk-an, liŋsuk	linsukŋ, linsuk, lonsuk-an	linsuŋ, linsukŋ
192	pestle	alu	halu	halu	halu
193	winnow	menampi	tampi	tampi	mə-nampi, tampi

	English	Indonesian	Tamiang	Nanga Polikodan	Sungkup
194	rice field	ladang padi	humɑ	humɑ, humʌ	humɑ, humʌ
195	field	ladang	pɑ-lɑdɑh-ɑn , kobun ʤɑgʊk	humʌ, kɔbʊt	humʌ, dʊkʊh
196	house in a field	gubuk	pondo, ponok	dɑŋɑw	ponuʔ, dɑŋɑw
197	raft	rakit	lɑntik, lɑntɪkn	rɑkint, rɑkɪt, lɑntiŋ	lɑntiŋ, lɑntikŋ, ʤɑmɑt
198	canoe	perahu	pərɑhu, perɑhu	pərɑhu, pɛrɑhu	pərɑhu, pɛrɑhu
199	canoe paddle	dayung	pəŋɑjuh, peŋɑjuh	pəŋɑjuh, pʌŋɑjuh	pəŋɑjuh, pɑŋɑjuh
200	fish line	pancing	pɑnʧik, kɑɪl	kɑjil, kɑil	kɑjil, kɑil
201	kill	bunuh	bunuh, bunu	bunuh	bunuh
202	trail	jalan setapak	ʤɑlɑn tikus	ʤɑlɑn sɛtɑpɑk, ʤɑlɑn tikus	ʤɑlɑn tikus
203	knife	pisau	lɑdɪk, sunɑk	lɑdiŋ, lɑdik, sunɑkŋ	lɑdiŋ, lɑdikŋ, sisimp, sisip
204	spear	tombak	lɑmbɪŋ, lɑmik	dohɑʔ, dɔhɑk	dohɑ, dɔhɑʔ
205	blow gun	sumpit	sumpit, sumpɪt	sumpit-ɑn, sumpit	sumpit-ɑn, sumpit
206	rope	tali	tɑli	tɑli	tɑli
207	machete	parang	isɑw	sisip, sisimp	sisip, sisimp
208	sheath	sarung parang	kumpɑkn, kumpɑk isɑw	kumpɑkŋ, kumpɑk sisimp	kumpɑŋ sisip, kumpʌh
209	comb	sisir	sisir, sisɪr	sisir, sisɪr	sisir, sisɪr
210	broom	sapu	sɛsɑpu, səsɑpu	sɑsɑpu, səsɑpu	sʌsɑpu, sʌsʌpu
211	weave	anyam	ɑɲɑm	ɑɲɑm, mʌ-ʔɑɳɑm	ɑɲɑm, mɑ-ʔɑɳɑm
212	sew	jahit	ʤɑhit, ʤɑhɪt, ʤohɪt	ʤɑhit, ʤɑhint	bɑ-ʤɑhint, mən-ɑhit
213	needle	jarum	ʤɑrup	ʤɑrupm, ʤɑrup	ʤɑrum, ʤɑrupm
214	medicine	obat	ubɑt	ubɑt, ubɑnt	ubɑnt, ubɑl

	English	Indonesian	Tamiang	Nanga Polikodan	Sungkup
215	rice	padi	padi	padi	padi
216	rice	beras	boras	boras, bɔras	boras, bɔras
217	rice	nasi	nasi	nasi, nasiʔ	nasi
218	husk of rice	sekam	kopu	hampa, haŋkal	haŋkal
219	salt	garam	garap	garapm, garap	garam, garapm
220	fat	lemak	lomaʔ	lomak, lɔmaʔ	lomʌ, lɔmaʔ
221	boil	mendidih	ba-gurah, ba-gurak	korak, məŋ-kɔraʔ	mʌŋ-koraʔ
222	cook	masak	basuman	mansak, basuman, bəsuman, ma-lompʌh	masak, mansak, bʌsuman, mʌ-lompʌ
223	cooking pot	panci	pantʃi	pantʃi, kɛntʃɛŋ	pantʃi, kɛntʃɛŋ
224	dipper	gayung	gajuŋ, gajuk	gajuŋ	gajuŋ
225	fire	api	api	api	api
226	ashes	abu	habu	habu	habu
227	firewood	kayu api	kantuk, kantokn	kantat, kantatn	kantatn
228	fire place	tungku	tuŋku	tuŋku	tuŋku
229	stick (wood)	kayu	kaju	kaju	kaju
230	smoke	asap	asap	asap, asamp	asap, asamp
231	burn	bakar	tʃutʃul, tapa	tʃutʃul, n-utʃul	mən-tʃutʃʊl, ŋ-utʃul
232	eat	makan	makatn, makat	makatn, makat	makatn
233	hungry	lapar	kə-lapar-an, ka-lopar-an	ko-lapar-an, kə-lɔpar-an	ko-lapar-an, kə-lɔpar-an
234	full	kenyang	koɲaŋ	koɲaŋ, kɔɲaŋ	koɲaŋ, kɔɲaŋ
235	drink	minum	minum	minum	minum, mɪnum
236	thirsty	haus	haus	haus, hawus	haus, hawus
237	swallow	telan	tolat, mɛ-nolatn	tolatn, tɔlat	tolatn, tɔlan
238	bitter	pahit	pahit, pahɪt	pahit, pahint	pahit, pahint

	English	Indonesian	Tamiang	Nanga Polikodan	Sungkup
239	sour	asam	masap	asapm, mansap	mansakŋ, masam
240	sweet	manis	manis, manɪs	manis	manis
241	ginger	jahe	halia	halia, haliʌ	halia, haliʌ
242	betel leaf	daun sirih	sirih	dawn sirih, dawn sɪrɪh, dawn kamawtn	daun sirih, dawn sɪrɪh
243	betel nut	pinang	pinaŋ	pinaŋ	pinaŋ
244	chew betel nut	makan pinang	makan pinaŋ	makan pinaŋ	makan pinaŋ
245	lime	kapur	kapur	kapur	kapur
246	rice wine	arak	tuaʔ, arak	tuak, araʔ	tuak, arak
247	younger sibling	adik	adiʔ, adi	adik, adiʔ	adik, adikŋ
248	father	bapak	ompaj	bapaʔ, ompaj	bapak, ʊmpaI
249	mother	ibu	inaj	inuʔ, umaʔ	inʊʔ, umʌʔ
250	husband	suami	laki	laki	laki
251	wife	isteri	bini	bini	bini, bɪni
252	man	laki-laki	la-laki	la-laki	la-laki
253	woman	perempuan	batina, batinaʔ	bətina, batinʌ	bətinaʔ, bʌtinʌ
254	widow	janda	ʤanda, baluʔ	balu	ʤanda, balu
255	child	anak kecil	babiaʔ	anaʔ kɔniʔ, biak konit	biak kɔniʔ, biak konit
256	offspring	keturunan	ʧuʧu, ka-turut-an	ʧuʧu, bʌ-mojaŋ	anak ʧuʧu, kə-turut-an
257	person	orang	urak	urak, urakŋ	oraŋ, urakŋ, sɛ-iku
258	friend	kawan	amih, ami	kawal	kawal
259	slave	hamba	hulut, kuli	hulutn, ba-hutak	hulun, gawiposal
260	name	nama	nama	nama, namʌ	nama, namʌ

	English	Indonesian	Tamiang	Nanga Polikodan	Sungkup
261	know	kenal	kɑnɑl	kʌnʌl, tɑhu	kənɑl, kɛnɑl
262	sell	jual	ʤuɑl	ʤuɑl	ʤuɑl
263	buy	beli	di-boli, boliʔ	boli, məli	boli, bəli
264	debt	hutang	hutɑk	hutɑkŋ, hutɑk	hutɑŋ, hutɑkŋ
265	pay	bayar	bɑjɑr	bɑjɑr	bɑjɑr
266	ring	cincin	ʧinʧip, ʧɪnʧɪtn	ʧinʧit, ʧinʧikŋ	ʧinʧin, ʧinʧitn
267	loincloth	cawat	sɑbu, sɑbuʔ	sɑbu, sɑbuʔ	sɑbuʔ
268	sarong	sarung	sɑru, tɑʤuk	sɑruk, buŋkur	tɑpih, buŋkur
269	trousers	celana panjang	səlɑwɑr pɑnʤɑk, sɛlɑwɑr	səlɑwɑr pɑɲɑkŋ, sɛlɑwɑr pɑnʤɑkŋ	səlɑwɑr pɑnʤɑŋ, sɛlɑwɑr pɑɲɑkŋ
270	pillow	bantal	bɑntɑl	bɑntɑl	bɑntɑl
271	house	rumah	rumɑh	rumɑh, rumʌ	rumɑh, rumʌh
272	longhouse	rumah panjang	botɑŋ, botɑk	rumʌ pɑnʤɑkŋ, rumɑh bɔsɑr	rumʌh pɑɲɑkŋ, rumɑh bətɑŋ
273	house post	tiang rumah	tihɑkn, tihɑk	tihɑkŋ, tihɑk rumɑh	tiɑŋ rumɑh, tihɑkŋ rumɑh
274	ladder	tangga	tɑŋɑ	tɑŋɑ, tɑŋʌ	tɑŋgɑ, tɑŋʌ
275	wall	dinding	dindik, dɪndɪk	dindikŋ, dinik	dindikŋ, dinikŋ
276	floor	lantai	lɑntɑj	lɑntɑj, lɑntɑI	lɑntɑj, lɑntɑI
277	roof	atap	hɑtɑp	hɑtɑp, hɑtɑmp	hɑtɑp, hɑtɑmp
278	space under a house	kolong rumah	bɑbɑ rumɑh, bɑwɑh rumɑh	bɑbɑh rumʌ, bʌbʌh rumɑh	bɑbɑh rumʌ, bʌbʌh rumʌh
279	fence	pagar	pɑgɑr	pɑgɑr	pɑgɑr
280	mat	tikar	tikɑr	tikɑr	tikɑr, tikun
281	one	satu	sɑtu	sɑtu, sɛ-ikuʔ	sɑtu, sɛ-iku
282	two	dua	duɑ	duɑ, duʌ-ikuʔ	duɑ, duʌ-iku
283	three	tiga	tigɑ, tolu	tigɑ, tigʌ-ikuʔ	tigʌ-iku, tɔlu
284	four	empat	ompɑt, ɑmpɑt	əmpɑt, ompɑt-ikuʔ	əmpɑt, ɛmpɑt-iku

	English	Indonesian	Tamiang	Nanga Polikodan	Sungkup
285	five	lima	limɑ, limɑʔ	limɑ, limʌ-ikuʔ	limɑ, limʌ-iku
286	six	enam	onɑm, ɑnɑm	ənɑm, onɑm-ikuʔ	onɑm-iku, ɑnɑm
287	seven	tujuh	tuʤuh	tuʤuh, tuʤuh-ikuʔ	tuʤuh, tuʤu-iku
288	eight	delapan	dɛlapɑt, lɑpɑn	dəlapɑn, lapɑtn-ikuʔ	dəlapɑn, dɛlapɑn-iku
289	nine	sembilan	səmbilɑn, sɛmbilɑt	səmbilɑn, sɛmilɑtn-ikuʔ	səmbilɑn, sɛmbilɑn-iku
290	ten	sepuluh	səpuluh, sɑ-puluh	səpuluh, sɑ-puluh-ikuʔ	səpuluh, sə-puluh-iku
291	hundred	seratus	sɛ-rɑtus	sərɑtus, sɑ-rɑtus-ikuʔ	sərɑtus, sɛ-rɑtus-iku
292	thousand	seribu	səribu, sɑ-ribu	səribu, sɑ-ribu-ikuʔ	səribu, sɛ-ribu-iku
293	all	semua	sɑmuɑ	səmuɑ, sɑmuʌ	səmuɑ, sɛmuɑ
294	count	hitung	bɑ-bilɑk	bʌ-hituk, hitukŋ	bʌ-hitukŋ, bə-bilɑŋ
295	big	besar	bosɑr	bosɑr, bɔsɑr	bosɑr, bɔsɑr
296	short	pendek	pɑndɑ, pɑnɑk	pɑnɑʔ, pɑnɑh	pɑnʌh, pʌndʌʔ
297	hand span	jengkal	kilɑt, kilɑtn	ʤoŋkal, kilɑt	kilɑt, kilɑtn, kilɑn
298	long	panjang	pɑnʤak, pɑɲɑk	pɑɲɑkŋ, pɑɲɑk	pɑnʤɑŋ, pɑɲɑkŋ
299	many	banyak	bɑɲɑk	bɑɲɑkŋ, bɑɲɑʔ	bɑɲɑk, bɑɲɑkŋ
300	wide	lebar	luɑr	luɑr	luɑr
301	narrow	sempit	kopi	kopiʔ, kɔniʔ	kopi, sɔŋkap
302	far	jauh	ʤɑuh	ʤɑuh, ʤɑw	ʤɑuh, ʤɑw
303	near	dekat	dɑmpik, dɑmpɪk	dɑmpikŋ, dɑmpik	hɑmpikŋ
304	under	di bawah	di bɑbɑh, di bɑbɑ	di bɑbʌh, di bʌbʌh	di bʌbʌh, bʌbʌh
305	rotten	busuk	buruk, buru	burukŋ, buruʔ	buruk, bʊrʊk
306	wet	basah	bɑsɑh, bɑsɑʔ	bɑsɑh, bɑsʌh	bɑsɑh, bɑsʌh
307	sharp	tajam	tɑʤɑp, ŋɑɲsu	ŋɑnsuʔ	tɑʤɑkŋ, ŋɑnsuʔ

	English	Indonesian	Tamiang	Nanga Polikodan	Sungkup
308	dull	tumpul	kanal	tumpul, kanal	tumpul
309	short	pendek	panak, babah	panaʔ, panah	panʌh, pʌndʌʔ
310	fat	gemuk	gomuʔ, gomu	gomuk, gɔmuʔ, lompuʔ	gomuk, gɔmuk
311	full	penuh	ponuh, ponu	ponuh, pɔnuh	ponuh, pɔnuh
312	hard	keras	korik, korikn	koritn, kɔrik	koritn, kɔrikŋ
313	heavy	berat	borat	borat, bɔrant	borant, bɔrat
314	hot	panas	haŋan, haŋat	haŋant	haŋant
315	cold	dingin	ʧolap	ʧolap, ʧolamp	ʧolap, ʧolamp
316	deep	dalam	dalap	dalapm, dalap	dalam, dalakŋ
317	skinny	kurus	riŋkak, riŋkatn	kurus, riŋkakŋ	kurus, riŋkakŋ
318	small	kecil	koʧit, koʧɪt	koniʔ	konit, kɔniʔ
319	straight	lurus	buʤur	buʤur	buʤur
320	strong	kuat	kuat	kuant, bʌkajʌ	kuat
321	thick	tebal	tobal	tobal, təbal	tobal, təbal
322	thin	tipis	lipis	lipis	tipis, lipis
323	new	baru	baharu	baharu	baru, baharu
324	old	lama	lamat, lambat	lamat, lamant	lambat, lamant
325	old	tua	tuha	tuha, tuhʌ	tuha
326	fast	cepat	ʧopat	ʧopat, ʧɔpant, lanʧar	ʧopant, ʧɔpat
327	black	hitam	hitap	hitap, hitapm	hitam, hitapm
328	green	hijau	hiʤaw	hiʤaw	hiʤaw
329	white	putih	putih	putih	putih
330	yellow	kuning	kuniŋ	kuniŋ	kuniŋ
331	red	merah	mirah, mɪrah	mirah, mirʌh	mirah, mirʌh
332	not	bukan	bukaj, bukaeh	bukaj, bukaI	bukaj, bukaI
333	not	tidak	tidak, ʧada	taʔ ada, daʔ ada	tidak, da-ada

	English	Indonesian	Tamiang	Nanga Polikodan	Sungkup
334	how many	berapa	bɑropɑ	bəropɑ, bɛropo	bərɔpɑ, bɛropo
335	what	apa	ɑpɑ	ɑpɑ, ɑpʌ	ɑpɑ, ɑpʌ
336	when	kapan	kɑ-bilɑ	kɑ-bilɑ	kɑ-bilɑ, kʌ-bilʌ
337	where	di mana	di munɑ	di monʌ, di munɑ	di munɑ, di munʌ
338	who	siapa	sopɑ	sopɑ, sɔpɑ	sopɑ, sɔpɑ
339	I	saya	ɑku	ɑku	ɑku
340	you	kamu	kolɑj, kolɑɛ	kɔlɑI, kolɑj	kɔlɑI, kolɑj
341	he	dia	iŋɑ, kolɑj	iŋɑ, iɲʌ	iŋɑ, iɲʌ
342	we	kami	kɑmi	kɑmi	kɑmi
343	we	kita	kitɑ	kitɑ, kitʌ	kitɑ
343	you all	kalian	—	—	—
345	they	mereka	siɑʔ, sidɑj-ɛn	sidɑʔ, sidʌ	sidʌʔ, kəmijɑn
346	we two	kita berdua	kitɑ duɑ	kitɑ duɑ	kitɑ duɑ
347	wine	tuak	tuɑʔ, tuɑ	tuɑk, tuɑʔ	tuhɑ, ɑrɑk
348	hornbill	tingang	tiŋɑŋ	burukŋ tiŋɑŋ	tiŋɑŋ, buruŋ tiŋɑŋ

	English	Indonesian	Riam	Gandis	Nibung Terjun
1	mountain	gunung	bukɪnt	bukɪnt	bʊkit
2	earth	tanah	tɑnɑh	tɑnɑh	tɑnɑh
3	sand	pasir	kɑjosi	pɑsej	pɑsir
4	stone	batu	bɑtu	bɑtu	bɑtu
5	mud	lumpur	lumpʊI	lumpoj	lɑtɑk
6	water	air	ɑeʔ	ɑji	ɑrɑj
7	river	sungai	suŋe	suŋɑj	suŋɑI
8	sea	laut	lɑont	lɑwnt	lɑut
9	moon	bulan	bulɑt	bulɑn	bulɑn
10	star	bintang	biŋtɑk	biŋtɑk	bintɑŋ
11	sky	langit	lɑŋint	lɑŋint	lɑŋit

	English	Indonesian	Riam	Gandis	Nibung Terjun
12	cloud	awan	ɑwɑnt	ombʊt	ɑwɑn
13	wind	angin	ɑŋin	ɑŋin	ɑŋin
14	rain	hujan	huʤɑt	huʤɑt	huʤɑn
15	thunder	guntur	guntuI	guntoj	gɑroŋ
16	lightning	kilat	kilɑnt	kilɑnt	kilɑt
17	rainbow	pelangi	suwɑndɑk	—	sɛlɑlɑh
18	shadow	bayangan	bɑjɑk	bɑjɑk, kɑ-mɑjɑk	kɛrɑɪɑn
19	day	hari	ɑi	ɑji	ɑri
20	year	tahun	tɑhut	tɑhut	tɑhun
21	morning	pagi	suŋsuk	suŋsuk	pɑtɑŋ suŋsuŋ
22	night	malam	mɑlɑp	mɑlɑp	mɑlɑm
23	noon	siang	siɑk	toŋɑh ɑji	siɑŋ
24	afternoon	sore	bɑh ɑi	bɑbʌ ɑji	lɑmɑji
25	yesterday	kemarin	mɑi	ɑji mɑji	sɛ-mɑlɑm-ɑn mɛnim
26	tomorrow	besok	hobu	hobu	hɑbuk
27	forest	hutan	imbɑ	jimbɑ	utɑn utɑn
28	tree	pohon	puhut	kondut	kɑju
29	bark	kulit kayu	kulint	kulint	kulit kɑju
30	leaf	daun	dɑwot	dɑwt	dɑunt
31	thorn	duri	duwi	duwi	durɛ
32	root	akar	ujɑnt	jɑmpu	ɑkɑr
33	ironwood	kayu besi	bulint	bulin	bɑliɑn
34	flower	bunga	buŋɑ	buŋɑ, kombɑk	buŋʌ
35	fruit	buah	buɑh	buɑh	buʌh
36	banana	pisang	pisɑk	pisɑk	pinsɑŋ
37	durian	durian	duwin	duwin	durɪn
38	coconut tree	pohon kelapa	pohut ɲijewe	konduk ɲioj	bɑtɑŋ ɲiur

	English	Indonesian	Riam	Gandis	Nibung Terjun
39	sugar cane	tebu	tobu	tobu	tɑbu
40	eggplant	terong	tojuk	touk	tɑroŋ
41	sago tree	pohon sagu	sɑgu	konduk sɑgu	bɑtɑŋ nipʌ
42	sago flour	tepung sagu	sɑgu	topuk sagu	—
43	cassava	singkong	ubi	bʌŋɑlɑ	mɛŋgɑlɑ
44	taro	keladi	kɑladi	kɛladi, tɑli	kɛladi
45	rattan	rotan	hui	hui	rutɑn
46	kapuk tree	pohon kapok	kɑpu	konduk kɑpuŋ	kɑbu
47	bird	burung	bujuk	bujuk	buruŋ
48	wing	sayap	sɑɲɑmp	sɑjɑmp	sɑjɑp
49	feather	bulu	bulu	bulu	buluɲɑ
50	tail	ekor	iku	ikuʔ	ikuŋ
51	egg	telur	ɑnɑk mɑnu	ɑnɑk mɑnu	tɑlur
52	crow	burung gagak	dondɑk	dondɑk	dɑndɑŋ
53	fish	ikan	lɑoʔ	lɑwt	ikɑn
54	snake	ular	ulɑeh	ulej	ulɑr
55	crocodile	buaya	bɑhɑjɑ	bɑhɑjɑ	buɑjʌ
56	chicken	ayam	mɑnuʔ	mɑnuʔ	mɑnuʔ
57	deer	rusa	bɑɕɣɑk	bɑɕɣɑk	rusʌ
58	rat	tikus	tikus	tikus	tikus
59	dog	anjing	kudu	kuduʔ	kuduk
60	worm	cacing	ʧɑtʃik	bɑhu	ʧɑtʃiŋ
61	fly	lalat	lɑŋo	lɑŋɑw	lɑŋɑu
62	mosquito	nyamuk	ejoŋint	ɲoŋint	ɲɑmuŋʔ
63	spider	laba-laba	kɑlɑlɑwɑ	siŋɑnt	kə-bɑŋkɑŋ
64	termite	rayap	bubu	kumbɑk	rɑjɑp
65	butterfly	kupu-kupu	siŋkɑɲɑmɑ	kɑjɑmɑ	bɑmbɑ
66	skin	kulit	kulint	kɑnint	kulit

	English	Indonesian	Riam	Gandis	Nibung Terjun
67	sweat	keringat	poluh	poluh	paluh
68	blood	darah	dɑjɑh	dɑʔɑh	dɑrʌh
69	body	badan	tubuh	bɑdɑt	bukɑŋ
70	bone	tulang	tulɑk	tulɑk	tulɑŋ
71	urine	air kencing	ɑe bɑkɑje	bɑkɑj	kuntsiŋ
72	urinate	kencing	bɑkɑe	bɑkɑji	kuntsiŋ
73	excrement	tai	tɑhi	tɑhi	tɑj
74	defecate	berak	biha	biha	birɑk
75	vein	urat	uɲɑnt	ujɑnt	urɑt
76	head	kepala	kɑpɑlɑ	pɑlʌ	kɛpɑlɑ
77	face	muka	muhɑ	muhɑ	muhɑ
78	forehead	dahi	dɑhi	dɑhi	kɑniŋ
79	hair	rambut	buut	buʔu	rɑmbut
80	lip	bibir	bibi	bibej	bibɪr
81	mouth	mulut	dudu	ɲɑwɑ	mulut
82	teeth	gigi	gigi	gigi	gigi
83	tongue	lidah	didɑh	dilɑh	lidʌh
84	nose	hidung	hiduk	hiduk	hiduŋ
85	cheek	pipi	pipi	pipi	pipi
86	chin	dagu	ejɑɑʔ	jɑk	dɑgu
87	ear	telinga	ponik	pondik	pɑtolin
88	eye	mata	mɑtɑ	mɑtɑ	mɑtɑ
89	eyebrow	alis	bɑŋko	dɑŋkit mɑtɑ	bɑŋkɑu
90	eyelashes	bulu mata	bulu mɑtɑ	bulu mɑtɑ	bulu mɑtɑ
91	brain	otak	untɑ	unɑk	untɑk
92	neck	leher	lihi	lihej	lihɑnt
93	chest	dada	dɑdɑ	dɑdɑ	dɑdɑ
94	breast	buah dada	susu	susu	susu

	English	Indonesian	Riam	Gandis	Nibung Terjun
95	breast milk	air susu ibu	ɑe susu	ɑji susu	ɑrɑj susu
96	rib	tulang rusuk	tulɑk ewusuk	tulɑk jusu	rʊsʊk
97	heart	jantung	ʤantuk	ʤantuk	ʤantuŋ
98	lungs	paru-paru	hompul	oŋʌh	paru paru
99	back	punggung	tulɑk bɑlɑkɑk	tulɑk lɑkɑk	bɛlɑkɑŋ
100	shoulder	bahu	bɑhu	bɑhu	bɑhu
101	belly	perut	pojunt	pojunt	pɑrut
102	intestines	usus	pojunt doni	uɑnt pount	untsus
103	liver	hati	hɑti	hɑti	ɑtɛ
104	hand	tangan	ʤai	loŋɑn	tɑŋɑn
105	elbow	siku	silu	silu	—
106	palm	telapak tangan	dɑmpɑ ʤai	dɑmpɑ ʤɑji	tɑmpɑʔ tɑŋɑn
107	finger	jari	ʤai	ʤɑji, tuɲuʔ	ʤɛriʤi
108	fingernail	kuku jari	silu	silu	silu
109	leg	kɑki	kɑki	kɑki	pɑhɑ
110	thigh	paha	pɑhɑ	pɑhɑ	puŋguŋ
111	knee	lutut	pɑlɑ tuunt	pɑlʌ tunt	pɑhɑ kutut
112	toe	jari kaki	tunʤuk kɑki	tuɲuk kɑki	ʤɛruʤi
113	heel	tumit	tumint	tumint	tumbɑŋ tumint
114	sole	talapak kaki	dɑmpɑ kɑki	dɑmpʌ kɑki	tɑmpɑk
115	see	lihat	ʧoli	ɲolit, ninʤɑw, niɲɑw	nɑmpɑj
116	blind	buta	butɑ	butɑ	butʌ
117	hear	dengar	doŋɑE	doŋej	mɑn-dɑŋɑj
118	deaf	tuli	tiŋɑl	tuli	tiŋɑl
119	smell	cium bau	ʧiump	niup	bɑu bɑu
120	fragrant	wangi	ɳɑmɑn	bɑw hɑrum	bɑu ɲɑmɑn
121	itch	gatal	gɑtɑl	gɑtɑl	gɑtɑl gɑtɑl

	English	Indonesian	Riam	Gandis	Nibung Terjun
122	scratch	garuk	gaju	ba-gaju	ko-kotut
123	boil	bisul	bajuluk	bisu	kambaŋ
124	scar	bekas luka	kantant	kantant	kantat
125	vomit	muntah	mutah	mutʌh	muntʌh
126	head lice	kutu	gutu	gutu	kutʊ
127	animal lice	kutu	hama	toka, hama	takah
128	cough	batuk	batu	batuʔ	batuk-an
129	dead	mati	mati	mati	matı
130	bury	kubur	pasaj	posej	pasar-an
131	sit	duduk	dudu	duduʔ	dukʊk
132	stand	berdiri	nanoli	ninoli	talanʤuŋ
133	sleep	tidur	tiduwih	tidoj	gurɛŋ
134	forget	lupa	ka-lupa	lupa, dada kaiŋant	ʧada iŋat
135	dream	mimpi	mimpi	mimpi	mimpi
136	live	tinggal	dudi	tiŋal	tiŋgal
137	wait	tunggu	tanti	tanti	tagah
138	walk	jalan kaki	ba-ʤalat	bʌ-ʤalat kaki	ba-ʤalan
139	play	bermain	kaŋ-koʧaʔ	ba-koʧat	ba-kalaŋ
140	go home	pulang	pulak	pulak	pulaŋ
141	fly	terbang	tajobak	tejobak	tɛrabaŋ
142	climb	naik	naek	najik	naiŋk
143	descend	turun	tujut	tujut	turun
144	fall	jatuh	ʤatuh	ʤatu	labuh
145	stab	tikam	gajap	tikap	tumbak
146	suck	isap	insap	insamp	insap
147	bite	gigit	kotump	kotump	katap
148	blow	tiup	tiup	tiump, niump	tiup
149	dig	gali	kali	kali, ŋali	tundaŋ

	English	Indonesian	Riam	Gandis	Nibung Terjun
150	kick	tendang	səpaŋk	kandak	sipak-kan
151	pull	tarik	toniŋk	toniŋ	tarik
152	push	dorong	sujuh	suyuk	dʊrʊŋ
153	run	lari	ba-dai	ba-guwak	ma-kaʤut
154	spit	meludah	luʤah	luʤa	ma-ludah
155	throw away	buang	tibaEh	tibej	di-buaŋaŋ
156	turn	putar	pusik	ba-pusik	di-putar
157	hide	sembunyi	ba-tapu	ba-tapu	ba-tapuk
158	stick to	lekat	takil	takil	likat
159	tether	ikat	kobant	kobant	kabat
160	wipe	lap	polint	polint	lap
161	lose	hilang	hilak	hilak	hilaŋ
162	give	beri	boi	boji	mə-uman
163	steal	curi	kolint	ŋolint	ŋalit
164	choose	pilih	pilih	silih	milih
165	hold	genggam	tohot	gɔŋap	kapal
166	wash	cuci tangan	basuh	masuʔ	basoʔ
167	wash	cuci kain	ba-hompu	ba-hompu	tapas
168	bathe	mandi	mandi	mandi	mandi
169	bad	jahat	ʤaheʔ	ʤahai	ʤahat
170	good	baik	baEʔ	bajk	ʤaŋa
171	dirty	kotor	kotoEh	isak	ʤahat
172	dry	kering	kajaʔ	kojum	kariŋ
173	lie (v.)	bohong (ber-)	pa-bulaʔ	pa-bulaʔ	ramput
174	cry	menangis	naŋis	naŋi	ma-naŋis
175	tear	air mata	ae mata	aji mata	araj mata
176	laugh	tertawa	gowoʔ	tejtawaʔ	ta-tawa
177	angry	marah	gusae	bonʧit	gadi

	English	Indonesian	Riam	Gandis	Nibung Terjun
178	punch	tinju	tinʤu	niɲu	tinʤuʔ
179	be afraid	takut	golak	kolat	galak
180	call	panggil	kumbe	numbaj	umbaj
181	talk	bicara	babidu	bo-pandej	ba-ʧakap
182	tell	beri tahu	podah	mon-ndej-kan	ba-padah
183	left	kiri	kiba	kiba	kibʌ
184	right	kanan	kanan	kanan	kanan
185	east	timur	timur	timur	kiri
186	west	barat	barat	barat	barat
187	plant	tanam	tanam	bʌ-tanam	tanam
188	dibble stick	tugal	tugal	nugal	tugal
189	dry	jemur	ʤombuE	ɲomboj	ʤamur
190	pound	menumbuk	tutu	tumbuh	nutu
191	mortar	lesung	lonsuk	lonsuk	liŋsuŋ-an
192	pestle	alu	halu	halu	alu
193	winnow	menampi	tampi	nampi, ʧapant	mɛ-nampi
194	rice field	ladang padi	huma	huma	lakau
195	field	ladang	ladah	tojak	ʤunʤuŋ
196	house in a field	gubuk	antiuk	intiuk humʌ	lakau
197	raft	rakit	lantik	lantik	rakit
198	canoe	perahu	pajahu	piahu	pɛrau
199	canoe paddle	dayung	paŋajuh	pʌŋajuh	pe-ŋajuh
200	fish line	pancing	kael	kajil	man-ʧiŋ
201	kill	bunuh	moti	bunuh, munuh	matian
202	trail	jalan setapak	ʤalat tikus	ʤalat koni	ʤalan tikus
203	knife	pisau	golonk	isaU	ladiŋ
204	spear	tombak	doha	hambit	tombak

	English	Indonesian	Riam	Gandis	Nibung Terjun
205	blow gun	sumpit	sumpɪnt	sumpint	sumpit-an
206	rope	tali	tɑli	tɑli	tɑlɛ
207	machete	parang	iso	isɑw	pɑrɑŋ
208	sheath	sarung parang	kumpɑk	kumpɑk	sɑruŋ pɑrɑŋ
209	comb	sisir	sisi	sisej	soroj
210	broom	sapu	sɑsɑpu	jɑhumɑn	sɑpu
211	weave	anyam	ʤoont	ɲɑwn	ɑjɑm
212	sew	jahit	bɑ-ʤɑpint	bɑ-ʤɑhint	ʤɑit
213	needle	jarum	ʤɑjup	ʤɑjup	ʤɑrum
214	medicine	obat	ubɑnt	ubɑnt, sɑŋkɑk	tɑmbah
215	rice	padi	pɑdi	pɑdi	pɑdi
216	rice	beras	bojɑs	bojɑs	bɑrɑs
217	rice	nasi	nɑsi	nɑsi	nɑsɛ
218	husk of rice	sekam	kompɑkŋ	hɑŋkɑl	sɑkɑm
219	salt	garam	gɑjɑp	gɑjɑp	gɑrɑm
220	fat	lemak	lomɑ	lomɑk	lɑmɑk
221	boil	mendidih	ŋ-kojɑk	ɛ-ŋoɑk	gurɑk
222	cook	masak	sumɑn	bɑsumɑn	mɑnsɑk
223	cooking pot	panci	pɑnʧi	pɑnʧi	pɑntsi
224	dipper	gayung	gɑjuŋ	gɑjuk	timbʌh mɑndi
225	fire	api	ɑpi	ɑpi	ɑpi
226	ashes	abu	hɑbu	hɑbu	hɑbu
227	firewood	kayu api	ejɑŋgo	jɑŋɑw	kɑntuŋ
228	fire place	tungku	tuŋku	tuŋku	tuŋkʊ
229	stick (wood)	kayu	kɑju	kɑju	kɑju
230	smoke	asap	ɑsɑmp	ɑsɑmp	ɑnsɑp
231	burn	bakar	tutu	tutuk, nuʧul	tono
232	eat	makan	mɑkɑt	mɑkɑt	mɑkɑn

	English	Indonesian	Riam	Gandis	Nibung Terjun
233	hungry	lapar	kɑ-lopɑEh	kɑ-lopɑj, kɑ-lopen	kɑ-lɑpɑr-ɑn
234	full	kenyang	koɲɑŋ	koɲɑŋ	kɑɲɑŋ
235	drink	minum	nim-ɑje	nɛm-ɑj	mɑ-irop
236	thirsty	haus	hɑos	hɑws	kɛ-dɑhɑŋ-ɑn
237	swallow	telan	nolɑtn	tolɑt, nolɑt	mɛlɑn
238	bitter	pahit	pɑhɪmt	pɑhi	—
239	sour	asam	mɑnsɑp	ɑsɑp	ɑnsɑm
240	sweet	manis	mɑnis	mɑndih	mɑnis
241	ginger	jahe	hɑliɑ	ʤɑhɑj, lɑhiɑ	liɑh
242	betel leaf	daun sirih	kɑmɑwok	kɑmɑwut	sirɛ
243	betel nut	pinang	pinɑŋ	pinɑŋ	pinɑŋ
244	chew betel nut	makan pinang	mɑkɑt pinɑŋ	mɑkɑt pinɑŋ	mɑkɑn pinɑŋ
245	lime	kapur	kɑpueh	kɑpoj	kɑpʊr
246	rice wine	arak	tuɑʔ	ɑrɑk	tuɑk
247	younger sibling	adik	ɑdi	ɑdiʔ	ɑdi
248	father	bapak	ope	opej	ɑpɑj
249	mother	ibu	inʊ	indɑj, induk	indɑj
250	husband	suami	lɑki	lɑki	lɑki
251	wife	isteri	bini	bini	bini
252	man	laki-laki	lɑ-lɑki	lɛ-lɑki	lɑ-lɑki
253	woman	perempuan	mɑmini	mɑmini	bɑtinʌ
254	widow	janda	bɑlu	bɑlu	bɑlu
255	child	anak kecil	biɑk	biɑk	bɑbiɑk
256	offspring	keturunan	ɑnɑk ʧuʧu	kɑ-tuyut	ʧuʧu
257	person	orang	uweɑk	uyɑk	ʊrɑŋ
258	friend	kawan	tɑmbɑ	tɑmbɑh, tɑbɑh	kɑbɑn

	English	Indonesian	Riam	Gandis	Nibung Terjun
259	slave	hamba	hulut	di-posah	ulɛ
260	name	nama	namɑ	namɑ	damʌ
261	know	kenal	tahu	ʤumpɑ	tau
262	sell	jual	ɲual	ʤual	ʤual
263	buy	beli	moli	boli	bali
264	debt	hutang	hutak	hutak	utaŋ
265	pay	bayar	bae	balas	bajar
266	ring	cincin	ʧintʃɪt	ʧintʃit	ʧintʃim
267	loincloth	cawat	sabu	sabu	sabuk
268	sarong	sarung	kapuwɑ	puah, labaj	saruŋ
269	trousers	celana panjang	səlawar panʤak	ʧɛlawej panʤak, ʧɛlawej paɲak	sɛlawar
270	pillow	bantal	bantal	bantal	bantal-an
271	house	rumah	daŋo	jumɑ	rumʌh
272	longhouse	rumah panjang	daŋo panʤak	jumɑ panʤak	—
273	house post	tiang rumah	tihak	tihak	tiaŋ
274	ladder	tangga	taŋgɑ	taŋa	taŋgɑ
275	wall	dinding	dinik	dindik	dindiŋ
276	floor	lantai	lante	lantaj	lantaj
277	roof	atap	hatamp	hatamp	atap
278	space under a house	kolong rumah	ba daŋo	babah jumʌ	barum-an
279	fence	pagar	pagaEh	pagej	pagar
280	mat	tikar	tikaEh	tikaj	sampi
281	one	satu	su-ti	satu, si-tiku, butik	satu
282	two	dua	duɑ	duɑ	duʌ
283	three	tiga	tolu	tigɑ, tolu	tigɑ
284	four	empat	ompant	ompant	empat

	English	Indonesian	Riam	Gandis	Nibung Terjun
285	five	lima	limɑ	limɑ	limɑ
286	six	enam	onɑm	onɑm	enɑm
287	seven	tujuh	tuʤuh	tuʤuh	tuʤuh
288	eight	delapan	lɑpɑt	delɑpɑt	dɛlɑpɑn
289	nine	sembilan	səmilɑnt	semilɑt	sɛmbilɑn
290	ten	sepuluh	si-puluh	sɛ-puluh	sɑ-puluh
291	hundred	seratus	sə-ɑtus	se-jɑtus	sɑ-rɑtus
292	thousand	seribu	si-jibu	se-jibu	sɑ-ribu
293	all	semua	səmuɑ	kɑhɑbi	sɛgɑlɑ
294	count	hitung	bilɑk	bɑ-hituŋ	bilɑŋ
295	big	besar	bosɑE	bosɑj	bɑsɑr
296	short	pendek	pɑndɑʔ	pɑndɑk	pɑndɑk
297	hand span	jengkal	ʤoŋkɑl	nilɑt	kilɑtn
298	long	panjang	pɑnʤɑk	pɑnʤɑk, pɑɲɑk	pɑnʤɑŋ
299	many	banyak	bɑɲɑk	bɑɲɑk	bɑɲɑk
300	wide	lebar	luɑE	luɑj, luej	luɑr
301	narrow	sempit	kopi	kopit	simpit
302	far	jauh	ʤɑO	ʤɑwuh	ʤɑu
303	near	dekat	hɑmpik	dɑmpɪk	dɑmpiŋ
304	under	di bawah	bɑbɑh	di bɑbɑh, iŋkuh	bɑwɑh
305	rotten	busuk	bujuk	bujuk	buruk
306	wet	basah	bɑsɑh	bɑsɑh	bɑnsɑh
307	sharp	tajam	tɑʤɑp	tɑʤɑp	tolʊh
308	dull	tumpul	tumpul	tumpul	tompʊl
309	short	pendek	pɑndɑk	pɛndɑk, bɑbɑh	pɑndɑk
310	fat	gemuk	lompu	bosɑj	gɑmuk
311	full	penuh	binsi	binsil, pɑmpɑl	pɑnuh
312	hard	keras	koik	kojk	kɑrɑs

	English	Indonesian	Riam	Gandis	Nibung Terjun
313	heavy	berat	bojant	bojant	barat
314	hot	panas	haŋant	haŋant	haŋant
315	cold	dingin	doŋu	doŋu	diŋin
316	deep	dalam	dalap	dalap	dalam
317	skinny	kurus	iŋkap	iŋkak	koros
318	small	kecil	koni	konit	antsik
319	straight	lurus	buʤuE	buʤoj	buʤur
320	strong	kuat	kuant	kuant	kuat
321	thick	tebal	tobal	tobal	tabal
322	thin	tipis	nipis	nipis	lipis
323	new	baru	bahajo	bahayu	baru
324	old	lama	lambant	lambant	lambat
325	old	tua	tuha	tuha	tua
326	fast	cepat	ʤampant	ʧopant	ʧapat
327	black	hitam	hitap	hitap	dandaŋ
328	green	hijau	hiʤo	hiʤaw	hiʤau
329	white	putih	putih	putih, katʃit	putɛ
330	yellow	kuning	kuniŋ	kuniŋ	kuniŋ
331	red	merah	mijah	mejah	mirah
332	not	bukan	bukat	bukat	bukan
333	not	tidak	da ada	da da	ʧada
334	how many	berapa	bajapa	bajopa	bɛrapa
335	what	apa	apa	apa	ɲapa
336	when	kapan	ka-bila	ka-bila	sʌmbila
337	where	di mana	di moni	di moni	di mana
338	who	siapa	sapa	sopa	siapa
339	I	saya	aku	aku	aku
340	you	kamu	iko	ikaw	kau

	English	Indonesian	Riam	Gandis	Nibung Terjun
341	he	dia	iŋa	kaw	iŋa
342	we	kami	kami	kami	kaj
343	we	kita	kita	diji	kita
343	you all	kalian	—	—	—
345	they	mereka	uweak	uyak	uraŋ
346	we two	kita berdua	kita dua	kita duʌ	kaj dua
347	wine	tuak	tuha	tuak	—
348	hornbill	tingang	ohoŋk	ohoŋ	tiŋaŋ

	English	Indonesian	Sukaraja	Pasir Panjang	Nanga Bulik
1	mountain	gunung	bukit	bukɪt	gʊnʊŋ
2	earth	tanah	tanʌh	tanah	tanʌh
3	sand	pasir	pasir	karosiʔ	pasir
4	stone	batu	batu	batu	batu
5	mud	lumpur	lutaʔ	letʃak	lumpur
6	water	air	aiʔ	ajʔ	baɲu
7	river	sungai	suŋaI	bataŋ-an saka, saka	suŋaj
8	sea	laut	laut	laut	lawt
9	moon	bulan	bulan	bulan	bulan
10	star	bintang	bintaŋ	bintaŋ	bintaŋ
11	sky	langit	laŋit	laŋit	laŋɪt
12	cloud	awan	awan		awan
13	wind	angin	aŋin	aŋin	aŋin
14	rain	hujan	huʤan	huʤan	huʤan
15	thunder	guntur	guntur	guntur	guntur
16	lightning	kilat	kilat	kilat	kilat
17	rainbow	pelangi	suwandaŋ	kaladaŋ	kakuʔuŋ
18	shadow	bayangan	bajaŋ	bajaŋ-an	bajaŋ-bajaŋ-an

	English	Indonesian	Sukaraja	Pasir Panjang	Nanga Bulik
19	day	hari	hɑri	hɑri	hɑri
20	year	tahun	tɑhun	tɑhʊn	tɑhun
21	morning	pagi	suŋsuŋ	pɑgi	pɑgi
22	night	malam	mɑlɑm	mɑlɑm	mɑlɑm
23	noon	siang	siɑŋ	teŋah hɑri	siɑŋ
24	afternoon	sore	bɑwʌ	bɑwah hɑriʔ	bɑ-hɑri
25	yesterday	kemarin	sɛ-mɑri	tɑdi, isuʔ	hɑri se-mɑlɑm
26	tomorrow	besok	isuk	isuʔ	bɛsok
27	forest	hutan	imbum	hutɑn, sɑpulɑj	hutɑn
28	tree	pohon	konduŋ	doŋkuŋ kɑju	bɑtɑŋ
29	bark	kulit kayu	kulit kɑju	kulɪt kɑju	kʊlit kɑju
30	leaf	daun	dɑun	dɑun	dɑwn
31	thorn	duri	duri	duri	dʊri
32	root	akar	ɑkɑr	ɑkɑr	ɑkɑr
33	ironwood	kayu besi	bulin	bɑlian	bʊlin
34	flower	bunga	kombɑŋ	kombɑŋ	kombɑŋ
35	fruit	buah	buɑh	buɑh	buʌ
36	banana	pisang	pisɑŋ	pisɑŋ	pisɑŋ
37	durian	durian	durian	durian	dʊrin
38	coconut tree	pohon kelapa	ɲiuʔ	ŋiuʔ	nijur
39	sugar cane	tebu	tobu	tɛbu	tɛbu
40	eggplant	terong	toruŋ	tɛruŋ	toroŋ, sɑgu
41	sago tree	pohon sagu	sɑgu	sɑgu	rumbiʌ, sɑgu
42	sago flour	tepung sagu	sɑgu	tɔpuŋ sɑgu	rumbiʌ
43	cassava	singkong	mɛŋgɑlɑ	mɑngɑlɑ	mɑŋɑlɑ
44	taro	keladi	kɛladi	kɑladi	kɛladi
45	rattan	rotan	rɑtɑn	rotɑn	rotɑn
46	kapuk tree	pohon kapok	kɑpok	kɑpɑk	kɑpuk

	English	Indonesian	Sukaraja	Pasir Panjang	Nanga Bulik
47	bird	burung	buruŋ	buruŋ	bʊrʊŋ
48	wing	sayap	sajap	sajap	sajap
49	feather	bulu	bulu	bulu	bʊlu
50	tail	ekor	ikuʔ	ikuʔ	bʊntut
51	egg	telur	telor	taluʔ	talʊr
52	crow	burung gagak	dandaŋ	buruŋ gagak	gagaʔ
53	fish	ikan	ikan	ikan	ikan
54	snake	ular	ular	ular	ular
55	crocodile	buaya	buaja	bahaja	buaja
56	chicken	ayam	manuk	manuʔ	ajam
57	deer	rusa	baʤaŋ	rusa	rusa
58	rat	tikus	tikus	tikʊs	tikus
59	dog	anjing	kuduʔ	anʤiŋ	kuduʔ
60	worm	cacing	ʧaʧiŋ	ʧaʧiŋ	ʧaʧiŋ
61	fly	lalat	laŋawu	lalat	lalat
62	mosquito	nyamuk	ɲamuk	ɲamuk	ɲamuk
63	spider	laba-laba	baŋkaŋ	ʤala baŋkaŋ, baŋkakŋ	baŋkaŋ
64	termite	rayap	rajap	sa-rajap	anaj-anaj
65	butterfly	kupu-kupu	bamba	bama	bamba
66	skin	kulit	kulit	kulɪt	kulit
67	sweat	keringat	poluh	pɔluh	polu
68	blood	darah	darah	darah	darah
69	body	badan	bukaŋ	tubuh	badan
70	bone	tulang	tulaŋ	tulaŋ	tulaŋ
71	urine	air kencing	komih	komih	bau komiʔ
72	urinate	kencing	komih	komih	komiʔ
73	excrement	tai	tahi	tahi	taj

	English	Indonesian	Sukaraja	Pasir Panjang	Nanga Bulik
74	defecate	berak	bɛrɑk	berɑk	bɛrɑʔ
75	vein	urat	urɑt	urɑt	ʊrɑt
76	head	kepala	kɛpɑlɑ	kepɑlɑ	kɛpɑlɑ
77	face	muka	muhɑ	muhɑ	mʊkʌ
78	forehead	dahi	koniŋ	kɔniŋ	kɛniŋ dɑhi
79	hair	rambut	rɑmbut	rɑmbut	rɑmbut
80	lip	bibir	bibir	bibir	bibɪr
81	mouth	mulut	bibir	ɲɑwɑ	ɲɑwɑ
82	teeth	gigi	gigi	gigi	gigi
83	tongue	lidah	delɑh	delɑh	ilɑt
84	nose	hidung	hiduŋ	hiduŋ	hiduŋ
85	cheek	pipi	pipi	pipi	pipi
86	chin	dagu	ʤɑguʔ	ʤɑguʔ	dɑgu, ʤɑgu
87	ear	telinga	teliŋʌ	tɑliŋɑ	tɛliŋɑ
88	eye	mata	mɑtɑ	mɑtɑ	mɑtɑ
89	eyebrow	alis	ɑlis	bulu wɑlis	ɑlis
90	eyelashes	bulu mata	bulu mɑtɑ	bulu mɑtɑ	bʊlu mɑtɑ
91	brain	otak	untɑk	ʊntɑʔ	utɑk
92	neck	leher	lihir	lehɛr	lɛhɛr
93	chest	dada	dɑdɑ	dɑdɑ	dɑdʌ
94	breast	buah dada	ɲoɲo	ɲoɲoʔ	susu
95	breast milk	air susu ibu	ɲoɲo	ɲoɲoʔ ibuʔ	bɑɲu susu ibu
96	rib	tulang rusuk	tulɑŋ rusuk	tulɑŋ rusuk	tulɑŋ rusuʔ
97	heart	jantung	ʤɑntuŋ	ʤɑntuŋ	ʤɑntuŋ
98	lungs	paru-paru	pɑru pɑru	hɑhoɾɑʔ	pɑru-pɑru
99	back	punggung	bɛlɑkɑŋ	tulɑŋ bəlɑkɑŋ	piŋgɑŋ
100	shoulder	bahu	bɑhu	bɑhu	bɑhu
101	belly	perut	porut	porut	porut

	English	Indonesian	Sukaraja	Pasir Panjang	Nanga Bulik
102	intestines	usus	porut	porot	otʃos
103	liver	hati	hati	hati	hati
104	hand	tangan	loŋan	loŋan	taŋan
105	elbow	siku	siku	siku	siku
106	palm	telapak tangan	dompal	dampa	tɛlapak taŋan
107	finger	jari	tunʤuk	tunʤuʔ	ʤariʤi
108	fingernail	kuku jari	silu	silu	kuku
109	leg	kaki	kaki	kaki	kaki
110	thigh	paha	paha	paha	paha
111	knee	lutut	tuhut	tuhʊt	lutut
112	toe	jari kaki	tunʤuk	tunʤuk kaki	ʤariʤi kaki
113	heel	tumit	tumit	tumit	tumit
114	sole	talapak kaki	dompal	dampa kaki	tɛlapak kaki
115	see	lihat	lihat	ma-lihat	lihat
116	blind	buta	buta	buta	buta
117	hear	dengar	diŋaʔ	man-doŋar	man-diŋʌ
118	deaf	tuli	tuli	tuliʔ	tuli
119	smell	cium bau	ʧium	ʧium	ʧium
120	fragrant	wangi	harum	harum	harʊm
121	itch	gatal	gatal	gatal	gatal
122	scratch	garuk	garuk	garuk	garuk
123	boil	bisul	bisul	bisul	—
124	scar	bekas luka	kantat	bokas luka	kantat
125	vomit	muntah	muntʌh	mʊtah	muntʌh
126	head lice	kutu	kutu	kʊtu	kutu
127	animal lice	kutu	baga	kʊtu	tokah
128	cough	batuk	batuk	batuk	batuk
129	dead	mati	mati	mati	mati

	English	Indonesian	Sukaraja	Pasir Panjang	Nanga Bulik
130	bury	kubur	pɑsɑr	pɑsɑr	kʊbʊr
131	sit	duduk	duduk	dudu?	duduk
132	stand	berdiri	diri	bɑ-diri	bɛr-diri
133	sleep	tidur	tidu?	tidu?	gurin
134	forget	lupa	lupɑ	kɑ-lupɑ?-ɑn	lupɑ
135	dream	mimpi	mimpi	mimpi	mimpi
136	live	tinggal	tiŋgɑl	tiŋgɑl	tiŋɑl
137	wait	tunggu	nuŋgu	nɑnti	tuŋgu
138	walk	jalan kaki	ʤɑlɑn	bɑ-ʤɑlɑn kɑki	ʤɑlɑn kɑki
139	play	bermain	losi?	bɑguraw	mɑjn
140	go home	pulang	bɑlik	pʊlɑŋ	pʊlɑŋ
141	fly	terbang	tɑrobɑŋ	terbɑŋ	tɑrobɑŋ
142	climb	naik	nɑik	nɑi?	nɑik
143	descend	turun	turun	turun	turun
144	fall	jatuh	ruruh	ruruh	ʤɑtu
145	stab	tikam	sodok	bunuh	tikɑm
146	suck	isap	isɑp	isɑp	isɑp
147	bite	gigit	kubɑŋ	gigɪt	kotɑp
148	blow	tiup	niup	tiup	ʧiu?
149	dig	gali	suŋkɑl	gɑli	gɑli
150	kick	tendang	səpɑk	sɛpɑk	sɛpɑk
151	pull	tarik	tɑrik	ʤuʤʊt	tɑrik
152	push	dorong	surun	tolɑk	sʊrʊŋ
153	run	lari	rɑri	lɑri	lɑri
154	spit	meludah	ludɑh	ludɑh	ludʌh
155	throw away	buang	tibɑr	buɑŋ	buɑŋ
156	turn	putar	putɑr	pusiŋ	pʊtɑr
157	hide	sembunyi	bɑ-tɑpu	bɑ-tɑpu?	pɑ-tɑpu

	English	Indonesian	Sukaraja	Pasir Panjang	Nanga Bulik
158	stick to	lekat	ropit	ma-rikit	ma-rikɪt
159	tether	ikat	kobat	kobat	kobat
160	wipe	lap	lap	sapu-iʔ	lap
161	lose	hilang	hilaŋ	hilaŋ	hilaŋ
162	give	beri	bori	bori	bori
163	steal	curi	kolit	ʧuriʔ	ʧuri
164	choose	pilih	pilih	pilih	pilih, piliha
165	hold	genggam	kopaŋ	bintikŋ, bintiŋ	pɛgaŋ
166	wash	cuci tangan	basuh	basuʔ	basu
167	wash	cuci kain	topas	kojʧak	koʧat
168	bathe	mandi	mandi	mandi	mandi
169	bad	jahat	ʤahat	ʤahat	ʤahat
170	good	baik	bagus	baik	baik
171	dirty	kotor	ʤahat	kotor	kotor
172	dry	kering	koriŋ	kʌriŋ	koriŋ
173	lie (v.)	bohong (ber-)	maŋ-aramput	maŋ-arampʊt, paʔ-araj-an	pam-bulaʔ-an
174	cry	menangis	naŋis	mʌ-naŋis	ma-naŋis
175	tear	air mata	mata	aiʔ mata	baŋu mata
176	laugh	tertawa	ta-tawa	tatawa	tatawa
177	angry	marah	gusar	gusar	ba-gusar
178	punch	tinju	tinʤu	tinʤu	tinʤu
179	be afraid	takut	golaʔ	takʊt	golaʔ
180	call	panggil	soroʔ	soroʔ	dodaw
181	talk	bicara	pandɛr	katakan	ba-pandir
182	tell	beri tahu	beri tahu	bori tahu	bori kabar
183	left	kiri	kiri	kiri	kiri
184	right	kanan	kanan	kanan	kanan

	English	Indonesian	Sukaraja	Pasir Panjang	Nanga Bulik
185	east	timur	timur	timur	timur
186	west	barat	mɑti	bɑrɑt	bɑrɑt
187	plant	tanam	tɑnɑm	tɑnɑm	tɑnɑm
188	dibble stick	tugal	tugɑl	tugɑl	tugɑl
189	dry	jemur	ʤomur	ʤɔmur	ʤomur
190	pound	menumbuk	nutu	mɑ-nutuʔ	tumbuk, tumpuk
191	mortar	lesung	lensuŋ	losukŋ	losu
192	pestle	alu	hɑlu	hɑlu	hɑlu
193	winnow	menampi	nɑmpi	tɑmpi	tɑmpi
194	rice field	ladang padi	humɑ	humɑ	kumʌ
195	field	ladang	lɑdɑŋ	kɔbʊn	kumʌ
196	house in a field	gubuk	pondoʔ	pondok	pondoʔ
197	raft	rakit	lɑntiŋ	lɑntiŋ	rɑkit
198	canoe	perahu	pɛrɑhu	pɑrɑhu	pɛrɑhu
199	canoe paddle	dayung	pɑ-ŋɑjuh	pɑŋɑjuh	dɑjuŋ, penɑjuŋ
200	fish line	pancing	pɑnʧiŋ	pɑnʧiŋ	pɑnʧiŋ
201	kill	bunuh	bunuh, tumbɑk	bunuh	bʊnʊh
202	trail	jalan setapak	ʤɑlɑn tikus	ʤɑlɑn kɔʧiʔ	ʤɑlɑn sɛtɑpɑk
203	knife	pisau	lɑdiŋ	pisuʔ	lɑdiŋ
204	spear	tombak	tumbɑk	tumbɑʔ	tombɑʔ
205	blow gun	sumpit	sumpit-ɑn	sumpit-ɑn	sʊmpit
206	rope	tali	tɑli	tɑli	tɑli
207	machete	parang	pɑrɑŋ	pɑrɑŋ	pɑrɑŋ
208	sheath	sarung parang	kumpɑŋ	kumpɑŋ	kumpɑŋ pɑrɑŋ
209	comb	sisir	sisir	sisir	sisɪr
210	broom	sapu	sə-sɑpu	sɑsɑpu	sɑpu
211	weave	anyam	kontu	ɑɲʌm	hɑɲɑm

	English	Indonesian	Sukaraja	Pasir Panjang	Nanga Bulik
212	sew	jahit	ʤohit	ʤohit	mʌn-ʤait
213	needle	jarum	ʤarum	ʤarum	ʤarum
214	medicine	obat	ubat	obat	obat
215	rice	padi	padi	padi	padi
216	rice	beras	boras	boras	boras
217	rice	nasi	nasiʔ	nasiʔ	nasi
218	husk of rice	sekam	hampʌ	kɔpu	hampʌh
219	salt	garam	garam	garam	garam
220	fat	lemak	lomaʔ	lomaʔ	lomaʔ
221	boil	mendidih	gura	didih	maŋ-urap
222	cook	masak	batana	mansaʔ	masak
223	cooking pot	panci	kontoŋ	pariuʔ	pantʃi, periuk
224	dipper	gayung	gajuŋ	gajuŋ	gajuŋ
225	fire	api	api	api	api
226	ashes	abu	habu	habu	habu
227	firewood	kayu api	kaju	kaju api	kaju api
228	fire place	tungku	tumaŋ	tuŋku	tuŋku
229	stick (wood)	kayu	kaju	kaju	kaju
230	smoke	asap	asap	asap	asap
231	burn	bakar	ʧutʃul	ʧutʃʊl	—
232	eat	makan	nogʌ	makan	makan
233	hungry	lapar	lapar	lapar	lapar
234	full	kenyang	koɲaŋ	koɲaŋ	koɲaŋ
235	drink	minum	minum	minum	mɪnum
236	thirsty	haus	haus	haws	haus
237	swallow	telan	nolan	tolan	tago
238	bitter	pahit	kajas	pahit	pahit
239	sour	asam	asam	asam	masam

	English	Indonesian	Sukaraja	Pasir Panjang	Nanga Bulik
240	sweet	manis	manis	manis	manis
241	ginger	jahe	laja	lajaʔ	lajʌh
242	betel leaf	daun sirih	sirih	daun sɪrih	daun sɪrɪh
243	betel nut	pinang	pinaŋ	pinaŋ	pinaŋ
244	chew betel nut	makan pinang	pinaŋ	makan pinaŋ	makan pinaŋ
245	lime	kapur	kapur	kapuʔ	kapʊr
246	rice wine	arak	tuak	araʔ	arak
247	younger sibling	adik	adi	adiʔ	adi
248	father	bapak	bapaʔ	bapak	bapaʔ, abah, ama
249	mother	ibu	indʊʔ	indaʔ, umaʔ	umʌʔ
250	husband	suami	laki	laki	laki
251	wife	isteri	bini	bini	bini, bɪni
252	man	laki-laki	laki	la-laki	laki-laki
253	woman	perempuan	batinʌ	batinaʔ	batinʌ
254	widow	janda	balu	balu	ʤanda
255	child	anak kecil	biaʔ pira	anak kɔʧiʔ	anak halus
256	offspring	keturunan	biut	turun-an	anak ʧutʃu
257	person	orang	uraŋ	uraŋ	uraŋ, ɛkoʔ
258	friend	kawan	kawal	kawa	kawan
259	slave	hamba	budak	kuli	—
260	name	nama	nama	nama	nama
261	know	kenal	kenal	barumpaʔ	kanal
262	sell	jual	ʤual	ʤual	ʤuʔal
263	buy	beli	boli	boli	mam-boli
264	debt	hutang	hutaŋ	hʊtaŋ	ʊtaŋ
265	pay	bayar	bajar	bajar	bajar

	English	Indonesian	Sukaraja	Pasir Panjang	Nanga Bulik
266	ring	cincin	ʧintʃin	ʧɪntʃɪn	ʧintʃin
267	loincloth	cawat	sabuʔ	sabuʔ	ʧawat
268	sarong	sarung	saruŋ	karukŋ	sarʊŋ
269	trousers	celana panjang	səlawar	salawar panʤaŋ	salawar panʤaŋ
270	pillow	bantal	bantal	bantal	bantal
271	house	rumah	ruma	rumah	rumʌh
272	longhouse	rumah panjang	rumah panʤaŋ	rumah panʤaŋ	rumʌ panʤaŋ
273	house post	tiang rumah	tiaŋ	tihaŋ rumah	tiaŋ
274	ladder	tangga	taŋga	taŋga	taŋgʌ
275	wall	dinding	dindiŋ	dindiŋ	dindiŋ
276	floor	lantai	lantai	lantaj	lantai
277	roof	atap	hatap	hatap	atap
278	space under a house	kolong rumah	bawah	kawoŋ rumah	bawah rumʌ
279	fence	pagar	pagar	pagar	pagar
280	mat	tikar	tikar	tikar	tikar
281	one	satu	satu	satu	satu
282	two	dua	dua	dua	duʌ
283	three	tiga	tiga	tiga	tigʌ
284	four	empat	ompat	mpat	ompat
285	five	lima	lima	lima	limʌ
286	six	enam	onam	onam	onam
287	seven	tujuh	tuʤuh	tuʤuh	tuʤu
288	eight	delapan	delapan	dɛlapan	dalapan
289	nine	sembilan	səmbilan	sambilan	səmbilan
290	ten	sepuluh	sə-puluh	sa-puluh	sʌ-puluh
291	hundred	seratus	sə-ratus	sa-ratus	sʌ-ratus
292	thousand	seribu	sə-ribu	sa-ribu	sʌ-ribu

	English	Indonesian	Sukaraja	Pasir Panjang	Nanga Bulik
293	all	semua	səmuɑ	sɛmuɑ	sɑmuʌ
294	count	hitung	hituŋ	bɑ-hituŋ	bilɑŋ
295	big	besar	bosɑr	bosɑr	bɛsɑr
296	short	pendek	pɑndɑk	pɛndɛk	pɛndɑk
297	hand span	jengkal	kilɑn	kilɑtn	kilɑn
298	long	panjang	pɑnʤɑŋ	pɑnʤɑŋ	pɑnʤɑŋ
299	many	banyak	bɑɲɑk	bɑɲɑk	bɑɲɑk
300	wide	lebar	himbɑn	lebɑr	lɛpɑr
301	narrow	sempit	kopit	kɔʧiʔ	sompit
302	far	jauh	ʤɑu	ʤɑuh	ʤɑw
303	near	dekat	dɑmpiŋ	dɑmpikŋ	dɑmpiŋ
304	under	di bawah	bɑwɑh	di bɑwɑh	di bɑwɑh
305	rotten	busuk	buruk	buruk	bʊruk
306	wet	basah	bɑsɑh	bɑsɑh	bɑsʌh
307	sharp	tajam	tɑʤɑm	tɑʤɑm	tɑʤɑm
308	dull	tumpul	dɑdɑl	tumpul, tumpʊl	tumpul
309	short	pendek	pɑndɑk	bɑwɑh	pɛndɛk
310	fat	gemuk	gomuk	gomuʔ	gomuk
311	full	penuh	ponu	pɔnuh	ponuh
312	hard	keras	korɑs	korɑs	korɑs
313	heavy	berat	borɑt	borɑt	borɑt
314	hot	panas	hɑŋɑt	hɑŋɑnt	pɑnɑs
315	cold	dingin	diŋin	diŋɪn	diŋgin, dɑlɑm
316	deep	dalam	dɑlɑm	dɑlɑm	kurus
317	skinny	kurus	kurus	kurus	koʧit, koʧɪt
318	small	kecil	koʧit	kɔʧiʔ	hɑlus
319	straight	lurus	buʤur	buʤur	buʤur
320	strong	kuat	kuɑt	kuɑt	kuɑt

	English	Indonesian	Sukaraja	Pasir Panjang	Nanga Bulik
321	thick	tebal	tobɑl	tobɑl	tobɑl
322	thin	tipis	nipis	tipis	tipis
323	new	baru	bɑrɑhu	bɑharu	bɑru
324	old	lama	lambɑt	lambɑt	lambɑt
325	old	tua	tuhɑ	tuhɑ	tuɑ
326	fast	cepat	gɑsik	gɑsiʔ	oʧɑʔ
327	black	hitam	hitɑm	hitɑm	hitɑm
328	green	hijau	hiʤɑw	hiʤɑw	hiʤɑw
329	white	putih	putih	putih	putih
330	yellow	kuning	kuniŋ	kuniŋ	kʊniŋ
331	red	merah	mirɑh	mɛrɑh	mɛrʌh
332	not	bukan	lɑin	bukɑn	bukɑn
333	not	tidak	tidɑk	bɔlɛʔ	tɑʔ ɑdɑ
334	how many	berapa	berɑpɑ	bərɑpɑ, bɑrɑpɑ	bo-borɑpɑ
335	what	apa	ɑpɑ	ɑpɑ	ɑpɑ
336	when	kapan	bilɑ	bilɑ, bolum	bɛsoʔ
337	where	di mana	mɑnɑ	di mɑnɑ	di monɑ
338	who	siapa	sɑpɑ	siɑpɑ	sopɑ
339	I	saya	—	ɑku	ɑku
340	you	kamu	—	kolɑj	ikɑm
341	he	dia	—	dikɑm	diʌ
342	we	kami	—	kɑmi	kɑmi
343	we	kita	—	kitɑ	kitʌ
343	you all	kalian	—	—	—
345	they	mereka	—	orɑŋ bɑɲɑʔ, kolɑj tɑj	sidʌ-sidʌ
346	we two	kita berdua	—	kitɑ duɑ	kitɑ bɛrduʌ
347	wine	tuak	—	tuɑʔ	tuɑk

	English	Indonesian	Sukaraja	Pasir Panjang	Nanga Bulik
348	hornbill	tingang	—	tiŋɑŋ	tiŋɑŋ

	English	Indonesian	Penyombaan Arut	Kenambui	Kelurahan Raja
1	mountain	gunung	bukit	bukit	gunuŋ
2	earth	tanah	tɑnɑh	tɑnɑh	tɑnɑh
3	sand	pasir	pɑsir	pɑsir	pɑsir
4	stone	batu	bɑtu	bɑtu	bɑtu
5	mud	lumpur	lumpur	lutɑk	lumpur
6	water	air	bɑɲu	bɑɲu	bɑɲu
7	river	sungai	suŋɑj	suŋɑj	suŋɑI
8	sea	laut	lɑut	lɑut	lɑut
9	moon	bulan	bulɑn	bulɑn	bulɑn
10	star	bintang	bintɑŋ	bintɑŋ	bintɑŋ, bɪntɑŋ
11	sky	langit	lɑŋit	lɑŋint	lɑŋit
12	cloud	awan	ɑwɑn	rɑkun	rɑkun
13	wind	angin	ɑŋin	ɑŋɪn	ɑŋin
14	rain	hujan	huʤɑn	uʤɑn	huʤɑn
15	thunder	guntur	guntur	guntur	guntur
16	lightning	kilat	kilɑt	kilɑt	kilɑt
17	rainbow	pelangi	kɑkuʔuŋ	kʌkuʔuŋ	kʌkuʔuŋ
18	shadow	bayangan	kəm-bɑɲɑŋ-ɑn	kʌm-bɑjɑŋ-ɑn	kʌm-bɑjɑŋ-ɑn
19	day	hari	hɑri	ɑri	ɑri
20	year	tahun	tɑun	tɑun	tɑʊn
21	morning	pagi	pɑgi	pɑgi	pɑgi
22	night	malam	mɑlɑm	mɑlɑm	mɑlɑm
23	noon	siang	siɑŋ	toŋɑh hɑri	tɔŋɑh hɑri
24	afternoon	sore	bɑ-hɑri	bɑ-hɑri	bɑ-hɑri
25	yesterday	kemarin	hɑri sə-mɑlɑm	ʔɑri sɑ-mɑlɑm	ʔɑri sʌ-mɑlɑm

	English	Indonesian	Penyombaan Arut	Kenambui	Kelurahan Raja
26	tomorrow	besok	besok	esok	esok
27	forest	hutan	hutɑn	bɑbɑs	bɑbɑs
28	tree	pohon	pohon	bɑtɑŋ kɑjuʔ	bɑtɑŋ
29	bark	kulit kayu	kulit kɑju	kulit kɑjuʔ	kulit kɑju
30	leaf	daun	dɑun	dɑun	dɑun
31	thorn	duri	duri	duriʔ	duriʔ
32	root	akar	ɑkɑr	ɑkɑr	urɑt
33	ironwood	kayu besi	bulin	bulin	bulin
34	flower	bunga	kombɑŋ	kɔmbɑŋ	kɔmbɑŋ
35	fruit	buah	buɑh	buɑh	buɑh
36	banana	pisang	pisɑŋ	pisɑŋ	pisɑŋ
37	durian	durian	durin	durin	durin
38	coconut tree	pohon kelapa	pohon ɲiuʔ	bɑtɑŋ niuʔ	bɑtɑŋ niuʔ
39	sugar cane	tebu	tɔbu	tɔbuʔ	tɔbuʔ
40	eggplant	terong	tɔruŋ	tɔruŋ	tɔruŋ
41	sago tree	pohon sagu	sɑgu	bɑtɑŋ sɑguʔ	bɑtɑŋ sɑgu
42	sago flour	tepung sagu	sɑgu	sɑguʔ	sɑguʔ
43	cassava	singkong	mɑngɑlɑ	mɑngɑlɑ	məŋgɑlɑ
44	taro	keladi	kɑlɑdi	kɑlɑdi	kʌlɑdi
45	rattan	rotan	rotɑn	rotɑn	rotɑn
46	kapuk tree	pohon kapok	bɑtɑŋ kɑpok	bɑtɑŋ kɑpɔk	bɑtɑŋ kɑpɔk
47	bird	burung	buruŋ	buruŋ	buruŋ
48	wing	sayap	sɑjɑp	sɑjɑp	sɑjɑp
49	feather	bulu	bulu	bulu	bulu
50	tail	ekor	buntut	buntut	buntut
51	egg	telur	tɑlor	tɑlɔr	tɑlɔr
52	crow	burung gagak	buruŋ gɑgɑk	buruŋ gɑgɑk	gɑgɑk
53	fish	ikan	ikɑn	ikɑn	ikɑn

	English	Indonesian	Penyombaan Arut	Kenambui	Kelurahan Raja
54	snake	ular	ulɑr	ulɑr	ulɑr
55	crocodile	buaya	buɑjɑ	buɑjɑʔ	buɑjɑʔ
56	chicken	ayam	ɑjɑm	ɑjɑm	ɑjɑm
57	deer	rusa	rusɑ	rusɑ	rusɑ
58	rat	tikus	tikus	tikus	tikus
59	dog	anjing	kuduʔ	kuduʔ	kuduʔ
60	worm	cacing	ʧɑʧiŋ	ʧɑʧiŋ	ʧɑʧiŋ
61	fly	lalat	lɑŋɑw	lɑlɑt	lɑlɑt
62	mosquito	nyamuk	ɲɑmok	ɲɑmuk	ɲɑmuk
63	spider	laba-laba	bɑŋkɑŋ	bɑŋkɑŋ	bɑŋkɑŋ
64	termite	rayap	sɑŋkɑrihɑ	giriŋ-giriŋ	ɑnɑI-ɑnɑI
65	butterfly	kupu-kupu	kɑ-kupu	kɑ-kupu	bɑmbo
66	skin	kulit	kulit	kulit	kulit
67	sweat	keringat	poluh	pɔluh	pɔluh
68	blood	darah	dɑrɑh	dɑrɑh	dɑrɑh
69	body	badan	bɑdɑn	bɑdɑn	tubuh
70	bone	tulang	tulɑŋ	tulɑŋ	tulɑŋ
71	urine	air kencing	bɑɲu komih	bɑɲu kɔmih	bɑɲu kɔmih
72	urinate	kencing	komih	bɑ-kɔmih	komi, kɔmih
73	excrement	tai	tɑiʔ	tɑiʔ	tɑiʔ
74	defecate	berak	berɑʔ	berɑʔ	berɑk
75	vein	urat	urɑt	urɑt	urɑt
76	head	kepala	kɑpɑlɑ	kɑpɑlɑʔ	kəpɑlɑʔ, kɛpɑlɑ
77	face	muka	muhɑ	mukɑ	mukɑ
78	forehead	dahi	dɑhi	dɑhi	dɑhi
79	hair	rambut	rɑmbut	rɑmbut	rɑmbut
80	lip	bibir	bibir	bibir	bibir
81	mouth	mulut	ɲɑwɑ	ɲɑwɑ	ɲɑwɑ

	English	Indonesian	Penyombaan Arut	Kenambui	Kelurahan Raja
82	teeth	gigi	gigi	gigi	gigi
83	tongue	lidah	ilat	ilat	ilat
84	nose	hidung	hiduŋ	hiduŋ	hiduŋ
85	cheek	pipi	pipi	pipi	pipi
86	chin	dagu	ʤagu	ʤaguʔ	ʤagu
87	ear	telinga	təliŋa	taliŋa	taliŋa
88	eye	mata	mata	mata	mata
89	eyebrow	alis	alis	alis	alis
90	eyelashes	bulu mata	bulu mata	bulu mata	bulu mata
91	brain	otak	untak	untak	utak
92	neck	leher	lehɛr	lɛhɛr	lɛhɛr
93	chest	dada	dada	dada	dada
94	breast	buah dada	susu	susuʔ	susuʔ
95	breast milk	air susu ibu	susu uma	baɲu susu umaʔ	baɲu susu ibu
96	rib	tulang rusuk	belabar	tulaŋ higa	tulaŋ bʌlabar
97	heart	jantung	ʤantuŋ	ʤantuŋ	ʤantuŋ
98	lungs	paru-paru	paru-paru	paru-paru	paru-paru
99	back	punggung	tulaŋ belikaŋ	balakaŋ	bəlakaŋ
100	shoulder	bahu	bahu	bahu	bahu
101	belly	perut	porut	pɔrut	porut
102	intestines	usus	oʧos	ɔʧɔs	oʧɔs
103	liver	hati	hati	hati	hati
104	hand	tangan	taŋan	taŋan	taŋan
105	elbow	siku	siku	sikuʔ	sikuʔ
106	palm	telapak tangan	telapak taŋan	talapak taŋan	təlapak taŋan
107	finger	jari	tunʤuk	ʤariʤi	ʤariʤi
108	fingernail	kuku jari	kuku tunʤuk	kuku ʤariʤi	kuku ʤariʤi
109	leg	kaki	kaki	kaki	kaki

	English	Indonesian	Penyombaan Arut	Kenambui	Kelurahan Raja
110	thigh	paha	paha	paha?	paha
111	knee	lutut	kəpala tuhut	lantuhut	lan tuhut
112	toe	jari kaki	ʤariʤi kaki	ʤariʤi kaki	ʤariʤi kaki
113	heel	tumit	tumit	tumit	tumit
114	sole	talapak kaki	telapak kaki	talapak kaki	təlapak kaki
115	see	lihat	ma-liat	ma-liat	mʌ-liat
116	blind	buta	buta	piʧak	buta?
117	hear	dengar	man-diŋa?	man-diŋa?	mʌn-diŋa?
118	deaf	tuli	tuli	tuli?	tuli?
119	smell	cium bau	ʧium	man-ʧium	ʧium
120	fragrant	wangi	waŋi	harum	harum
121	itch	gatal	gatal	gatal	gatal
122	scratch	garuk	garuk	ba-garu?	mʌŋ-garu?
123	boil	bisul	bisul	bisul	bisul
124	scar	bekas luka	kantat	kantat	kantat
125	vomit	muntah	mutah	mutah	mutah
126	head lice	kutu	kutu	kutu	kutu
127	animal lice	kutu	hama	tɔka	tuma?
128	cough	batuk	batok	batɔk	batʊ?
129	dead	mati	mati	mati	mati
130	bury	kubur	kubur	ma-ŋubur	kubur, mʌŋ-ŋubur
131	sit	duduk	duduk	duduk	ba-duduk
132	stand	berdiri	ba-diri	ba-diri	bʌ-diri
133	sleep	tidur	guriŋ	guriŋ	guriŋ
134	forget	lupa	ka-lupa?-an	ka-lupa?-an	lupa
135	dream	mimpi	mimpi	ba-mimpi	mimpi
136	live	tinggal	tiŋgal	tiŋgal	tiŋgal, ba-diɛm
137	wait	tunggu	tanti	ma-nuŋgu	mʌ-nuŋgu

	English	Indonesian	Penyombaan Arut	Kenambui	Kelurahan Raja
138	walk	jalan kaki	ba-ʤalan kaki	ba-ʤalan kaki	bʌ-ʤalan kaki
139	play	bermain	ba-main	ba-main	bʌ-main
140	go home	pulang	pulaŋ	pulaŋ	pulaŋ
141	fly	terbang	tarobaŋ	tarɔbaŋ	tarɔbaŋ
142	climb	naik	naik	naik	naik
143	descend	turun	turun	turun	turun
144	fall	jatuh	ʤatuʔ	ʤatuʔ	ʤatuʔ
145	stab	tikam	sodok	sɔdɔk	mʌ-nikam, sodok
146	suck	isap	isap	ma-ʔisap	isap
147	bite	gigit	kotap	kɔtap	mʌ-ŋotap
148	blow	tiup	tiup	tiup	mʌ-niup
149	dig	gali	gali	gali?	mʌŋ-gali
150	kick	tendang	səpak	sepak	sepak
151	pull	tarik	tarik	tarik	mʌ-narik
152	push	dorong	suruŋ	suruŋ	suruŋ
153	run	lari	lari	lari	bʌ-lari
154	spit	meludah	ludah	ba-ludah	mʌ-ludah
155	throw away	buang	buaŋ	buaŋ	buaŋ, mʌm-buaŋ
156	turn	putar	putar	putar	mʌ-mutar
157	hide	sembunyi	ba-tapuk	ba-tapuk	bʌ-tapuk
158	stick to	lekat	likit	ma-likit	mʌ-likit
159	tether	ikat	kobat	kobat	kobat
160	wipe	lap	lap	maŋ-gɔsɔk	mʌ-lap
161	lose	hilang	hilaŋ	hilaŋ	hilaŋ
162	give	beri	bori	mam-bɔri?	bɔri
163	steal	curi	ʧuri	ʧuri?	begal
164	choose	pilih	pilih	ma-milih	pilih
165	hold	genggam	pigaŋ	gɔŋgam	gɔŋam

	English	Indonesian	Penyombaan Arut	Kenambui	Kelurahan Raja
166	wash	cuci tangan	basuʔ	basuh	basuh, basʊh
167	wash	cuci kain	tapas	ba-tatapas	ba-kə-kotʃaʔ
168	bathe	mandi	mandi	mandiʔ	mandiʔ
169	bad	jahat	ʤahat	ʤahat	ʤahat
170	good	baik	baik	bagus, segaʔ	baik, bagus, segaʔ
171	dirty	kotor	kotor	kɔtɔr	ʧiʧiʔ
172	dry	kering	koriŋ	kɔriŋ	kɔriŋ, raŋkaj
173	lie (v.)	bohong (ber-)	pam-bulaʔ-an	maŋ-aramput	kʌ-ramput, pam-bulu-ʔan
174	cry	menangis	naŋis	ma-naŋis	mʌ-naŋis, mʌn-dorah
175	tear	air mata	baŋu mata	baŋu mata	baŋu mata
176	laugh	tertawa	ta-tawa	ta-tawa	tʌtawaʔ
177	angry	marah	bonʧiʔ	ma-radaŋ	ma-radaŋ, ba-gusar
178	punch	tinju	tinʤu	tinʤu	tinʤu
179	be afraid	takut	golaʔ	golaʔ	golaʔ
180	call	panggil	dodaw	dɔdaw	dɔdau
181	talk	bicara	pander	ba-pandɪr	pandɪr
182	tell	beri tahu	bori tau	ba-habar	bɔriʔ tahu
183	left	kiri	kiri	kiri	kiriʔ
184	right	kanan	kanan	kanan	kanan
185	east	timur	timor	timur	timur
186	west	barat	barat	barat	barat
187	plant	tanam	tanam	ma-nanam	tanam
188	dibble stick	tugal	tugal	ma-nugal	tugal
189	dry	jemur	ʤomur	ʤɔmur	ʤɔmur
190	pound	menumbuk	nutuk	ma-nutuk	tutuk

	English	Indonesian	Penyombaan Arut	Kenambui	Kelurahan Raja
191	mortar	lesung	losuŋ	lɔsuŋ	lɔsuŋ
192	pestle	alu	halu	haluʔ	haluʔ
193	winnow	menampi	nampi	ma-nampiʔ	mʌ-nampiʔ
194	rice field	ladang padi	huma	huma	huma
195	field	ladang	ladah	kabɔn	kabɔn
196	house in a field	gubuk	pondok	pɔndɔk	pɔndɔk
197	raft	rakit	lantiŋ	rakit	lantiŋ
198	canoe	perahu	pərau	parau	pərau
199	canoe paddle	dayung	paŋajuh	paŋajuh	dajuŋ, paŋajuh
200	fish line	pancing	pantʃiŋ	pantʃiŋ	pantʃiŋ
201	kill	bunuh	bunuh	bunuh	bunuh
202	trail	jalan setapak	ʤalan tikus	ʤalan saliŋkaŋ	ʤalan tikus
203	knife	pisau	ladiŋ	ladiŋ	ladiŋ
204	spear	tombak	doha	dohaʔ	dohaʔ
205	blow gun	sumpit	sumpit-	sumpit-an	sumpit-an
206	rope	tali	tali	tali	tali
207	machete	parang	paraŋ	paraŋ	paraŋ
208	sheath	sarung parang	kumpaŋ	kumpaŋ paraŋ	kumpaŋ paraŋ
209	comb	sisir	sisir	sisir	sisir
210	broom	sapu	sasapu	sasapu	sʌsapu
211	weave	anyam	haɲam	ma-haɲam	ma-haɲam
212	sew	jahit	ʤait	man-ʤait	ʤait
213	needle	jarum	ʤarum	ʤarum	ʤarum
214	medicine	obat	ubat	tatanba	tantamba
215	rice	padi	padi	padi	padi
216	rice	beras	boras	bɔras	bɔras
217	rice	nasi	nasi	nasiʔ	nasiʔ

	English	Indonesian	Penyombaan Arut	Kenambui	Kelurahan Raja
218	husk of rice	sekam	hampa	kɔpu	kɔpu
219	salt	garam	garam	garam	garam
220	fat	lemak	loma	lɔmaʔ	lɔmaʔ
221	boil	mendidih	maŋ-gurak	maŋ-gurak	mʌŋ-gurak
222	cook	masak	masak	ma-masak	masak
223	cooking pot	panci	pantʃi	kɛntʃɛŋ	kɛntʃɛŋ
224	dipper	gayung	gajuŋ	gajuŋ	gajuŋ
225	fire	api	api	api	api
226	ashes	abu	habu	habu	habu
227	firewood	kayu api	kaju api	kajuʔ api	kaju api
228	fire place	tungku	tuŋku	tuŋkuʔ	tuŋkuʔ
229	stick (wood)	kayu	kaju	kajuʔ	kajuʔ
230	smoke	asap	asap	asap	asap
231	burn	bakar	tunuʔ	man-ʧutʃul	mʌn-ʧutʃul
232	eat	makan	makan	makan	makan
233	hungry	lapar	lapar	lapar	lapar
234	full	kenyang	koɲaŋ	kɔɲaŋ	koɲaŋ
235	drink	minum	minum	minum	minum
236	thirsty	haus	haws	haus	haus, dahaga
237	swallow	telan	tolan	tɔlan	tɔlan
238	bitter	pahit	pahit	pait	pait
239	sour	asam	masam	masam	masam
240	sweet	manis	manis	manis	manis
241	ginger	jahe	laijak	laja?	laja?
242	betel leaf	daun sirih	daun sirih	daun sirih	daun sirih
243	betel nut	pinang	pinaŋ	pinaŋ	pinaŋ
244	chew betel nut	makan pinang	makan pinaŋ	makan pinaŋ	makan pinaŋ

	English	Indonesian	Penyombaan Arut	Kenambui	Kelurahan Raja
245	lime	kapur	kapur	kapur	kapur
246	rice wine	arak	tuak	arak	arak
247	younger sibling	adik	adi	adiʔ	adiʔ
248	father	bapak	bapak	abah, ajah	ama, ajah
249	mother	ibu	uma	umaʔ	umaʔ
250	husband	suami	laki	laki	laki
251	wife	isteri	bini	bini	bini
252	man	laki-laki	la-laki	la-laki	lʌ-laki
253	woman	perempuan	batina	batinaʔ	bʌtina
254	widow	janda	ʤanda	ʤanda, balu	ʤanda, balu
255	child	anak kecil	biak kɔʧit	biak halus	biak
256	offspring	keturunan	anak ʧuʧu	ka-turun-an	turun-an
257	person	orang	uraŋ	uraŋ	uraŋ
258	friend	kawan	kawal	kawal	kawal
259	slave	hamba	hulun	hulun	hulun
260	name	nama	nama	nama	nama
261	know	kenal	kenal	kanal	kanal
262	sell	jual	ʤual	ba-ʤual	ʤual
263	buy	beli	boli	məm-bɔli	bɔli
264	debt	hutang	utaŋ	utaŋ	utaŋ
265	pay	bayar	bajar	bajar	bajar
266	ring	cincin	ʧinʧin	ʧinʧin	ʧinʧin
267	loincloth	cawat	sabu	ʧawat	sabuʔ
268	sarong	sarung	saruŋ	saruŋ	kain saruŋ, tapih
269	trousers	celana panjang	səlawar panʤaŋ	salawar panʤaŋ	səlawar panʤaŋ
270	pillow	bantal	bantal	bantal	bantal
271	house	rumah	rumah	rumah	rumah

	English	Indonesian	Penyombaan Arut	Kenambui	Kelurahan Raja
272	longhouse	rumah panjang	rumah panʤaŋ	rumah panʤaŋ	rumah bɔsar
273	house post	tiang rumah	tiaŋ	tiaŋ rumah	tiaŋ rumah
274	ladder	tangga	taŋga	taŋgaʔ	taŋgaʔ
275	wall	dinding	dindiŋ	dindiŋ	dindiŋ
276	floor	lantai	lantaj	lantaj	lantaj
277	roof	atap	hatap	hatap	hatap
278	space under a house	kolong rumah	bawah rumah	bawah rumah	bawah rumah
279	fence	pagar	pagar	pagar	pagar
280	mat	tikar	tikar	tikar	tikur
281	one	satu	satu	satu	satu
282	two	dua	dua	duaʔ	duaʔ
283	three	tiga	tiga	tiga	tiga
284	four	empat	ompat	ampat	ɔmpat
285	five	lima	limaʔ	limaʔ	limaʔ
286	six	enam	onam	anam	ɔnam
287	seven	tujuh	tuʤuh	tuʤuh	tuʤuh
288	eight	delapan	delapan	dalapan	dəlapan
289	nine	sembilan	səmbilan	sambilan	sambilan
290	ten	sepuluh	sʌ-puluh	sa-puluh	sa-puluh
291	hundred	seratus	sʌ-ratus	sa-ratus	sa-ratus
292	thousand	seribu	sʌ-ribu	sa-ribu	sa-ribu
293	all	semua	səmua	samua	samua
294	count	hitung	hituŋ	ba-rɛkɛn	ba-hituŋ, ba-bilaŋ
295	big	besar	bosar	bɔsar	bɔsar
296	short	pendek	panda?	panda?	pandak
297	hand span	jengkal	kilan	kilan	kilan

	English	Indonesian	Penyombaan Arut	Kenambui	Kelurahan Raja
298	long	panjang	panʤaŋ	panʤaŋ	panʤaŋ
299	many	banyak	baɲak	baɲak	baɲak
300	wide	lebar	lebar	lumbah	lumbah
301	narrow	sempit	kopi	kupit	kupit
302	far	jauh	ʤauh, ʤaoh	ʤauh	ʤauh
303	near	dekat	dampiŋ	dampiŋ	dampiŋ
304	under	di bawah	di babah	di bawah	di bawah
305	rotten	busuk	buruk	buruk	buruk
306	wet	basah	basah	basah	basaʔ
307	sharp	tajam	taʤam	taʤam	taʤam
308	dull	tumpul	tumpul	tumpul	tumpul
309	short	pendek	rendeh	pandak	pandak
310	fat	gemuk	gomu	gɔmuʔ	gɔmuʔ
311	full	penuh	ponuh	pɔnuh	pɔnuh
312	hard	keras	koras	kɔras	kɔras
313	heavy	berat	borat	bɔrat	bɔrat
314	hot	panas	panas	panas	panas
315	cold	dingin	diŋin	diŋin	diŋin
316	deep	dalam	dalam	dalam	dalam
317	skinny	kurus	kurus	kurus	kurus
318	small	kecil	koʧit, halus	kɔʧit, halus	kɔʧit
319	straight	lurus	kontʃaŋ	buʤur, kɔntʃaŋ	buʤur, kɔntʃaŋ
320	strong	kuat	kuat	kuat	kuat
321	thick	tebal	tobal	tɔbal	tɔbal
322	thin	tipis	tipis	nipis	nipis
323	new	baru	baru	baru	baru
324	old	lama	lambat	lambat	lambat
325	old	tua	tuaʔ	tuaʔ	tuaʔ

	English	Indonesian	Penyombaan Arut	Kenambui	Kelurahan Raja
326	fast	cepat	ʧopɑt	ʧɔpɑt	ʧopɑt
327	black	hitam	hitɑm	hitɑm	hitɑm
328	green	hijau	hiʤaw	hiʤaw	hiʤau
329	white	putih	putih	putih	putih
330	yellow	kuning	kuniŋ	kuniŋ	kuniŋ
331	red	merah	merɑh	merɑh	merɑh
332	not	bukan	lɑin	lɑin	lɑin
333	not	tidak	tɑʔ ɑdɑ	tɑʔ ɑdɑ	tɑʔ ɑdɑ
334	how many	berapa	bɑropɑ	bɑropɑ	bəropɑ
335	what	apa	ɑpɑ	ɑpɑ	ɑpɑ
336	when	kapan	pɑm-bilɑ	pɑm-bilɑ	pʌm-bilʌ
337	where	di mana	di monɑ	di monɑ	di mɔnɑ
338	who	siapa	sopɑ	sɔpɑ	sopɑ
339	I	saya	ɑku	ulun	ɑku, kɔlɑ
340	you	kamu	ikɑm	ikɑm	ikɑm
341	he	dia	diɑ	diɑ	diɑ
342	we	kami	kɑmi	kɑmi	kɑmi
343	we	kita	kitɑ	kitɑ	kitɑ
343	you all	kalian	—	—	—
345	they	mereka	siɑʔ	siɑʔ	sidɑʔ
346	we two	kita berdua	kitɑ bɑ-duɑʔ	kitɑ bɑ-duɑʔ	kitɑ bʌduɑʔ
347	wine	tuak	tuɑk	tuɑʔ	tuɑk
348	hornbill	tingang	tiŋɑŋ	tiŋɑŋ	tiŋɑŋ

	English	Indonesian	Sulung	Mandawai	Tanjung Putri
1	mountain	gunung	bukɪt	bukit	gunuŋ
2	earth	tanah	tɑnɑh	petɑk	pɛtɑk
3	sand	pasir	kɑrɑŋɑn	kɑrɑŋɑn	kɑrɑŋɑn

	English	Indonesian	Sulung	Mandawai	Tanjung Putri
4	stone	batu	batuʔ	batu	batu
5	mud	lumpur	litʃak	lutak	lumpul
6	water	air	bajnu	bajum, bajnuʔ	air
7	river	sungai	suŋaj	suŋaj, soŋej	suŋaj
8	sea	laut	laut	laut	laut
9	moon	bulan	bulan	bulan	bulan
10	star	bintang	bintaŋ	bɪntaŋ	bɪntaŋ
11	sky	langit	laŋɪt	laŋɪt	laŋɪt
12	cloud	awan	awan, rakʊn	awan	rakun
13	wind	angin	aŋɪn	aŋɪn	aŋɪn
14	rain	hujan	huʤan	uʤan	uʤan
15	thunder	guntur	guntur	guntur	guntul
16	lightning	kilat	kilat	kilat	kilat
17	rainbow	pelangi	nagaʔ	liuʔ	tuʔup
18	shadow	bayangan	iʌm-bajaʔ	taŋ-kaliŋɛn	bajaŋ-an
19	day	hari	hari, ari	handaw	handaw
20	year	tahun	tahʊn	taun	tahun
21	morning	pagi	bajsukan	susuŋ	susuŋ
22	night	malam	malam	hamalɛm	hamalɛm
23	noon	siang	təŋah hari	tuk andaw	sawah
24	afternoon	sore	kʌmarian	ʤalemej	ʤalime
25	yesterday	kemarin	hari sa-malam	andaw bihɪn	ʤalime bihɪm
26	tomorrow	besok	besok, isok	ʤebuʔ	ʤebuʔ
27	forest	hutan	babas	hɪmba	hɪmbaʔ
28	tree	pohon	bataŋ	bataŋ	bataŋ
29	bark	kulit kayu	upak	kulit kaju	kulɪt
30	leaf	daun	daun	daun	daun
31	thorn	duri	duriʔ	duhiʔ	duri

	English	Indonesian	Sulung	Mandawai	Tanjung Putri
32	root	akar	ɑkɑr	uhɑt	ɑkɑr
33	ironwood	kayu besi	ulm	tɑ-bɑliɛn	tɑ-bɑliɛn
34	flower	bunga	kəmbɑŋ	kɑmbɑŋ	buŋɑ
35	fruit	buah	buɑh	buɑʔ	buɑ
36	banana	pisang	pisɑŋ	pisɑŋ	pisɑŋ
37	durian	durian	durian	dɑhian	durian
38	coconut tree	pohon kelapa	ɲior	bɑtɑŋ eɲuh	bɑtɑŋ ɛɲuh
39	sugar cane	tebu	nisɑn	tebu	tɛbu
40	eggplant	terong	tɑruŋ	rimbɑŋ	tɑruŋ
41	sago tree	pohon sagu	sɑguʔ	bɑtɑŋ sɑgu	sɑgu
42	sago flour	tepung sagu	sɑguʔ	sɑguʔ	sɑgu
43	cassava	singkong	mɑŋgɑlɑʔ	mɑngɑlɑ	mɑŋgɑlɑʔ
44	taro	keladi	kəlɑdiʔ	tɑlɪs	tɑlis
45	rattan	rotan	pɑjkɑt	uej	uwej
46	kapuk tree	pohon kapok	kɑpok	bɑtɑŋ kɑpʊk	kɑpuk
47	bird	burung	buruŋ	buruŋ	buruŋ
48	wing	sayap	hɑlɑr	pɑlɑpɑs	sɑjɑp
49	feather	bulu	buluʔ	bulun	bulu
50	tail	ekor	ikuʔ, bʊntʊt	buntʊt	buntʊt
51	egg	telur	hɑntɑloʔ	hɑnsɛluh	hɑntɛloh
52	crow	burung gagak	gɑgɑʔ	buruŋ gɑgɑk	gɑgɑk
53	fish	ikan	iwɑk	lɑuk	lɑuk
54	snake	ular	tɑduŋ	hɑndipe	hɑndipe
55	crocodile	buaya	buhɑjɑʔ	biɑjiʔ	biɑji
56	chicken	ayam	hɑjɑm	mɑnuk	mɑnuk
57	deer	rusa	rusɑʔ	mɑʤɑŋ-ɑn	mɑnʤɑŋ-ɑn
58	rat	tikus	tikʊs	tikus	tikus
59	dog	anjing	kujok	ɑsu	ɑsu

	English	Indonesian	Sulung	Mandawai	Tanjung Putri
60	worm	cacing	ʧaʧiŋ	handalai	handaai
61	fly	lalat	baraŋaʔ	laŋau	laŋaoʔ
62	mosquito	nyamuk	ɲamuk	ɲamʊk	ɲamuk
63	spider	laba-laba	gundaŋlawaʔ	baŋkaŋ	baŋkaŋ
64	termite	rayap	anaj-anaj	bian	rajap
65	butterfly	kupu-kupu	kupu-kupuʔ	kupu-kupu	kupu-kupu
66	skin	kulit	upak	kulɪt	kulɪt
67	sweat	keringat	paloh	bebɛs	palu
68	blood	darah	darah	daha?	daha
69	body	badan	awak	kuŋej	kuŋe
70	bone	tulang	tulaŋ	tulaŋ	tulaŋ
71	urine	air kencing	baɲu kamih	baɲun kahɪt	kahɪt
72	urinate	kencing	ba-kamih	mag-ahɪt	kanan
73	excrement	tai	tahiʔ	taiʔ	tai
74	defecate	berak	ba-hira?	mɛm-aniʔ	mɛ-nani
75	vein	urat	urat	uhat	uhat
76	head	kepala	kapala?	takulut	takulu
77	face	muka	muha?	bɛʔ	bɛʔ
78	forehead	dahi	dahiʔ	lŋkau	lŋkaw
79	hair	rambut	rambʊt	balau	balaw
80	lip	bibir	bibɪr	bibih	bibih
81	mouth	mulut	muntoŋ	ɲame	ɲame
82	teeth	gigi	gigiʔ	kasiŋe	kasɪŋe
83	tongue	lidah	ilat	ʤela	ʤela
84	nose	hidung	hiduŋ	hiduŋ	hiduŋ
85	cheek	pipi	pipi	pipi	pipi
86	chin	dagu	dagu?	ʤagu	dagu
87	ear	telinga	taliŋa?	pɪndiŋ	pɪndɪŋ

	English	Indonesian	Sulung	Mandawai	Tanjung Putri
88	eye	mata	mɑtɑʔ	mɑte	mɑte
89	eyebrow	alis	kɑniŋ	bulur kɪnɪŋ	ɑlis
90	eyelashes	bulu mata	bulu mɑtɑʔ	bulun mɑte	bulu mɑte
91	brain	otak	utɑk	otɑk	ontek
92	neck	leher	gulʊʔ	buŋuʔ	buŋu
93	chest	dada	dɑdɑʔ	usuk	dɑdɑ
94	breast	buah dada	susu	tusuʔ	susu
95	breast milk	air susu ibu	susu umɑʔ	tusu umɑ	bɑɲu susu
96	rib	tulang rusuk	tɑŋkɑr	tulɑŋ bɛlɑbɑr	tulɑŋ bɛlɑbɑr
97	heart	jantung	ʤɑntuŋ	ʤɑntuŋ	ʤɑntuŋ
98	lungs	paru-paru	hɑti hɑmpul, hɑti kuɾɑt	pɑru-pɑru	tɑhɑsɛŋ
99	back	punggung	bɑlikɑt	likur	likur
100	shoulder	bahu	bɑhuʔ	bɑhɑʔ	bɑhɑʔ
101	belly	perut	pɑrot	tɑnɑiʔ	tɛnɑj
102	intestines	usus	ʊʧus	pɑ-pɑrut-ɑn	oʧos
103	liver	hati	hɑtiʔ	ɑtej	hɑtej
104	hand	tangan	tɑŋɑn	lɛŋe	lɪŋe
105	elbow	siku	sikuʔ	siku	siku
106	palm	telapak tangan	tɑlɑpɑk tɑŋɑn	lukɑp lɛŋe	tɑpɑk lɪŋe
107	finger	jari	tunʤuk	tunʤuk	tɑlunʤuk
108	fingernail	kuku jari	kukuʔ	silu	siluʔ
109	leg	kaki	bɑtɪs	pɑji	pɑiʔ
110	thigh	paha	bɑtɑŋ pɑhɑʔ	sɑpɑk	sɑpɑk
111	knee	lutut	lintuhʊt	kɑ-lutut	lutut
112	toe	jari kaki	tunʤuk bɑtɪs	tuŋʤuk pɑji	tɑlunʤuk pɑiʔ
113	heel	tumit	tumit, tumɪt	tɑkɪr	tɑkɪr
114	sole	talapak kaki	tɑlɑpɑk bɑtɪs	tɛlɑpɑk pɑji	tɛlɑpɑk pɑiʔ

	English	Indonesian	Sulung	Mandawai	Tanjung Putri
115	see	lihat	ma-lihat, ma-nɪrɪŋ	ɳite	maŋ-giteh
116	blind	buta	pitʃak	ba-bote	bu-bute
117	hear	dengar	-daŋar	hiniŋ	ma-hinɪŋ
118	deaf	tuli	tuliʔ	badɛŋan	badɪŋɪn
119	smell	cium bau	man-ʧium	bew-an	siŋut
120	fragrant	wangi	harum	harum	harum
121	itch	gatal	gatal, garuk	ba-gatɛl	gatɛl
122	scratch	garuk	ba-garuk	ba-gajou	gajaw
123	boil	bisul	bisul	lujuŋ	lujuŋ
124	scar	bekas luka	kunat	kantat	kantat
125	vomit	muntah	muak	mutaʔ	mutah
126	head lice	kutu	kutuʔ	guti	gutiʔ
127	animal lice	kutu	tukaʔ	hamaʔ	gutiʔ
128	cough	batuk	ɣatuk	baʤemuʔ	baʤemuh
129	dead	mati	matiʔ	matej	matej
130	bury	kubur	pa-kubur-an	ma-ŋubur	iŋubur
131	sit	duduk	dudʊk	munduk	munduk
132	stand	berdiri	ba-diriʔ	mɛndeŋ	mɛndɛŋ
133	sleep	tidur	guriŋ	ba-tɪro	ba-tɛruh
134	forget	lupa	kada iŋat	humbuj iŋat	humbuj iŋat
135	dream	mimpi	ba-mɪmpi	nupi	mɪmpi
136	live	tinggal	ta-tiŋgal	ba-lihi	ba-lihi
137	wait	tunggu	tuŋguʔ, hadaŋiʔ	indelehu	ɛnteh
138	walk	jalan kaki	ʤalan kaki	ma-naŋʤuŋ	mɛ-naŋʤuŋ
139	play	bermain	maɪn, baʔilaŋ	ba-rusɪk	ba-rusɪk
140	go home	pulang	bulik, mantuk	buli	buliʔ
141	fly	terbang	tarabaŋ	tarabaŋ	tɪrabaŋ
142	climb	naik	najk	ʤakat	ʤakat

	English	Indonesian	Sulung	Mandawai	Tanjung Putri
143	descend	turun	tʊrun	muhun	muhun
144	fall	jatuh	gugur	man-ʤatu	mɛn-ʤatuh
145	stab	tikam	di-sudok	tikam	iɲodok
146	suck	isap	ma-ʔisap	ma-ʔisap	isap
147	bite	gigit	ma-ʔigʊt	mamaŋ-kɪt	mimaŋkɪt
148	blow	tiup	di-tiup	himun	himun
149	dig	gali	di-tabuk	jaŋ-gali	iŋali
150	kick	tendang	di-sipak	ɲepak	iɲɛpak
151	pull	tarik	di-tarɪk	narɪk	narik
152	push	dorong	di-tunʤʊl	ja-nolak	ɲoroŋ
153	run	lari	bukah	ha-dari	ha-dari
154	spit	meludah	ba-ɾudah	ma-luʤa	luʤa
155	throw away	buang	di-buaŋ	ja-ŋanan	iŋanan
156	turn	putar	ba-putar, di-pʊsiŋ	ba-pusm	putar
157	hide	sembunyi	ba-patak	ba-sahukan	ba-sahukan
158	stick to	lekat	ma-likɪt	me-lekɛt	ma-lekɛt
159	tether	ikat	ba-kabat	peteŋ	imɛteŋ
160	wipe	lap	di-gusok	ŋasat	lap
161	lose	hilang	hilaŋ, ke-hilaŋ-an	nihau	nihaw
162	give	beri	mam-bariʔ	neŋaʔ	inɛŋa
163	steal	curi	man-ʧuntan	takau	mɛ-nakau
164	choose	pilih	ma-milih, di-pilih	ma-mili	imilɪh
165	hold	genggam	ma-miŋ-kutiʔ	ɱbɪŋ	imbɪŋ
166	wash	cuci tangan	basuh	mɛn-njauʔ	mɛ-ɲaw
167	wash	cuci kain	ba-tatapas	man-apuk-an	ba-tapuk-an
168	bathe	mandi	mandiʔ	mandwi	manduj
169	bad	jahat	rigat	humbuj bagus	bagus
170	good	baik	baik, paruna ʔ	bagus	bagus

	English	Indonesian	Sulung	Mandawai	Tanjung Putri
171	dirty	kotor	rigat	harise	harıse
172	dry	kering	kariŋ	tejah	tejah
173	lie (v.)	bohong (ber-)	ba-dusta?	ka-ramput	kɛ-ramput
174	cry	menangis	ma-naŋıs	naŋis	ma-naŋis
175	tear	air mata	baɲu mata?	baɲun mate	baɲun mate
176	laugh	tertawa	ta-tawa?	tatawe	tɛtawe
177	angry	marah	sarik	sarik	sarih
178	punch	tinju	di-gʊʧuh	tampar	i-nampar
179	be afraid	takut	takut-an	mike	mikɛh
180	call	panggil	di-saru?	ŋahau	i-ŋahau
181	talk	bicara	ba-pandır	pandɛr	bɛn-pandir
182	tell	beri tahu	di-bəri habar	ɲarita	inʧɛrita
183	left	kiri	kiUa?	sambıl	kırı
184	right	kanan	kanan	mantau	kanan
185	east	timur	timur	timur	timur
186	west	barat	barat	barat	barat
187	plant	tanam	ma-nanam	imbul	ba-imbul
188	dibble stick	tugal	tugal, ma-nugal	tugal	tugal
189	dry	jemur	man-ʤamur	ɛkej	ɛke
190	pound	menumbuk	ma-notok	tempe?	tɛmpe
191	mortar	lesung	lasuŋ	lisuŋ	lesuŋ
192	pestle	alu	halu?	halu?	halu
193	winnow	menampi	ma-nampi?, ba-tampi?	ma-nampan	i-nampan
194	rice field	ladang padi	pa-huma?-an	tana?	tana?
195	field	ladang	kabʊn	kabun	kabun
196	house in a field	gubuk	pondok	pondok	pondok

	English	Indonesian	Sulung	Mandawai	Tanjung Putri
197	raft	rakit	rɑkɪt, lɑntiŋ	lɑntɪŋ	rɑkɪt
198	canoe	perahu	ʤukuŋ	ɑlur	ɑlur
199	canoe paddle	dayung	pʌŋɑjuh, pɑŋɑjuh	beseɪ	bɛsej
200	fish line	pancing	ʊnʤun	pisiʔ	pisiʔ
201	kill	bunuh	bʊnuh	pɑtej	imunuʔ
202	trail	jalan setapak	ʤɑlɑn hɑlos	ʤɑlɑn-ɑn	ʤɑlɑnɑn sɛtɑpɑk
203	knife	pisau	pɑrɑŋ	lɑdiŋ	pisɑw
204	spear	tombak	tumbɑk	tumbɑk	tombɑk
205	blow gun	sumpit	sumpit-ɑn	sipɛt	sumpɪt
206	rope	tali	tɑliʔ	tɑli	tɑli
207	machete	parang	pɑrɑŋ	pisɑw	pisɑw
208	sheath	sarung parang	kumpɑŋ	kumbɑŋ	kumpɑŋ
209	comb	sisir	suroj	sundur	sundur
210	broom	sapu	sɑsɑpuʔ	sesɑpu	sɛsɑpu
211	weave	anyam	mɑ-ʔɑjɑm	mɑn-dɑre	ɑɲɑm
212	sew	jahit	mɑn-ʤɑhɪt	mɛn-ʤɑhɪt	mɛn-ʤɑhɪt
213	needle	jarum	ʤɑrum	pilus	pilus
214	medicine	obat	ubɑt	obɑt	obɑt
215	rice	padi	bɑnih	pɑre	pɑre
216	rice	beras	bɑrɑs	behɑs	behɑs
217	rice	nasi	nɑsiʔ	nɑsi	nɑsi
218	husk of rice	sekam	hɑmpɑʔ	bulu	dɑdɑk
219	salt	garam	ujɑʔ	ujɑh	ujɑh
220	fat	lemak	lɑmɑk	lemɑk	mɛŋɑk
221	boil	mendidih	mɑŋ-gurɑk	mɛŋ-gurɑk	mɛŋ-gurɑk
222	cook	masak	mɑ-mɑsɑk	bɑr-ɑpi	bɛr-ɑpi
223	cooking pot	panci	pɑnʧiʔ	kɛnʧɛŋ	kɛnʧɛŋ
224	dipper	gayung	gɑjuŋ	ʧɑntɪŋ	gɑjuŋ

	English	Indonesian	Sulung	Mandawai	Tanjung Putri
225	fire	api	apiʔ	apui	apuj
226	ashes	abu	habuʔ	kabu	kabu
227	firewood	kayu api	kaju apiʔ	kaju apuj	kaju apuj
228	fire place	tungku	tuŋkuʔ	tuŋku	tuŋku
229	stick (wood)	kayu	kajuʔ	kaju	kaju
230	smoke	asap	palak	asɛp	asɛp
231	burn	bakar	mam-banam	nusul	bakar
232	eat	makan	makan	kuman	kuman
233	hungry	lapar	ka-lapar-an	balau	balauʔ
234	full	kenyang	kaɲaŋ	bɛsuh	besuh
235	drink	minum	minum	mihup	mihup
236	thirsty	haus	malah	haus	haus
237	swallow	telan	di-taguʔ	tegokʔ	enegok
238	bitter	pahit	pahɪt	ba-pait	pait
239	sour	asam	masam	masem	masɛm
240	sweet	manis	manis	manɪs	manis
241	ginger	jahe	tipakan	laiʔ	laiʔ
242	betel leaf	daun sirih	daun sɪrih	daun sɪri	daun sɪri
243	betel nut	pinang	pinaŋ	gehat	gehat
244	chew betel nut	makan pinang	ma-ŋinaŋ	sɪmpah	kuman sɪri
245	lime	kapur	kapur	kapur	kapur
246	rice wine	arak	arak	arak	arak
247	younger sibling	adik	adiŋ	adiŋ	adɪŋ
248	father	bapak	bapaʔ, ajah	ajah	ajah
249	mother	ibu	umaʔ	umaʔ	umaʔ
250	husband	suami	lakiʔ	baneʔ	suami

	English	Indonesian	Sulung	Mandawai	Tanjung Putri
251	wife	isteri	biniʔ	sawe	bini
252	man	laki-laki	la-laki-an, la-lakiʔ	hatuwe	hatuwe
253	woman	perempuan	bibiniʔ, bibini-an	bawiʔ	bawi
254	widow	janda	baluʔ	baluʔ	baluʔ
255	child	anak kecil	anak halus, ka-kanak-an	anak ulu	anak ulu
256	offspring	keturunan	ka-turun-an	anak ɛsuʔ	esu
257	person	orang	uraŋ	uluh	uluh
258	friend	kawan	kawan, kawal	kawal	kawal
259	slave	hamba	pəm-bantuʔ	babuʔ	babuʔ
260	name	nama	ŋaran	aran	aran
261	know	kenal	pinanduʔ	kasenan	kasinan
262	sell	jual	ʤual	man-ʤual	n-ʤual
263	buy	beli	di-tukar-i, mo-nokar	nankiri	ma-nankɪri
264	debt	hutang	ba-hutaŋ	utaŋ	utaŋ
265	pay	bayar	mam-bajar-iʔ	bajar	bajar
266	ring	cincin	utas	tisin	tisɪn
267	loincloth	cawat	salawar	salawar	ʧawt
268	sarong	sarung	tapih	hinjaŋ	hinʤan karun
269	trousers	celana panjang	salawar panʤaŋ	salawar panʤaŋ	sɛlawar
270	pillow	bantal	bantal	bantal	bantal
271	house	rumah	rumah	humaʔ	humaʔ
272	longhouse	rumah panjang	rumah panʤaŋ	humaʔ panʤaŋ	—
273	house post	tiang rumah	tihaŋ rumah	ʤihin huma	ʤihiʔ
274	ladder	tangga	taŋgaʔ	heʤan	heʤaŋ
275	wall	dinding	tawiŋ	dindiŋ	dɪndɪŋ

	English	Indonesian	Sulung	Mandawai	Tanjung Putri
276	floor	lantai	lantaj	lase	laseh
277	roof	atap	hatap	hatap	atap
278	space under a house	kolong rumah	ba-rumah	penda huma	pɛndaʔ
279	fence	pagar	pagar	pager	pagɛr
280	mat	tikar	tikar	amak	amak
281	one	satu	satuʔ	iʤɛ	iʤe
282	two	dua	duaʔ	dwe	—
283	three	tiga	tigaʔ	telu	telu
284	four	empat	əmpat	epat	epat
285	five	lima	limaʔ	limeʔ	lime
286	six	enam	ənam	anam	anam
287	seven	tujuh	tuʤuh	uʤuʔ	uʤuh
288	eight	delapan	dalapan	haɲa	haɲa
289	nine	sembilan	sambilan	ʤalatijen	ʤɛlatiɛn
290	ten	sepuluh	sa-puluh	se-pulu	sɛ-pʊlʊh
291	hundred	seratus	sa-ratus	se-ratus	sɛ-ratus
292	thousand	seribu	sa-ribu	sɛ-ribuʔ	sɛ-ribu
293	all	semua	sʌmuɲaʔa-ɲaʔ	sagalaija	sɛgalajah
294	count	hitung	ba-hituŋ	maʔisɛ	ise
295	big	besar	ganal	datuh	datuh
296	short	pendek	handap	pandak	pɛdɛk
297	hand span	jengkal	sa-kilan	gawaŋ	ʤe-gawaŋ
298	long	panjang	panʤaŋ	panʤaŋ	panʤaŋ
299	many	banyak	baɲak	are	are
300	wide	lebar	lumbah	lumbah	lumbah
301	narrow	sempit	kipɪt	humbwi lumbah	sɛkeʔ
302	far	jauh	ʤauh	ke-ʤau	ke-ʤaw

	English	Indonesian	Sulung	Mandawai	Tanjung Putri
303	near	dekat	pɑrɑk	tokɛp	tukɛp
304	under	di bawah	di bɑwɑh	si-pɛndɑʔ	pɛdɑʔ
305	rotten	busuk	buruk	buruk	buruk
306	wet	basah	bɑsɑh	bɑ-bisɑh	bɑ-bisɑh
307	sharp	tajam	lɑndɑp	bɑɲihi	bɑɲehi
308	dull	tumpul	tumpʊl	tumpul	tumpul
309	short	pendek	hɑndɑp	pɛndɛk	pɛndɛk
310	fat	gemuk	lɑmɑk	bɑ-seput	seput
311	full	penuh	hibɑk	penuʔ	pɛnu
312	hard	keras	kɑrɑs	bɑtekɑn	bɑtekɑŋ
313	heavy	berat	bɑrɑt	bɑ-behɑ	bɑ-behɑt
314	hot	panas	pɑnɑs, hɑŋɑt	belɑsuʔ	bɛlɑsu
315	cold	dingin	diŋɪn	sɑ-diŋɪn	sɛ-diŋɪn
316	deep	dalam	dɑlɑm	hɑn-dɑlɛm	hɑn-dɑlɛm
317	skinny	kurus	kʊrus	bɑ-riŋkuŋ	bɑ-riŋkun
318	small	kecil	hɑlos	kurɪk	kurɪk
319	straight	lurus	buʤur, kɑnʧɑŋ	buʤur	buʤur
320	strong	kuat	gɑgɑh, gɑnʧɑŋ	kwɑt	gɑgɑh
321	thick	tebal	kɑndɑl	bɑ-kɑpɑl	tɑbɑl
322	thin	tipis	mipɪs	bɑ-nipis	tɪpis
323	new	baru	hɑɳɑr	bɑhuwɑ	bɑhuwɑ
324	old	lama	lɑuɑs	tɑhiʔ	tɑhiʔ
325	old	tua	tuhɑʔ	bɑkɑs	—
326	fast	cepat	ɑnʧɑp	bɑ-hɑnʧɑp	lɑɳɑŋ
327	black	hitam	hirɑŋ	bɑ-bilem	bɑ-bilem
328	green	hijau	hiʤɑw	hiʤɑu	hiʤɑw
329	white	putih	putih	bɑ-putih	bɑ-putih
330	yellow	kuning	kuniŋ	bɑ-henɑ	bɑ-hɛdɑk

	English	Indonesian	Sulung	Mandawai	Tanjung Putri
331	red	merah	merah, ɑbaŋ	bɑ-hɑndaŋ	bɑ-hɑndɑŋ
332	not	bukan	bukɑn	lɑjn-ɑn	lɑin
333	not	tidak	kɑ dɑʔ	humboj, humbui	humbui
334	how many	berapa	bərɑpɑ	pɛrɛ	pire
335	what	apa	ɑpɑʔ	eʔɛn	eɛn
336	when	kapan	kɑ-bilɑʔ	pɑriɑ	pɑriɑ
337	where	di mana	di mɑnɑʔ	teŋisɛm	teŋisɛm
338	who	siapa	siɑpɑʔ	ɑwe	ɑwe
339	I	saya	ɑkuʔ	kulɑ	—
340	you	kamu	ikɑm, kɑw	ikɑw	ikɑw
341	he	dia	iɲɑʔ, kɑw	jɑʔɑ	—
342	we	kami	kɑmiʔ	ɛke	—
343	we	kita	kitɑʔ, kɑmiʔ	ɛke	—
343	you all	kalian	—	—	—
345	they	mereka	kɑwʔ, bu-buhɑn-muʔ	kɛtu	sɛgɑlɑjɑ
346	we two	kita berdua	kitɑ bɑ-duɑʔ	itɑh bɑdue	bɑ-duwe
347	wine	tuak	tuɑk	tuɑk	tuɑk
348	hornbill	tingang	ɑŋgɑŋ	buruŋ bɑɲɑk	tiŋɑŋ

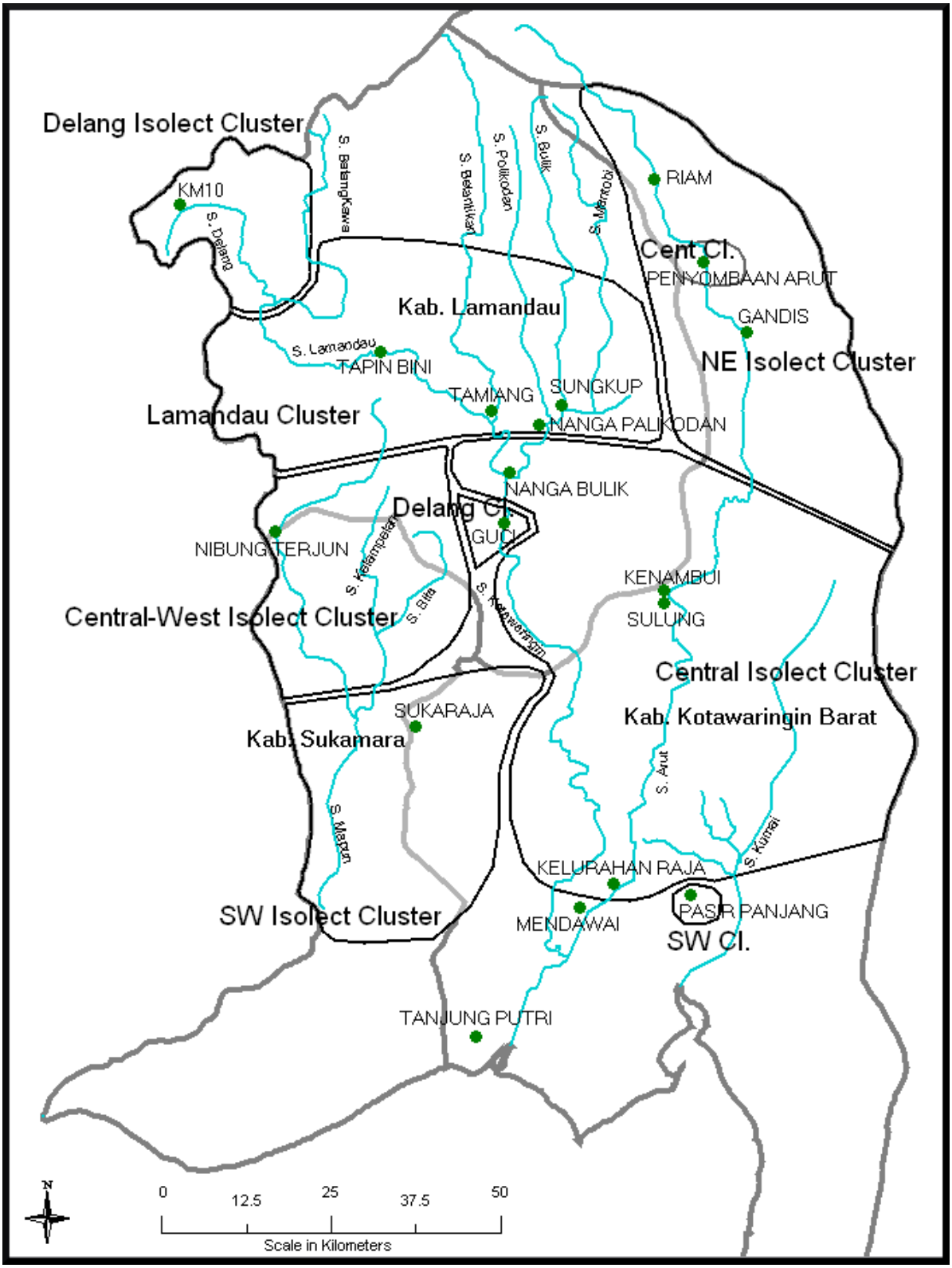

Figure 1: Isolects included in Appendix A