# Papuan-Austronesian language contact on Yapen Island: A preliminary account Emily GASSER

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Yawa, a Papuan language spoken on Yapen Island in Cenderawasih Bay, has been in close contact with neighboring Austronesian languages for up to about 3,000 years. In that time, these languages have grown more similar, sharing lexical material and grammatical/typological features. This paper explores the nature of that contact and the extent of the resulting borrowing, and discusses specific examples of shared lexical and grammatical features and their likely direction of borrowing. These examples support the conclusion that sustained trade and multilingualism, and likely intermarriage, have historically been prevalent across the island.

#### 1. Introduction

The island of Yapen in Cenderawasih Bay, in Northwest New Guinea, is home to approximately thirteen languages, eleven Austronesian (AN) and two Papuan (non-Austronesian; PAP). The island itself is approximately 260 km end to end, and about 25 km at its widest point, with a total area of roughly 2600 km<sup>2</sup>. The interior of the island is mountainous, with most villages lining the north and south coasts and few easily-definable boundaries between discrete language areas as such (see i.e. Sawaki 2017 map 1.2, reproduced as Figure 1 below.). In short: many languages, all jostling against one another in close quarters, leading to intense and long-term language contact.

This paper examines the results of that contact, specifically across Austronesian/Papuan family borders. Yawa, spoken by  $\sim\!6000$  people in central Yapen (Jones 1986a), and its close relative Saweru, with  $\sim\!150$  speakers on Saweru Island just to the south (Donohue 2001), are the two non-Austronesian languages on Yapen and the only representatives of their family, which I will refer to here as Yawa-Saweru. Because of the dearth of information on Saweru, this paper will focus largely on Yawa. This account is not intended to be definitive or complete, as the available data on the languages of Yapen is still quite limited, but rather to lay out what is currently known and to encourage further work on the topic.

This paper proceeds as follows. §2 lays out the current language situation on Yapen, including documented patterns of multilingualism and intermarriage. §3 describes the data used in this study, and §4 discusses the patterns of borrowing found in that data. §5 explores the implications of the observed borrowings, including the long history of close personal contact, trade relations, and intermarriage between Yawa and the surrounding SHWNG languages. §6 concludes.

## 2. Current language situation on Yapen

Austronesian speakers arrived in New Guinea around 3500 years ago, and spread across the north coast and offshore islands, including Yapen. The date of their arrival on Yapen has not yet been established, but was likely between one and three thousand years ago, and probably in the earlier end of that range. The An languages of Yapen are classified (Anceaux 1961, Blust 1978, Kamholz 2014; see also Blust 1993.) as belonging to the Yapen subgroup of South Halmahera-West New Guinea (SHWNG), which I will here

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call SHWNG Yapen to distinguish genetic from geographic categorization. The SHWNG Yapen group includes Ambai, Ansus, Busami, Marau, Munggui, Papuma, Pom, Serui-Laut, Wabo, and Wooi; as well as Kurudu, on Kurudu Island just to the east, and Wamesa (aka Wandamen or Windesi), spoken on the mainland along the southwest coast of Cenderawasih Bay. Biak, a member of the Biakic subgroup, sister to Yapen within SHWNG, is also spoken in a few villages on Yapen Island as well as on Biak and Numfoor Islands just to the north and in enclaves in the Bird's Head and the Raja Ampat Islands. Pom, Marau, and Wooi are also spoken in villages on Num Island to the west. This paper considers all of the preceding languages for which adequate data exists, as well as Serewen, sometimes considered a dialect of Pom.

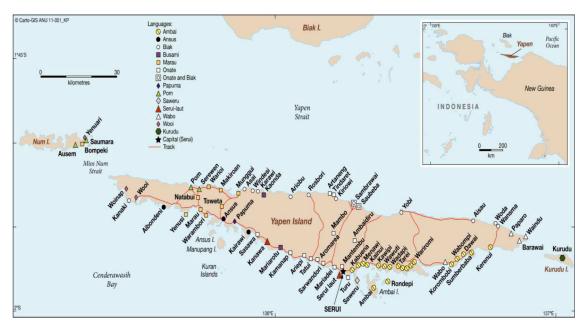


Figure 1. Distribution of languages by village on Yapen and nearby islands (Sawaki 2017:4).

No comprehensive study of the extent of multilingualism in Cenderawasih Bay and the surrounding areas exists to date, but what information is available suggests that it is the norm. Sawaki (2017) points out that on Yapen Island, villages of different language groups are interspersed with one another, rendering the traditional method of mapping discrete language areas overly simplistic. Furthermore, some villages are traditionally multilingual; Sawaki points out Sambrawai and Saubeba, on the north coast of Yapen, as home to both Biak and Yawa (which he calls Onate) communities; Silzer (1983) adds that Wadapi Laut village includes speakers of Ambai and Yawa, which he calls Mora.

With such extensive interspersion, it should be no surprise to find speakers with varying degrees of proficiency in languages other than their home variety. Sawaki (2017) reports that older speakers of Wooi may also speak Biak, Pom, Ansus, Marau, and Wandamen (Wamesa), and that at cultural events held in different language communities, Wooi people speak their hosts' language and sing their traditional songs. He adds that intermarriage with other language groups is uncommon (though present), but that speakers do not recognize 'Wooi' as a tribe but rather see themselves as part of a larger Yapen ethnic group. Price & Donohue (2009) report that exogamy in Ansus villages is not the norm, but that it does occur, with Ansus men marrying women from Wandamen/Wamesa, Ambai, Waropen, Biak, Wooi, Pom, and Serewen villages, and that Ansus women sometimes

marry Waropen men. Based on their interviews, they also report two-way bilingualism between speakers of Ansus and those of Papuma and Marau, as well as knowledge of Wooi, Biak, and Ambai on the part of some Ansus speakers. Some Wamesa speakers have facility with Roon and Biak (Gasser 2017). All three remaining Dusner speakers also know Wamesa, and one speaks Kuri (Dalrymple & Mofu 2012). (These lists are only what has been reported and are unlikely to be exhaustive.) Wamesa and Biak have both been used as lingua francas in the bay, with Biak speakers at the center of the rice, tobacco, and slave trade between Cenderawasih Bay and Tidore in the 1800s (Gasser 2014, van den Heuvel 2006). Most speakers now also use Papuan Malay fluently.

Linguists writing on SHWNG languages do not mention Yawa-SHWNG bilingualism, despite proximity and the existence of mixed villages like Wadapi Laut. Cowan (1953:47) claims that Yawa shows "very few, if any, Austronesian characteristics" (and thus could not yet be genetically classified), but Anceaux (1961), writing ten years later, says that Yawa shows evidence of close contact with Ambai. Jones (1993:53), writing on Yawa kinship structures, does not explicitly mention bilingualism but reports that exogamy between Yawa speakers and neighboring groups has been "considerable", and that prolonged contact between Yawa and SHWNG Yapen groups has homogenized cultural practices on the island. Likewise, Saweru is reported to have diverged from mainland Yawa due to contact with SHWNG Yapen languages, particularly Ambai, to the extent that they (Yawa and Saweru) are no longer mutually intelligible and are considered by speakers to be different languages (Jones 1986a). Donohue (2004) reports that Saweru is heavily influenced by Ambai.

#### 3. Data

This study compares entries from a 285-item word list filled in for Yawa, Saweru, Ambai, Ansus, Biak, Kurudu, Pom, Serewen, Serui-Laut, Wooi, and Wamesa. The list was constructed by combining 182 of the best-attested items from the 210-word Swadesh list used by the Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database (Greenhill, Blust & Gray 2008) with selections from Wim Burung's (2011) *Wordlist for Languages in Papua*, including the 70-item flora-fauna-color list used by Gasser (nd), and a small number of other regionally-relevant additions. Any items for which no Yawa form(s) could be found were discarded. Eighteen additional lexical items from Jones's (1986a) Yawa dialectal comparison and Jones, Paai & Paai's (1989) dictionary were added which showed clear signs of borrowing. These are omitted from calculations of the extent of borrowing because they would skew the sample but are included in discussions of the scope of borrowing. Because of overlap of the source lists, this totals 285 meanings. The full wordlist includes a mix of "basic" vocabulary with less universal terms, and includes cultural items, regionally im-

Lexical sources: Ambai: Grace (1955-56), Silzer (1983). Ansus: Donohue et al. (n.d.); author's fieldwork (2016). Biak: van Hasselt & van Hasselt (1947), van den Heuvel (2006), Than et al. (2011); Xavier Bach (p.c.); author's fieldwork (2016). Kurudu: Anceaux (1992); Xavier Bach (p.c.). Pom: author's fieldwork (2016). Serewen: author's fieldwork (2016). Serui-Laut: Slump (1924–38), Anceaux (1992). Wamesa: Saggers (1979), Henning et al. (1991), Gasser (2015b); author's fieldwork (2011-2016). Wooi: Anceaux (1992), Sawaki (2017); Emma Remy (p.c.); author's fieldwork (2011). Yawa: Jones (1986a) – all dialects; Jones (1986c) – Ambaidiru; Jones (1986d) – Sarawandori; Jones, Paai & Paai (1989) – Central. Saweru: Donohue (2001, 2004). Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) and Proto-Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian (PCEMP): Blust (1993, 1999), Blust & Trussel (2010).

portant terms, and a mix of semantic fields and parts of speech, with a skew towards the natural world. The full list is given in the Appendix. Additional information on shared typological/grammatical features is compared based on the descriptions of Yawa published by Linda and Larry Jones (1986a, 1986b, 1986c, 1986d, 1991, 1993), but this information is far more limited.

Because the details of borrowing vary between them, separate lists have been compiled for each of the Yawa dialects. Jones (1986a) lists six dialects: Ambaidiru, Mariadei, Konti-unai, Tindaret, Ariepi, and Sarawandori. In their Yawa Lexicon, Jones, Paai & Paai (1989:xiii) say instead that there exist "five distinct dialects (with a sixth closely related to one of the others)", and combine Ambaidiru and Ariepi into a single dialect, perhaps the same one that Jones (1991) calls Central. (Jones here mentions that the Central dialect is spoken in Ambaidiru Village, but does not mention Ariepi.) I will refer to the dictionary dialect as Central, and I record it separately from the Ambaidiru- and Ariepi-specific lists given in Jones (1986a). Ignoring some phonological variation, the Central dialect as described in the dictionary is very close to being the union of the Ambaidiru and Ariepi dialects plus additional material. Therefore out of those three only the Central list is included in calculations when counting loan frequencies in §4.4, in order to avoid double-counting. All three lists are included in the Appendix for completeness and to provide data for those few instances where the Ambaidiru or Ariepi list has a form not included in the dictionary, and examples from all three lists may be used below.

Coverage of the languages in the sample varies greatly, ranging from 42 entries for Saweru to 331 for the Central dialect of Yawa, with an average of 189 entries. Languages may have more entries than there are meanings in the list due to synonyms, dialectal variation, and broadness of meaning; for example the list item 'sago' may include terms for several different sago varieties or life stages. Entries were limited to four per list item to keep in check the size and skew of well-documented languages. Most of the flora/fauna meanings on the list are relatively vague in their reference, referring to generic rather than species- or cultivar-level terms (i.e. 'bat' conflating the various types of bat and flying fox in the region), an unfortunate effect of the severely under-documented status of many of these languages. The available wordlists may give a single word for, say, 'lizard', making it impossible to know whether this refers to a small house lizard (Indonesian cicak), a larger goanna or monitor lizard, something in between, or the generic term, and any subset of 'tree kangaroo', 'kangaroo', 'wallaby', 'cuscus', 'phalanger', or even simply 'tree-dwelling marsupial' may appear, with unclear referent. Far more detailed fieldwork is necessary for most Yapen languages to go beyond this level of specificity in most cases. Where available for better-documented languages, specific species or type names were included alongside generic terms for flora and fauna.

## 4. Patterns of borrowing

This section gives an overview of various types of patterns found in SHWNG/Yawa borrowing. §4.1describes the phonological correspondences found in borrowed forms and evidence (including phonological) for for determining the direction of borrowing. §4.2 and §4.3 describe borrowings found specifically in the semantic fields of sago cultivation and kinship terminology, respectively, both key to daily life. §4.4 discusses rates of borrowing within the sample, and §4.5 discusses cases of structural/grammatical convergence.

## 4.1 Directionality & phonological effects

Given that these languages are known to be in contact and the Yawa-Saweru family is uncontroversially distinct from SHWNG Yapen, borrowing was determined based on phonological similarity. To increase the chances of identifying actual borrowings, relatively strong semantic and phonological resemblance between forms is required, though chance similarity is always a possibility for any given instance. Even if some of these should prove to be independent innovations, their quantity is such that the trends discussed here still hold. Unless otherwise specified, Yawa forms cited here come from the Central dialect. Only forms which illustrate some pattern of borrowing are given here; for a full listing of forms from each dialect (where available), see the Appendix.

Even when a form is clearly borrowed between two languages, uncovering the direction of borrowing can often be difficult to impossible. Where recoverable, the source language or family was determined based on several factors. Some phonological diagnostics are discussed below, though these rarely constitute a knock-down argument in either direction. More evidence comes from the distribution of a form.

The most clear-cut cases are those where a form is present in Yawa/Saweru and reconstructed to an Austronesian proto-language, such as Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, meaning that the form must have been borrowed into Yawa from An. An example of this is 'conch shell trumpet', which appears in Yawa as *tavuna* and is reconstructed to PMP as \*tabuRi(q), with the reflex *tabura* in Wamesa and Ambai (as well as Biak *kubur*, with regular \*t > k sound change). Unfortunately the same type of inference cannot be made in the opposite direction. Yawa has only one extant relative, Saweru, which is both severely underdocumented and subject to the same Austronesian influence as Yawa. No Yawa-Saweru proto-language has been reconstructed, and even if one were, the two varieties are similar enough (recently enough diverged) that many An loans will be difficult to distinguish based from sound correspondence mismatches. Therefore reconstructed forms are only useful as evidence of an An source, and not available for forms originating in Yawa-Saweru.

More often, a form appears in a few SHWNG Yapen languages, Yawa, and nowhere else, with no reconstruction available. 'Snake', for example, appears in Yawa as *tawae* and in Ambai, Serui-Laut, and Wamesa as *tawai*. The closest SHWNG form outside Yapen is Waropen *taiwuno* 'k.o. snake-shaped fish' (Held 1942), but this is highly unlikely to be cognate; and no possible PMP or PCEMP sources have been reconstructed. Was \*tawai an Proto-Yapen innovation borrowed into Yawa, or is it a Yawa form borrowed into Ambai, Serui-Laut, and Wamesa (directly or in a chain) or their forerunner language? In this and many cases, it is impossible to definitively tell. A form found widely in SHWNG Yapen, even if it appears nowhere else in Austronesian, is more likely to have originated in that group, though it could be an early loan that was retained as the languages split up; the reverse is true of forms attested in all Yawa dialects. The presence of a form in just one or two SHWNG Yapen languages, or just one Yawa dialect, suggests that it was borrowed into that group, but is less conclusive.

Wherever possible, the distribution of a form beyond Yapen was taken into account as well. If it appears in other non-Yapen SHWNG languages, or Central Malayo-Polynesian languages of eastern Indonesia, it is likely of Austronesian origin. Forms present in other unrelated Papuan languages are almost certainly of non-Yawa origin, and likely have Biak

or possibly Wamesa as their vector of distribution, if not their ultimate source; their presence or absence in other SHWNG languages can help tease this out. (See Gasser nd for a fuller discussion of the distribution of borrowed flora, fauna, and color terms across 54 languages of Northwest New Guinea.)

Sound change reflected in the borrowed forms can also provide clues, but is not necessarily diagnostic of the direction of borrowing. 'Bow' appears as apae in Yawa (with an additional initial k in some dialects), afai in Ambai, and apai in Wamesa, Ansus, and Pom; these are not derived from any reconstructed An forms (c.f. PMP \*busuR, Proto-Oceanic \*pusuR) and only are only attested in one other language of Cenderawasih Bay, Irarutu (Matsumura 1991), which likely borrowed its fai from neighboring Wamesa.<sup>2</sup> The distribution of the term gives little clue as to its origins; it is limited to Yapen and only attested in about half the languages looked at here (the rest have no form listed.) The most obviously useful clue comes from the sound correspondences: it is a well-attested sound change that earlier \*p is often reflected in Ambai f where other SHWNG Yapen languages retain p, a pattern which is seen in the afai/apai forms here. This suggests shared inheritance of \*apai from Proto-Yapen into the SHWNG Yapen languages, whether \*apai was initially borrowed from Proto-Yawa or innovated independently. But this is not necessarily the case. Given the close proximity of all of these languages and the documented multilingualism (where documentation exists), SHWNG speakers are likely to be aware of this correspondence, and Ambai speakers could have applied the change when integrating the word into their language as a modern loan via one of the other SHWNG Yapen languages. There is no strictly phonological reason to do this — Ambai's phoneme inventory includes p — but it is a salient difference between otherwise very similar languages, and may serve as a marker of identity, motivating the adaptation on sociolinguistic grounds while muddying the historical waters.

In fact, phonology in general gives few cues as to to origin of a loan, as the phoneme inventories and phonotactics of the languages in question are all quite similar, and few changes are necessary to incorporate a word from one language into another. In general, SHWNG Yapen languages have five vowels; three voiceless stops /p t k/; two each of voiced stops and nasals, with [g] and [ŋ] (spelled ng) appearing allophonically; fricatives / $\beta$ / ( $\nu$ ) and /s/; a rhotic; and two glides. Some variation occurs, as with an independent / $\eta$ / in Wamesa, the addition of / $\varphi$ / (f) in Ambai and Serui-Laut, / $\eta$ / ( $n\nu$ ) and /c/ in Wooi, and / $\eta$ / in Wooi and Pom. Syllables tend towards CV, and clusters are generally limited to homorganic nasal-stop (or nasal-obstruent) sequences (Silzer 1983, Gasser 2014, Sawaki 2017; see also lexical references listed above). Biak is the striking exception to these generalizations, with its wide range of acceptable clusters, vowel length distinction, inclusion of /I/, and marginal /I/ (van den Heuvel 2006). The general SHWNG Yapen description fits Yawa as well, the main differences being the addition of /I/ ( $n\nu$ ), / $n\nu$ / ( $n\nu$ ), and / $n\nu$ 3/ ( $n\nu$ 3) Some dialects (Mariadei, Konti-unai, and Tindaret), also include a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Irarutu most likely diverged prior to Proto-SHWNG (Jackson 2014), and therefore descent by inheritance into Irarutu and the SHWNG Yapen languages without the appearance of related forms in other SHWNG languages is the less plausible explanation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Jones' (1986d:4,6) Yawa Phonology, which describes the Sarawandori dialect, gives the bilabial fricative v [ $\beta$ ] as an allophone of /w/ under free variation, but an anonymous reviewer, referring to the language as a whole, points out that several minimal pairs exist distinguishing the two, such as rawae 'to dig'  $\sim$  ravae 'to pay'. Jones (1986c:104), writing on question formation in the Ambaidiru dialect, says that the

voiceless (bi?) labial fricative, spelled f (Jones 1986a). Because of these similarities, little adaptation is required to integrate a new loan moving between these languages in either direction and few clues are left as to the direction of borrowing.

Another affect of the similarity of phoneme inventories and phonotactics is that even when a loan can be identified as originating in Austronesian, there is little evidence for which language was its immediate source. Was Yawa (Ariepi dialect) *reman* 'betel pepper' (Indonesian *sirih*), for example, borrowed from Wamesa (*rema buo*), Ansus (*rema bong*), Ambai (*rema*), Serui-Laut (*remah*), or one of the yet-undocumented other languages of the island, such a Munggui or Wabo? In a small number of cases the variations that do exist can pinpoint the source of a loan more precisely: the Saweru form *fera* 'to chop' can be sourced with some confidence to Ambai *feran* 'to cut (grass)' and not Wamesa or Ansus *pera*, Wooi *perang*, or Pom *peran*.

Some recurring — though not exceptionless — correspondences do appear between Yawa and the SHWNG Yapen languages, and these can sometimes be used to infer directionality. Yawa v frequently coincides with SHWNG b, m, or w, as in Yawa kavambun, Serui-Laut and Ambai kamambo 'butterfly'. On first blush this looks like it ought to be a clear indicator of Yawa-to-An transfer, with a hard-to-distinguish sound ([ $\beta$ ]) modified into a similar but more perceptible one upon adoption of the loan. Though widespread in Cenderawasih Bay, the bilabial fricative is often highly variable in its realization, alternating with [b], [w], and even [m] in fast speech, and is frequently mistranscribed by linguists. In fact, it is not necessarily the case that the v form is the original. While most instances of this correspondence have no reconstructed source in An, making source identification difficult, the %tabura 'conch shell trumpet' set mentioned above is an exception. This form, which surfaces as Yawa tavuna, and Wamesa and Ambai tabura, has a reconstructed Austronesian root (PMP \*tabuRi(q)) and is therefore clearly a loan into Yawa, which replaced the original b with v and not vice versa.

Forms like Yawa *avone*, Wamesa *abo viurar*,<sup>5</sup> Wooi *avo*, Ansus *awo* 'red pandanus fruit' provide additional evidence that fortition is not the only option here. There is no clear reconstructed AN ancestor form<sup>6</sup> and the *b:v:w* correspondences are irregular enough even in inherited words that the SHWNG Yapen forms could be equally well inherited or spread by contact. However, the final *-ne* syllable on the Yawa form happens to be identical to the enclitic proximal determiner present in (at least) Wamesa, Wooi, Ambai, and Biak, the only languages here with substantial published grammatical descriptions (Silzer 1983, van den Heuvel 2006, Gasser 2014, Sawaki 2017), and probably also Ansus. This final syllable, as well as its close cousin *-ni*, 'this' in Wamesa, appears in a few cases, and likely

main phonological difference between this and the western Sarawandori dialect is that the former includes an additional /v/ phoneme. This suggests that any lack of contrast between /w/ and /v/ may be unique to Sarawandori, or alternatively may be an early hypothesis which has since been disproven.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> No ancestor form in PMP or elsewhere has been reconstructed, but these appear to be cognate with forms such as Nakanai *damu*, Lou *rem* 'lime spatula', and Sa'a *demu* 'chew betel nut', from Proto-Oceanic \*d(r)amut 'lime spatula' (Osmond & Ross 1998:77).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *vi-urar* 'which is red'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Apparent cognates appear in the Holle lists for several Maluku languages as well as in at least one variety from Sulawesi (Fordata *ngévoe*, Limola *panam/bau*, etc.), suggesting that a form along the lines of \*abo may be reconstructable back to at least PCEMP if not PMP (William McConvell p.c.).

indicates that an Austronesian NP was borrowed whole cloth into Yawa. In this case, that provides us with a second example of a Yawa form with v originating in Austronesian, either copying Wooi v directly or adapting Wamesa or Ansus b or w.

SHWNG di is sometimes realized in Yawa as ji, as in Yawa jian, SHWNG Yapen dia/dian/diang 'fish' (from PMP \*hikan). (Saweru borrowed this form unmodified, as dia(n).) SHWNG r often corresponds to n in Yawa, as in Yawa bambana, Wamesa, Serui-Laut, and Ansus babara, Ambai bebara, Pom bavara 'swell'. With two clear examples of An etyma, in 'swell' and 'conch shell trumpet', this correspondence is at least suggestive of Austronesian-to-Yawa directionality. The 'swell' form also provides an example of the fairly common correspondence between homorganic nasal-stop clusters on the one hand and plain nasals or stops on the other. This may go in either direction; compare 'swell' above, with a cluster in Yawa and plain obstruents in SHWNG, to Yawa katindopan, Ambai kantantini, Ansus kantanting 'cockroach'. The 'swell' example must be prenasalization of the b on introduction into Yawa, as the form descends from PMP \*baReq; 'cockroach' has no reconstructed source and may have traveled in either direction, so this correspondence is not diagnostic of source.

A more revealing pattern appears in final position. Many SHWNG Yapen languages either disallow word-final consonants or restrict them to ng ([ $\eta$ ]), while Yawa allows a range of segments in this position. Words which appear in Yawa with a final nasal often find that nasal missing or neutralized to ng in SHWNG; other final Cs tend to be dropped entirely. Where the final C is missing in SHWNG this may be taken of evidence of a Yawa source for the loan, since there is no motivation for Yawa to add on a word-final C not there is the source language. Adapted final nasals are more complex. Since Yawa lacks [ $\eta$ ] word-finally, words borrowed in from SHWNG with final ng are likely to surface with ny ([ $\eta$ ]) in Yawa, as the most similar available segment (see i.e. Steriade 2009). In the other direction, Yawa final ny could be equally well borrowed into SHWNG as ng or n (where n is allowed in that position), for the same reason. An example of this, with the direction of borrowing unknown, comes from the word for a kind of fishing spear, which appears as Yawa mandorainy, Wamesa and Biak manora, and Ansus mandoraing.

Initial voiceless obstruents sometimes delete between Yawa and SHWNG. This can be seen in the word for 'smoke', which appears in Yawa as *kijao*, but in SHWNG with an initial w (Wooi wijow, Wamesa wuyu, Ansus wio). This implies a Yawa source to account for the initial C in that language. Finally, Jones (1986d) cites the tendency in Yawa to add -(i)je to the end of borrowed words from Malay; this applies to SHWNG loans as well. A clear example of this in the word for 'coconut', Yawa angkaijije man, which appears elsewhere on Yapen as Wamesa anggadi, Wooi angkati, Ansus angkadi, Serui-Laut angkari, and Kurudu angadi.

## 4.2 Sago terminology

As in many other areas of New Guinea, sago cultivation is a major part of life on Yapen, and the products of the sago palm are important staple foods. Sago terminology has been a fertile area for lexical borrowing as well. The word for the sago plant in SHWNG Yapen

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> A speaker from Rosbori (Central dialect) gave me *katatim*, which even more closely resembles the SHWNG form, as part of a wordlist in 2016.

(source unknown) — tau, taun, or taung in Serui-Laut, Ambai, Wamesa, and Wooi, and tuing in Pom — also appears in Yawa (Sarawandori) taume 'sago flour'. Wamesa, Wooi, and Serui-Laut all have ana or anang for papeda, the gluey pudding made from sago starch and major staple food in many areas; Yawa uses anano rayat for 'papeda' and simply anan for 'sago'. The anaN form has analogues elsewhere in SHWNG, including one Raja Ampat language, Biga (Kamholz n.d.), making a Yawa origin unlikely (though dispersal by trade from Yawa or another non-Austronesian language is not ruled out). The distribution of tauN is limited to Yapen and its origin could equally lie with either group; Wamesa's close geographic neighbor Irarutu, a Central Malayo-Polynesian language, almost certainly borrowed the form from Wamesa.

Ansus has *inang* for 'sago pith', similar to Wamesa *ina* 'sago pith/pulp' and Yawa *inam* 'core (of sago palm)' and *anane ine* 'sago starch' (source unknown). The verb 'to pound' as applied to sago is reduplicated *kakar* in Biak, and *-karor* in Yawa. The chopstick-like utensils used to serve papeda are *angkai* in Yawa and *kai* in Wamesa and Ansus (no data available for other SHWNG Yapen varieties); related forms in the mainland SHWNG languages Yaur, Yerisiam, Umar, and Moor (Kamholz n.d.) suggest an An origin. Sago stirrers are known as *ai duaro* in Wamesa, *aduar* in Biak, *daru* in Ambai and Serui-Laut, and *iru* in Yawa. (Also present in Yerisiam as *dìarúa*.) Finally, sago grubs, eaten by some groups, are known as *avusyawi* in Yawa, *abis* in Wamesa, and *awi* in Ansus. Kamholz (2014) traces the Wamesa form back to PMP \*Rambia 'sago palm', though this analysis entails some irregular sound changes. Other sago terminology is unfortunately not well enough documented on Yapen for further comparisons to be made.

#### 4.3 Kinship terminology

Yawa kinship terms show several important links to SHWNG Yapen in both form and organization. Yawa society uses an Iroquois-Dravidian kinship system, distinguishing cross- and parallel kin with prescribed exogamous cross-cousin marriage (Jones 1993). Wamesa and Biak are so far the only SHWNG Yapen languages for which the kinship system has been described in any detail (Flaming 1983, van den Heuvel 2006); unfortunately Wamesa traditional kin classification is currently undergoing a process of simplification to reflect the less-articulated set of relationships encoded by the national language, Indonesian, at least among speakers in larger towns. In her description of Yawa kin structures, Jones explicitly mentions that the Yawa and Wamesa (Wandamen) systems show many points of similarity in both structure and social function. The structural similarities at least shouldn't be surprising, as the Iroquois system is fairly common in the region (see van den Heuvel 2006 on Biak and van Enk & de Vries 1997 on Korowai and other languages of Papua).

What is more noteworthy is the shared terminology. Jones points out that Yawa *mambe netaive*, a term referring to the "older-younger" relationship between two parallel kin of the same sex and same generation, is related to the Wamesa term *neta vava* 'older same-sex sibling', also found as Wooi *neta baba*, Ansus *tafuai*, Serewen *neta veava*, and Serui-Laut *manetababa*. Given that these terms are decomposable in most cases to *neta* + 'big' and that the *neta* form is not found elsewhere in Yawa but is found in terms for younger siblings (i.e. Wamesa *neta katu* 'younger sibling', literally 'small *neta*') and forms the basis for the word 'friend' in several other SHWNG Yapen languages (Wamesa *maneta*, Pom *neta*), it seems clear that this word originated in SHWNG.

Jones also points out that Yawa *vainy*, a reciprocal term used between a husband's and wife's parents (Indonesian *besan*), is apparently related to Wamesa *bai* and other forms found widely distributed around Papua. Yawa also shares a word for 'child' with several SHWNG Yapen languages. Jones et al. (1989), Jones (1993) gives *kavo* as a term specifically for one's own child, and a second form, *arikainy*, which can be used to refer either to one's own offspring or children in general. This latter form is shared with Wooi (*ariang*), Ambai (*arikang*), and Serui-Laut (*ariang*). This form is also present in Saweru as *arian*. The inherited SHWNG form, from Proto-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian \*natu (Blust 1978, Kamholz 2014), appears alongside the %arikaN forms in these three languages, as well as in Wamesa, Kurudu, and elsewhere in SHWNG, making Yawa the likely source for %arikaN. (C.f. also the forms of the final nasal, as discussed above.) One Wamesa word for father, *yai*, which appears as a suppletive form with a first person singular possessor, resembles *njai* 'father' which appears in the Ambaidiru, Ariepi, and Tindaret dialects of Yawa, but because of known cross-linguistic similarities in parental terms (c..f. Indonesian *ayah*), this is best not considered a borrowing.

# 4.4 Frequency and categorization

Of the 903 total forms recorded for across five Yawa dialects (Central, Tindaret, Kontiunai, Sarawandori, and Mariadei)<sup>8</sup> in the shorter list,<sup>9</sup> roughly a third of them appear to be involved in borrowing events, whether Yawa is the source or the recipient. (All counts given here are approximate, to account for uncertain cases. When proportions for the Yawa dialects are averaged rather than totals pooled, the overall rate does not change.) I call this proportion a language's interconnectedness rate; it counts the number of items which have been either loaned or borrowed while remaining agnostic on directionality. The interconnectedness rates cited here include only instances where the item in question is shared with other languages of Yapen (plus Wamesa and Kurudu), not with other languages of Cenderawasih Bay (Yawa maer, Umar mae, Warembori maya-ro, Hatam miei 'cuscus'<sup>10</sup>) or with Papuan Malay or Indonesian (Yawa garan, Indonesian/Malay garam 'salt'). Words that were clearly phonological or morphological variants of the same form, such as Ambai kahopa, kakofa 'earth, ground', were not counted separately.

Yawa's interconnectedness rate is remarkably high, especially considering that two-thirds of the meanings collected are considered to be "basic" vocabulary, here defined as items included in the ABVD list. The Yawa dialects showing the least amount of contact with SHWNG Yapen are Central and Tindaret, both with just under 30% of their forms involved in borrowing events; on the other end, Mariadei, situated closest to the multilingual port town of Serui, has the highest rate of lexical interconnectedness. By contrast, SHWNG Yapen languages range from least interconnected Biak (about 10%) to most interconnected Ambai (just over 20%).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Because the Central dialect described in the dictionary (Jones et al. 1989) is very close to being the union of the Ambaidiru and Ariepi dialects as described in Jones (1986a) plus additional material, the individual Ambaidiru and Ariepi lists are not included in these calculations to avoid double-counting. (Jones, Paai & Paai say that their Central dialect covers the Ambaidiru and Ariepi areas, reflecting speaker intuitions about dialect divisions though contradicting Jones's (1986a) conclusions.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> This is the version of the list *without* the additional 18 word meanings which were chosen specifically because they showed borrowing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Kamholz (n.d.), Donohue (1999), Reesink (2002a).

For simplicity's sake, only the Central dialect of Yawa, as the best-attested variety and the one with the widest geographical span, will be considered in the remaining discussion. Of the Central Yawa words involved in borrowing, nearly half have an AN etymology or probable source elsewhere in Northwest New Guinea (as determined by their wider distribution in the region), a quarter are likely to have originated in Yawa, and the remaining 30% or so are of unclear origin. If the latter category is split evenly between loans into and out of Yawa, then nearly 20% of the word forms in this sample are borrowed into Central Yawa from a SHWNG Yapen language or Biak (and not from any other language of the region). Compare this to studies of borrowing by Bowern et al. (2011, 2014), which found that the languages within their sample, had a mean rate of borrowing of 5% for basic vocabulary and 9.8% for flora/fauna terms. In this sample, assuming again that words of unclear origin are evenly split between Yawa as donor and recipient, about 15% of basic vocabulary entries (words on the ABVD list) and 30% of flora-fauna terms have been borrowed into Yawa (again, only from within SHWNG Yapen languages). To be clear, this is counting the lexical entries for each language, including synonyms, and not the meaning categories in the list. These numbers aren't unprecedented in the Bowern et al. studies, but they are certainly well above the norm, and only reflect a subset of total borrowing from all sources.

The Central Yawa numbers at first glance appear more in line with results from the World Loanword Database (WOLD; Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009), which covers 1460 lexical meanings across 41 languages. 24.2% of the WOLD entries are loans (Tadmor, Haspelmath & Taylor 2010), compared to the estimated  $\sim$ 20% in Central Yawa. Tadmor et al. give loan rates 25–30% in their Agriculture and Vegetation, Food and Drink, and Animals semantic fields, which overlap most strongly with my Flora/Fauna category. This is comparable to Central Yawa's estimated 30% loan rate in that field. That said, however, the WOLD wordlist incorporates a much broader range of meanings than the one used here, including a number of terms for religion, law, and the modern world which have a relatively high likelihood of being borrowed, and are not included here. While the flora/fauna terms included in my sample skew strongly towards native species, WOLD, as a global database, includes many more introduced species, which are also highly borrowable. A much larger proportion of the list used in the present study is comprised of basic vocabulary as well, which ought to lead to lower loan rates. If Yawa had 'typical' loan rates we would expect a larger differential between the WOLD numbers and those reported here than is actually evidenced. The fact that the estimated Yawa rate is so close to the WOLD rate despite being computed over a meaning set much less amenable to borrowing suggests that Yawa is in fact more prone to borrowing than the average language.<sup>11</sup> We see that on balance Yawa was the recipient language more often than the donor, and its rates of borrowing are relatively high when compared with established rates worldwide.

Tadmor, Haspelmath, & Taylor also report loan rates by 'semantic word class', a meaning-based classification standing in for grammatical part of speech, a determination of which would require far more research into the Yapen languages than is currently available for most. 25.2% of their content word entries (adjectives, adverbs, verbs, and nouns) are loans, compared to 12.1% of function words (pronouns, prepositions, questions, conjunc-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> A comparison over the full 1460-item WOLD wordlist would be necessary to demonstrate this definitively, but sufficient data to carry this out is not currently available.

tions, complementizers, negation, time expressions, and quantifiers). In Central Yawa, about a third of content words in this list are estimated to be Yapen-internal borrowings; only one of the 28 function words (3.6%) collected for Central Yawa, the locative preposition *no*, has been identified as part of a loan set, and it entered the language from Austronesian (probably Biak). Yawa follows the WOLD hierarchy of nouns > verbs > adjectives in terms of borrowability. Assuming still that Yawa is the recipient in half of cases where directionality is undetermined, Central Yawa has borrowed about a quarter of the nouns in this sample, 15% of verbs, and just under 10% of adjectives.

#### 4.5 Structural borrowing and calquing

In contrast to the purely lexical examples mentioned so far, the word for Ansus word for 'island', *nutakutu*, is a calque of the Yawa form. The first syllable, *nu*, can stand on its own in Ansus also with the meaning 'island'; Kamholz (2014) traces this form back to PMP \*nusa, with the same meaning, and it appears in other SHWNG Yapen languages as well. The remaining portion, *takutu*, is from the verb *kutu* 'to chop up'. The form in Yawa is *nupatimu*. The initial *nu*- in Yawa is most likely a shortening of *nugo* 'geographical region'.<sup>12</sup> The remaining portion, *-patimu*, is a Yawa word meaning 'torn; to pick (as a flower or leaf); to elect'.<sup>13</sup> In both cases the resulting form might be translated as something like "cut off/separated (is)land", with the borrowing reinforced by the (coincidental?) resemblance of the initial morpheme.

Without knowledge of the structure of the Yawa-Saweru ancestor language spoken prior to Austronesian settlement, examples of grammatical and typological convergence are difficult to attribute to Yapen contact specifically rather than larger-scale areal contact or chance. Some instances of similarity can be pointed out, but their origins are generally speculative. A few of these somewhat typologically unusual similarities are briefly laid out here. Comparisons are chiefly with Wamesa, as one of the better-documented Yapen varieties and the one with which I am most familiar, with data from Gasser (2014). Additional comparisons to Wooi (Sawaki 2017), Ambai (Silzer 1983), and Biak (van den Heuvel 2006), three other languages with published grammars, are made where possible.

Three languages of Yapen, Yawa, Wooi, and Wamesa, have bipartite prohibitive constructions, though the phonological forms are different. In Wamesa, a prohibitive clause begins with *sa* and ends with the enclitic negator =*va*. In Yawa, this can take several forms, including *mbemo...waya* (Jones 1986b), *vemo...inya*, and *vemo...nora*. Wooi has two different prohibitive constructions, *jaka...pe* or *remuho...pe*. It is not otherwise reported on Yapen, although elsewhere in Northwest New Guinea Abun has a bipartite negative, but not a prohibitive (Berry & Berry 1999).

Also like Wamesa, Yawa shows person/number agreement on its word for 'why?'. In Wamesa, *otopi* 'why' is a compound of the verb o 'want' plus the question morpheme *to* and the direct object suffix *-pi*, and might be literally translated as 'wanting what?' As

<sup>12</sup> Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Jones, Paai & Paai (1989) give the verbal form as *rapatimu*; the initial *ra*- is a 3sg feminine object (absolutive) agreement marker.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing out the final two forms.

with any other verb, otopi takes prefixes marking agreement with its subject. Yawa has four apparently synonymous forms for 'why', but each involves the copula be, which also takes verbal subject agreement markers (Jones 1986c). Yawa and Wamesa, along with Ambai, Wooi, and Biak, also both mark polar questions with a sentence-final enclitic =e, though Wamesa uses falling intonation while Yawa and Biak show a rise in pitch.

Inalienable/direct possession in Wamesa, Ambai, and Wooi is marked on the possessum using the same prefixes used for verbal agreement marking, which agree with the possessor in person and number. These prefixes are used only with non-singular (dual, plural, and, in Ambai, trial) possessors, and are accompanied by the suffix -m(i). In Wamesa, for example, the same prefix that marks the first person plural inclusive subject in ta-tawa 'we fall' also marks a 1pl inclusive possessor in ta-tama-mi 'our father'. Biak inalienable possession is extremely complex, but a subset of nouns follow the same pattern, though the form of the suffix is different in Biak. Yawa also shows identity between inalienable possessive marking and verbal agreement (Jones 1986b:44). Yawa differs in its details from the SHWNG case: the forms of the prefixes are completely different, there is no additional possessive suffix, and singular possessors participate in the pattern alongside dual and plural ones. The distribution of the prefixes to mark verbal agreement is also far more limited in Yawa: whereas SHWNG Yapen languages verbs agree with their subject in almost all cases, Yawa has a complex ergative system with different types of agreement on different classes of verbs. The prefixes also used for inalienable possession do indicate subject agreement but are specific to a set of stative intransitive verbs, which Jones exemplifies with 'to yawn' (Jones 1986b:44). Despite these differences however, the parallels between the Yawa and SHWNG Yapen systems are noteworthy.

Yawa has a word *ma* which Jones (1986b:45; 1986c:7) glosses as *it is*,<sup>15</sup> appearing in equative constructions like *R-aneme ma* 'It's her hand' and *in-anode ma* glossed only as '1sG-happy it is' (Jones 1986b:45-46). Wamesa has a similar particle, the topicalizing clitic =*ma*, which commonly appears after the first element of an equative clause, as in *Nini=ma vavi* 'This is a woman'. The two constructions are quite similar; linguists new to Wamesa, myself included, have been known to mistake =*ma* for an equative copula. These constructions have one major difference: in Yawa, an SOV language, *ma* follows the predicated noun or adjective, while in Wamesa, an SVO language, *ma* precedes it. A similar focus particle, *mani* is used in Ambai. The Wamesa form also appears on verbs as a directional clitic meaning 'to here', cognate with PMP \*maRi 'to come' and present across SHWNG. If the Wamesa/Yawa resemblance is not simply coincidental, two paths of borrowing are possible. In one scenario, the Wamesa verbal clitic broadened its semantic scope to indicate topic, and this meaning was then borrowed into Yawa. Alternatively, the combination of the verbal clitic and a homophonous Yawa word influenced Wamesa to reanalyze and import the Yawa meaning, with similar effects in Ambai.

One rare example where causality is clear is from numerals. Yawa has a quinary-decimal number system. The numerals one to five are monomorphemic. Beginning with six, counting becomes additive, with the numerals one through four appended to a root of unknown meaning, *kau*-. ('Five' is *na(i)* or *randani*, depending on the dialect.) Ten is

An anonymous reviewer says that this particle is in fact a topicalizer in Yawa as well, making the connection even more direct. Jones (1986c) also gives the very similar form *mi* as a focus marker, perhaps reinforcing the equative/focus link.

again monomorphemic, and numbers from 11 to 19 add 'ten' to the digit in the one's place. Thus, in the Ariepi dialect (Jones, Paai & Paai 1989), 'one' is ntabo, 'six' kaujentabo, 'eleven' abusyin eane ntabo, and sixteen abusyin eane kaujentabo. Four of the SHWNG Yapen languages, Wamesa, Serui-Laut, Kurudu, and Busami (Anceaux 1961), share this structure, while the rest retain the Proto-Austronesian base-10 system, with inherited AN numeral forms. 16 The base-five additive system is not unique to these languages; rather, it is found throughout Northwest New Guinea, in Austronesian (Irarutu, Umar, Waropen, Moor, Warembori, inter alia) and Papuan (Inanwatan, for numbers six through nine; Hatam, Sougb, Meyah, Mpur, Bauzi, Saponi) alike.<sup>17</sup> What is interesting is which three SHWNG Yapen languages in particular have made the switch: Wamesa is now spoken on mainland New Guinea, adjacent to several of the base-5 languages, both Austronesian and non-, mentioned above; Kurudu is spoken on Kurudu Island, closer to the mainland languages like Waropen, Warembori, and Bauzi than to Yapen itself; and Serui-Laut is spoken in two villages surrounded by Yawa-speaking areas. Anceaux (1961) reports that Busami has also adopted a base-5 additive system, but does not give actual forms. Sawaki (2017) gives locations of two Busami-speaking villages; one is surrounded by groups speaking Yawa and Serui-Laut, while the other, on the north coast, is surrounded by Biak villages. This distribution, and the lack of any evidence for exclusively subgrouping the innovative varieties (and good evidence that Kurudu is on a separate branch), suggests that the base-5 system was borrowed four separate times into SHWNG Yapen: once each into Wamesa and Kurudu from mainland languages, and once each into Serui-Laut and Busami, via Yawa. While it's possible that Busami borrowed the system indirectly, via Serui-Laut — Anceaux reports that many Busami speakers also know Serui-Laut — the fact that Serui-Laut has swapped the order of elements, and is the only regional language I am aware of to have done so, makes that less plausible.

Finally, Yawa uses the *VE* morpheme discussed by David Gil (this volume), as do all the other Yapen languages for which sufficient data exists, as well as many other Northwest New Guinea varieties. Given that Gil's preferred etymology for *VE* comes from Proto-Central Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, this implies that the form was borrowed into Yawa. Gil gives Biak as his preferred immediate source into Yawa, which may well be the case. Yawa appears to have partial (morphologically complex) *do/give/take* colexification.

## 5. Implications for contact

So far we have established the presence of high levels of lexical borrowing between Yawa and the Austronesian languages of Yapen, with Yawa more often in the position of recipient than donor, and somewhat limited grammatical borrowing in both directions (certain in the case of the numeral systems and VE, potentially also in the other cases mentioned). This then raises the question of what sorts of historical contact situation(s) led to the patterns we see today.

The data do not support a situation of language shift or substrate influence by imperfect

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> 'Six': PAN \*enem, Ambai and Pom wonan, Ansus wonang, Wooi wona, Biak wonem; Wamesa rime siri 'five-and one', Serui-Laut boirikori 'one-and-five', Kurudu bowerim bosandi 'five one'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Kamholz (n.d.), Held (1942), de Vries (1996), Clouse (1997), Donohue (1999), Reesink (2002a), Jackson (2014).

L2 acquisition in either direction. Thomason & Kaufman (1988) write that interference through language shift is characterized by phonetic/phonological, syntactic, and sometimes morphological borrowing, as imperfect L2 speakers import less-conscious features of their L1. It does not involve significant lexical borrowing, as words are the most salient signifiers of the target language, and among the first parts to be learned. The similarity of Yawa's phoneme inventory to that of the SHWNG Yapen languages as described in §4.1, especially the inclusion of the typologically relatively unusual bilabial fricative<sup>18</sup> in both Yawa and Saweru, might bear explanation, and would be well accounted for by language shift. But there may well be no convergence to explain: there is no reason to believe that these looked any different prior to contact. The bilabial fricatives, particularly /β/, are widespread in both AN and Papuan languages of Northwest New Guinea, and the phoneme inventories found on Yawa are quite similar to those found, for example, in the Papuan Bird's Head languages to the west and the Western Lakes Plain languages east of Cenderawasih Bay (Clouse & Clouse 1993, Reesink 2002b). The phonotactic restrictions on clusters and codas, too, are common cross-linguistically. If there is a phonological restructuring to explain here, it goes far beyond just Yapen.

The latter two criteria, syntactic and morphological borrowing, are similarly difficult to assess in this case. Without more published documentation of Yawa and Saweru, and lacking relatives to inform historical reconstruction, it's impossible to know what Pre/Proto-Y-S looked like structurally and therefore what changes might have occurred after Austronesian contact. Without this, there is insufficient data to support a language shift hypothesis. The best documented area of Yawa and Saweru's grammar, their verbal agreement system, shows very different alignment patterns than those of the SHWNG Yapen languages (Jones 1986b, Donohue 2001, Kamholz 2014, Gasser 2015a), and the SOV word order is a striking divergence from areal patterns. The structural similarities previously discussed, if they are due to convergence, can be explained by contact without language shift, and the extent of lexical borrowing is a strike against the shift hypothesis.

What we do find fits most closely with Type 3 of Thomason & Kaufman's Borrowing Scale. Lexically, Type 3 is characterized by borrowing of content words, conjunctions, and adpositions. Examples of the first type have already been given here. Shared conjunctions are harder to find, though one possible example comes from Yawa (Sarawandori) *kata* 'also, again' (Jones 1986d), which strongly resembles Wamesa *kota* and Ambai *kontai* 'also' (*toto* in the other languages). As for prepositions, Yawa locative preposition *no* is a candidate for borrowing from Pom *ro* (c.f. the *n:r* correspondence discussed earlier). This connection is strengthened by the fact that, although Yawa is a postpositional language (Jones 1986b), *no* appears to be a preposition (Jones 1986c). Borrowed prepositions in a postpositional language, without a wholesale swap in word order, are another hallmark of a Type 3 borrowing situation. In the other direction, Gil (this volume) suggests that the Yawa word *to* 'go' is related to the allative preposition *to* found in Wooi. (The same form means 'until' in Wamesa; *so* marks the allative.)

<sup>18 12% (55/451)</sup> of the languages in the UCLA Phonological Segment Inventory Database (http://web.phonetik.uni-frankfurt.de/upsid.html, c.f. Maddieson & Precoda 1989) are listed as having a voiced bilabial fricative (present in both Yawa and Saweru); the voiceless version is present in 9% (41/451) of languages. These results include the Austronesian Northwest New Guinea languages Moor, with  $\beta$ , and Irarutu, with  $\beta$ .

This middling level of contact, in Thomason & Kaufman's framework, comes from contact which is long-term enough for strong bilingualism to develop and small structural changes to take hold, in which speakers of the source language (here Austronesian) outnumber those of the borrowing language (Yawa), and in which there is sociopolitical dominance by the source language speakers and/or "intimate contact" in linguistically mixed households or social settings (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:72). The languages of Yapen have undoubtedly had adequate time in contact with one another; while the date of Austronesian settlement of the island is yet unknown, it was almost certainly somewhere between one and three thousand years ago. It is fairly unlikely that SHWNG speakers initially outnumbered (pre-)Yawa speakers on arrival in Yapen, but more recently that has indeed become the case. Proto-Yapen has a number of lexical innovations not found elsewhere in Cenderawasih Bay, which could stem from early pre-Yawa contact in the days when the island's demography was less Austronesian-skewed. Thus the social conditions for Type 3 language contact have developed over the last few thousand years.

It is not clear that SHWNG Yapen speakers are currently in a position of sociopolitical dominance vis à vis Yawa speakers, but it is not implausible that they once were, given the extent of the territory they now occupy. Given the extent of observed inter-group contact and known multilingualism described in §2, the 'intimate contact' aspect is near certain. We know that extensive social contacts currently exist, and it is reasonable to extrapolate that this is not a purely modern development. There is evidence that mixed linguistic households—i.e. Yawa-An intermarriage—were present historically as well. Looking at lexical borrowing, the words borrowed between Yawa and the SHWNG Yapen languages include basic vocabulary and come from a wide range of semantic fields, not just discrete areas like food, religion, or trade items that might suggest less intimate conversational spheres. Trade relationships almost certainly did exist, but were not the full extent of the contact. (It may also be relevant that Wamesa and Yawa share a word for 'war', *marova*, also given in the Holle lists as *mbrob* in Biak, which is not to my knowledge found in any other languages of the region.)

Other shared forms highlight the importance of home and family life as a stage for Yawa-SHWNG contact. Yawa yavar 'house' appears to be borrowed into Wamesa as yaba and Pom yawa. As discussed in §4.3, Yawa shares a term for 'child', with several SHWNG Yapen languages, as well as sibling and in-law terminology and some structure of parental terms. The word for 'people, tribe' in Yawa is kawasae, as similar forms also appear in a handful of languages in Maluku, this almost certainly came into Yawa from Biak (kawàsa), perhaps via Wamesa (kawasa). 19 (Note also the discussion above on kinship.) Yawa has borrowed its word for 'suck' from Austronesian (-usuv, c.f. PMP \*sepsep, Ambai su(f), Ansus uwupi, etc.), as well as directional terms 'west' (wanampui, compare Serui-Laut wanampui, literally 'wind+behind') and 'east' (wanamura, c.f. Serui-Laut wanamurang with the same wanaN 'wind' root), as well as words for 'canoe' (Mariadei, Ariepi, and Sarawandori dialects of Yawa wa(i); Wooi, Wamesa, Ambai, Ansus, Pom, Serui-Laut, and Kurudu wa; Biak wa(i), from PMP \*wanka), 'to paddle' (Yawa borae; Saweru wo; Wooi, Wamesa, and Pom vo; Ansus bo; Biak borěs; etc., from PMP \*beRsay), and terminology for the staple food papeda and the sago plant from which it is produced (Yawa anan 'sago'; Wooi anang; Wamesa and Serui-Laut ana; see §4.2 for more), as well as the very basic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> An anonymous reviewer points out that Yawa speakers are aware of this word's source in Biak.

'fish' (Yawa *jian*, Saweru *dian*, Wamesa etc. *diaN*; see previous discussion). These sorts of words, for intimate family relations, the home itself, and activities basic to daily life for a coastal New Guinea population, suggest multilingualism active in those spheres — that is, in the home.

Counting the number of loan connections between Yawa and any other single SHWNG Yapen language is imprecise, given the difficulty of pinpointing a specific source language in most cases, and the differences between counts for each language are small, but the languages with the highest proportion of their wordlist entries involved in loan sets with Yawa are Serui-Laut, Ambai, and Wamesa. Given its geographical position and relatively small population, that Serui-Laut should share the highest proportion of loans (in either direction) with Yawa is not surprising. Ambai is spoken just to the east of Yawa, and may well have traditionally closer ties than other language groups. That Wamesa shows up in the top three, despite its current location on the mainland coast of Cenderawasih Bay, suggests that its historical position on Yapen may have been close in to Yawa as well — Windesi village, which shares a name with a dialect of Wamesa, is to the west of the north coast Yawa villages, and currently inhabited by Biak speakers (Sawaki 2017) — and may have shared close customary social and familial links. Much of the contact between Wamesa and Yawa then is likely to have taken place before Wamesa speakers' move off of Yapen to the mainland.

While Yawa and SHWNG speakers have almost certainly been in some sort of contact for the last one to three thousand years since the arrival of the Austronesians on Yapen, the nature and extent of that contact has not necessarily been constant. For much of their history, Yawa and SHWNG groups played different socio-ecological roles. Anceaux (1961:10) writes that Yawa (he calls the language Yava and the people Mora) is a "typical language of the interior", and says that the coastal Yawa villages are believed to have originated in the interior of the island and moved to the coast in relatively recent times. An anonymous reviewer echoes this, suggesting that pre-contact Yawa speakers lived away from the coastline and gathered resources from the jungle, and reports that Yawa stories describe their being forced to resettle in the currently occupied coastal villages under Dutch rule. This inland orientation is reflected in the language name itself: yawa means 'land' or 'interior country'. An alternative name for the language sometimes cited in older literature is Onate, from *unat* 'mountain', and some Yawa people, including the college-aged speaker I met in Manokwari, now refer to their language as Yawa Unat. This contrasts starkly with the well-known seaward orientation of the Austronesians, and suggests that Yawa and SHWNG speakers filled different, complementary niches for a part of their history. Under this view, as the reviewer points out, it should not be surprising that sea-related terms — canoes, fish, fishing spears, etc. — should have come into Yawa from Austronesian. This difference of orientation may have led to a more cooperative relationship between the two groups, as the presence of trade and intermarriage suggests. The further fact that Wamesa and Yawa share identical words for 'war' indicates that they were discussing rather than waging it, perhaps cooperating in raids on other groups. The more recent movement of Yawa people to the coast and the expansion of multilingual towns like Serui would only have intensified day-to-day contact between the groups as a whole (as opposed to intermarried individuals) by creating more overlap in their general spheres of daily life, especially in the coastal areas.

#### 6. Conclusion

The Yawa speech community sits in the geographic center of highly diverse, highly interconnected linguistic environment. Over the past millennium or two, it has shared large numbers of lexical loans, as well as a smaller observable number of structural features, with the Austronesian languages which surround it, both as a donor, and, more often, a recipient. Despite some challenges in uncovering their exact nature, these connections provide evidence of a dense, multilingual communicative network across Yapen Island, including frequent trading interactions, tight social ties, and semi-regular intermarriage. This finding should not be surprising considering the current highly connected state of the island, but should nonetheless not be taken for granted, particularly given the historical differences in landward/seaward orientation of Yawa vs. Austronesian speakers. More fieldwork is necessary across Yapen to fill in the substantial gaps in our knowledge of these languages and to work out the details of these relationships, but their existence is clear.

#### **Appendix**

The 18 supplemental items chosen because they are apparent loans are marked with an asterisk. Languages may have more than one entry per meaning, especially in cases where multiple species are listed for a particular plant or animal type, or where there is a semantic mismatch. An example of the latter is in 'grandparent, grandchild', where some Yapen languages use a single reciprocal term but the Yawa dialects have one term each for 'grandmother', 'grandfather', and 'grandchild'. Words are given here as they appear in the sources, including any morphology; many Yawa transitive verbs, for example, appear with the third person feminine singular agreement prefix ra-.

Table 1. Wordlists from 17 Yapen varieties

	Def	Saweru	Central Yawa	Ambaidiru Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
-	1pl incl pronoun		wam				
7	1plexcl pronoun		ream				
$\alpha$	1sg pronoun		risy				
4	2pl pronoun		weap				
S	2sg pronoun		winy				
9	3pl pronoun		wenau				
7	3sg pronoun		мер, ме <i>т</i>	po, mo			
∞	above		von				
6	afraid	yani	janiv				
10	all	faru(m)	tenambe, vintabo				
11	alone		mumuimbe				
12	also		muno, tavon				
13	anchor		kamintu				
14	angry	паже	pari, parive ai,	pari	pari	pari	ugave
			anuga pariman				
15	ant		mangkarasyin				
16	ash		kapum	kapum	kapum	kapum	kafum
17	to ask		ranajo	ranajo	ranajo	ranaje	ranaide
18	at, in, locative		rai, no	по			
19	back (of body)		akirin				
20	bad		betatugadi, kakai				
			noaneve				
21	banana		kare	kare	kare	kare	kare
22	bat		mangkawae, vaobon				
23	to bathe	raya	kuvuni	mana raija	kuvuni	mana eja	kubuni
24	bean		karavur	s		•	
25	bee, wasp		anyivan				
26	beetle		kaokai				
27	behind		akiri				
28	belly, stomach,		anuga, wanyati,				
	guts		karam				

	Def	Sarawandori Yawa	Tindaret Yawa	Ambai	Ansus	Biak	Kurudu
- 0	1pl incl pronoun	wamo		tata	tata	ko	ami
7	Iplexel pronoun			amea	ama		nami
m	1sg pronoun	syo		уап	уап	yai	aya
4	2pl pronoun			теа	mia		awati
S	2sg pronoun	no		wan	an	an	awa
9	3pl pronoun	wo		ea	уа	si	manekripesi
7	3sg pronoun	po, mo		i	i	i	i (wane)
∞	above			aiayi	yei	bo	
6	afraid	janiva		matai	matai	mkāk	
10	all	tutudi		tafau	kuira	kàm	
Π	alone			mesiri	mieri		dereri
12	also	ratabo, kata		kontai	toto		
13	anchor			kamutun	kamutu	kàmutu	
14	angry	pari	pari	kasau			wertndo
15	ant			anana	anaana, asoang	anir	
16	ash	карит	kapum	kanggana	wavu	pàt	pinse
17	to ask	ranajo	ranade	utan	utang	f-ukěn	
18	at, in, locative			na, we, roron	na, we, rarong	be, ro	
19	back (of body)			kuruu	karu(m)puang	kru, uta	tòkmapi
20	bad	kakai		kerira	mioya va	bàrbòr	dodaw
21	banana	kare	kare	rando	nando	byef	manderi
22	bat				aya diru		
23	to bathe	kovoni	mana radan	eriai	kuira		syawi
24	bean				kawaru	abru	
25	bee, wasp			aniwa	andiwa	mniwěr	antup
76	beetle				wonakedawi		
27	behind	keri			repui		
28	belly, stomach,	anugwa, anobone		ene	aneng	snewar	sine
	guis						

	Def	Pom	Serewen	Serui-Laut	Wamesa	Wooi
1	1pl incl pronoun	tatoru		tata	tata	tata
7	1plexcl pronoun			ата	ama-	ama
$\alpha$	1 sg pronoun	yau		yan	yau	уа
4	2pl pronoun	mintoru		та	mia	mia
2	2sg pronoun	au		wan	an	aw
9	3pl pronoun	tioru		sa	sia	hia
_	3sg pronoun	i		ia	andi, i	i
∞	above	ro wawonjei		babo	νανο	riung
6	afraid	matai		maitai	matai	matai
10	all	kuira			vura	
11	alone	mihari			mesari	mantaung
12	also	tatou			kota	tato
13	anchor				kamita	
14	angry	iha		kaisau	kasio	kahniow
15	ant	аѕома		anana	anana	
16	ash	wavu	wavu	<i>wawu, kepoya</i>	wabu	rarieng, vavu,
						napn
17	to ask	oitan		utana	uta	utang
18	at, in, locative	1.0		na, raron	na, raro	
19	back (of body)	karupe		karosiena, karu	karu	karupui
20	bad				kariria	
21	banana	nando		nando	nando	nando
22	bat	visai			aya diru	
23	to bathe	hoiv		kobira	kubira	
24	bean	kawaru		kawaru	kavaru	
25	bee, wasp	andiwa			anibar, maniai	andiva
26	beetle	kangkung			imboni	
27	behind	karipui			pui	(re)puy
28	belly, stomach,	hanewai	haniwai	ane	sane	sne, hane(way)
	guts					

29 below         age, redg         weran         beram           30 bele Intt (area)         verane man         weran         beram           31 bele   pepper         anappur, remam         reman bon         reman bon           32 big         big         mandkoe         mandkoe         mandkoi           33 bird         bird         insani         insani         insani           34 bird of paradise         mandya         mandkoi         mandqoakoi           35 bird         mandya         mandya         insani         insani           36 black         karisya         karisya         karisa           37 blood         ramavisi         ramavisi         ramavisi           38 to blow         ramavisi         ramavisi         ramavisi           40 body, flesh, meat         fani         markea         keke         keke           41 bone         myo amen         markea         mandukie         mandukie           42 branch         markea         manwayoanto         manwayoanto         manwayoanto           45 to breathe         markea         manwayoanto         manwayoanto         manwayoanto           45 to branch         markea         manwayoanto         manwayoanto		Def Saweru	eru Central Yawa	Ambaidiru Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
betel nut (areca)         verane man         weran         betan           betel peper         anapur, remambon         remambon         remambon           big         mandkoe         mandkoe         mandkoe           bird         karisan         mandkoe         mandkoe           bird         karisan         karisan         karisan           blood         ramawisy, ram         mabu         keke         keke           bolod         manuk         manuk         keke         keke           bolod, flesh, meat         fani         manuk         manuk           bone         myo         manuk         manuk           bone	29	below	ate, reda				
betel         pepper         anapur. remam-         remam bon         reman         reman bon           bird         manakoe         manakoe         manakoe         manakoi         manadojakoi           bird         insani         insani         insani         insani         insani           bird of paradise         manok         manok         insani         insani         insani           bird of paradise         rando         rando         rando         rando         insani         insani           bird of paradise         karisya         karisawan         karisan         karisan         karisa           blood         manu         manu         manu         manu         manu         manu           blood         manu         manu         keke         keke         keke         keke           blue, green         minan         manu         ma	30	betel nut (areca)	verane man	weran		beran	bera
(sirih)         bon         mandoe         mandoe         mandoe         mandoe         mandoe         mandor         mandoydkoi         mandoydkoi         insani         insani         mandoydkoi         insani         <	31		anapur, remam		reman	anampu	anampure
big         manakoe         manakoe         manakoi         manadyakoi           bird         nisani         insani         insani         insani           bird of paradise         manoko         manokoi         insani           bird of paradise         manoputa, syosy-         sora           cora         cora         cora           no biek         karisya         karisya           blood         mano         mano           blood         mano         mano           blue, green         ramavisy         ramavisy           blue, green         mano         karisya           blue, green         mano         mano           blue, green         mano         karisya           blue, green         mano         karisya           blue, green         mano         karis           blue, green         mano         karis           book         mano         pae         keke           book         mano         mano         mano           brown         mano         mano         mano           brown         mano         mano         mano           brown         mano         mano <t< td=""><td></td><td>(sirih)</td><td>bon</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></t<>		(sirih)	bon				
bird of paradise         insani         insani         insani         insani           bird of paradise         munok,         anauputa, syosy-         anauputa, syosy-         anauputa, syosy-         anauputa, syosy-         anauputa, syosy-         anauputa, syosy-         anai         anai </td <td>32</td> <td>big</td> <td>manakoe</td> <td>manakoe</td> <td>manakoi</td> <td>mandayakoi</td> <td>andowi</td>	32	big	manakoe	manakoe	manakoi	mandayakoi	andowi
bird of paradise         manok, amauputa, syosy-         manok, amauputa, syosy-         manok           ora         ratao         ratao         karisya         karisawan         karisa           blood         ramovity, ram-         mabu         mavu         namai           blood         ramovity, ram-         mabu         manai         namai           blood         ramovity, ram-         keke         keke         keke           blue, green         njoaibe, keke         keke         keke           body, flesh, meat         tani         manok         manoi           bone         pae         pae         pai         pai           branch         nyo amen         wanam         wanam         wanam           fruit (autocapus)         lakindkije         manovyoanto         manov         manoi           breast         nobarth         manov         manoi         manoi         manoi           breast         nobarth         manov         manoi         manoi         manoi           brown         ramer         ramer         manoi         manoi         manoi           brown         ramer         ramer         manoi         manoi         manoi	33	bird	insani	insani	unsani	insani	ani
ora         anauquuta, syosy-         anauquuta, syosy-           black         ratao         ratao           blood         karisya         karisya         karisa           blood         ramawisy, ram-         mabu         manau           blue, green         ramawisy, ram-         keke         keke         keke           blue, green         njgyaibe, keke         keke         keke         keke           bone         njgyaibe, keke         keke         keke         keke           bone         njgyaibe, keke         keke         keke         keke           branch         nyo amen         manakea         mana         mana           branch         nyo amen         manam         manam         manam           brast         no branch         manam         manam         manam           brown         no branch         namer         namer         namer           brown         ramer         no brown         namer         nyoman         nyoman           coall         nyoman         nyoman         nyoman         nyoman         nyoman           cancer         nyoman         timburu         sumure	34	bird of paradise	manok,				
ora         ora           black         karisya         karisya         karisa           blood         mavu         mavu         namai           blood         ramawisy, ram-         mabu         mamai           blue, green         ramawisy, ram-         keke         keke           blue, green         nijayaibe, keke         keke         keke           bone         nijayaibe, keke         keke         keke           bone         nijayaibe, keke         keke         keke           bone         paa         pai         pai           branch         nyo amen         wanam         wanam           branch         nyo amen         wanam         wanam           brastfruit (autocarpus)         nikam         wanam         wanam           breadfruit, jack-         nyo amen         wanam         wanam           breast         nikam         wanam         wanam           breast         nakam         wanam         wanam           brown         ramawyoanto         ramawum         nyoman           canoe         nyoman         nyoman         nyoman           casasara         timburu         nyoman         nyoman			anauputa, syosy				
to bite         ratao         karisya         karisya         karisanan         karisa           blood         manu         nabu         namai           blood         ramawisy, ram-         manu         namai           blood         punae         keke         keke           blue, green         njayaibe, keke         keke         keke           body, flesh, meat         in,         anaska         anaska           bone         pae         pae         pai         pai           branch         nyo amen         wanam         wanam         wanam           fruit (autocarpus)         takinakije         manum         manum           brast         nkam         manum         manum           brown         nc burn         naeneve         namavajoanto         namavajoanto           buterfly         ramer         kavambun         ramerve         nyoman           to buy         ramerve         nyoman         nyoman         nyoman           call         rangav, avaki         innburu         sumure           to carry         timburu         isumure         sumure			ora				
black         karisya         karisya         karisa           blood         mavu         mabu         mavu         namai           blood         ramawisy, ram-         mabu         mavu         namai           blood         punae         keke         keke         keke           blue, green         nigyaibe, keke         keke         keke         keke           body, flesh, meat         tani         pae         pai         pai           bone         pranch         pae         pai         pai           branch         nyo amen         wanam         wanam         wanam           fruit (autocarpus)         nkam         manawin         manam           breast         nkam         manawin         manam           brown         rameneye         ramawin         myoman         nyoman           to buy         ramawun         nyoman         nyoman         nyoman           to carry         timburu         insumore         timburu         sumure	35	to bite	ratao				
blood to blow ramavisy, ram- blue, green blue, green blue, green blue, green blue, green body, flesh, meat anasin bone branch brown to brante brown to burn butterfly to buy canoe  to carry timburu to blow to carry timburu to blow to blow to carry timburu timburu to blow trangay, avakia timburu to blow trangay, avakia timburu to blow the punch to carry timburu ti	36	black	karisya	karisya	karisawan	karisa	karisa
to blow         ramavisy, ram-           blue, green         punae         keke         keke           body, flesh, meat         tani         in, anakea, anasin         anasin         pai           bone         pae         pae         pai           branch         nyo amen         wanam         wanam           breadfluit, jack-         wanam, andaun, andaun, wanam         wanam         wanam           fruit (autocarpus)         lakinakije         manawayoanto         wanam           breast         anawayoanto         anawayoanto         ramer           brown         ramer         ramer         ramer           brown         ramer         rawambun         rawambun           to buy         rawain         nyoman         nyoman           to call         raugav, avaki         timburu         sumure           cassava         timburu         timburu         timburu         sumure	37	boold	mavu	mabu	mavu	namai	madi
blue, green higyaibe, keke keke keke keke keke keke body, flesh, meat tani njayaibe, keke keke keke keke keke keke body, flesh, meat tani anasin bone branch breadfruit, jack- nyo amen horadfruit, jack- nyo amen nyonam manam, andaun, wanam wanam wanam to breast to breast anawayoanto brown ramer to branch to burn horathe brown ramer to butterfly ramereve ramer to butterfly ramawun to call nyoman nyoman nyoman nyoman nyoman to call nyoman to carry timburu insumore timburu sumure	38	to blow	ramawisy, ram				
blue, green high weke keke keke keke keke body, flesh, meat tani in, anakea, anasin bone breadfruit, jack- wanam, andaun, wanam wanam wanam takindkije breast anawayoanto brown to burn butterfly kavambun to buy ramavun to buy ramavun to call rawain myoman timburu insumore timburu insumore timburu insumore timburu insumore timburu insumore timburu insumore timburu injumuru injumur			punae				
body, flesh, meat tani in, anakea,  anasin  bone  branch  branch  branch  breadfruit, jack-  fruit (autocarpus)  breast  to breast  to breathe  brown  to burn  tramavun  to buy  ramavun  to call  nyoman  to call  nyoman  to carry  timburu  sumure	39	blue, green	njayaibe, keke	keke	keke	keke	keketamu
bone branch myo amen wanam wanam wanam fruit (autocarpus) breast to breast to brown to butterfly ramery butterfly ramery to buy ramayum to call nyoman myoman myoma	40						
bone bone bane bane bane branch branch branch branch breadfruit, jack- wanam, andaun, wanam wanam wanam fruit (autocarpus) ukam to breast anawayoanto brown ramer butterfly ramer butterfly ramavun to buy rawain rawain to call nyoman myoman myoman to carry timburu insumore timburu sumure			anasin				
branch breadfruit, jack- breast truit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn to buy to call canoe  to carry  branch  wanam, andaun, wanam	4	bone	pae	pae	pai	pai	pai
breadfruit, jack- fruit (autocarpus)wanam, andaum, andaum, wanamwanamwanambreast to breathe brownanawayoanto naeneve naeneveanawayoanto naeneve ramerbo brown to burn butterfly to buryramer kavambun ramavun to buykavambun ramavun rawainnyomanto buy to call canoenyoman nyomannyoman nyomannyoman timburunyoman timburu	45	branch	пуо атеп				
fruit (autocarpus) breast to breast to burn butterfly to buy to call canoe  to carry trimburu timburu to bread anawayan to carry trimburu to day trimburu to carry trimburu to carry trimburu to carry trimburu	43	breadfruit, jack-	wanam, andaun		wanam	wanam	anita
breast ukam to breathe anawayoanto brown naeneve ramer butterfly kavambun to buy rawain canoe nyoman nyoman nyoman to carry timburu insumore timburu sumure		fruit (autocarpus)	takinakije				
to breathe anawayoanto brown ramer to burn kavambun to buy ramavun to call rawain canoe nyoman nyoman nyoman to carry raugay, avaki timburu insumore timburu sumure	4	breast	ukam				
brown naeneve to burn ramer butterfly kavambun to buy ramavun to buy rawain canoe nyoman nyoman nyoman nyoman to carry timburu insumore timburu sumure	45	to breathe	anawayoanto				
to burn ramer butterfly kavambun to buy ramavun to call rawain nyoman nyoman nyoman to carry timburu insumore timburu sumure	46	brown	паепече				
butterfly kavambun to buy ramavun to call rawain canoe nyoman nyoman wa nyoman to carry raugav, avaki insumore timburu sumure	47	to burn	ramer				
to buy rawain rawain nyoman wa nyoman to carry rangav, avaki insumore timburu sumure	48	butterfly	kavambun				
to call rawain nyoman nyoman nyoman nyoman to carry raugax, avaki insumore timburu sumure	49	to buy	ramavun				
canoe nyoman nyoman wa nyoman nyoman to carry timburu insumore timburu sumure	20	to call	rawain				
to carry raugav, avaki insumore timburu sumure	51	canoe	пуотап	nyoman	wa	пуотап	wai
timburu insumore timburu sumure	52	to carry	raugav, avaki				
	53	cassava	timburu	insumore	timburu	sumure	timburi

	Def	Sarawandori Yawa	Tindaret Yawa	Ambai	Ansus	Biak	Kurudu
29	below			dombau	umbau	babni	
30	betel nut (areca)	beran	beran	aunai	awu	berén	wen
31	betel pepper	anapur	anapur	rema	rema (bong)	nān	
	(sirih)						
32	big	manakoi	akoi	baba	baba	ba	kiba
33	bird	unsani	intani	man	aya	man	diu
34	bird of paradise			botenan	ауа жажа		
35	to bite	rakawi		kiri	kari	ark	ati
36	black	karisya	kangan	numeta(n)	mietang	paisěm	mimer
37	plood	тачи	namabu	rika	ria	rik	manda
38	to blow	tipu		bui	buanam, bui, bu-	fn	
					rari		
39	blue, green	keke	nkeket	keke	mekae	màndumèk	kikes
40	body, flesh, meat			tarai	(nen)tarai	kraf	nutra, tra
41	bone	pae	pai	ina	(ne)ina	kor	prai
42	branch			arawan	arawan	snau	
43	breadfruit, jack-	wanam	wanam	andau, anita	andita	ur	
	fruit (autocarpus)						
4	breast			ui	n	sns	rokre, boh
45	to breathe			aiou	aseng	mnasu	
46	brown				kerapape		
47	to burn	rane		nunun	nunung, rapa	kun	
48	butterfly			apopa, kamambo	apopa	àpòp	akomia
49	to buy			worir	vori	kòběs	
20	to call			saku	an		
51	canoe	wa	пуотап	wa	wa	wa(i)	wa
52	to carry			baki	ko	wer	
53	cassava	timburu	insumure	timuri	timburi	fàrkia timór	

below betel nut (areca) betel pepper (sirih) big bird bird of paradise to bite black blood to blow blue, green bone branch brast to brante brast to breathe brown to burn to butterfly to buy	,		Sel ul-Laut	wamesa		W001	
betel nut (areca) betel pepper (sirih) big bird bird bird of paradise to bite black blood to blood to blow blue, green bone branch breadfruit, jack- fruit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn	го wombau		umbau	vava		vava	
betel pepper (sirih) big big bird bird of paradise to bite black blood to blow blue, green bone branch branch breadfruit, jack- fruit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn canoe	havui		anoai	sawu		havui	
big bird bird bird bird bird of paradise to bite black blood to blow blue, green bone branch branch breadfruit, jack- fruit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn coanoe	niaimo		remah	rema buo			
bird bird bird bird of paradise to bite black blood to blow blue, green body, flesh, meat bone branch breadfruit, jack- fruit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn co all							
bird of paradise  to bite  black  blood  to blow  blue, green  body, flesh, meat  bone  branch  to brante  to breathe  brown  to burn  to burn  to burn  to buy  to call	<i>уаwa</i>			baba	7	baba	
bird of paradise to bite black blood to blow blue, green body, flesh, meat bone branch branch branch branch truit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn coanoe	апдома		aya	aya	,	aya	
to bite black blood to blow blue, green body, flesh, meat bone branch branch branch breadfruit, jack- fruit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn to burn to burn to burn to burn coanoe	andowa tenan		botena	aya vata			
black blood to blow blue, green body, flesh, meat bone branch breadfruit, jack- fruit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn to burn to burn to burn coall	ıyat		karifi	karipe		kari	
blood to blow blue, green body, flesh, meat bone branch breadfruit, jack- fruit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn to burn to burn to burn to burn coanoe	vemetang		numeta	meta		vemetang	
to blow blue, green body, flesh, meat bone branch breadfruit, jack- fruit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn to burn butterfly to buy to call	marou	maro	riaat, neri	riate	_	ria	
blue, green body, flesh, meat bone branch breadfruit, jack- fruit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn to burn butterfly to buy to call	vui	itavung	bui	bub			
body, flesh, meat bone branch breadfruit, jack- fruit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn to burn to buy to call	vemakai,		kiay	kake		vekake,	keke,
body, flesh, meat bone branch breadfruit, jack- fruit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn to burn to burn to buy to call	vekakeha					kakemauiti	
bone branch branch breadfruit, jack- fruit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn to burn to buy to buy to call	nutarai	(we)nutarai	tarai	tarai	_	neterai, tarai	
branch breadfruit, jack- fruit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn butterfly to buy to call canoe	nehina	nehina	ina	sina	•	nèhina	
breadfruit, jackfruit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn butterfly to buy coall	ayahai		arawai	rawan	,	arawang	
fruit (autocarpus) breast to breathe brown to burn butterffy to buy to call canoe	andita		anita	andau, an	andita	naknak, andita	ta
breast to breathe brown to burn butterfly to buy to call canoe				buo			
to breathe brown to burn butterfly to buy to call canoe			ns	nsns		huhu	
brown to burn butterfly to buy to call canoe	hasen			surap			
to burn butterfly to buy to call canoe				<i>уа</i> ми			
butterfly to buy to call canoe	paruar				-	nuing	
to buy to call canoe	apopa		kamambo	apopi	-	ròviròvi	
to call canoe	амауапд	avai	wori	vori	,	avayang	
canoe	hahau		an	san		haw	
	va		wa	wa		wa	
52 to carry kotan	kotaveri		anoi	bai		ko	
53 cassava timbi	timbu			timuri			

	Def	Saweru	Central Yawa	Ambaidiru Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
54	cassowary		apara				
55	cat		miki	miki	meki	пуаже	meki
99	caterpillar		kangkunam				
27	cheek		amona				
28	chicken		mangkuer	mankuer	mankuer	mankui	mankue
59	child	arian	kavo, arikainy	arikainy			
09	chili pepper		marinsan				
61	to climb		raisyeo				
62	cloth		siro	siro	siro	siro	siroi
63	clothes		ansun	ansun	ansun	ansun	sansun
49	cloud		kamur				
65	cockatoo		ayak, mangkun-				
			dit, wakikui				
99	cockroach		katatindopan				
29	coconut		angkaijije man	ankai	ankai	ankai	ankadi
89	cold		nanayao	nanayao			sansemu
69	to come, hence		de	nde	nde	nore	nore
70	to cook, to grill		raun, ramer	raun	raun	raun	ran
71	correct		tugae	tugae	tugai	tugai	tugawa
72	to count		rator	rator	rator	rator	rato
73	crocodile		wangkori	wankuri	wankori	wankor	wankore
74	to cry		poyov	poyo	poyo	poyo	poyo
75	cuscus		maer	mayer	mayer	mair	andaure
9/	to cut	fera	raotar				
77	dark		naaman, kau-	kaumu	sandoram	tandoram	sandoram
			mur, kaumudi,				
			andoram				
78	day		masyot				
79	to die, dead		kakai(to), unen	kakai	kakai	поже	поже
80	to dig		rawae				
81	dirty		nggwam				
82	dog		make	make	make	make	тауе

	Def	Sarawandori Yawa	Tindaret Yawa	Ambai	Ansus	Biak	Kurudu	
54 55 56 57	cassowary cat caterpillar cheek	miki	пуаме	man-soari neki tara-reai	worawai nau piaora tarandei	manuswar, wònge urò	maswar woro	
58 29 60	chicken child chili pepper	mankoi kao, arikainye	mankokor	man-kukei antun, arikang marisani	mangkuei kumai marisang	mankòkò òkir marisàn	<i>'1</i> '.	vrang-
62	to climb	raiseo siro	sire	auta kavui ansun	veita irei	aber	sansun	
65 69	cloud cockatoo cockroach	oursell of the second of the s	ans and a second	ansun rarika kantanini	usun mandipi, pipapa kantanting	mandif	mandep	
67 68 69 70 71	coconut cold to come, hence to cook, to grill correct	ankai sansemu nde raun tugae	ankadi nanata nde raun tugai	ankadi ikararutu (ra)ma i-nunu(n) tarai	angkadi dea (ra)ma nunung, ran piboki, mai	sra prim (ra)ma kun, fafnap kàku	angadi teitei rama baympi	
72 73 74 75 76	to count crocodile to cry cuscus to cut	rato wankori poyo mair ratota	ndator onkor poyo mayer	ator wankori i-sai kutui, feran	tora wongkori ai kapawi tekutu, pera	kor wòngor kaněs kapa karuk	tyor syaiso	
77 78 79 80 80	dark day to die, dead to dig	sandoram kakai	kaumur kakai	aha mireka arai rarika	a(nei) kada irai konuro keraria	pampan ràs mār èr akĕm	kimara	
82	dog	make	make	wona	wona	naf	una	

	Def	Pom	Serewen	Serui-Laut	Wamesa	Wooi
54	cassowary	maswar			wonggei	
55	cat	nan		méki	niau	
99	caterpillar	karapauri			kakuna	
57	cheek	tararei		tararei	tarare	
28	chicken	mangkokei		mankúe	kokori	mangkokei
59	child	roumawa	romawa	antum, ariang	atuma	ariang, antu
09	chili pepper	marisan			marisia	
61	to climb	oita			sa	pova
62	cloth	harire	harire	pimuma, sansun	serei	hasung
63	clothes	hasumbaran	hasun		sasn	hasung
49	cloud	mandep		raria	arepa	pipapa, piwori
65	cockatoo			karai	aweto, aya aweko	
99	cockroach				inggeresi	
<i>L</i> 9	coconut	aivuong		angkari	anggadi	angkati
89	cold	parare, pariman		kararutu		perimang
69	to come, hence	ramane		ra-ma	ma	ra ma
70	to cook, to grill	pare		nunu, tunu	nnn	rang, maha, nu-
						ing
71	correct	mahi			tindia	
72	to count	ato		dato		
73	crocodile	wongkori		wangkori	diasinia, diang-	
					gariria	
74	to cry	vori		sai	sais	hay
75	cnscns				sondiei, ve-	
					navavo, yemo	
9/	to cut	peran		kutu	kutu, pera, tara	perang
77	dark				kumwar	
78	day	hani		raida	raria	ha
79	to die, dead	karia		marea	voru	karia
80	to dig	vai		arai	sarai	bay
81	dirty	karariha			rariai, verariate	
82	gop	wona		unap, wona	wona	wona

8.4         to denam         niki mariye         ramanam           8.4         to drink         man         ramanam         ramanam           8.4         dry         karam         raminyaga         raminyaga         ramina           8.5         dry         man         man         man         ramina           8.6         ear         kopa         kopa         kopa         kopa         kokopa           8.8         to earth, ground         raily         raisy         raisy         rais         rais           9.         cell         wayakakari         ami         marikon         raisy         rais           9.         cell         kami         kami         man         rais         rais           9.         to fall         temasyo, temaje         maje         man         main           9.         fast pease, oil         man         man         main         main           9.         fast pease, oil         man         man         man         man           9.         finer         man         man         man         man           9.         finer         man         man         man         man		Def	Saweru	Central Yawa	Ambaidiru Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
dry         kanen, kangka- ranyinyae         ranyinyae           ear         amarikoam         ranyinyae           earth, ground         kopa         kopa           to eat         i, andai         raisy, isyisy         raisy           eet         wayakakari         raisy         raisy           egg         kami         ami         ami           eye         nemasyo, temaje, maje         maje         ami           eye         nemasyo, temaje, maje         ami         ami           eye         nemasyo, temaje, maje         ami         ami           far         nggwaravainy, suje         ami         ami           fast         manani, manin         ambave         ambave           father         naneng kawi         kawi         kakan           fine         jan         jan         jan           fine         randani         jan         jan           five         nyinamy         amanen         amanen           fine         jan         jan         jan           fine         radani         radani         radani           fly         padirir         manbis         manbis           frog	83	to dream to drink	mana	7 7	ramanan	ramanan	ramanan	
earth, ground         amarikoam         amarikoam         amarikoam           earth, ground         i, andai         raisy, isyisy         raisy           eel         yopinam, akon, ayokakari         raisy         rais           egg         kami         ami         ami           eye         ami         ami         ami           eye         ami         ami         ami           eye         ami         ami         ami           eye         ami         ami         ami           far         ami         ami         ami           far         emasyo, temaje, avave         ami         ami           far         emasyo, temaje, avave         ami         ami           far         grainy         ami         ami           far         eman, vave         ambave         ami           far         amen, vave         aman         tanam           fire         aman         tanam         tanam           fish         dia(n)         jian         yian           five         aman         tanam         tanam           fish         aman         tanam         tanam           five </td <td>82</td> <td>dry</td> <td></td> <td>'n,</td> <td>ranyinyae</td> <td>ranyinyai</td> <td>ranina</td> <td>ranina</td>	82	dry		'n,	ranyinyae	ranyinyai	ranina	ranina
earth, ground         kopa         kopa         kopa           to eat         i, andai         raisy, isyisy         raisy         raisy           eel         wayakakari         ami         rais           egg         kami         ami         ami           eye         ami         ami         ami           eye         ami         ami         ami           to fall         emasyo, temaje, ami         ami         ami           fart         no falt         ami         ami           fatt         grease, oil         mani, manin         njai         njai           father         amengkavi         kawi         kakun           fire         amengkawi         kawi         kakun           fish         dian         jian         jian           five         nyo uve         nandani         radani           five         padirir         amane           four         humbisy         mambis           frog         karavinn         mambis	98	ear		amarikoam	amarikoam	amarikoam	amarokoa	abarome
to eat i, andai raisy, isyisy raisy raisy cel ago pinam, akon, wayakakari kami eye kami amii amii amii to fall temasyo, temaje, maje temasyo, temaje, maje temto, tende tat, grease, oil fast (m)avave mani, manin father finger mani, manin fish dia(n) jian jian jian jian jian jian jian jian	87	earth, ground		kopa	kopa	kopa	kakopa	kofa
egg kami akon, wayakakari kami eye ami on to fall temasyo, temaje, maje temasyo, temaje, maje temasyo, temaje, maje temo, tende angavaravainy, sujainy fast (m)avave mani, manin father finger mani, manin fine time tamam time tamam time mangkawi kawi kakun tamam tina manghir fave mani, manin manin manghir manghir mandani mandani radani myinanyim, abu to fly amah kanai, ingkak kanai, ingkak kanai, ingkak kanai, ingkak kanai, ingkak kanai, ingkak kanain manbisy manin manbisy manin kanai, ingkak kanai, ing	88	to eat	i, andai	raisy, isyisy	raisy	rais	rais	rai
egg kami kami eye ami ami eye ami temasyo, temaje, maje far nggwaravainy, fast (m)avave manim manim fish dia(n) jian jian five fity cost manboy fixe forest manboy fixe manim manim finam tanam tanam fixe manim manim fixe manim manim fixe manim fixe manim manim fixe manim fixe manim manim fixe manim fixe manim fixe manim manim fixe manim manim fixe manim	68	eel		ajo pinam, akon,				
fart to fall temasyo, temaje, maje ami to fall temasyo, temaje, maje fart nggwaravainy, sujainy fast fat, grease, oil fast (m)avave mani, manin finger ananeman fine farte ananeman fine fire ananem fine to fly badirir forest manbisy manbis from manbisy manbis forest manbisy manbis finger manbisy manbis finger manbisy manbis finger manbisy manbis finger maning manbis manbis fine manbis manbis manbis fine manbis manbis manbis fine manbis manb	06	900	kami	Миуикики Есті				
to fall temasyo, temaje, maje anni to fall temosyo, temaje, maje temo, tende temo, tende tanto, tende tast sayinny sayiainy fast grease, oil fasher anni, manin manin fire timem tanam tanam tanam tanam tanam tanam timem time time myo uve to fly badirir forest manbisy manbis frog karvinn to flog karvinn	20	202						inne
far nggwaravainy, sujainy fast (m)avave avave ambave fat, grease, oil anni, manin ajap njai anneman tanam tanam tanam tish dia(n) jian jian jian hyo uve fly badirir forest mambisy mambis frog kunai, ingkak, karavinn	92	cy C to fall		ami temasyo, temaje,	ami maje	מוווו	71111	amı
fart  Sugainy fast fat, grease, oil father father father finger fine fine fine fixe five five fixe fixe fixe fixe fixe fixe fixe fix				tento, tende	<b>.</b>			
fast (m)avave avave ambave fat, grease, oil father agap ananeman father ananeman aneng kawi (m) ai an aneng kawi (amam tanam tanam tanam fish dia(n) jian jian jian jian jian jian jian jian	93	far		nggwaravainy,				
fast fast mani, manin mani, manin mani, manin mani, manin father ayap mani, manin ayap mjai mjai mjai maneman anang kawi kawi kakun tanam tanam tanam tanam tinam fish dia(n) jian jian jian jian jian to fly manbis mambis mambis mambis mambis mambis mambis hanan ingkak, mambis mambis mambis manin manin myanan mambis mambis mambis mambis mambis mambis manin manin manin manin manin manin mambis				sujainy				
fat, grease, oil mani, manin father father father father frather finger finger fine fixe fixe fixe fixe fixe fixe fixe fix	94	fast		(m)avave	avave	атраvе	avavi	mararu
father father analysis and the seather and the seather and the seather finger and the seather tanam ta	95	fat, grease, oil		mani, manin				
feather anneman finger anneman finger tanam tanam tanam tanam tanam tanam tanam tanam tanam tish jian jian jian jian jian tadani nyo uve nyimanyim, abu to fly anate four finger manbisy mambis mambis haravinn finger finger annem ingkak, mambis haravinn	96	father		ajap	njai	njai	njaija	aidea
finger anneng kawi kawin kakun fire tanam tanam tanam tanam tanam fish dia(n) jian jian jian jian jian jian jian jian	26	feather		ananeman				
fire tanam tanam tanam tanam fish dia(n) jian jian jian jian tive tive myimanyim, abu to fly anate four mambisy mambis ma	86	finger		aneng kawi	kawi	kakun	kawi	kawi
fish dia(n) jian jian jian jian five five radani nandani radani nandani radani flower myo uve myimanyim, abu badirir forest anate four kunai, ingkak, karavinn	66	fire		tanam	tanam	tanam	tanam	nona
five radani radani radani five five flower flower myo uve myimanyim, abu badirir forest anate four kunai, ingkak, kanai, ingkak, frog	100	fish	dia(n)	jian	jian	jian	jija	dija
flower fly rot fly to fly forest four frog frog frog frog from man bis frog from my in gray, from man bis fro	101	five		radani	nandani	radani	nai	na
fly nyimanyim, abu to fly badirir forest anate four mambisy mambis mambis kunai, ingkak,	102	flower		nyo uve				
to fly forest anate four four kunai, ingkak, karavinn	103	fly		nyimanyim, abu				
forest anate four mambisy mambis mambis frog kunai, ingkak, karavinn	104	to fly		badirir				
four mambisy mambis mambis frog kanai, ingkak, karavinn	105	forest		anate				
frog kunai, karavinn	106	four		mambisy	mambis	mambis	mambi	таты
karavinn	107	frog						
				karavinn				

	Def	Sarawandori Yawa	Tindaret Yawa	Ambai	Ansus	Biak	Kurudu
83	to dream			miai	emi	mafu	iniw
84	to drink	ramanan	ramanan	i-unu	unum, anung	iněm	dur, uruma
85	dry	raninae	rainyat	arahiai	yenaia	miaïs	
98	ear	amarakoa	amarikoam	tara	tarakambrei	kna	train
87	earth, ground	kakopa	kopa	kahopa, kakofa	kakopa	sàpròp	
88	to eat	raisy	rais	ampi	ang, ampi	ān	bampi
68	eel				piara maria, maraisarami,	ròwar, dòsun	
					yeng		
90	egg	kami		neibo	newong	pěnor	antor
91	eye	ami	ami	ure	rengkami	mga	bokmi, dokmi
92	to fall			tawa	tawa	měmgokéf	
93	far	ujayawain		waroi	woroi	binkwaïm	suap
94	fast	mondo	aviti	akera	mararu	fasaw, sambern	
95	fat, grease, oil			main, manin	nemain, maning	màfĕn, mani	man
96	father	njaija	njai	dai, tama	tamamui, yai, idadi	kěma, yài	ita
67	feather			kararoa	netuing	hur	ruan (diwip)
86	finger	kakun	kawi	wara-keka	warangkea		tawékin
66	fire	tanam	tanam	adia	adia	for	adia, arampe
100	fish	jian	aj	dia(n)	diang	in	pian, dian
101	five	radani	nandani	rin	boring	rim	bowerim
102	flower	илме		ne-pn	airau	ратреп	ay pupi
103	fly			anumari	атота	ran	ramat
104	to fly			ofis	apo	rob	bit
105	forest			werabuande	wi(re)		
106	four	mambi	mambis	bo-a	boa, тапиа	fiàk	boat
107	frog	korokoroi		vivintankin	mangkengkeng	kròkrò, ròběbre	

	Def	Pom	Serewen	Serui-Laut	Wamesa	Wooi
83	to dream	mi		enami	ena mia	mi
84	to drink	nnnn		(Su)nun	nun	ku, iunung
85	dry	hanaya		sanaya	sanaia	wohe
98	ear	taradiaun	tarandiau	tara	tarakondi	tara(kambirei)
87	earth, ground	kakopa		kakofa	kakopa	kakopa
	to eat	ang, ampi	ang, ampi	an	api	ang
68	eel	pikakaha			makarabat	pina maria
90	egg	nebuong		ayabon	ponori	nèbuò
91	eye	remo	iremo	(ru)re	re	re(kami)
92	to fall	hu			tawa	tawa
93	far	woroi		woroi	woroi	woroy
94	fast			mararu	saira	mararu
95	fat, grease, oil	mani	mani	maien, mani	vemai	
96	father	yai	aisinang	dai, tamani,	tama, yai	tama, amai
				babafu		
26	feather	andowa rawa		numbaboru		netuing, raua
86	finger	wara kikie	ivaramupa	warakea	vara kiai	vara(ti)
66	fire	arutan		adia	adia	atia
100	fish	dian	diang	dian	dia	tiang
101	five	rin		ring	rime	ding
102	flower	pur		bu, aisanari	ariou	bunga
103	fly	атита		amandori marea	amumar	amnma
104	to fly	rowa		safo	sapop	hapo
105	forest	nu rarong		airaron	uta, ai raro	wirarong
106	four	at		boa	ate	muana
107	frog	katape			kodo	kodok, pihamata-
						papu

	Def	Saweru	Central Yawa	Ambaidiru Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
108	fruit		man				
109	full		ntairi	tari	tari	tai	tai
110	garden		nawaisy	nawaisy	nawais	nawais	andagwa
1111	to give	аже	raunanto				
112	to go, to walk	ta	poroto, to, panya	poroto	poroto		poto
113	poog		kov	ko	ko	ko	ko
114	gourd, pumpkin		apisyi	apisi	apisi	airai	airai
115	grandparent,		anenap, anenam,	anen, ajavi	anena, ajavi	anena, ajavi	anena, worija
	grandchild		ajavi				
116	grass		insumai	insumai	insumai		unsume
117	grasshopper		kao syangker				
118	to grow		tubai				
119	hair		akarivuiny	akaribuin	akariguin	wayariguin	waribine
120	hand		апет	anem	anem	апет	anem
121	head		akari	akari	akari	akari	nga
122	to hear		ranaun, raraniv	raranib	ranaum	ranaun	ankabayar
123	heart		okami				
124	heavy		mangke	manke	manke	manke	manke
125	to hit	bai	ranepat	ranepat	ranepat	tanepat	ranepat
126	to hold	aiya	raijar	raija	raija	raija	raja
127	hole		sugandi				
128	hornbill	umananay	uman				
129	hot		mamawan	mamuan	татоап	mamna	татоа
130	house		yavar	yawar	yawar	yavar	yavar
131	how		beanimaibe,	-are ruwi			
			beare ruwimaisy				
132	hungry		maror	maror	maro	kayara	kayara
133	hurt, sick	yabi:ka, mditi,	joram, uganen	joram	papugam	joram	
134	hishand	wanen	מאמט מטמט				
135	island		andy, anya nupatimu				

	Def	Sarawandori Yawa	Tindaret Yawa	Ambai	Ansus	Biak	Kurudu
108 109 110	fruit full garden	mane tari, ntai anagwa	tari nawais	bo sefa romi	ai bong donu romi	aibón	bo, aybopi
1111	to give	rauja		okon	по		haswartu
112	to go, to walk	poroto	to	rando	ra	rā	rya
113	poog	ko	oSu	anten	vieng	ьуе	sewi
114	gourd, pumpkin	airai	apisi		airaing	bati	
115	grandparent, grandchild	anena, ajavi	anenam, ajavib	tafui	apus, tapung	k-ěpu	dnt
116	grass	unsumai, unswu- maje	tantumai	afui	nanimpung	abris	тіпітпітре
117	grasshopper				keraiami		
118	to grow			tifu	kemamai, suwato	sur	
119	hair	wayarivin	akaribuin	nu-randaun	duandaung	snumburaïm	dukoi, train
120	hand	апет	anem	wara(ng)	warang	rwa	wekan
121	head	kugwa	akari	kamiai	dukami	rwu	du
122	to hear	ranaun	raraniv	tara-o	tarawo	mnàf	idaor
123	heart			ai-bon	anteni, aiboi		aibo
124	heavy	manke	manke	maraba	тетьа		mimbat
125	to hit	ranepat	tanepat	boi	rora	ràb	munna?
126	to hold	raija	ratiar	rut(i)	rut	kin	
127	hole				kambirei		rere
128	hornbill			wama		wando	
129	hot	mamoa	mamoan	maninkapoi	mengkakopi		mindar
130	house	yavar	yavar	mnnn	mann	rum	inun, sovua
131	how			fiani	topino, bototoi	rarisò	
132	hungry	kayara	maror	wawisi	wawi	bisr	
133	hurt, sick	papugam, jora, owanena	paputam	maninan	yui	bis	
134	hiishand			мидио	inmonth	DWS	anananis anai
124	igland			muung	awamai maa(talman)	SWa	man, sawaman
CC1	Islailu			nn	nu(iavaiu)	าเน	

108         fruit         buong         buong         buong         onu           109         grill         onn         romi         romi           111         0 give         ong         ra         ra         ra           112         to go, to walk         ra         ra         ra         ra           113         good         hanai         fiboki, ben         are, vesie         ong           114         goute, pumpkin         aratin         piurung         gpui         are, vesie         ra           114         goute, pumpkin         aratin         piurung         piurung         aratin         ara		Def	Pom	Serewen	Serui-Laut	Wamesa	Wooi
full         onu         romi         romi           garden         romi         romi         romi           to give         ong         ra         ra           good         hanai         ra         ra         ra           good         arrain         grandparent, apuni, apuni         painua, bisa, nem- apui         apui         sexic           grandparent, apuni, apuni         painua, bisa, nem- apui         apui         apusi         sexic           grasshopper         nanimpu         riunandau         rampui, namimpu         sapuni; report         sapuni; report           to grow         andumg         riunandau         riunandau         runandau         runandau           head         rohina         riunandau         runandau         runandau         runandau           head         rohina         riinandau         runandau         runandau         runandau           head         rohina         riinandau         runandau         runandau         runandau           head         rohina         riinandau         runandau         run           head         run         repa         run         run           heat         run         ok         run </td <td>108</td> <td>fruit</td> <td>guonq</td> <td></td> <td>bo, aibon</td> <td>onq</td> <td>(ai)buong</td>	108	fruit	guonq		bo, aibon	onq	(ai)buong
garden         romi         romi           to give         ong         ra         ra           to go, to walk         ra         ra         ra           good         hain         ra         ra         ra           goud, pumpkin         ariain         painua, bisa, nem-         apui         apui         apui           grandparent, grandparent, grandparent, grandparent, grandparent, grandparent         tapuni, apuni, apuni         painuag         kampi         apusi         apusi           grasshopper         nandung         riunandau         riunandau         samue         sapami, vepori           grasshopper         runandaum         riunandau         riunandau         riunandau         riunandau           head         rohina         riun         riunandau         riunandau         <	109	full	onu			опи	
to give         ong         ra         ra         ra           good         hanai         fiboki, ben         ate, vesie           goud, pumpkin         raain         apuit, apuni, apuni         painta, bisa, nem-         apuit           grandchild         grandchild         squari         apusi           grasshopper         manimpu         kampui, namimpu         samue           grasshopper         runandaum         riunandau         raabuni, namimpu         sapami, vepori           to grow         tandung         runandau         runandau         runandau           hand         wara         wara         sapami, vepori           to beart         runandau         rinina         runandau           heavt         mambar         runandau         runandau           heavt         mambar         runandau         runandau           heavt         mambar         runandau         runandau           to hit         tumber         run         run           to hold         rut         ok         rut, tapu           house         yawa         run         run, tapu           house         yawa         run         run           house	110	garden	romi		romi	romi	romi
to go, to walk         ra         ra         ra           good         hanti         fiboki, ben         ale, vesie           goudd, pumpkin         ariain         apuid. bisa, nem-         apui         apusi           grandparent, grandparent, grandparent, grandparent, grandparent, grandparent, grandparent         piurung         kampui, namimpu         apusi           grasshopper         nanimpu         kampui, namimpu         sapami, vepori           to grow         tundung         rinnandau         runandau           hair         varan         rinnandau         vara           hand         varan         rinnandau         vara           head         rohina         rinnandau         vara           to bear         runandau         runandau         vara           to hear         tung         repa         poi         vara           to hear         nemor         rohina         run         rora           to hit         tung         repa         boi         ruit, tapu           hot         marabar         ruit, tapu         ruit, tapu           hot         mara         vari         ruit, tapu           hot         hot         mari         vari	1111	to give	ong		ona, oni	one	Buo
goodhanaifiboki, benate, vesiegound, pumpkinariainpaitua, bisa, nem-apuiapusigrandchildpiurungkampui, namimpusamuegrassloppergrassloppersapami, veporito growtandungriunandauriunandauhairrunandaumriunandaurunandauhandwaranrivaranwarato hearrohinarihinamananuto heartarahorininaadiawaheartmambatroraadiawato hitungrepaboirut, taputo holdrutokrut, tapuholekambirietmasrut, tapuhouseyawamananio, yabahouseyawamanrut, tapuhouseyawamananio, yabahungrywarinanwariniparisihungrymananio, yabahungrymananio, yabahungrymananio, yabahungrymananio, yabahungrymananio, yabahunkimusanio, yabahunksandmusanio, yabahunkshandmusanio, yabahunkshandmusanio, yabahunkshandmusanio, yabahunkshandmusanio, yabahunkshandmusanio, yabahunkshandmusanio, yabahunkshandmusanio, yaba	112	to go, to walk	ra	ra	ra	ra	ra
gourd, pumpkin ariain grandparent, tapuni, apuni apuni apuni paitua, bisa, nem- grandchild grandchild grasshopper grasss nanimpu grassshopper to grow tandung hair runandaun riunandau tarakamindei runandau hand waran ivaran mananu runandau to hear taraho rohina rihina mananu ru heaxy mambat repa boi rohit to hit ung repa boi rui, tapu hole kambiriei uana warai hot mass dararoi mans house yawa dainang house yawa dainang house yawa dainang house yawa dainang house how how topeno fidoniea vitoi hungy wariwan aisinang awani nu mushand hungyy wariwan gisinang awani nu mushand hunsband hu	113	boog	hanai		fiboki, ben	ate, vesie	vihieng
grandparent,         tapuni, apuni, apuni         paitura, bisa, nem-         apui         apusi           grasshopper         grasshopper         kampui, namimpu         samue           grasshopper         tandung         runandau         sapomi, vepori           to grow         tandung         riunandau         runandau           hair         runandaum         riunandau         runandau           hair         runandaum         riunandau         runandau           hair         runandaum         riunandau         runandau           head         rohina         rihina         runandau         runandau           to head         rohina         rihina         runandau         runandau           to head         rohina         runandau         runandau         runandau           to head         rohina         repa         boi         rora           to hear         run         ok         rui, tapu         rui, tapu           hold         rut         ok         rui, tapu         rui, tapu           hot         pow         ropen         run         runi, tapu           hot         rora         run         run         run           hot	114	, pum	ariain				
grasshopper grass hopper grasshopper grandung riunnandaun riunnandaun riunnandaun riunnandaun riunnandaun riunnandaun riunnandau riunnandaun riunnandau grasan grasan grasan riunnandau riunnandau grasan grasan grasan grasan grasan grasan robid robid rut ohit tunng repa boi rora gribuo marabat tunng repa boi rut ok  hole kambiriei darabi grasan grasan marabat ruti, tapu ruti, tapu mas dararoi mas dararoi mas mara manu grasan ruti, tapu house yawa mari manu grasan ruti, tapu house yawa mari manu grasan ruti, tapu house house topeno fidoniea vitoi fidoniea hutu, siek huthi grand awani aisinang awani nu	115	grandparent,	tapuni, apuni	paitua, bisa, nem-	apui	apusi	apu, tapun,
grasshopper grasshopper againshopper agasshopper agasshopper and and an an and an and an and an an and an an and an an and an an and an an and an		grandchild		piurung			eynyang, tapui
grasshopper grasshopper to grow tandung runandaun riunandaun tarakamindei sivaraa sianandaun riunandaun tarakamindei sianara sianandaun riunandaun riinina marakamindei runandaun sianandau riinina marakaan aibuo aibuo heart neavy mambat repa boi rung repa boi rut ohit tung repa boi rut ohit to hold rut mass maran amio, yaba hornbill mass maran manna anio, yaba house yawa topeno fidoniea wanisi munsui pota nunsui nunsui pota nunsan nunsui munsui nunsui munsui nunsui munsui nunsui nunsui mas nunsui munsui munsui nunsui nunsu	116	grass	nanimpu		катриі, патітри	samne	hamuing
to grow         tandung         siwara           hair         runandaun         riunandau         siwara           hand         waran         rinnandau         runandau           head         rohina         rihina         wara         vara           to hear         to hear         rihina         mananu         ru           heart         nemor         raraho         adiawa           heart         nemor         raraba         adiawa           heavy         mambat         rora         rui, tapu           to hit         rut         ok         rui, tapu           hole         kambiriei         wamar         wanar           hot         mas         man         mas           how         topeno         fidoniea         vitoi           hungry         wariwan         wariwan         wanisi           hunki         munsui         pota           husband         hunhi         nu         nu           nu         nu         nu         nu	117	grasshopper					
to grow         tandung         riunandau         tarakamindei         riunandau           hair         runandaum         riunandau         runandau           hand         waran         iyaran         wara           head         rohina         rihina         ru           to heart         raraho         raraho         adiawa           heart         nemor         adiawa           heart         nemor         adiawa           heart         nemor         adiawa           to hit         tung         repa         boi         rora           to hit         rut         ok         rut; tapu         rut; tapu           hole         kambiriei         wamar         wamar           hot         mas         dararoi         mas           how         topeno         fidonica         vitoi           hungry         wariwan         warisi         hunki         pota           husband         hawani         awani         sawa           island         nu         nu         nu						marara	
hair         runnandaun         riumandau         runnandau           hand         waran         riumanda         runandau           head         rohina         rilina         wara         ru           to hear         taraho         rilina         mananu         ru           heart         nemor         adiawa         adiawa           heavy         mambat         repa         boi         rora           to hit         rung         repa         boi         rut; tapu           hole         kambiriei         wamar         wamar           hot         mas         dararoi         mas           how         topeno         fidoniea         vitoi           hungry         wariwan         wariwan         wawisi           hunk         awani         sawa           husband         mu         nu           island         nu         nu	118	to grow	tandung			siwara	
hand         waran         ivaran         wara           head         rohina         rihina         nananu         ru           to heart         taraho         taraoa         adiawa           heavy         mambat         repa         boi         ru           to hit         numg         repa         boi         rut, tapu           to hold         rut         ok         rut, tapu           hole         kambiriei         wamar           hornbill         mas         dararoi         mas           house         yawa         man         wamar           how         topeno         fidonica         vitoi           hungry         wariwan         varii         pota           husband         huhi         aisinang         awani         sawa           island         nu         nu         nu	119	hair	runandaun	riunandau	tarakamindei	runandau	riuandaung
head         rohina         rihina         mananu         ru           to heart         taraho         taraoa         adiawa           heart         nemor         epa         aibuo           heavy         mambat         repa         boi         rora           to hit         tung         repa         boi         ruti, tapu           hole         rut         ok         ruti, tapu         ruti, tapu           horebill         mas         wamar         mas           house         yawa         man         anio, yaba           how         topeno         yawi         vavi         vavioi           hunt, sick         huhi         munsui         pota           husband         huwani         awani         sawa           island         nu         nu	120	hand	waran	ivaran	wara	vara	vara
to hear taraho heart nemor nemor nemor heavy mambat solution hore hore hore hore hore how topeno topeno howy topeno howy hungry wariwan aisinang awani sawa island nemor hore hore how topeno how topeno how how topeno how how topeno how how topeno how how how topeno how how how topeno how how topeno how how topeno how how hore how how topeno how how how topeno how how hore how how topeno how how hore how how hore hore hore hore hore hore hore hore	121	head	rohina	rihina	mananu	ru	riukami
heart nemor aibuo heavy mambat repa boi rora to hit tung repa boi rora to hole kambiriei uama wamar hot mas manu anio, yaba house yawa topeno yawii hungry wariwan husband hawani aisinang awani sawa island mambat aisinang awani sawa namboi marabana hawani aisinang awani sawa aibuo manu anio, yaba fidoniea vitoi nunsui pota nu nu	122	to hear	taraho		taraoa	adiawa	taraho
heavy mambat repa boi rora to hit tung repa boi rora to hole kambiriei uama wamar hot mas manu anio, yaba house yawa topeno yavi hongry wariwan hut, sick huthi aisinang awani sland island to hit huthi aisinang awani sawa island  mambara boi repa boi rora rora rora manu anio, yaba huthi aisinang awani sawa island	123	heart	nemor			aibuo	
to hit tung repa boi rora to hold rut ok musin wamar hot mas manu anio, yaba hungry wariwan husband hawani island island island to hold how husband hawani affinang to hold hawani affinang to hold hawani affinang to hold hawani affinang to hold hawani afisinang to hold hawani affinang to hold h	124	heavy	mambat			marabat	
to hold rut ok ruti, tapu hole kambiriei uama wamar hot mas dararoi mas house yawa manu anio, yaba how topeno yavi yavi hungry wariwan ruti, sick huhi aisinang awani sawa island nawani aisinang awani sawa	125	to hit	tung	repa	boi	rora	rora
hole kambiriei uama kamberei hornbill mas dararoi mas manu anio, yaba house yawa topeno hungry wariwan toka hurt, siek huhi aisinang awani sawa island na manu aisinang awani sawa nu	126	to hold	rut	ok		ruti, tapu	ru, tapu,
hole kambiriei uama kamberei hornbill nas nas dararoi mas house yawa fidoniea vitoi hungry wariwan topeno hushand hawani aisinang awani sawa island na hawani aisinang awani sawa nu							kangkung, kepa
hornbilluamawamarhotmasmashouseyawamanuanio, yabahowtopenofidonieavitoihungrywariwanvavivawisihurt, sickhuhipotahusbandhawaniaisinangawanisawaislandnunu	127	hole	kambiriei			kamberei	kambrei
hotmasdararoimashouseyawamanuanio, yabahowtopenofidonieavitoihungrywariwanvavivawisihurt, sickhuhipotahusbandhawaniaisinangawanisawaislandnunu	128	hornbill			uama	wamar	
houseyawamanuanio, yabahowtopenofidonieavitoihungrywariwanvavivawisihurt, sickhuhipotahusbandhawaniaisinangawanisawaislandnunu	129	hot	mas		dararoi	mas	mang(kakopi)
howtopenofidonieavitoihungrywariwanvawisivawisihurt, sickhuhipotahusbandhawaniaisinangawanisawaislandnunu	130	house	уама		manu	anio, yaba	manu
hungry wariwan vavi vawisi hurt, sick huhi nunsui pota husband hawani aisinang awani sawa island nu	131	how	topeno		fidoniea	vitoi	topino
hurt, sick huhi pota husband hawani aisinang awani sawa island nu nu	132	hungry	wariwan		vavi	vawisi	
husband hawani aisinang awani sawa island nu nu	133	hurt, sick	huhi		nunsui	pota	huhi
5 island mu nu	134	husband	hawani	aisinang	awani	sawa	
	135	island			пи	nn	nn

	Def	Saweru	Central Yawa	Ambaidiru Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
136	to kill		raubaisy	raivin	rawavin	rawavi	rawabi
137	knee		vukan	bukam	bukam	bukam	bugam
138	knife	tia	tija	tiya	tija	tiya	tija
139	to know		raen				
140	lake		onae				
141	land, shore		mayane von/tuga				
142	to laugh	mboambe	pugoen	виме	пвиме	ugeve	ogeve
143	leaf		жао				
144	left (side)		kakai				
145	leg, foot		ajo	ajo	ajo	ajo	aido
146	lightning		ikav	ivak	ikav	sivak	sibak
147	to live		kov				
148	liver		arir				
149	lizard		kiripum, ampapir,	kiripum	kapanim	ambururumi	ananate
			vapaieie				
150	long		ugaravainy	gwaravain	sojain	vayavait	wayava
151	louse		ете	ет	eme	eme	eme
152	man	rama	anya	anya	anya	anya	aina
153	mango		andanije		andani	andani	andani
154	money		doije, senije				
155	moon		embae	embae	embae	semba	emba
156	mosquito		anyira	anatatau	anyira	andakauku	pikarari
157	mother		akoyam	nko	nko	nkua	ажеа
158	mountain	unat	unat				
159	mouse, rat		kaimir	kaimir	kaimir	kaimir	kaimar
160	mouth		ама	ажа	ажа	ava	ava
161	nail		ir				
162	name	tani	tam	tame	tame	tame	tame

knie bukami rawavin muni muni knie knie knie hukami rawavin awe-buka aembu knie know iija iya noi noi nyoi ambu lake land, shore left (side) adoo adoo we aemu lightning ivak sivak kaiveva aemu lightning ivak sivak kaiveva aemu lightning ivak sivak kaiveva aemu lightning lixer sivak kaiveva aemu lightning lixer sivak kaiveva aemu lightning lixer ambaroromi, am- kapadum kapetaini kapadiwa papire eme eme em amya amya lanya muang muang amya andani amoney dojje em utu utu utu utu money dojje jaon amdari ambaro amdatatu amtokau lixek ina inani intai mountain mounter kaimi; kae kamo kano kara inani intai mountutain awa awa awa awa awa awa awa awa andatatu kaimi; kae kamo kara inani intai mountutain awa awa awa awa awa awa awa awa awa aw		Def	Sarawandori Yawa	Tindaret Yawa	Ambai	Ansus	Biak	Kurudu
knee bukami bukam awe-buka aembu knife iija iiya noi noi nyoi ambu lake land, shore adoo we acemu lightning ivak sivak kaiveva keviewari to live lizard ambaroromi, am- kapadum kapetaini kapadiwa papire eme eme em ambaroromi, am- kapadum kapetaini kapadiwa louse eme eme em anya tanya muang muang muang mango andani gwimen andari sandani sandani mooney dojje jaon embati shore muang mooney dojje jaon embati shore muang mooney dojje jaon embati shore muang mooney adojje jaon embati shore ina muang mountain mooney adojje kamo kamo muani inani inani inani inani mountain awa awa kamo kore warandii	136	to kill	rawavi, raubwai	rawavin	muni	mnn	mnu	dipai, muni
knife tija tiya tiya noi noi nyoi toknow lake lake lake lake lake lake lake lake	137	knee	bukami	bukam	awe-buka	aembu	wepur	wewun
lake lake lake lake lake lake lake lake	138	knife	tija	tiya	noi	nyoi		inoi
lake land, shore land, shore land, shore lo laugh left (side) left	139	to know			tawana	reo, rotawana	fau	
land, shore  leaf  to laugh  leaf  to laugh  leaf  to laugh  leaf  to laugh  leaf  liser  leaf	140	lake			ruru	ruru	dòkěn	katibo
to laugh uguwe uguen miri mari leaf leaf leaf leaf leaf leaf leaf leaf	141	land, shore			rei	rei	dns	inauro
leaf teat teat (n) aiveraung left (side)  leg, foot ajo ado we aemu lightning ivak sivak kaiveva keviewari to live liver ambaroromi, am- kapadum kapetaini kapadiwa papire ome em anya tanya muang muang manano andani gwaravai gwaravai dewaroi tanimbai noone embae jaon embae jaon embai sembai mosquito anatatau anatokau fi-karari aimaning mountain mouther hair, kae kamo kara inan inaning mail awa awa awa horo woreng nail	142	to laugh	nguwe	nguen	miri	mari	mbrif	midia, uamdi
left (side) leg, foot ajo ado we aemu lightning ivak sivak kaiveva keviewari to live lizard ambaroromi, am- kapadum kapetaini kapadiwa lizard ambaroromi, am- kapadum kapetaini kapadiwa long gwayavain gwaravai dewaroi tanimbai louse eme em utu utu man anya tanya muang muang moon embae jaon embai yembai moother nkoa nko ina inani, intai mouth awa awa warandii paku, warandi  leg, foot aemu anen weng anen weng anen ambai aniah intai mouth awa awa awa ania	143	leaf			rerau(n)	aiveraung	rām	rainggoip, kòi
leg, foot ajo ado we aemu lightning ivak sivak kaiveva keviewari to live liver ambaroromi, am- kapadum kapetaini kapadiwa papire ambaro eme eme utu utu utu mang muang muang muang money doije amatatau amatokau firkarari aimani, intai mouth awa awa awa awa awa awa amani mouth awa awa awa awa awa awa awa anali awa awa awa awa awa awa awa awa awa aw	144	left (side)			wei	dowiri	sār	roknoi
lightning ivak sivak kaiveva keviewari to live daran sivak kaiveva keviewari to live ambaroromi, am- kapadum kapetaini kapadiwa rarong lizard ambaroromi, am- kapadum kapetaini kapadiwa papire eme em utu utu utu utu nang muang muang muang muang muang muang moon embae jaon amdari andani moon embae jaon embai jaon embai ina inani, inai mouther nkoa kamo karu kaimi; kae kamo karu kapa manu mouth awa awa awa boro woreng mail	145	leg, foot	ajo	ado	we	аети	we	
liver live atenit atenit atenit and weng liver atenit and anner wai, sane lizard ambaroromi, am- kapadum kapetaini kapadiwa papire eme em utu utu utu utu utu utu utu utu utu ut	146	lightning	ivak	sivak	kaiveva	keviewari	wèwěr	
liver liver ambaroromi, am- kapadum kapetaini aneu wai, sane rarong lizard ambaroromi, am- kapadum kapetaini kapadiwa papire gwayavain gwaravai dewaroi tanimbai louse eme em utu utu utu utu utu utu utu utu utu ut	147	to live			daran	weng	keněm	mura
lizard ambaroromi, am- kapadum kapetaini kapadiwa papire gwayavain gwaravai dewaroi tanimbai louse eme eme mutu utu utu utu mang muang muang muang muang muang money doije awaveri doi embae jaon embai yembai mother nkoa nkoa nko ina inani, intai mouth awa awa boro woreng mail yang yang manu muth awa awa boro woreng mail	148	liver			ateni		kén	ate
lizard ambaroromi, am- kapadum kapetaini kapadiwa papire long gwayavain gwaravai dewaroi tanimbai louse eme em utu utu utu utu utu utu utu utu utu ut						rarong		
long gwayavain gwaravai dewaroi tanimbai louse eme em utu utu utu utu man anya tanya muang muang muang muang muang muang muang muang muang money doije gwimen andari anwaweri moon embae jaon embai yembai mother nkoa anatokau fi-karari aimaning mountain mouse, rat kaimir, kae kamo karu kapa manu mouth awa awa kamo boro woreng mail	149	lizard	oromi,	kapadum	kapetaini	kapadiwa		
louse eme em utu utu man anya tanya muang muang mango andani gwimen andari andani mon doije jaon embai yembai mosquito anatatau anatokau fi-karari aimaning mother nkoa nko ina inani, intai mountain mouse, rat kaimir, kae kamo karu kapa manu mouth awa awa boro woreng mail	150	long	gwayavain	gwaravai	dewaroi	tanimbai	kawaïm	kirwain
mango andani gwimen andari andani andani money doije jaon embae jaon embai yembai mosquito anatatau anatokau fi-karari aimaning mother nkoa nko ina uai wi mountain mouse, rat kaimir, kae kamo karu kapa manu mouth awa awa boro woreng mail	151	louse	eme	ет	utu	utu	uk	upi
mango andani gwimen andari andani money doije doi awaweri moon embae jaon embai yembai mosquito anatatau anatokau fi-karari aimaning mother nkoa nko ina wi mountain nhoa karu kapa manu mouth awa awa boro woreng mouth awa awa boro yaradiu paku, warandi	152	man	anya	tanya	muang	muang	man	sinontu inampesi,
mango andani gwimen andari andani money doije doi awaweri moon embae jaon embai yembai mosquito anatatau anatokau fi-karari aimaning mother nkoa nko ina inani, intai mountain mouse, rat kaimir, kae kamo karu kapa manu mouth awa awa boro woreng nail yembai								iman
money doije doi awaweri moon embae jaon embai yembai mosquito anatatau anatokau fi-karari aimaning mother nkoa nko ina mountain mountain kaimir, kae kamo karu kapa manu mouth awa awa boro woreng nail tana	153	mango	andani	gwimen	andari	andani	ама	
mosquito anatatau anatokau fi-karari aimaning mosquito anatatau anatokau fi-karari aimaning mother nkoa nko ina inani, intai mountain kaimir, kae kamo karu kapa manu mouth awa awa boro woreng nail tana	154	money	doije		doi	awaweri	pipi	
mosquito anatatau anatokau fi-karari aimaning mother nkoa nko ina inani, intai mountain wi mountain kaimir; kae kamo karu kapa manu mouth awa awa boro woreng nail tama	155	moon	embae	jaon	embai	yembai	paik	awokai
mouther nkoa nko ina inani, intai mountain uai wi mountain wi mouse, rat kaimir, kae kamo karu kapa manu mouth awa awa boro woreng nail yang tamo	156	mosquito	anatatau	anatokau	fi-karari	aimaning	muměs	sinin
mountain wi mouse, rat kaimir, kae kamo karu kapa manu mouth awa awa boro woreng nail yaradiu paku, warandi	157	mother	nkoa	nko	ina	inani, intai	ina, sna	ina
mouse, rat kaimir; kae kamo karu kapa manu mouth awa awa boro woreng nail yaradiu paku, warandi	158	mountain			uai	wi		abobo
mouth awa boro woreng nail waradiu paku, warandi	159	mouse, rat	kaimir, kae	kamo	karu	kapa manu	wanggar	anganau
nail warandi paku, warandi	160	mouth	awa	ама	boro	woreng	$sbar{a}$	bondo
and the second s	161	nail			waradiu	paku, warandi	we	vrare, denda,
mont omit omit								ueranggin, tawĕkin dèndau
Hallie lame wono anom	162	name	tame	tame	wono	anom	nasàn, snon-snon	sinope

	Def	Pom	Serewen	Serui-Laut	Wamesa	Wooi
136	to kill	Bunu		ипш	unu	Bunu
137	knee	aibu		aebua	aibu	aebu
138	knife	nioi	nioi	noi	nioi	nyoi
139	to know	hanehoto			rina	rinamo
140	lake	kaboti		ruru	ruru	tobai
141	land, shore	huonderei		reirei	rei	hiha, rei
142	to laugh	mari		mari	mari	mari
143	leaf	andiaun		re-rau	ran	raung, ariang,
						(r)andaung
144	left (side)	mambasar			sara	
145	leg, foot	ai	ai re	ae(n)	ai	ав
146	lightning	vieria		kiabobari	kabiebar, vera-	
					vera	
147	to live	vihieng		been	tenam	
148	liver			aneraron	vuvusa, ateni	
149	lizard	kohuhu			pisibara	amperaroi,
						pindotu
150	long	woroi		doroi	aroi	teroy
151	louse	kubari		itu	rutu	uta, utu
152	man	mawang	тамап	man	mua	muang
153	mango	arwei		anda	piderekari	andang
154	money	doi			pipi, doi	doy
155	moon	hembai		embai	sembie	hembai
156	mosquito	hinyeri		fikarari	kamumi	pikarari
157	mother	ami	hinamui	ina-, ai	mai, awini, sinia	hinyai
158	mountain	tawui		wi	wis	wi
159	mouse, rat	kapa		karu	wanggar	
160	mouth	wapang	huapan	oreng	sore	hore
161	nail	di		waradi,	dir	varati
				uaramkea		
162	name	hanomu	hanong	anoma	sano	hano

	Def	Saweru	Central Yawa	Ambaidiru Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
163	narrow		nandi				
164	near		mararae				
165	neck	nggorawma	akombasyin	isis	akumbasin	isis	isis
166	needle		kuwayai				
167	negator		jowena	joena			
168	new		wanyin	wanyin	wain	wanine	wanine
169	night		naman				
170	nose		atum	atum	atum	amantu	amtum
171	old		usyin	wisin	wusin	wusine	wusine
172	older sibling		anuija	anuija	andoija	anduja	faniandoi
173	one		ntabo	ntabo	ntabo	ntavo	tavo
174	other		kajinta				
175	owl		koo				
176	to paddle	wo	borae	vorae	po	po	bo
177	pandanus fruit		avone				
178	person		vatan, kawasae	batan	vatan	vatan	batan
179	pig		aSn	ugwe, ugey	ngwe	pnge	pnge
180	to plant		ranyum	ranyum	ranyun	raenum	ranu
181	to pound (sago)		ratukam, rakaror,		rakaro	rakaro	rakaro
			raman				
182	quicklime (ka-		roa				
	pur						
183	(to) rain		maru	maru	maru	maru	maru
184	red	mawi(t)	nijam	nijam	nijam	nijam	nijam
185	rice		pa				
186	right (side)		kov				
187	road	nar	unanui	unani	nandoi	unandi	unandoi
188	root		piip, wantainy	pi:p	kawen	kawen	kaune
189	rope		wai	wai	wai	wai	wai
190	rotten		mbaug, kungkum				

	Def	Sarawandori Yawa	Tindaret Yawa	Ambai	Ansus	Biak	Kurudu
163 164	narrow near			katui kefa	siota, kiepang kikeu	fiòs fanàm	miniu
165	neck	isis	akuin	kanang	raukanang	sasu	roprai
166	needle			aniai, reti	reti, wai rui	rèt	•
167	negator	joena		bireri	wereria, wa	ba	
168	new	wanin	riat	vevoru	veworu	babo	wiworu
169	night	namane		diru	diru	$r\dot{o}b$	
170	nose	atum	atum	ube	мотрето	snò	sore
171	old	wusyine	wusin	tawa	wepaituang, tawa	kwar	minda
172	older sibling	andoja	anuija	tafuai	basar		manggobapi,
							minggubapi
173	one	ntabo	intabo	bo-yari	koiri	saï	bosandi
174	other			siai		wèsĕ	
175	owl				patireiwai		
176	to paddle	po	vorat	ро, мо	WO	borěs	ажо
177	pandanus fruit				амо		
178	person	batan	vatan	inon-tarai	nyontarai	kawàsa	sinontu
179	pig	gwe	ngwe		tapui	bén	
180	to plant	ranyun	ratayum	i-tanamp	tanami	kàrker	
181	to pound (sago)	rakaro	raman	tara, -tuta(k)	tara	nuk, kakar	
182	quicklime (ka-			roa	kiru	afěr	
	pur)						
183	(to) rain	maru(gwe)	maru	meta	mamang, miuna	mèkěm	ram
184	red	nija	niyam	berika	merai	rik	kinun
185	rice	рама		pa	pa	fas	
186	right (side)			moya	dowatang	karěmbòbò	rowar
187	road	nandoi	unani	rang, ran	rang	nyàn	
188	root	kawen	pif	ne-wa(sa)	woa	rarěs	wam
189	rope	wai	wati	wai	wai	ràbràb	waynsnip
190	rotten			piso	kengkong	pòkěm	sisupra

163       narrow         164       near         165       neck         166       needle         167       negator         168       new         169       night         170       nose         171       old         172       older si	A SI	babar				
	or or	וומוומו			kotar	
	o z	kakieu		(na) kefa	dirioi	kikie
	. L	rau karo	rau karo	raukanao	rau	raukuo
	or	waituhi		reti	ret	
		ріема, νа			va	va
		vaworu		vavoru	avori, vavoru	vavoru
		rowi		diru	diru	curu
		hokama	hokama	wompi	ons	hokama
		tawa		aina	woroi	paituang
	older sibling	basar	neta veava	manetababa,	babai	neta baba
				anewori		
173 one		korisi		boiri	siri	korisi
174 other		hehivera			esi(a)	eha
175 owl				aya diru	aya tomboro	kou
176 to paddle	dle	bo, vo	0.0	po	70	0.0
177 pandanus fr	nus fruit	buo vemarou			abo viurar	avo
178 person	1	hinontarai	hinontarai	inontarai	kawasa, sinitu	hinyontarai
179 pig		vowa		tafui	pimuna	asurang
180 to plant	ıt	tantanan		tana	tana	tanang
	to pound (sago)				tara	tung
182 quicklime	ime (ka-	kiru		rowa	kiru	
pur						
183 (to) rain	in	mamang		metan	diobara, muna	mamang, miuna
184 red		vemarou		merai	urar	(ve)ria
185 rice		pa		fa	pase	pa
186 right (side)	side)	diawatan			vata	cobatang
187 road		rayan		ran	ra	
188 root		wari		гема	war	uari
189 rope		arora	arora	wai	wai	arora
190 rotten		kangkong			saire	

191         to run         anano         anano <th< th=""><th></th><th>Def</th><th>Saweru</th><th>Central Yawa</th><th>Ambaidiru Yawa</th><th>Ariepi Yawa</th><th>Konti-unai Yawa</th><th>Mariadei Yawa</th></th<>		Def	Saweru	Central Yawa	Ambaidiru Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
sago         anano rayat         anano rayat         anano rayat           to sal         ayum         ayum         ayum           sand         ayum         ayum         ayum           to say         ayao, raura         ayao, raura         agai           to say         ayao, raura         ayao, raura         agai           to say         ayao, raura         ayao         agai           to satch         andatqfuay         paripur, kin-dawa         agai           to saa         andatqfuay         paripur, kin-dawa         aan           to sead         andatqfuay         barin         kami           to seed         ananova         rarijat, rarawat         kami         kami           sharp         araijat, rarawat         arain         arain           sharp         araijat, rarawat         arain         arain           shoulder         araijat, rarawat         arain         arain           shoulder         arain         arain         arain           shoulder         arain         arain         arain           six         arain         arain         arain           so sleep         arin         arain         arain <td>191</td> <td>to run</td> <td></td> <td>pansanan</td> <td>nansanan</td> <td>nyansanan</td> <td>nansanan</td> <td>nansanan</td>	191	to run		pansanan	nansanan	nyansanan	nansanan	nansanan
sago         portides         anano rayat         anano rayat           to sail         ayuun         ayuun           salt         ayuun, garan         ayaab         ugai           to say         ayao, raura         ayao, raura         ugai           to say         ayao, raura         ayao, raura         ugai           to say         andetafiuay         baripur, kin-kin-kin-kin-kin-kin-kin-kin-kin-kin-	192	sago		anan	anan	anan	ana	anate
pageda)         ayun           salt         anayan, garan         agai           to sal         anayan, garan         ugai           to say         aranaa         aranaa           to say         aranaa         aranaa           to scratch         karama         karama           sea         maova         raen           to seed         en         raen           to seed         en         raen           seed         en         raen           sharp         kami         kami           to seed         en         raen           sharp         ramit, rarawat         kami           shoot         augion         rami           shoulder         ramer, ratapo         kami           shoulder         ramer, ratapo         kami           shoulder         num         tuna           skin         ka         kea           skin         man         ka           skin         man         num           o sleep         man         man           small         man         man           smake         tawae         tawae           tawae	193	sago porridge		anano rayat				
o sail         ayun           salt         anayar, garan         ayab         ugai           to sand         anayar         ayab         ugai           to sand         anayar         ayab         ayab           sea         mayan         xab         xab           sea         macyan         xab         xab           sea         macyan         xab         xab           to seed         en         ramin         kami         kami           seed         en         ramin, sansinao         ramin         kami           short         anafo         ramer, ratapo         rumai         tumai           short         anaer, sansinao         tumai         tumai           shoulder         num         tumainy         tumai         tumai           short         num         tumainy         tumai         tumai           sky         manum         nam         tumai           sky         manum         nam         tumai           small         mana         tumai         tumai           smake         trame         twae         twae           to sniff, to smell         tumai         tum		(papeda)						
salt         mayan, garan           sand         anayar         anayab         ugai           to sasy         anayan         anayab         ugain           to scratch         karama         rakaramae         kin-         anayan           sea         mayan         kin-         anayan         kin-           sea         mayan         kin-         anayan         kin-           dea         maova         rame         rame         rame           seed         en         rame         rame         rame           seed         en         ramint, raramat         ramin         ramin           seed         en         ramin, sansinao         ramin         ramin           short         manain         tumain         tumain         rama           short         mun         mana         ram         ram           sky         mana         ram         ram         ram           small         mana         ram         ram         ram           smake         ram         ram         ram         ram           to sniff, to smell         ram         ram         ram           sman         ram	194	to sail		ayun				
sand         anayav         nayab         ugai           to say         ayao, raura         hayab         ugai           to sea         mayan         rakuramae         rakuramae           sea         mayan         kin-         ran           (sea) turtle         andetafuay         paripur, kin-         kin-         ran           to see         en         raen         raen         rain           seed         en         raen         raen         rain           to seed         en         ramit         kami         kami           to seed         en         raright, rarwat         kami         kami           to short         atafo         rami         tumai         anain           shoulder         num         tumain         tumai         tumai           skin         mun         kaujentabo         kawintabo         kaujintavo           skin         man         tuma         tumai           sky         man         tumai         tumai           smake         tawae         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ram         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell	195	salt		mayan, garan				
to say         ayao, raura           sea         rakaramae           sea         mayan           (sea) turtle         andetafuay         paripur, kin-duwai           seed         ranner         raen           to seed         em         raen         rain           seed         em         ramin         rain           seed         em         ramin         rain           seed         ramin         ramin         rain           seed         ramin         ramin         rain           sharp         ramin, sansinao         ramin         ramin           shoulder         ramer, ratapo         rumai         rumai           shoulder         rumain         rumai         rumai           shoulder         rumain         rumai         rumai           skin         mann         ramin         rain           skin         mann         ramin         rumain           small         mann         rumain         rumain           small         manne         ramain         rumain           smake         ramin         ramain         rumain           rann         ramain         ramain </td <td>196</td> <td>sand</td> <td></td> <td>anayav</td> <td>nayab</td> <td>ugai</td> <td>пуаvе</td> <td>nibugane</td>	196	sand		anayav	nayab	ugai	пуаvе	nibugane
to scratch         karama         rakaramae           sea         mayan         kin-           fawai, wao,         maova         raen           to see         en         raen         rain           seed         en         raen         rain           seed         en         raen         rain           seed         en         raen         rain           seed         ramen         raen         rain           sharp         ramen; ratapo         ramen         ramen           shoulder         rumainy         tumain         tumain           shoulder         mun         awainanbo         kaujintavo           skin         mun         maan         tuna           skin         mam         kea         kea           skin         mam         mam         tuban           small         mam         tuban         tuban           smake         tawae         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ranu         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ranu         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ranu         tawae	197	to say		ayao, raura				
sea         mayan           (sea) turtle         andetafuay         paripur, kin-           duwai, wao, maova         kin-           to seed         raen         raen           seed         raen         raen         rain           to sew         rarijat, rarawat         kami         kami           sharp         rarijat, rarawat         kami         kami           shoot         atafo         ramer, ratapo         rumai         tumai           shoulder         atumainy         tumai         tumai           shoulder         munu         kaujintavo         kaujintavo           six         kea         kea         kaujintavo           sky         man         man         nam           to sleep         nei         niki         man         nam           swall         man         man         man         man           smake         tawae         tawae         tawae           to sniff; to smell         ranu         gwarakaki         kaki	198	to scratch	karama	rakaramae				
(sea) turtle         andetafuay         paripur, kin- kin- maova         kin- maova           to seed         en         raen         rain           seed         kami         kami         kami           to sew         rarijat, rarawat         kami         kami           sharp         rarijat, rarawat         kami         kami           sharp         ramis, sansinao         tumai         tumai           to shoot         atafo         rame: ratapo         tumai           shoulders         numu         tumai         tumai           shoulders         numa         tumai         tumai           skin         kaujentabo         kaujintavo           sky         anaum         naiki           small         mamaun, tuvan, man         tuban           smake         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ranu         tawae           spider         tawae         tawae	199	sea		mayan				
to see         en         raen         raen         rain           seed         kami         kami         kami           seed         raen         rain         kami           to sew         rarijat, rarawat         kami         kami           short         ramfo         ramer, ratapo         rami           shott         ramer, ratapo         rame         tumai           shott         num         numainy         tumain         tumai           to sit         num         numa         aribam         ariam           to sit         num         kaminabo         kaujintavo           skin         kea         kea         kea           sky         amaum         niki         miki           small         mamaun, tuvan, mamau         niki         niki           smake         kijao         kijao         kijau           smake         tawae         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ranu         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ranu         tawae         tawae	200	(sea) turtle	andetafuay	, ,				
to see         maova         raen         rain           seed         kami         kami         kami           to sew         rarjat, rarawat         kami         kami           sharp         ramer, ratapo         ramer, ratapo         numainy           short         ramer, ratapo         tumain         numain           shoulder         awaivam         numain         numain           to sit         num         kaujentabo         kaujintavo           six         kea         kea         kea           skin         nei         niki         niki           small         mamun, tuvan, mamau         nuban           mawae         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ram         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ram         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ram         tawae								
to see         em         raen         rain           seed         kami         kami         kami           seed         rarijat, rarawat         kami         kami           sharp         sin, sansinao         tumain         tumain           to shoot         adafo         ramer, ratapo         tumain         tumain           short         awaivam         aibam         tumain           to sit         num         tuma         tumain           to sit         num         kaujentabo         kaujintavo           skin         anaum         naum           to sleep         nei         niki         niki           small         mamaun, tuvan, mamau         tuban           smoke         kijao         kijau           smake         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ranu           spider         gwarakki         kaki				maova				
seed         kami         kami           to sew         rarijat, rarawat         kami           sharp         siu, sansinao         tumain           to shoot         ramer, ratapo         tumain           short         awaivam         tumain           shoulder         awaivam         tumain           to sit         num         tuma           six         kea         kea           skin         nei         niki           skin         niki         niki           small         mamaun, tuvan, mamau         tuban           smoke         kijao         kijau           smake         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ramu         tawae           spider         gwarakaki         kaki	201	to see	в	raen	raen	rain	rato	rato
to sew         rarijat, rarawat           sharp         siu, sansinao           to shoot         atafo         ramer, ratapo         tumain         tumai           short         tumainy         tumain         tumai           shoulder         tumain         tumain         tumain           to sit         tuna         tuma         tuma           six         kea         kea         kea           skin         anaum         nam         nam           to sleep         nei         niki         niki         niki           small         mamaun, tuvan, mam         tuman         tuban           smoke         kijao         kijau         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ranu         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ranu         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ranu         tawae         tawae	202	seed		kami	kami	kami	kami	kami
sharp         siu, sansinao           to shoot         ramer, ratapo         tumain         tumai           short         awaivam         tumain         tumai           shoulder         nunu         tuma         aibam         tuma           to sit         nunu         kaujentabo         kawintabo         kaujintavo           skin         kea         kea         kea         kea           sky         nei         niki         niki         niki           small         mamaun, tuvan, mamau         mamau         tuban           smoke         kijao         kijau         kijau           smake         tawae         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ranu         tawae         tawae           spider         gwarakaki         kaki	203	to sew		rarijat, rarawat				
to shoot atafo ramer, ratapo tumain tumain short short awaivam awaivam aibam aivam to sit nunu tuna tuna tuna tuna tuna anaum nam nam nam to sleep nei manaun, tuvan, manau tuban snake to sniff, to smell spider against to sleep to sniff, to smell short anaum anau tuwan tuban t	204	sharp		siu, sansinao				
short         tumainy         tumain         tumai           shoulder         awaivam         aibam         aivam           to sit         nuna         tuna         tuna           six         kaujentabo         kawintabo         kaujintavo           skin         kea         kaujintavo           skin         nam         nam           sky         nam         nam           small         niki         niki           mawae         kiyao         kiyan           smake         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ranu         tawae           spider         waki         kaki	205	to shoot	atafo	ramer, ratapo				
shoulderawaivamaibamaivamto sitnunutunatunatunasixkaujentabokawintabokaujintavoskinkeakeakeaskyanaumnamnaumto sleepneinikinikismallmamaun, tuvan, mamautubansmokekiyaokiyaosnaketawaetawaeto sniff, to smellranutawaespiderugarakakigwarakakikaki	206	short		tumainy	tumain	tumai	tumai	arapa
to sit         nunu         tuna         tuna           six         kaujentabo         kawintabo         kaujintavo           skin         kea         kea         kea           sky         niki         naum         naum           to sleep         nei         niki         niki           small         mamaun, tuvan, mamau         tuban         tuban           smoke         kiyao         kiyau         kijau           snake         tawae         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ranu         ranu         kaki	207	shoulder		awaivam	aibam	aivam	kumane	avam
six         kaujentabo         kawintabo         kaujintavo           skin         kea         kea         kea           sky         anaum         nam         naum           to sleep         nei         niki         niki         niki           small         mamaun, tuvan, mamau         tuban         tuban           smoke         kiyao         kiyau         kijau           snake         tawae         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ranu         tawae         tawae           spider         ugarakaki         kaki	208	to sit	nunu	tuna	tuna	tuna	tuna	tuna
skin         kea         kea         kea           sky         anaum         nam         naum           to sleep         nei         niki         niki           small         mamaun, tuvan, mamau         tuban           smoke         kiyao         kiyau           snake         tawae         tawae           to sniff, to smell         ranu         tawae           spider         ugarakaki         kaki	209	six		kaujentabo	kawintabo	kaujintavo	kaujientavo	kaujintavo
sky  anaum  to sleep  nei  miki  mamaun, tuvan, mamau  tuban  mawae  smoke  smoke  snake  to sniff, to smell  spider  spider  anaum  anawae  tawae	210	skin		kea	kea	kea	kea	kea
to sleep nei niki niki niki niki small small tuvan, mamaun, tuvan, mamau tuban tuban mawae smoke kijao kijao kijao kijao snake to sniff, to smell rawae to sniff, to smell spider ugarakaki gwarakaki kaki	211	sky		anaum	пат	naum	naum	naum
small mamaun, tuvan, mamau tuban mawae smoke kijao kijao kijao kijau snake to sniff, to smell ranu spider ugarakaki kaki	212	to sleep	nei	niki	niki	niki	niki	nei
smoke kijao kijau kijao snake to sniff, to smell rawae to spider ugarakaki kaki	213	small			mamau	tuban	maman	tubanet
smokekijaokiyaokijausnaketawaetawaeto sniff, to smellranuranuspiderugarakakigwarakakikaki				тажае				
snake tawae tawae tawae tawae to sniff, to smell ranu spider ugarakaki gwarakaki kaki	214	smoke		kijao	kiyao	kijau	kijau	kijo
to sniff, to smell ranu spider ugarakaki gwarakaki kaki	215	snake		tawae	tawae	tawae	tawae	unane
ugarakaki gwarakaki kaki	216	to sniff, to smell		ranu				
	217	spider		ugarakaki	gwarakaki	kaki	apaki	kakija

porridge         anam         taum         anamekaraing, mangkaraing, ma	191	to run	nansanan	nantanan	mito	pai	f-r̄ar	doa
sago portides (papeda)  to sail salt arawin arawin arawin salt arawin ar	192	sago	anan	anan	taun	ana	baryam	
sago portidge (papeda) to sail to sail sand nucye, nuisye nayab numbuain, nin- ruwuang kayèn to say scatch sca turtle sca tae(n) ndai wati rewang sharp to sev shoot shoot to sit nuna numa taman skix kaujintavo kawintabo wonan six kaujintavo kawintabo wonan six kau naumwe nauma six kaujintavo kawintabo wonan six kau naumwe nauma six kaujintavo kawintabo wonan six kau naumwe naumau six kau naumwe kauti, ketui meia ena ena six six kauti, ketui meia nawinta six six kauti, ketui nawinta six kauti, ketui nawinta						mangkaraing,		
sago porridge diagnet around around around an around aroun	,					Wadang		
to sail ai ai ai màsén sand atonis at ai màsén sand ai ai màsén sand ai ai màsén sand ai ai màsén sand air, nayab nuai, nafa ai naye, nuisye nayab nuai, nafa ai to say raurwa ai ai-rau, rawana rawanang màsén sead kami kami kami kami kami kami kami kami	193				anan	anang	sui	
arawin arawi salt  sand  ai  ai  ai  ai  ai  ai  ai  ai  ai  b seratch  sea  (sea) turtle  (sea) turtle  seed  kami  to seev  kami  to shoot  short  tuma  tuma  tuma  tuma  tuma  tuma  tuma  shoulder  kami  tuma  tuma  tuma  tuma  shoulder  kami  tuma  tuma  tuma  tuma  tuma  tuma  tuma  tuma  tuma  kawinabo  wonan  yoni, kayan  to shoot  sho		(papeda)						
sand nusye, nuisye nayab numbuain, nin- ruwuang kayèn nuayen numbuain, nin- ruwuang kayèn to say to saratch sea (sea) turtle to seech kami kami kamia awasung sapsip short tumai tumai tumai skami namakengkeng kain shoulder kaminano kawintabo wonan short tuma tuma numa to sit kan naumwe naumau kani, kein six kanjintavo kawintabo wonan six sky naumwe awasung saratabra shoulder kaminabo wonan six kanjintavo kawintabo wonan rerawa namiki mayoi sin naumwe naumau kani, kein six kanjintavo kawintabo wonan rora cora namiki nama numa kani, kein six kanjintavo kawintabo wonan rora cora namek to sleep niki niki maumau katui, keun meia kasun sin kijau kijau kiyau riraun nama nama tawas to snake tawas	194	to sail			arawin	aravi		
sand         nusye, nuisye         nayab         numbuain, nin-         ruwanga         kayèn           to say         raurwa         ramai         kayèn         kayèn           to scratch         sea         ramai         karamut         rār           sea         (sea) turtle         mai         maxèn         wāve           to see         rae(n)         ndai         wati         ncwarang         wāve           seed         rae(n)         ndai         wati         ncwarang         wāve           seed         kami         kami         (ne)kami, neina         mām           seed         kami         kami         nim         sāpsip           sharp         reisa         avasamg         kāpsip           sharp         reisa         besastung         sāpsip           sharp         reisa         besastung         kāpsip           sharp         reisa         besastung         kāpsip           short         tumai         tumai         reisa         kāpsip           short         tuma         tumai         reisa         reisa           skin         kea         rerawa         rerawa         reif	195	salt			ai	ai	màsěn	тауѕит
to say         raurwa         uai, nafa         topana         kôfên           to scratch         sea         ai         topana         rār           sea         ramati         rarmati         rarmati         rār           sea         rae(n)         ndai         wati         reo         māsēn           to see         rae(n)         ndai         wati         reo         mām           sed         kami         kami         reo         mām           to see         rae(n)         ndai         wāw         mām           sed         kami         kami         (nekami, neina         mām           to see         kami         kami         (nekami, neina         rām           short         kami         teisa         pacasaug         sāpsip           short         numai         tumai         teisa         pacasaug         sāpsip           short         numa         tumai         teisa         pacasaug         radar(si)           short         numa         tumai         teisa         pacasaug         radar(si)           short         kau         kau         rena         rena           sky         nu	196	sand	nusye, nuisye	nayab		ruwuang	kayěn	komde
to say         raurwa         ai         topana         köfen           sea         ramati         karmut         rär           sea         ai-rau, rawana         rawanang         mäsén           (sea) turtle         nae(n)         ndai         wati         reo           to see         rae(n)         ndai         wati         reo         mäsén           to seed         kami         kami         kamiai         (ne/kami, neina         män           to sew         kami         kamiai         (ne/kami, neina         män           to sew         kami         kamiai         (ne/kami, neina         män           to sew         kami         hama         avva         säpsip           shott         tumai         tumai         tama         tamin         kön           shott         tuma         tumai         tama         namin         kein         kein           sky         naum         kea         rerawa         rerawa         rerawa         rerawa           small         niki         man         kiya         mik         ena           smake         tiya         tiwai         tiwai         tima					uai, nafa			
sea         ramati         karamut         rār           sea         ai-rau, rawana         rawanang         māsēm           (sea) turtle         poti, kenyang         wāw           to see         rae(n)         ndai         wati         rengkengkeng           to see         kami         kami         reok         mām           sed         kami         kami         reok         mām           to sew         kami         kami         reisa         posasung         sāpsip           sharp         ressaung         sāprip         reisa         posasung         sāprip           shott         tumai         tumai         tuma         readar(si)         kēm           shotlder         kumane         aibiam         loyawa         warandara         radar(si)           shotlder         kaujintavo         kawintabo         wonam         wonam         wonem           skin         kea         rerawa         rerawa         rerawa         rerawa         rerawa           skin         kea         kea         rerawa         rerawa         rerawa         rerawa           subset         kija         niki         man         rirama	197	to say	raurwa		ai	topana	kòfèn	
sea         ai-rau, rawana         rawanang         mäsēm           (sea) turtle         nangkengkeng         wáw           to see         rae(n)         ndai         wati         reo           seed         kami         kamia         (ne)kami, neina         mām           to sew         kami         kamia         (ne)kami, neina         mām           short         to shoot         reisa         besasung         sāpsip           short         tumai         tumai         tanan         radar(si)           shott         tuma         tuma         tenang, wotadari         rādar(si)           shott         tuma         tuma         i-minohi         mayoi         kein           six         kaujintavo         kawintabo         wonan         wonen         radar(si)           skin         kea         rerawa         rerawa         rerawa         rerawa         rerawa           sky         naumwe         naum         rora         naié         sanik           small         kiyan         riram         maumau         riram         rerawa         rerig           smake         tawae         tawae         tawae         rawae         rerig	198	to scratch			ramati	karamut	rār	
(sea) turtle         poti, kenyang, waw           to see         rae(n)         ndai         wati         reo         màn           seed         kami         kamia         (ne)kami, neina         màn           seed         kami         kamia         (ne)kami, neina         màn           short         numai         reisa         besasung         sāpsip           short         tumai         tumai         reisa         besasung         sār           short         tumai         tumai         reisa         besasung         sār           short         kumane         aibiam         boyawa         warandara         radar(si)           shoulder         kaujintavo         kawintabo         wonan         bowonang         wonêm           skin         kea         rerawa         rerawa         rerawa, nentarai         rib           skin         kea         rerawa         rerawa, nentarai         rib           skin         kea         rerawa         rerawa, nentarai         rib           skya         niki         ana         rerawa         rerif           smake         kiyau         kiyau         rirau         rerif <td< td=""><td>199</td><td>sea</td><td></td><td></td><td>ai-rau, rawana</td><td>rawanang</td><td>màsěn</td><td>sorm</td></td<>	199	sea			ai-rau, rawana	rawanang	màsěn	sorm
to see         rae(n)         ndai         wati         reo         mām           seed         kami         kamia         (ne)kami, neina         mām           seed         kami         kamia         (ne)kami, neina         mām           to sew         reisa         awasung         sāpsip           shapp         reisa         besasung         sāpsip           shott         tumai         tumai         tanan         tenang, wotadari         kāp           shotlder         kumane         aibiam         boyawa         warandara         radar(si)           six         kaujintavo         kawintabo         wonan         howonang         wönēm           skin         kea         rerawa         rerawa, nentarai         rib           sky         niķi         ena         enāf         enāf           small         niķi         mauman         riraum         wio         api           snake         kijau         riraum         niki         api         api           to sniff; to smell         tawae         tawai         piara         rabókakin	200	(sea) turtle				poti, kenyang,	wáw	
to see         rae(n)         ndai         wati         reo         mäm           seed         kami         kamiai         (ne)kami, neina         mäm           seed         kami         kamiai         (ne)kami, neina         säpsip           shapp         reisa         besassung         sär           to shoot         inmai         i-ana         ana, nunng         kjo           shott         tumai         tumai         tenang, wotadari         radar(si)           shoulder         kaumane         i-minohi         mayoi         kein           six         kaujintavo         kawintabo         wonan         wonen           skin         kea         rerawa         rerawa         rit           sky         naumwe         naum         rora         enéf           small         uban         maumau         katui, keni         meia         kasun           smake         tawae         tawai         piara         apn           spider         papaki         mansai         mansai         nigkin           spider         papaki         mansai         mansai         nigkin						mangkengkeng		
seed         kami         kamiai         (ne)kami, neina           to sew         awasung         sàpsip           sharp         reisa         besasung         sār           to shoot         tumai         tanan         tenang, wotadari         ko           short         tumai         tumai         tanan         tenang, wotadari         ko           shoulder         kumane         aibiam         boyawa         warandara         radar(si)           to sit         tuna         tuma         i-minohi         mayoi         kein           six         kaujintavo         kawintabo         wonan         bowonang         woném           skin         kea         rerawa         rerawa, nentarai         rib           sky         naum         rora         namék           sky         niki         ena         ené           smal         tuban         maumau         katui, ketui         meia         enéf           smoke         kijau         kiyau         riraun         apn           smake         tawae         tawai         piara         nakèm           spider         papaki         ugarakki         mansai         ingkin	201	to see	rae(n)	ndai	wati	reo	màm	dumda
to sew         awa         awasung         sapsip           sharp         i-ana         besasung         sār           to shoot         i-ana         i-ana         sār           short         tumai         tumai         tenang, wotadari         kfo           shoulder         kumane         aibiam         boyawa         warandara         radar(si)           to sit         tuma         tuma         i-minohi         mayoi         kein           six         kaujintavo         kawintabo         wonan         bowonang         woném           skin         kea         rerawa         rerawa         rerawa         rin           skin         naum         rora         namék         maéf           small         tuban         maumau         katui, ketui         meia         kagin           smoke         kijau         kiyau         riraun         wio         apn           smake         tawae         tawai         piara         näsém           spider         papaki         ugarakaki         mansai         ingkira         kabòkakin	202	seed	kami	kami	kamiai	(ne)kami, neina		kmi, gumipi
sharpreisabesasungsārto shooti-anaana, nunungkfoshorttumaitumaitanantenang, wotadarishoulderkumaneaibiamboyawawarandararadar(si)to sittunatunai-minohimayoikeinsixkaujintavokawintabowonanbowonangwônêmskinkearerawarerawarerawaribskynaumwerorarorananékto sleepnikinikienaenäenäsmokekijaukiyauriraunwioapnsnaketawaetawaipiaranäsémto sniff, to smelltawaetawainansaiingkirakabòkakin	203	to sew			awa	awasung	sàpsip	
to shoot short tumai tubai tubai six kay tubai tubai tubai six kay tumai tunai tubai tubai six kay tumai tumai tubai six kay tumai tumai tubai six kay tumai tumai tubai six kay tumai tubai tubai six kay tumai tubai tumai t	204	sharp			reisa	besasung	sār	mintar
short tumai tumai tanan tanan tenang, wotadari shoulder kumane aibiam boyawa warandara radar(si) tuna tuna tuna i-minohi mayoi kein kein kaujintavo kawintabo wonan bowonang wònémn skin kea rerawa rerawa rerawa, nentarai rib ri sky naumwe naum rora rora nanék osleep niki maumau katui, ketui meia enéf small tuban maumau katui, ketui meia enéf sanake tawae tawae tawai anaha naha naha naha nabah nabah naha naha	205	to shoot			i-ana	ana, nunung	kfo	
shoulder kumane aibiam boyawa warandara radar(si) to sit tuna tuna i-minohi mayoi kejin six kaujintavo kawintabo wonan bowonang wònĕm skin kea rerawa rerawa, nentarai rib ri sky naumwe naum rora rora nanĕk to sleep niki niki ena ena ena enĕf small nuban maumau katui, ketui meia kasun smoke kijau kiyau riraun wio apn snake tawae tawae tawai piara naisĕm to sniff, to smell nabaki ugarakaki mansai ingkira kabokakin	206	short	tumai	tumai	tanan	tenang, wotadari		turu
to sit tuna tuna iuna i-minohi mayoi kein six kaujintavo kawintabo wonan bowonang wòněm skin kea rerawa rerawa, nentarai rib ri sky naumwe naum rora rora naněk to sleep niki niki ena ena ena eněf small tuban maumau katui, ketui meia kasun smoke kijau kiyau riraun wio apn snake tawae tawae tawai piara naha spider papaki ugarakaki mansai ingkira kabokakin	207	shoulder	kumane	aibiam	ьоуама	warandara	radar(si)	wrawo
skin kaujintavo kawintabo wonan bowonang wòněm skin kea rerawa rerawa, nentarai rib sky naumwe naum rora rora naněk enë enë enë enëf small tuban maumau katui, ketui meia kasun smoke kijau kiyau riraun wio apn apn to sniff, to smell nawae tawae tawae tawai naha naha naha nake kabokakin	208	to sit	tuna	tuna	i-minohi	mayoi	keïn	tura
skin kea rerawa rerawa rerawa, nentarai rib ri sky naumwe naum rora rora naněk to sleep niki niki ena ena eněf small tuban maumau katui, ketui meia kasun smoke kijau kiyau riraun wio apn snake tawae tawae tawai piara naha spider papaki ugarakaki mansai ingkira kabòkakin	209	six	kaujintavo	kawintabo	wonan	bowonang	wòněm	bowerim bosandi
sky naumwe naum rora rora naněk naněk to sleep niki niki ena ena ena eněf eněf small tuban maumau katui, ketui meia kasun smoke kijau kiyau riraum wio apn apn to sniff, to smell naha naha ingkira kabòkakin	210	skin	kea	kea	rerawa	rerawa, nentarai	rib	rui
sky naumwe naum rora rora naněk to sleep niki niki ena ena eněf small tuban maumau katui, ketui meia kasun smoke kijau kiyau riraun wio apn snake tawae tawai piara naha to sniff, to smell napaki ugarakaki mansai ingkira kabòkakin						ri		
to sleep niki niki ena ena eněf small nuban maumau katui, ketui meia kasun kasun smoke kijau kiyau riraun wio apn snake tawae tawae tawai piara naha naha naha naha naha naha spider papaki ugarakaki mansai ingkira kabòkakin	211	sky	паитже	naum	rora	rora	naněk	
small tuban maumau katui, ketui meia kasun smoke kijau kiyau riraun wio apn snake tawae tawae tawai piara naha naha naha naha spider papaki ugarakaki mansai ingkira kabòkakin	212	to sleep	niki	niki	ena	ena	eněf	dena, wiyata
smoke kijau kiyau riraun wio apn snake tawae tawae tawai piara nàsém to sniff, to smell naha ingkira kabòkakin	213	small	tuban	maumau	katui, ketui	meia	kasun	pyokri
snake tawae tawai piara naka to sniff, to smell ngarakaki mansai ingkira kabòkakin	214	smoke	kijau	kiyau	riraun	wio	apn	maup
to sniff, to smell naha naki mansai ingkira kabòkakin spider	215	snake	tawae	tawae	tawai	piara		mor
papaki ugarakaki mansai ingkira kabòkakin	216	to sniff, to smell			naha		nàsěm	inis
	217	spider	papaki	ugarakaki	mansai	ingkira	kabòkakin	konderaibo

		Folli	Serewen	Serui-Laui	walliesa	W001
	to run	apai		afai-afai	apai	apai
	sago	tuing		tan	tan	taung, anang
193	sago porridge	hu		ana	ana	anang
	(papeda)					
	to sail			arawa	sarawi	
	salt	hahi		kara	sasi	garam
	sand	rowuyang		nunoi	rubua	nyapa
	to say	payaya		afa	oyo	kavio, oyo, paya
	to scratch	arar			kara	
	sea	hundaurau		sairau	rau, rawana	rau
200	(sea) turtle	romung		атама	poti, bianggaina,	
					pibata	
	to see	reho		wai	ser(a)	reho
	seed	ош		bong, kami, awa	mor	kami
	to sew	амаг		daawa	амаге	
	sharp	masain		ren	masiet	mehaing
	to shoot	ana	pare		ana	
	short	tawawa		sana	tanam	tanang
	shoulder	nadiara	karuhina	warabon	varabo	varacara
	to sit	mahoi	mahoi	moi	masoi	mahoi
	six	wonan		boirikori	rime siri	wona
	skin	rerawa		rerawa	rawa	rawa
	sky	rora		rora	rora	rora
	to sleep	ena		ena	епа	ena
	small	haho			katu	тота
	smoke	tiup		rirau	www	wijow
	snake	tawai		tawai	koro, tawai	pinamunai
	to sniff, to smell	huoho			anasa	hei
	spider	ingkira		manakakai	apopa	ròviròvi

			Colleta 1awa	Ambaidiru rawa	Апері Үаwа	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei rawa
	to split		raporar				
	sprout, shoot		kamin, tuba				
	to squeeze		rakugan				
	o stab		ratukam	ratukam	ratukam	ratukam	ratuga
222 to	o stand	te	seo tet				
	tar		tume	tum	tum	tum	tum
	to steal		anaonoambe				
	tone		oram	oram	oram	oram	oroma
	o suck		rausuv				
	un		ита	ита	ита	ита	ита
	o sweat		mamawandi				
	o swell		bambana				
	o swim		jai				
	tail		atevan				
	aro		kambor, inje	kambor	kambor	kambor	kambor
	en		abusyin	abusyin	abusin	abusin	sabui
	hat	efie	wato, namuwato				
	hatch, roof		тапуит	тапуит	rate	тапуит	rate
	hick		tapekan	tapekan	tapekan	tapekan	tafeya
	hin		manyiijan	manini	maninijam	sambera	sambera
	o think		ratantona				
	his		so, namiso	os			
	hree		mande	madet	mande	mande	mainde
	o throw	man	ramau				
	hunder		katitir, kaitir	kaitir	katitir	katitir	kunduma
	o tie		raokae				
244 to	oday	inimiso	unumeso				
	tongue		aunan				
	ooth	tu	atomokan				
_	tree, wood		nyoe (mot)	nyo	nyo	nyo	nyo
_	to turn		ratugao				

	Def	Sarawandori Yawa	Tindaret Yawa	Ambai	Ansus	Biak	Kurudu
218	to split			bau(r), i- tarabauri	(kam)bau	kabas	
219	sprout, shoot						
220	to squeeze			rami	kong	òměs	
221	to stab	ratuka(m)	ratukam	isan		kuk	tyuta
222	to stand			oa	(tawara) oa	orěs	dosra
223	star	tum	tum	awaka	piori	màk	antun
224	to steal			i-kamananapi	manana	krau	
225	stone	oroman	oram	kamiai	kami	kèru	arokmi
226	to suck			$\theta$ ns	idnwn	sum, syòsĕf	
227	uns	uma	uma	WO	WO		epdai
228	to sweat				saviang		
229	to swell			bebara	babara	biar	mimbara
230	to swim	suija		eria	arowoi	$\bar{a}s$	asa
231	tail			ama-daun	amakapung	pura	samdain
232	taro	kambore	kambor	barimu			
233	ten	sabui	sabusin	sura	ura	sà-m-fur	sur
234	that			manana	wani	buro	
235	thatch, roof	тапуит	anangwau	antarau(n)	randaung	òs	rumdai
236	thick	tapapekan	tapekan	kakuban	tepei	kpor	
237	thin	samberam	manian	simbena	meni	mbrěkip	
238	to think			ene-tutiau	anewayera	Swar	kyarai
239	this			nini	pinini	inè	
240	three	mande	manded	bo-toru	botoru	kior	botor
241	to throw	ramau		OS	уо	os	
242	thunder	kaitir	kaitir	kadidu	kaidu	kadadu	
243	to tie			kase, awi(t)	kaei, toiwuiti	yaběk	
244	today			rakida nini	a nei		danine
245	tongue			tap[e]re	worempang	kàprer	topre
246	tooth			dere, dore	dereng	па	ropan
247	tree, wood	nyo	nyo	ai	ai	a(i)	eai, ai
248	to turn			bera	taweri	kaběr, kawěr	

218         to split         baho         visishwa         kama           219         sprount, shoot         ikang         ikang         kama           221         to stab         ihang         oa         osa           221         to stab         ihang         avaa         intra           222         star         piori         avaa         intra           223         stone         kami         rebuki         kami           224         to steal         hup         woo         sum         rebuki         kami           225         stone         kami         rebuki         kami         kami           225         stone         kami         rebuki         kami           225         stone         kami         kami         kami           225         stone         kami         kami         kami           226         to sweat         humaya         kami         kami           227         to swell         kapung         kapung         kamaya         humaya           228         to swell         kapung         kapung         kamaya         humaya           231         tait         hat <th></th> <th>Def</th> <th>Pom</th> <th>Serewen</th> <th>Serui-Laut</th> <th>Wamesa</th> <th>Wooi</th>		Def	Pom	Serewen	Serui-Laut	Wamesa	Wooi
sprout, shoot         days           to squeeze         tavar           to squeeze         thang         oa           to stad         thang         oa           star         piori         avaa         sixereei           to steal         manana         sixereei           to steal         manana         sixereei           to steal         manana         sixereei           to suck         hup         woo         wor           to suck         hup         woo         wor           to suck         hup         woo         wor           to swell         bavara         kamin         feful         barbara           to swell         haun         kapung         kamin         barbara           to swell         haun         kapung         manana         barin           to swell         haun         kapung         manana         same kai           taro         nandaun         kapung         kangan         same kai           thin         nandaun         kandan         kangan         haun           thin         nandau         kandan         kangan           thin         nandau	218	to split	baho				
to stude to stand         inange         kusar           to stand         oha         osa           to stand         piori         soan         soan           stand         piori         piori         rebuki           to steal         manama         store         soan           stone         kami         kami         rebuki           to suck         hup         woo         wor           to suck         hum         woo         wor           to swell         bavara         rank         barbara         barbara           to swell         haura         kapung         kapara         barbara           to swell         haura         kapung         kapara         barbara           to swell         haura         kapung         kapara         barbara           to swell         haura         kapara         barbara         barbara           to think         haure         kapara         barbara         barbara           to t	219	sprout, shoot				visisiwa	kama
to stand binang oaa osa start to stand obla on obla on oa osa tar biori	220	to squeeze	tavar			kusar	
to stand         oha         osa         osa           start         piori         avaa         sivereei           start         piori         avaa         sivereei           stonce         kami         kami         rebhis           to suck         hup         woo         wor           sun         wo         wo         wo           to sweat         hamcya         rank         kapung         wor           to sweat         hamcya         rank         kapung         rank         parmayar           to swell         hau         oi         samayar         samayar           to swell         hau         oi         samayar           to swell         hau         oi         samayar           to swell         hau         oi         samayar           tand         hau         samayar         samayar           tan         oi         samayar         samayar           tan         hau         sama and         sama and           tan         hau         sama and         sama and           thick         hau         sama and         sama and           to throw         ho	221	to stab	ihang			isani, tisa	
start         piori         avaa         sivererei           to steal         manana         rebukis           stone         kami         rebukis           stone         woo         wor           sun         woo         wor           to sweat         hanaya         rankui, fafua, barbara           to swell         bavara         samayar           to swell         hau         oi           tail         kapung         amangai         barbara           to swim         hau         oi         barina           tato         nandau         rawa         parina           that         rawani         wedani         yani           that         rawani         rataran         parina           this         nandau         rataran         parina           this         rame         parina           this         rane         parina           thunder         karai         karai <t< td=""><td>222</td><td>to stand</td><td>oha</td><td></td><td>oa</td><td>osa</td><td>tura</td></t<>	222	to stand	oha		oa	osa	tura
to steal         manana         kami         kami         rebuki           stone         kami         kami         rebuki           to sweat         hup         woo         wom           sun         woo         wom         wom           to sweat         hanaya         rankui, fajiu, barbara         barbara           to swell         hau         oi         as           tail         kapung         kapung         samayar           to swim         hau         oi         as           tato         ran         sura         sura           tat         rawani         kapung         kapung         sama kai           that         rawani         sura         sura           that         rawani         sura         sura           that         nandaun         rata         suri           thit         mandaun         rata         suri           thit         mandaun         sura         suri           thit         hane         suri         suri           thit         hane         suri         suri           thit         hundan         mini         suri	223	star	piori		avaa	sivererei	
stone         kamit         kamit         rebuki           to suck         hup         sum           sun         woo         wor           to sweat         hamaya         rankui, fafia, barbara           to swell         hau         oi         as amayar           to swim         hau         oi         as amayar           to swim         hau         oi         as amayar           tail         kapung         kapung         samayar           tail         kapung         kapung         samayar           tail         kapung         kapung         samayar           tail         kapung         kapung         samayar           tai         nanda         samayar         samayar           tai         nanda         samayar         samayar           tai         nanda         samayar         samayar           tai         nanda         samayar         samayar           thick         handa         samayar         samayar           thick         handa         samayar         samayar           thick         hane         samayar         samayar           thin         hane         s	224	to steal	manana			manana	
to suck         hup         won         sum           sun         wo         wor           to sweat         hamaya         rankui, faffua, faffua, barbara         samayar           to swill         hau         cantal         kapung         samayar           to swill         hau         cantal         kapung         samayar           to swill         hau         cantal         samayar           to swill         hau         samayar           to swill         hau         samayar           to swill         hau         samayar           to swill         namangi         samayar           to swill         namangi         samayar           that         randau         samayar           that         randau         samayar           this         randau         sambari           this         rane         sambari           this         rane         sambari           this         rane         same           this         rane         same           this         rane         same           thun         kadidu         watanden         kane           to the <t< td=""><td>225</td><td>stone</td><td>kami</td><td></td><td>kami</td><td>rebuki</td><td>kami</td></t<>	225	stone	kami		kami	rebuki	kami
sun         woo         wor           to sweat         hamaya         rankui, fafua, barbara         samayar           to swell         bavara         rankui, fafua, barbara         as           to swim         hau         oi         as           tail         kapung         amangi         sama kai           taro         haura         sama kai         barimu           taro         nandaun         sama kai         barimu           that         rawani         wadaan         sama kai           that         rawani         sama kai         barimu           that         rawan         sama kai         barimu           that         ratarau         sama kai         barimu           thick         nandau         ratarau         patin           thick         nandau         ratarau         patin           this         rane         patin           this         rane         samepai           this         rane         samepai           this         rane         samepai           this         rane         samepai           to throw         ho         patin           to throw	226	to suck	dny			sum	
to sweat         hamaya         samayar           to swell         bavara         kaipau babara         barbara           to swim         hau         oi         as           tail         kapung         kapung         sama kai           tart         haura         sama kai         barimu           tart         rawani         wedani         yani           that         rawani         ratarau         harima           this         rapapei         biatoya         baroyar           this         manami         sambena         minis           to think         hanehowo         mini         nimi           this         rane         botoru         toru           to think         hanehowo         hor         ka           this         rane         son           thunder         kadidiu         karidiau         kuriya           to tie         kavei         awar         kui           to tie         kavei         awatandeng         watandeng         arian mini           tooth         diain         dieng         doreng         directapare           to turn         taveri         ai         ai	227	snu	WO		woo	WOF	wange, wo
to swell         bavara         rankui, fafua, fafua, babara         barbara kaipau babara           to swim         hau         oi         as           tail         kapung         kapung         sama kai           taro         haura         sura         barimu           ten         rawani         sura         barimu           ten         rawani         sura         barimu           that         rawani         sura         barimu           thist         rangani         piatoya         barimu           thick         thappei         biatoya         barimu           this         namani         sambana         sampai           this         rane         minis         ninis           this         rane         sanepai         nini           three         tothink         ha         ha           three         tothink         ha         sanepai           three         tothink         ha         sanepai           three         tothink         ha         sanepai           three         tothink         ka         so           thunder         kavei         a         so	228	to sweat	hamaya			samayar	hamaya
to swim         hau         oi         as           tail         kapung         kapung         sama kai           tarto         haura         sama kai           ten         rawani         sura         barimu           ten         rawani         sura         sura           that         rawani         wedani         yani           thatch, roof         nandaun         ratarau         nandau           thick         tapapei         barioya         barioyar           thin         manani         samepai         ninis           this         rane         sanepai         toru           this         rane         toru         botoru         toru           three         toru         botoru         toru         toru           to throw         ho         ka         so           thunder         kavei         an         sore tapare           to tie         kavei         dieng         doreng         dire           to turn         dieng         doreng         dire	229	to swell	bavara		rankui, fafua,	barbara	
to swim         hau         oi         as           tail         kapung         kapung         amangi         sama kai           taro         haura         sura         barimu           ten         rawani         wedani         yani           that         rawani         wedani         yani           thatch, roof         nandaun         ratarau         patoyar           thick         tapapei         biatoya         batoyar           thin         manani         sambena         sanepai           thin         nini         ninis         nini           three         tor         tor         toru           three         toru         botoru         toru           thumder         kadidiu         kani         kari           totie         kavei         awar         kui         karia nini           today         hani         doreng         dire         arian nini           tooth         diain         dieng         doreng         dire           tree, wood         ai         ai         ai					kaipau babara		
tail kapung kapung amangi sama kai taro taro tan tan tan tan tan tan tan that tan thatch, roof nandaun thick nandaun thick nandaun thick nandaun thin manani to think hanehowo to t	230	to swim	hau		oi	as	hoi
taro         barimu           ten         rawani         wedani         barimu           that         rawani         wedani         yani           thatch, roof         nandaum         ratarau         nandau           thick         tapapei         biatoya         batoyar           this         nanani         sambena         batoyar           this         rane         nini         nini           three         toru         botoru         toru           to throw         ho         ka         sor           thunder         kadidiu         watandeng         ore-tapare         sor tapare           to tie         watandeng         dieng         doreng         dire           tooth         diain         dieng         doreng         dire           tree, wood         ai         ai         sovera	231	tail	kapung	kapung	amangi	sama kai	kapung
ten         haura         sura           that         rawani         wedani         yani           thatch, roof         nandaun         ratarau         nandaun           thick         tapapei         biatoya         batoyar           thick         manani         sambena         sanepai           thin         nanehowo         minis         sanepai           this         rane         botoru         toru           three         toru         kan         toru           to throw         ho         kandidau         kuruya           to tie         kavei         awar         kui         kasie           today         hani         watandeng         ore-tapare         sore tapare           tooth         dieng         doreng         dire           tree, wood         ai         ai           toturn         toturn         sovera	232	taro				barimu	wariumu
that tach, roof nandaun thatch, roof nandaun thick nandaun thick nandaun thick thin nannani to think hanehowo nannani to think hanehowo nini sambena nainis sanepai this rane to toru botoru to throw ho to throw ho thouse kadidiu awar kui kasie to day hani tongue watanden watandeng ore-tapare sore tapare to turn to turn dieng dire to turn to turn to turn ai in to turn to turn to turn ai in in to turn to turn ai in	233	ten	haura		sura	sura	hura
thatch, roof nandaun tatarau nandaun thick thick tapapei think manani manani sambena sambena minis to think hanehowo this rane to throw ho to throw ho to throw ho to the kavei awar kui to tie kavei awar kui tooth diain dieng doreng dire to turn to turn taveri ai to turn to turn taveri sovera	234	that	rawani		wedani	yani	pai
thick tapapei biatoya batoyar thin manani manani sambena minis to think hanehowo hanehowo his rane toru ho throw ho to throw ho thunder kadidiu awar kui kasie today hani tooth diain dieng ai tree, wood ai tree, wood thin mananden kately doreng dire to turn taveri ari an in to turn to turn taveri ari an in to turn taveri ari ari ari ari ari ari ari ari ari a	235	thatch, roof	nandaun		ratarau	nandau	randaung
thin manani sambena minis to think hanehowo to think hanehowo this this rane toru botoru toru to throw ho to thow hani to to tie kavei awar kui kasie today hani awarandeng ore-tapare tooth diain dieng doreng dire to turn taveri ai	236	thick	tapapei		biatoya	batoyar	tepei
to think hanehowo his rane to three to throw ho hoo to thom to the kavet awar kalidiu awar kai hani tongue watanden diain dieng to turn to turn diain to turn dieng ai tree, wood ai turn to turn to turn to turn dieng ai ai sovera	237	thin	manani		sambena	minis	meni
this rane nini the this three toru toru botoru toru to throw ho	238	to think	hanehowo			sanepai	hanetato, ora
three toru botoru toru to throw ho to throw ho thunder kadidiu kandidau kuruya to tie kavei awar kui kasie today hani awatandeng ore-tapare sore tapare tooth diain dieng doreng dire to turn taveri sovera	239	this	rane		nini	nini	nei
to throw ho to the kadidiu kandidau kuruya so thunder kavei awar kui kasie to tie kavei awar kui kasie today hani tongue watanden watandeng ore-tapare sore tapare tooth diain dieng doreng dire tiree, wood ai taveri to turn taveri sore ta	240	three	toru		botoru	toru	toru
thunder kadidiu awar kui kasie to tie kavei awar kui kasie today hani raria nini tongue watanden watandeng ore-tapare sore tapare tooth diain dieng doreng dire tree, wood ai to turn taveri	241	to throw	ho		ka	SO	ho
to tie kavei awar kui kasie today hani raria nini tongue watanden watandeng ore-tapare sore tapare tooth diain dieng doreng dire tree, wood ai to turn taveri	242	thunder	kadidiu		kandidau	kuruya	kuruya
today hani raria nini tongue watanden watandeng ore-tapare sore tapare tooth diain dieng doreng dire tree, wood ai ai sovera	243	to tie	kavei	awar	kui	kasie	kahie
tonguewatandenwatandengore-taparesore taparetoothdiaindiengdiretree, woodaiaito turntaverisovera	244	today	hani			raria nini	ha ning
tooth diain dieng doreng dire tree, wood ai ai ai ai to turn taveri sovera	245	tongue	watanden	watandeng	ore-tapare	sore tapare	horetapare
tree, wood ai ai ai sovera to turn taveri	246	tooth	diain	dieng	doreng	dire	tere
to turn taveri	247	tree, wood	ai		ai	ai	ai
	248	to turn	taveri			sovera	

	Def	Saweru	Central Yawa	Ambaidiru Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
249	two		jirum, rurum	jiru	rurum	jiru	diru
250	to vomit		nyinyo	nyinyo	nyinyo	nine	neno
251	village		kampone				
252	wallaby, tree kan-		maeramon,				
	garoo		maisyaonda				
253	water		mana	mana	mana	mana	mana
254	wet		baubu				
255	what		animaisyemi	animaisye-			
256	where		ruwi	ruwi			
257	white		poper	poper	poper	bua	bugam
258	wide		saneka				
259	wife		anamu, wanya	anamu		епати	апати
260	wind		ovar	ovar	ovar	obar	obar
261	woman	ruama	wanya	wanya	wanya	wanya	waina
262	to work		anakere raijar				
263	worm		kurum				
264	yam, sweet potato		rainsyon, kaman				
265	year		tume				
566	yellow		kuga	kua	kuga	nga	kuga
267	younger sibling		rijata	riyat	rijata	rijata	jijake
268	*(fishing) spear		mandorainy				
569	*arrow		ato	ato	ato	kato	katu
270	*axe		tama	tama	tama	tama	tama
271	*bow		apae	apae	apai	kapai	kafa
272	*conch shell		tavuna				
	trumpet						
273	*east		<i>wanamuram</i>	wanamuran	wanamuran	wanamura	
274	*to forget	ne	animari, paran-	paranden	paranden	anokakova	anokakova
			uen				

	Def	Sarawandori Yawa	Tindaret Yawa	Ambai	Ansus	Biak	Kurudu
249	two	jiru	jiru	bo-ru, mandu	kodu	duï	boru
250	to vomit	nyinyo	nynun	mamuta	mamuta	ами	пуемі
251	village			munue	ама	mènu	
252	wallaby, tree kan-				ато	wān	
	garoo						
253	water	mana	mana	mereha	maria	wār	marya
254	wet			vevasa	<i>wawa, viewa</i>	dimèk	pyata
255	what			fiani	pitoi	ròseï	pitome
256	where			na-doni	na tatoi, andino	mòbò	пуапоте
257	white	bugwa	poper	bua	biuwa	piòpěr	kinaw
258	wide			fyabai	tembaing,	(syàr)bàm	
					teparara		
259	wife	anamu	anam	u(f), vivi	wawini, vavimui	baï	ivimpi
260	wind	ova(r)	obar	wana	wanang	wām	yowor
261	woman	wanya	wanya	vivi	wawin	bin	iwin
262	to work	kerjawe		i-ohondomi	vekeraja, ompi	fararur	
263	worm			kauboi	piaora	arsyawèk	kauam
264	yam, sweet potato			uvi		fàrkia	
265	year	punae		fuina	taumi		
266	yellow	kugwa, kugaawe	gna	byomini	keravi	naniar	wyer
267	younger sibling	rijata	riatap	roro-katui	maya(pi)		mandukri
268	*(fishing) spear			wombua	mandoraing	yàfěn, manora	
569	*arrow	kato	taupo	ato	ato (wini)		
270	*axe	tama	tama	taman	tamang	amaw, mkan	
271	*bow	kapae	apai	afai	apai	maryai	
272	*conch shell			tabura		kubur	
	trumpet						
273	*east	wanamuran	muran	muran	wope murang	pon, murm	
274	*to forget	anekakova	animari	faranden, aro- pora(k)		pro, farander	
				F			

249         two         koiru         horu         muandu           250         to vomit         mamuta         mamuta         mamuta           251         village         pandu         mamuta         mamuta           252         villaby, tree kan-         dia         maria, kamb           253         viet         hapapu         viabasa         vibasa           254         wet         hapapu         viabasa         vibasa           255         whee         vionto         natoin         visas           256         wife         vava         svavin         vinie           259         wife         vava         vinie         vinie           250         wife         vava         vinie         vavin           261         wom         vavain         vavin         vavin           262         vom         varyandia         vavin         vavin           263         vom         varyandia         vavin         vavin           264         yam, sweet potato         vebotati         varin         uvi           265         yellow         vebotati         vavin         uvi           264		Def	Pom	Serewen	Serui-Laut	Wamesa	Wooi
to vomit         manuta           willage         pandu           wallaby, tree kan- garoo         dia           water         dia           water         hapapu           white         vonto           white         vawa           wide         varan           wann         varan           varan         varin           varan	249	two	koiru		boru	muandu	koru
village pandu mu, awa wallaby, tree kandalaby, tree kandalaba, walta wanta wan	250	to vomit	mamuta			mamuta	
wallaby, tree kangaroo water dia dia water hapapu vot hapapu yohte riodino hinamui wide wanan wanide woman wawin woman woman woman woman woman wowin yan, sweet potato year yohte yohte yohte yohte basar vehaho neta vehaho raroo boba, faio amoina, ato, ato, boba, faio trumpet wanan apai antung wanannrang wanannrang wanannrang wanannrang wanannrang wanannrang wanannrang water and	251	village	pandu		nu, awa	aniose	pandu
garoo         dia         vavaa           wet         hapapu         vavaa           what         wonto         fidoe           white         vewuha         phua           wide         vawa         hinamui         vinempi           wide         vawa         hinamui         vinempi           wide         vaman         varin         varin           woman         varin         varin         varin           yam, sweet potato         piorihia         varin         varin           yellow         vebotai         raro         raro           *(fishing) spear         *(fishing)         paar vehaho         raro           *axe         tamang         poba, faio           *bow         apai         boba, faio           *conch         shell         wanamurang           *to forget         *to forget	252	wallaby, tree kan-					
water         dia         vavaa           what         wonto         fidoe           what         vonto         fidoe           white         vewuha         phaa           wide         vawa         vinempi           woman         vawin         vanin           woman         varin         varin           yan, sweet potato         piorihia         kauna           yellow         vebotai         raro           *(fishing) spear         *(fishing)         pasar vehaho         raro           *arrow         apai antung         amoina, ato, boba, faio           *bow         *conch         shell         boba, faio           *conch         shell         wanamurang           *to forget         wanamurang		garoo					
wet         hapapu         vavaa           what         wonto         fidoe           white         riodino         nadonie           white         vewuha         bua           wide         vawa         saparera           wife         wanan         vinempi           wind         wanan         vinempi           wind         wanan         vanin           woman         vawin         vavin           yan, sweet potato         piorihia         kauna           yan, sweet potato         piorihia         kauna           yellow         vebotai         raro           younger sibling         basar vehaho         raro           *arrow         apai antung         amoina, ato, boba, faio           *axe         tamang         boba, faio           *boba         *boba, faio         boba, faio           *conch         shell         wananurang           *to forget         wananurang	253	water	dia			maria, kambu	maria
what         wonto         fidoe           white         riodino         nadonie           white         vewuha         bua           wide         vawa         saparera           wife         wanan         vinempi           wind         wanan         vinempi           wind         wanan         vinempi           woman         wanin         vavin           wom         karapauri         kauna           yan, sweet potato         piorihia         kauna           year         vebotai         raro           yellow         vebotai         raro           *arrow         apai antung         neta vehaho         raro           *boba, faio         boba, faio         boba, faio           *conch         shell         wananurang           *to forget         wananurang	254	wet	hapapu		vavaa	vabasa	hapapu
where riodino nadonie white vewuha voide vawa vide vawan vama vama vama vawin va	255	what	wonto		fidoe	vitoi	pito
white vewuha bua saparera wide vawa wide vawa wide vawa saparera saparera wine wanan wanin wanin to work (ve)kardia varin to work (ve)kardia varin to work (ve)kardia varin to work vebotai piorihia yam, sweet potato year piorihia yellow vebotai bionger sibling basar vehaho neta vehaho raro amoina, ato, boba, faio saxe tamang apai antung apai atumpet vanang seast sibling vanang seast sibling basar vehaho wananurang seast sibling saya saya saya apai antung saya wananurang wananurang seast saya saya saya saya saya saya saya s	256	where	riodino		nadonie	na toi	nani
wide vawa hinamui vinempi wana wana wite wind wanan wanan wanin to work (ve)kardia karapauri yan, sweet potato year yebotai piorihia yellow vebotai biomaer sibling basar vehaho neta vehaho raro boba, faio boba, faio apai antung shell trumpet wananurang with antung trumpet seast	257	white	vewuha		bua	vusa	vekadui
wife wind wanan wanin to work woman to work worm yam, sweet potato year year yellow yebotai yellow yebotai yellow yebotai yellow yebotai younger sibling to meta vehaho tanang wanoina, ato, boba, faio trumpet trumpet *to forget	258	wide	<i>уаwa</i>		saparera	savaveri	
windwananwanawomanwawinvavinvavinto work(ve)kardiakaunawormkarapaurikaunayam, sweet potatopiorihiakaunayearpiorihiararoyellowvebotairaroyounger siblingbasar vehahoraro*(fishing) spearapai antungamoina, ato*arrowapaiapai*axetamangboba, faio*bowapaiboba, faio*conchshellwanamurang*conchshellwanamurang*trumpetwanamurang*to forget	259	wife		hinamui	vinempi	vinie	
woman wawin vavin to wavin to work  to work  worm  worm  yam, sweet potato year  yellow  yebotai  younger sibling  basar vehaho  wanoina, ato,  boba, faio  boba, faio  trumpet  *wanamurang  *to forget	260	wind	wanan		wana	wana	wanang
to work (ve)kardia worm karapauri kauna yam, sweet potato year piorihia yellow vebotai younger sibling basar vehaho neta vehaho raro *(fishing) spear *arrow apai antung boba, faio *axe tamang *bow apai *conch shell trumpet *east *to forget	261	woman	wawin	vavin	vavin	vavi	vaving
worm yam, sweet potato year yellow yellow younger sibling younger sibling basar vehaho *(fishing) spear *arrow *arrow *axe *bow *bow *conch *bow *conch *bow *conch *bow *conch *conch *trumpet *east *to forget	262	to work	(ve)kardia			nanaripi	karja
yam, sweet potato year yellow yellow younger sibling *(fishing) spear *arrow arrow *axe *bow *bow apai *conch *shell trumpet *tumpet *tumpet *to forget	263	worm	karapauri		kauna	kasibui	kasewoiri
year piorihia vebotai vebotai vebotai vebotai antung amoina, ato, trumpet **  **Tishing) spear **  **axe tamang **  **bow apai **  **conch shell trumpet **  **to forget **  **point piorihia tamang amoina, ato, boba, faio boba, faio ato, ato, bow apai **  **wanamurang **  **wanamurang **  **to forget **  **point pioritical atomatical atomat	264	yam, sweet potato				uvi	paringkieng
yellow vebotai younger sibling basar vehaho neta vehaho raro *(fishing) spear *arrow apai antung amoina, ato, boba, faio *axe tamang *bow apai *conch shell trumpet *east *to forget	265	year	piorihia			taune	
younger siblingbasar vehahoneta vehahoraro*(fishing) spear*arrowamoina, ato, boba, faio*axetamangboba, faio*bowapaiboba, faio*conchshellwanamurang*trumpet*east*to forget	266	yellow	vebotai			nukwai	vevovotai,
younger siblingbasar vehahoneta vehahoraro*(fishing) spearamoina, ato, boba, faio*axetamangboba, faio*bowapaitrumpet*conchshellwanamurang*trumpet*east							wowotai
*(fishing) spear *arrow apai antung amoina, ato, *axe tamang *bow apai *conch shell trumpet *east *to forget	267	younger sibling	basar vehaho	neta vehaho	raro	madiawi, neta katu	neta vemoma
*arrow apai antung amoina, ato, boba, faio  *axe tamang bow apai *conch shell trumpet *east *to forget	268	*(fishing) spear				manora	
*axe tamang *bow apai *conch shell trumpet *east *to forget	269	*arrow	apai antung				paremayang
*bow apai *conch shell trumpet *east *to forget	270	*axe	tamang			tama	tamang
*conch shell trumpet *east *to forget	271	*bow	apai			apai	)
trumpet *east *to forget	272	h				tabura	
*east *to forget		trumpet					
*to forget	273	*east			wanamurang		
	274	*to forget				panande	parandeng

	Def	Saweru	Central Yawa		Ambaidiru Yawa Ariepi Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa Mariadei Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
275	*to jump		sopat	S	sopat	sopat	sofat	sofat
276	*machete		omak	0	omak	omak	omak	umbene
277	*sago chopsticks		angkai					
278	*sago flour/starch		anane ine					
279	*sago grub		avusyawi, avatar	ıtar				
280	*sago pith/pulp		inam					
281	*sago stirrer		iru					
282	*shrimp	kao	kawe, kao	kı	kau	kawe	kan	kawe
283	*war		marova					
284	*wave		•	aneae a	aneae	aneae	aneae	anea
			(yakoe)					
285	*west		varet	¥	waret	wanampui	wanampui	

	Def	Sarawandori Yawa	Tindaret Yawa	Ambai	Ansus	Biak	Kurudu
275	*to jump	l	koper	soi(r)		opr	
276	*machete		omak		umbe	sumber	
277	*sago chopsticks	ankai			kai		
278	*sago flour/starch			taun			
279	*sago grub				awi		
280	*sago pith/pulp				inang, ana	anang mak	
281	*sago stirrer			daru	duaru		
282	*shrimp	kau	kau		kaweing	amòs,	irbaïs,
						kawen	
283						mbrob	
284	*wave	aneae, ova	babata	andeisa	tarowa	risn, vak	
285		wanampui	waret	fui	wanamarai	bark, pur	

	Def	Pom	Serewen	Serui-Laut	Wamesa	Wooi
275	*to jump				kopa	kopa
276	*machete	humbe		umbe	sumbe	humbe
277	*sago chopsticks				kai	
278	*sago flour/starch					
279	*sago grub				abis, amunggeri	
280	*sago pith/pulp					
281	*sago stirrer			daru, kai		
282	*shrimp			kawei	kawai	
283	*war			rait	marova	rai
284	*wave			ananya	bata	
285	285 *west			wanampui	mba	ba

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