

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

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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 km². 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 ~6000 people in central Yapen (Jones 1986a), and its close relative Saweru, with ~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.¹ 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-

¹ 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: Saggars (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). Proto-Oceanic: 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. §4.1 describes the phonological correspondences found in borrowed forms and evidence (including phonological) 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, Iraputu (Matsumura 1991), which likely borrowed its *fai* from neighboring Wamesa.² 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 /β/ (*v*) and /s/; a rhotic; and two glides. Some variation occurs, as with an independent /ŋ/ in Wamesa, the addition of /ɸ/ (*f*) in Ambai and Serui-Laut, /ɲ/ (*ny*) and /c/ in Wooi, and /h/ 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 /l/, and marginal /t/ (van den Heuvel 2006). The general SHWNG Yapen description fits Yawa as well, the main differences being the addition of /ʃ/ (*sy*), /ɲ/ (*ny*), and /dʒ/ (*j*)(Jones 1986d).³ Some dialects (Mariadei, Konti-unai, and Tindaret), also include a

² Iraputu most likely diverged prior to Proto-SHWNG (Jackson 2014), and therefore descent by inheritance into Iraputu and the SHWNG Yapen languages without the appearance of related forms in other SHWNG languages is the less plausible explanation.

³ Jones’ (1986d:4,6) *Yawa Phonology*, which describes the Sarawandori dialect, gives the bilabial fricative *v* [β] 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’ ~ *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*),⁴ 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 ([β]) 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*,⁵ 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 form⁶ 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.

⁴ 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).

⁵ *vi-urur* ‘which is red’

⁶ 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*,⁷ 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* ([ŋ]), 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 as 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 [ŋ] word-finally, words borrowed in from SHWNG with final *ng* are likely to surface with *ny* ([ɲ]) 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

⁷ 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 *diarua*.) 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, Kontinuai, Sarawandori, and Mariadei)⁸ in the shorter list,⁹ 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'¹⁰) 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%).

⁸ 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.)

⁹ This is the version of the list *without* the additional 18 word meanings which were chosen specifically because they showed borrowing.

¹⁰ 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 Bower 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 Bower 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 ~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.¹¹ 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-

¹¹ 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 Ansum word for ‘island’, *nutakutu*, is a calque of the Yawa form. The first syllable, *nu*, can stand on its own in Ansum 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’.¹² The remaining portion, *-patimu*, is a Yawa word meaning ‘torn; to pick (as a flower or leaf); to elect’.¹³ 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*.¹⁴ 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

¹² Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

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

¹⁴ 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*,¹⁵ 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

¹⁵ 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.¹⁷ 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

¹⁶ ‘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’.

¹⁷ 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 fricative¹⁸ 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 Woi. (The same form means 'until' in Wamesa; *so* marks the allative.)

¹⁸ 12% (55/451) 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 /β/, and Irarutu, with /ɸ/.

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 (*kawása*), 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 *wan̄ka), ‘to paddle’ (Yawa *borae*; Saweru *wo*; Wooi, Wamesa, and Pom *vo*; Ansus *bo*; Biak *borēs*; 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

¹⁹ 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 Yawa 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	Aritepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
1	1pl incl pronoun	<i>wam</i>				
2	1plexcl pronoun	<i>ream</i>				
3	1sg pronoun	<i>risy</i>				
4	2pl pronoun	<i>wep</i>				
5	2sg pronoun	<i>winy</i>				
6	3pl pronoun	<i>wenau</i>				
7	3sg pronoun	<i>wep, wem</i>	<i>po, mo</i>			
8	above	<i>von</i>				
9	afraid	<i>janiv</i>				
10	all	<i>tenambe, vintabo</i>				
11	alone	<i>mumuimbe</i>				
12	also	<i>muno, tavyon</i>				
13	anchor	<i>kamintu</i>				
14	angry	<i>pari, parive ai,</i> <i>anuga pariman</i>	<i>pari</i>	<i>pari</i>	<i>pari</i>	<i>ugave</i>
15	ant	<i>mangkarasyin</i>				
16	ash	<i>kapum</i>	<i>kapum</i>	<i>kapum</i>	<i>kapum</i>	<i>kafum</i>
17	to ask	<i>ranajo</i>	<i>ranajo</i>	<i>ranajo</i>	<i>ranaje</i>	<i>ranaide</i>
18	at, in, locative	<i>rai, no</i>	<i>no</i>			
19	back (of body)	<i>akirin</i>				
20	bad	<i>betatugadi, kakai</i>				
21	banana	<i>noaneve</i>	<i>kare</i>	<i>kare</i>	<i>kare</i>	<i>kare</i>
22	bat	<i>kare</i>	<i>kare</i>	<i>kare</i>	<i>kare</i>	<i>kare</i>
		<i>mangkavae,</i> <i>yaobon</i>				
23	to bathe	<i>kuvuni</i>	<i>mana rajja</i>	<i>kuvuni</i>	<i>mana eja</i>	<i>kubuni</i>
24	bean	<i>karavur</i>				
25	bee, wasp	<i>anyivan</i>				
26	beetle	<i>kaokai</i>				
27	behind	<i>akiri</i>				
28	belly, stomach, guts	<i>anuga, wanyati,</i> <i>karam</i>				

Def	Sarawandori Yawa	Tindaret Yawa	Ambai	Ansus	Biak	Kurudu
1	<i>wamo</i>		<i>tata</i>	<i>tata</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ami</i>
2			<i>amea</i>	<i>ama</i>		<i>nami</i>
3	<i>syo</i>		<i>yau</i>	<i>yau</i>	<i>yai</i>	<i>aya</i>
4			<i>mea</i>	<i>mia</i>		<i>awati</i>
5	<i>no</i>		<i>wau</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>awa</i>
6	<i>wo</i>		<i>ea</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>manekripesi</i>
7	<i>po, mo</i>		<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i (wane)</i>
8			<i>aiayi</i>	<i>yei</i>	<i>bo</i>	
9	<i>janiva</i>		<i>matai</i>	<i>matai</i>	<i>mkāk</i>	
10	<i>tutudi</i>		<i>tafau</i>	<i>kuira</i>	<i>kām</i>	
11			<i>mesiri</i>	<i>mieri</i>		<i>dereri</i>
12	<i>ratabo, kata</i>		<i>kontai</i>	<i>toto</i>		
13			<i>kamutun</i>	<i>kamutu</i>	<i>kāmutu</i>	
14	<i>pari</i>	<i>pari</i>	<i>kasau</i>			<i>wertndo</i>
15			<i>anana</i>	<i>anaana, asoang</i>	<i>anir</i>	
16	<i>kapum</i>	<i>kapum</i>	<i>kanggana</i>	<i>wavu</i>	<i>pāt</i>	<i>pinse</i>
17	<i>ranajo</i>	<i>ranade</i>	<i>utan</i>	<i>utang</i>	<i>f-ukēn</i>	
18			<i>na, we, roron</i>	<i>na, we, rarong</i>	<i>be, ro</i>	
19			<i>kuruu</i>	<i>karu(m)puang</i>	<i>kru, uta</i>	<i>tōkmapi</i>
20	<i>kakai</i>		<i>kerira</i>	<i>mioya va</i>	<i>bàrbòr</i>	<i>dodaw</i>
21	<i>kare</i>	<i>kare</i>	<i>rando</i>	<i>nando</i>	<i>byeŋ</i>	<i>manderi</i>
22				<i>aya diru</i>		<i>syawi</i>
23	<i>kovoni</i>	<i>mana radan</i>	<i>eriai</i>	<i>kuira</i>	<i>abru</i>	
24				<i>kawaru</i>		<i>antup</i>
25			<i>aniwa</i>	<i>andiwa</i>	<i>mniwēr</i>	
26				<i>wonakedawi</i>		
27	<i>keri</i>			<i>repui</i>		
28	belly, stomach, guts	<i>anugwa, anobone</i>	<i>ene</i>	<i>aneng</i>	<i>snewar</i>	<i>sine</i>

Def	Pom	Screwen	Serui-Laut	Wamesa	Wooi
1	1pl incl pronoun		<i>tata</i>	<i>tata</i>	<i>tata</i>
2	1plexcl pronoun		<i>ama</i>	<i>ama-</i>	<i>ama</i>
3	1sg pronoun		<i>yau</i>	<i>yau</i>	<i>ya</i>
4	2pl pronoun		<i>ma</i>	<i>mia</i>	<i>mia</i>
5	2sg pronoun		<i>wau</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>aw</i>
6	3pl pronoun		<i>sa</i>	<i>sia</i>	<i>hia</i>
7	3sg pronoun		<i>ia</i>	<i>andi, i</i>	<i>i</i>
8	above	<i>ro wawonjei</i>	<i>babo</i>	<i>vavo</i>	<i>riung</i>
9	afraid		<i>maitai</i>	<i>matai</i>	<i>matai</i>
10	all		<i>kuiira</i>	<i>vura</i>	
11	alone		<i>mihari</i>	<i>mesari</i>	<i>mantaung</i>
12	also		<i>tatou</i>	<i>kota</i>	<i>tato</i>
13	anchor			<i>kamita</i>	
14	angry		<i>kaisau</i>	<i>kasio</i>	<i>kahniow</i>
15	ant		<i>anana</i>	<i>anana</i>	
16	ash	<i>wavu</i>	<i>wavu, kepoya</i>	<i>wabu</i>	<i>rarieng, vavu, uabu</i>
17	to ask		<i>utana</i>	<i>uta</i>	<i>utang</i>
18	at, in, locative		<i>na, raron</i>	<i>na, raro</i>	
19	back (of body)		<i>karosiena, karu</i>	<i>karu</i>	<i>karupui</i>
20	bad			<i>kariria</i>	
21	banana		<i>nando</i>	<i>nando</i>	<i>nando</i>
22	bat			<i>aya diru</i>	
23	to bathe		<i>kobira</i>	<i>kubira</i>	
24	bean		<i>kawaru</i>	<i>kawaru</i>	
25	bee, wasp			<i>anibar, maitai</i>	<i>andiva</i>
26	beetle			<i>imboni</i>	
27	behind			<i>pui</i>	<i>(re)puy</i>
28	belly, stomach, guts	<i>haniwai</i>	<i>ane</i>	<i>sane</i>	<i>sne, hane(way)</i>

Def	Saweru	Central Yawa	Ambaidiru Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Koniti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
29	below	<i>ate, reda</i>				
30	betel nut (areca)	<i>verane man</i>	<i>weran</i>		<i>beran</i>	<i>bera</i>
31	betel pepper (<i>sirih</i>)	<i>anapur, reman-bon</i>	<i>remambon</i>	<i>reman</i>	<i>anampu</i>	<i>anampure</i>
32	big	<i>manakoe</i>	<i>manakoe</i>	<i>manakoi</i>	<i>mandayakoi</i>	<i>andowi</i>
33	bird	<i>insani</i>	<i>insani</i>	<i>unsani</i>	<i>insani</i>	<i>ani</i>
34	bird of paradise	<i>manok,</i> <i>anauputa, syosy-ora</i>				
35	to bite	<i>ratao</i>				
36	black	<i>karisya</i>	<i>karisya</i>	<i>karisawan</i>	<i>karisa</i>	<i>karisa</i>
37	blood	<i>mavu</i>	<i>mabu</i>	<i>mavu</i>	<i>namai</i>	<i>madi</i>
38	to blow	<i>ramawisy, ram-punae</i>				
39	blue, green	<i>njayaibe, keke</i>	<i>keke</i>	<i>keke</i>	<i>keke</i>	<i>keketamu</i>
40	body, flesh, meat	<i>in, anakea,</i> <i>anasin</i>				
41	bone	<i>pae</i>	<i>pae</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>pai</i>
42	branch	<i>nyo amen</i>				
43	breadfruit, jack-fruit (autocarpus)	<i>wanam, andaun, takinakije</i>	<i>wanam</i>	<i>wanam</i>	<i>wanam</i>	<i>anita</i>
44	breast	<i>ukam</i>				
45	to breathe	<i>anawayoanto</i>				
46	brown	<i>naeneve</i>				
47	to burn	<i>ramer</i>				
48	butterfly	<i>kavambun</i>				
49	to buy	<i>ramavun</i>				
50	to call	<i>rawain</i>				
51	canoe	<i>nyoman</i>	<i>nyoman</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>nyoman</i>	<i>wai</i>
52	to carry	<i>raugay, avaki</i>				
53	cassava	<i>timburu</i>	<i>insumore</i>	<i>timburu</i>	<i>sumure</i>	<i>timburi</i>

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

Def	Pom	Screwen	Serui-Laut	Wamesa	Wooi
29 below	<i>ro wombau</i>		<i>umbau</i>	<i>vava</i>	<i>vava</i>
30 betel nut (areca)	<i>havui</i>		<i>anoai</i>	<i>sawu</i>	<i>havui</i>
31 betel pepper (<i>sirih</i>)	<i>niaimo</i>		<i>remah</i>	<i>rema buo</i>	
32 big	<i>vava</i>			<i>baba</i>	<i>baba</i>
33 bird	<i>andowa</i>		<i>aya</i>	<i>aya</i>	<i>aya</i>
34 bird of paradise	<i>andowa tenan</i>		<i>botena</i>	<i>aya vata</i>	
35 to bite	<i>ayat</i>		<i>karifi</i>	<i>karipe</i>	<i>kari</i>
36 black	<i>vemetang</i>		<i>numeta</i>	<i>meta</i>	<i>vemetang</i>
37 blood	<i>marou</i>	<i>maro</i>	<i>riaat, neri</i>	<i>riate</i>	<i>ria</i>
38 to blow	<i>wui</i>	<i>itavung</i>	<i>bui</i>	<i>bub</i>	
39 blue, green	<i>vemakai,</i> <i>vekakeha</i>		<i>kiay</i>	<i>kake</i>	<i>vekake, keke,</i> <i>kakemauii</i>
40 body, flesh, meat	<i>nutarai</i>	<i>(we)nutarai</i>	<i>tarai</i>	<i>tarai</i>	<i>neterai, tarai</i>
41 bone	<i>nehina</i>	<i>nehina</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>sina</i>	<i>nehina</i>
42 branch	<i>ayahai</i>		<i>arawai</i>	<i>rawan</i>	<i>arawang</i>
43 breadfruit, jack- fruit (autocarpus)	<i>andita</i>		<i>anita</i>	<i>andau,</i> <i>buo</i>	<i>andita</i> <i>naknak, andita</i>
44 breast			<i>su</i>	<i>susu</i>	<i>huhu</i>
45 to breathe	<i>hasen</i>			<i>surap</i>	
46 brown				<i>vawu</i>	
47 to burn	<i>paruar</i>				<i>nuing</i>
48 butterfly	<i>apopa</i>		<i>kamambo</i>	<i>apopi</i>	<i>rovirovi</i>
49 to buy	<i>awayang</i>	<i>avai</i>	<i>wori</i>	<i>vori</i>	<i>awayang</i>
50 to call	<i>hahau</i>		<i>au</i>	<i>sau</i>	<i>haw</i>
51 canoe	<i>wa</i>		<i>wa</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>wa</i>
52 to carry	<i>kotaveri</i>		<i>anoi</i>	<i>bai</i>	<i>ko</i>
53 cassava	<i>timbu</i>			<i>timuri</i>	

Def	Saweru	Central Yawa	Ambaibiru Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
54	cassowary	<i>apara</i>				
55	cat	<i>miki</i>	<i>miki</i>	<i>meki</i>	<i>nyawe</i>	<i>meki</i>
56	caterpillar	<i>kangkunam</i>				
57	cheek	<i>amona</i>				
58	chicken	<i>mankuer</i>	<i>mankuer</i>	<i>mankuer</i>	<i>mankui</i>	<i>mankue</i>
59	child	<i>kavo, arikainy</i>	<i>arikaity</i>			
60	chili pepper	<i>marinsan</i>				
61	to climb	<i>raisyeo</i>				
62	cloth	<i>siro</i>	<i>siro</i>	<i>siro</i>	<i>siro</i>	<i>siroi</i>
63	clothes	<i>ansun</i>	<i>ansun</i>	<i>ansun</i>	<i>ansun</i>	<i>sansun</i>
64	cloud	<i>kamur</i>				
65	cockatoo	<i>ayak, mangkun-dit, wakikui</i>				
66	cockroach	<i>katatindopan</i>				
67	coconut	<i>angkaijije man</i>	<i>ankai</i>	<i>ankai</i>	<i>ankai</i>	<i>ankadi</i>
68	cold	<i>nanayao</i>	<i>nanayao</i>			<i>sansemu</i>
69	to come, hence	<i>de</i>	<i>nde</i>	<i>nde</i>	<i>nore</i>	<i>nore</i>
70	to cook, to grill	<i>raun, ramer</i>	<i>raun</i>	<i>raun</i>	<i>raun</i>	<i>rau</i>
71	correct	<i>tugae</i>	<i>tugae</i>	<i>tugai</i>	<i>tugai</i>	<i>tugawa</i>
72	to count	<i>rator</i>	<i>rator</i>	<i>rator</i>	<i>rator</i>	<i>rato</i>
73	crocodile	<i>wangkori</i>	<i>wankuri</i>	<i>wankori</i>	<i>wankor</i>	<i>wankore</i>
74	to cry	<i>poyov</i>	<i>poyo</i>	<i>poyo</i>	<i>poyo</i>	<i>poyo</i>
75	cuscus	<i>maer</i>	<i>mayer</i>	<i>mayer</i>	<i>mair</i>	<i>andaure</i>
76	to cut	<i>raotar</i>				
77	dark	<i>naaman, kau-mur, kaumudi, andoram</i>	<i>kaumu</i>	<i>sandoram</i>	<i>tandoram</i>	<i>sandoram</i>
78	day	<i>masyot</i>				
79	to die, dead	<i>kakai(to), unen</i>	<i>kakai</i>	<i>kakai</i>	<i>nowe</i>	<i>nowe</i>
80	to dig	<i>rawae</i>				
81	dirty	<i>nggwam</i>				
82	dog	<i>make</i>	<i>make</i>	<i>make</i>	<i>make</i>	<i>maye</i>

Def	Sarawandori Yawa	Tindaret Yawa	Ambai	Ansus	Biak	Kurudu
54 cassowary			<i>man-soari</i>	<i>worawai</i>	<i>manuswar, wõnge</i>	<i>maswar</i>
55 cat	<i>miki</i>	<i>nyawe</i>	<i>neki</i>	<i>nau</i>		
56 caterpillar			<i>tara-reai</i>	<i>piora</i>	<i>urò</i>	
57 cheek			<i>man-tukei</i>	<i>tarandei</i>	<i>mankòkò</i>	<i>woro</i>
58 chicken	<i>mankoi</i>	<i>mankokor</i>	<i>antun, arikang</i>	<i>mangkuei</i>	<i>òkir</i>	<i>kokor</i>
59 child	<i>kao, arikainye</i>			<i>kumai</i>		<i>antukri, vrang-gripi</i>
60 chili pepper			<i>marisani</i>	<i>marisang</i>	<i>marisàn</i>	
61 to climb	<i>raiseo</i>		<i>auta</i>	<i>veita</i>	<i>aber</i>	
62 cloth	<i>siro</i>	<i>sire</i>	<i>kavui</i>	<i>irei</i>		<i>sansun</i>
63 clothes	<i>sansun</i>	<i>sansun</i>	<i>ansun</i>	<i>asun</i>	<i>mār, sansun</i>	
64 cloud			<i>rarika</i>	<i>mandipi, pipapa</i>	<i>mandif</i>	<i>mandep</i>
65 cockatoo						
66 cockroach						
67 coconut	<i>ankai</i>	<i>ankadi</i>	<i>kantanini</i>	<i>kantanting</i>	<i>sra</i>	<i>angadi</i>
68 cold	<i>sansemu</i>	<i>nanata</i>	<i>ankadi</i>	<i>angkadi</i>	<i>prim</i>	<i>teitei</i>
69 to come, hence	<i>nde</i>	<i>nde</i>	<i>(ra)ma</i>	<i>dea</i>	<i>(ra)ma</i>	<i>rama</i>
70 to cook, to grill	<i>raun</i>	<i>raun</i>	<i>i-numu(n)</i>	<i>nunung, ran</i>	<i>kun, fəfhuap</i>	<i>baympi</i>
71 correct	<i>tugae</i>	<i>tugai</i>	<i>tarai</i>	<i>piboki, mai</i>	<i>kàku</i>	
72 to count	<i>rato</i>	<i>ndator</i>	<i>ator</i>	<i>tora</i>	<i>kor</i>	<i>tyor</i>
73 crocodile	<i>wankori</i>	<i>onkor</i>	<i>wankori</i>	<i>wongkori</i>	<i>wòngor</i>	
74 to cry	<i>poyo</i>	<i>poyo</i>	<i>i-sai</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>kanēs</i>	<i>syaiso</i>
75 cuscus	<i>mair</i>	<i>mayer</i>		<i>kapawi</i>	<i>kapa</i>	
76 to cut	<i>ratota</i>			<i>tekutu, pera</i>	<i>karuk</i>	
77 dark	<i>sandoram</i>	<i>kaumur</i>	<i>kutui, feran</i>		<i>pampan</i>	
78 day			<i>aha</i>	<i>a(nei)</i>	<i>ràs</i>	
79 to die, dead	<i>kakai</i>	<i>kakai</i>	<i>mireka</i>	<i>kada</i>	<i>mār</i>	<i>kimara</i>
80 to dig			<i>arai</i>	<i>irai</i>	<i>èr</i>	
81 dirty			<i>rarika</i>	<i>koturo, keraria</i>	<i>akēm</i>	<i>pesas</i>
82 dog	<i>make</i>	<i>make</i>	<i>wona</i>	<i>wona</i>	<i>naf</i>	<i>tuna</i>

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

Def	Saweru	Central Yawa	Ambaidiru Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
83	to dream					
84	to drink	<i>mana</i>	<i>ramanan</i>	<i>ramanan</i>	<i>ramanan</i>	
85	dry		<i>ranyinyae</i>	<i>ranyinyai</i>	<i>ranina</i>	<i>ranina</i>
86	ear		<i>amarikoam</i>	<i>amarikoam</i>	<i>amarokoa</i>	<i>abarome</i>
87	earth, ground		<i>kopa</i>	<i>kopa</i>	<i>kakopa</i>	<i>kofa</i>
88	to eat	<i>i, andai</i>	<i>raisy, isyisy</i>	<i>rais</i>	<i>rais</i>	<i>rai</i>
89	eel		<i>ajo pinam, akon, wayakakari</i>			
90	egg	<i>kami</i>				
91	eye		<i>ami</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>ami</i>
92	to fall		<i>temasyo, temaje, tento, tende</i>			
93	far		<i>nggwaravainy, sijainy</i>			
94	fast		<i>(m)avave</i>	<i>avave</i>	<i>avavi</i>	<i>mararu</i>
95	fat, grease, oil		<i>mani, manin</i>			
96	father		<i>ajap</i>	<i>njai</i>	<i>njaija</i>	<i>aidea</i>
97	feather		<i>ananeman</i>			
98	finger		<i>aneng kawi</i>	<i>kakun</i>	<i>kawi</i>	<i>kawi</i>
99	fire		<i>tanam</i>	<i>tanam</i>	<i>tanam</i>	<i>nona</i>
100	fish	<i>dia(n)</i>	<i>jian</i>	<i>jian</i>	<i>jija</i>	<i>dija</i>
101	five		<i>radani</i>	<i>radani</i>	<i>nai</i>	<i>na</i>
102	flower		<i>nyo uve</i>			
103	fly		<i>nyimanyim, abu</i>			
104	to fly		<i>badirir</i>			
105	forest		<i>anate</i>			
106	four		<i>mambisy</i>	<i>mambis</i>	<i>mambi</i>	<i>mambi</i>
107	frog		<i>kunai, ingkak, karavinn</i>			

Def	Sarawandori Yawa	Tindaret Yawa	Ambai	Ansus	Biak	Kurudu
83			<i>miai</i>	<i>emi</i>	<i>mafu</i>	<i>iniw</i>
84	<i>ramanan</i>	<i>ramanan</i>	<i>i-unu</i>	<i>unum, anung</i>	<i>inēm</i>	<i>dur, uruma</i>
85	<i>raminae</i>	<i>rainyat</i>	<i>arahiai</i>	<i>yenaia</i>	<i>miais</i>	
86	<i>amarakoa</i>	<i>amarikoam</i>	<i>tara</i>	<i>tarakambrei</i>	<i>kna</i>	<i>train</i>
87	<i>kakopa</i>	<i>kopa</i>	<i>kahopa, kakofa</i>	<i>kakopa</i>	<i>sàpròp</i>	
88	<i>raisy</i>	<i>rais</i>	<i>ampi</i>	<i>ang, ampi</i>	<i>ān</i>	<i>bampi</i>
89				<i>piara maria,</i> <i>maraisarami,</i> <i>yeng</i>	<i>ròwar, dòsun</i>	
90	<i>kami</i>		<i>neibo</i>	<i>newong</i>	<i>pēnor</i>	<i>antor</i>
91	<i>ami</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>ure</i>	<i>rengkami</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>bokni, dokmi</i>
92			<i>tawa</i>	<i>tawa</i>	<i>mēngokéf</i>	
93	<i>ujayawain</i>		<i>waroi</i>	<i>woroi</i>	<i>binkwaim</i>	<i>suap</i>
94	<i>mondo</i>	<i>aviti</i>	<i>akera</i>	<i>mararu</i>	<i>fasaw, sambern</i>	
95			<i>main, manin</i>	<i>nemain, maning</i>	<i>máfēn, mani</i>	<i>man</i>
96	<i>njaija</i>	<i>njai</i>	<i>dai, tama</i>	<i>tamamui, yai,</i> <i>idadi</i>	<i>kēma, yài</i>	<i>ita</i>
97			<i>kararoa</i>	<i>netuing</i>	<i>bur</i>	<i>ruan (diwip)</i>
98	<i>kakun</i>	<i>kawi</i>	<i>wara-keka</i>	<i>warangkea</i>		<i>tawēkin</i>
99	<i>tanam</i>	<i>tanam</i>	<i>adia</i>	<i>adia</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>adia, arampe</i>
100	<i>jian</i>	<i>aj</i>	<i>dia(n)</i>	<i>dian</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>pian, dian</i>
101	<i>radani</i>	<i>nandani</i>	<i>rin</i>	<i>boring</i>	<i>rim</i>	<i>bowerim</i>
102	<i>uvwe</i>		<i>ne-bu</i>	<i>airau</i>	<i>pàmpen</i>	<i>ay pupi</i>
103			<i>anumari</i>	<i>amoma</i>	<i>ran</i>	<i>ramat</i>
104			<i>sifo</i>	<i>apo</i>	<i>rob</i>	<i>bit</i>
105			<i>werabuande</i>	<i>wi(re)</i>		
106	<i>mambi</i>	<i>mambis</i>	<i>bo-a</i>	<i>boa, manua</i>	<i>fiðk</i>	<i>boat</i>
107	<i>korokoroi</i>		<i>vivintankin</i>	<i>mangkengkeng</i>	<i>kròkrò, ròbēbre</i>	

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

Def	Saweru	Central Yawa	Ambaidiru Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
108	fruit	<i>man</i>	<i>tari</i>	<i>tari</i>	<i>tai</i>	<i>tai</i>
109	full	<i>ntairi</i>	<i>nawaisy</i>	<i>nawais</i>	<i>nawais</i>	<i>andagwa</i>
110	garden	<i>nawaisy</i>				
111	to give	<i>raunanto</i>				
112	to go, to walk	<i>poroto, to, panya</i>	<i>poroto</i>	<i>poroto</i>		<i>poto</i>
113	good	<i>kov</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ko</i>
114	gourd, pumpkin	<i>apisyi</i>	<i>apisi</i>	<i>apisi</i>	<i>airai</i>	<i>airai</i>
115	grandparent, grandchild	<i>anenap, anenam, ajavi</i>	<i>anen, ajavi</i>	<i>anena, ajavi</i>	<i>anena, ajavi</i>	<i>anena, worija</i>
116	grass	<i>insumai</i>	<i>insumai</i>	<i>insumai</i>		<i>unsume</i>
117	grasshopper	<i>kao syangker</i>				
118	to grow	<i>tubai</i>				
119	hair	<i>akarivuiuy</i>	<i>akaribuin</i>	<i>akariguin</i>	<i>wayariguin</i>	<i>waribine</i>
120	hand	<i>anem</i>	<i>anem</i>	<i>anem</i>	<i>anem</i>	<i>anem</i>
121	head	<i>akari</i>	<i>akari</i>	<i>akari</i>	<i>akari</i>	<i>uga</i>
122	to hear	<i>ranaun, raraniv</i>	<i>raranib</i>	<i>ranaun</i>	<i>ranaun</i>	<i>ankabayar</i>
123	heart	<i>okami</i>				
124	heavy	<i>mangke</i>	<i>manke</i>	<i>manke</i>	<i>manke</i>	<i>manke</i>
125	to hit	<i>ranepat</i>	<i>ranepat</i>	<i>ranepat</i>	<i>tanepat</i>	<i>ranepat</i>
126	to hold	<i>rajjar</i>	<i>rajja</i>	<i>rajja</i>	<i>rajja</i>	<i>rajja</i>
127	hole	<i>sugandi</i>				
128	hornbill	<i>uman</i>				
129	hot	<i>mamawan</i>	<i>mamuan</i>	<i>mamoan</i>	<i>mamua</i>	<i>mamoa</i>
130	house	<i>yavar</i>	<i>yavar</i>	<i>yavar</i>	<i>yavar</i>	<i>yavar</i>
131	how	<i>beanimaibe, beare ruwimaisy</i>	<i>-are ruwi</i>			
132	hungry	<i>maror</i>	<i>maror</i>	<i>maro</i>	<i>kayara</i>	<i>kayara</i>
133	hurt, sick	<i>yabi:ka, mditi, wanan</i>	<i>joram, uganen</i>	<i>papugam</i>	<i>joram</i>	<i>joram</i>
134	husband					
135	island	<i>anap, anya nupatimu</i>				

Def	Sarawandori Yawa	Tindaret Yawa	Ambai	Ansus	Biak	Kurudu
108	fruit		<i>bo</i>	<i>ai bong</i>	<i>aibón</i>	<i>bo, aybopi</i>
109	full	<i>tari</i>	<i>sefa</i>	<i>donu</i>		
110	garden	<i>nawais</i>	<i>romi</i>	<i>romi</i>		<i>haswartu</i>
111	to give		<i>okon</i>	<i>on</i>		<i>rya</i>
112	to go, to walk	<i>to</i>	<i>rando</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>rā</i>	<i>sewi</i>
113	good	<i>ngo</i>	<i>anten</i>	<i>vieng</i>	<i>bye</i>	
114	gourd, pumpkin	<i>apisi</i>		<i>airaing</i>	<i>bati</i>	
115	grandparent, grandchild	<i>anenam, ajavib</i>	<i>tafui</i>	<i>apus, tapung</i>	<i>k-épu</i>	<i>tup</i>
116	grass	<i>unsumai, unswu- maje</i>	<i>afui</i>	<i>nanimpung</i>	<i>abris</i>	<i>minimmimpé</i>
117	grasshopper			<i>keraiami</i>		
118	to grow		<i>tifu</i>	<i>kemamai, suwato</i>	<i>sur</i>	<i>dukoi, train</i>
119	hair	<i>akari buin</i>	<i>nu-randaun</i>	<i>duandaung</i>	<i>snumburain</i>	<i>wekan</i>
120	hand	<i>anem</i>	<i>wara(ng)</i>	<i>warang</i>	<i>rwa</i>	<i>du</i>
121	head	<i>akari</i>	<i>kamiai</i>	<i>dukami</i>	<i>rwu</i>	<i>idaor</i>
122	to hear	<i>raraniv</i>	<i>tara-o</i>	<i>tarawo</i>	<i>mnàf</i>	<i>aibo</i>
123	heart		<i>ai-bon</i>	<i>anteni, aibo</i>		<i>mimbat</i>
124	heavy	<i>manke</i>	<i>maraba</i>	<i>memba</i>		<i>munna?</i>
125	to hit	<i>tanepat</i>	<i>boi</i>	<i>rora</i>	<i>ràb</i>	
126	to hold	<i>ratiar</i>	<i>rut(i)</i>	<i>rut</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>rere</i>
127	hole			<i>kambirei</i>		
128	hornbill		<i>wama</i>		<i>wando</i>	
129	hot	<i>mamoan</i>	<i>maninkapoi</i>	<i>mengkakopi</i>		<i>mindar</i>
130	house	<i>yavar</i>	<i>munu</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>rum</i>	<i>inun, sovua</i>
131	how		<i>ftani</i>	<i>topino, bototoi</i>	<i>rarisò</i>	
132	hungry	<i>kayara</i>	<i>wawisi</i>	<i>wawi</i>	<i>bisr</i>	
133	hurt, sick	<i>papugam, jora, paputam</i>	<i>maninan</i>	<i>yui</i>	<i>bis</i>	
134	husband		<i>muang</i>	<i>awamai</i>	<i>swa</i>	<i>iman, suwaman</i>
135	island	<i>gwanena</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>nu(takutu)</i>	<i>nu</i>	

Def	Pom	Serewen	Serui-Laut	Wamesa	Wooi
108 fruit	<i>buong</i>		<i>bo, aibon</i>	<i>buo</i>	<i>(ai)buong</i>
109 full	<i>onu</i>			<i>onu</i>	
110 garden	<i>romi</i>		<i>romi</i>	<i>romi</i>	<i>romi</i>
111 to give	<i>ong</i>		<i>ona, oni</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>ong</i>
112 to go, to walk	<i>ra</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>ra</i>
113 good	<i>hanai</i>		<i>fiboki, ben</i>	<i>ate, vesie</i>	<i>viheng</i>
114 gourd, pumpkin	<i>ariain</i>				
115 grandparent, grandchild	<i>tapuni, apuni</i>	<i>paitua, bisa, nem-piurung</i>	<i>apui</i>	<i>apusi</i>	<i>apu, tapun, eynyang, tapui hamuing</i>
116 grass	<i>nanimpu</i>		<i>kampui, namimpu</i>	<i>samue</i>	
117 grasshopper				<i>sapami, vepori marara</i>	
118 to grow	<i>tandung</i>			<i>siwara</i>	
119 hair	<i>runandaun</i>	<i>riunandau</i>	<i>tarakamindai</i>	<i>runandau</i>	<i>riuandaung</i>
120 hand	<i>waran</i>	<i>ivaran</i>	<i>wara</i>	<i>vara</i>	<i>vara</i>
121 head	<i>rohina</i>	<i>rihina</i>	<i>mananu</i>	<i>ru</i>	<i>riukami</i>
122 to hear	<i>taraho</i>		<i>taraoa</i>	<i>adiawa</i>	<i>taraho</i>
123 heart	<i>nemor</i>			<i>aibuo</i>	
124 heavy	<i>mambat</i>			<i>marabat</i>	
125 to hit	<i>tung</i>	<i>repa</i>	<i>boi</i>	<i>roro</i>	<i>roro</i>
126 to hold	<i>rut</i>	<i>ok</i>		<i>ruti, tapu</i>	<i>ru, tapu, kangkung, kepa kambrei</i>
127 hole	<i>kambiriei</i>			<i>kamberei</i>	
128 hornbill			<i>uama</i>	<i>wamar</i>	
129 hot	<i>mas</i>		<i>dararoi</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>mang(kakopi)</i>
130 house	<i>yawa</i>		<i>manu</i>	<i>anio, yaba</i>	<i>manu</i>
131 how	<i>topeno</i>		<i>fidonia</i>	<i>vitoi</i>	<i>topino</i>
132 hungry	<i>wariwan</i>		<i>vavi</i>	<i>vawisi</i>	
133 hurt, sick	<i>huhi</i>		<i>nunsui</i>	<i>pota</i>	<i>huhi</i>
134 husband	<i>hawani</i>	<i>aisinang</i>	<i>awani</i>	<i>sawa</i>	
135 island			<i>nu</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>nu</i>

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

Def	Sarawandori Yawa	Tindaret Yawa	Ambai	Ansus	Biak	Kurudu
136 to kill	<i>rawawi, raubwai</i>	<i>rawavin</i>	<i>muni</i>	<i>mun</i>	<i>mun</i>	<i>dipai, muni</i>
137 knee	<i>bukami</i>	<i>bukam</i>	<i>awe-buka</i>	<i>aembu</i>	<i>wepur</i>	<i>wewun</i>
138 knife	<i>tija</i>	<i>tiya</i>	<i>noi</i>	<i>nyoi</i>		<i>inoi</i>
139 to know			<i>tawana</i>	<i>reo, rotawana</i>	<i>fau</i>	
140 lake			<i>ruru</i>	<i>ruru</i>	<i>dòkèn</i>	<i>katibo</i>
141 land, shore			<i>rei</i>	<i>rei</i>	<i>sup</i>	<i>inauro</i>
142 to laugh		<i>uguen</i>	<i>miri</i>	<i>mari</i>	<i>mbrif</i>	<i>midia, uamdi</i>
143 leaf	<i>uguwe</i>		<i>rerau(n)</i>	<i>aiveraung</i>	<i>rām</i>	<i>rainggoip, kòì</i>
144 left (side)			<i>wei</i>	<i>dowiri</i>	<i>sār</i>	<i>roknoi</i>
145 leg, foot	<i>ajo</i>	<i>ado</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>aemu</i>	<i>we</i>	
146 lightning	<i>ivak</i>	<i>sivak</i>	<i>kaiveva</i>	<i>keviewari</i>	<i>wèwër</i>	
147 to live			<i>daran</i>	<i>weng</i>	<i>kenēm</i>	<i>mura</i>
148 liver			<i>ateni</i>	<i>aneu wai, sane</i>	<i>kén</i>	<i>ate</i>
149 lizard	<i>ambaroromi, am- papipe</i>	<i>kapadum</i>	<i>kapetaini</i>	<i>rorong</i>		
150 long	<i>gwayavain</i>	<i>gwaravai</i>	<i>dewaroi</i>	<i>tanimbai</i>	<i>kawaim</i>	<i>kirwain</i>
151 louse	<i>eme</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>utu</i>	<i>utu</i>	<i>uk</i>	<i>upi</i>
152 man	<i>anya</i>	<i>tanya</i>	<i>muang</i>	<i>muang</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>sinontu inampesi, iman</i>
153 mango	<i>andani</i>	<i>gwimen</i>	<i>andari</i>	<i>andani</i>	<i>awa</i>	
154 money	<i>doije</i>		<i>doi</i>	<i>awaweri</i>	<i>pipi</i>	
155 moon	<i>embae</i>	<i>jaon</i>	<i>embai</i>	<i>yembai</i>	<i>paik</i>	<i>awokai</i>
156 mosquito	<i>anatatau</i>	<i>anatokau</i>	<i>fi-karari</i>	<i>aimaning</i>	<i>mumēs</i>	<i>sinin</i>
157 mother	<i>nkoa</i>	<i>nko</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>inani, intai</i>	<i>ina, sna</i>	<i>ina</i>
158 mountain			<i>uai</i>	<i>wi</i>		<i>abobo</i>
159 mouse, rat	<i>kaimir, kae</i>	<i>kamo</i>	<i>karu</i>	<i>kapa manu</i>	<i>wanggar</i>	<i>anganau</i>
160 mouth	<i>awa</i>	<i>awa</i>	<i>boro</i>	<i>woreng</i>	<i>sbā</i>	<i>bondo</i>
161 nail			<i>waradiu</i>	<i>paku, warandi</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>vrare, denda, ueranggin, tawèkin dèndau</i>
162 name	<i>tame</i>	<i>tame</i>	<i>wono</i>	<i>anom</i>	<i>nasàn, snon-snon</i>	<i>sinope</i>

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

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

Def	Sarawandori Yawa	Tindaret Yawa	Ambai	Ansus	Biak	Kurudu
163 narrow			<i>katui</i>	<i>siota, kiepang</i>	<i>fìs</i>	<i>miniu</i>
164 near			<i>kefa</i>	<i>kikeu</i>	<i>fanàm</i>	
165 neck	<i>isis</i>	<i>akuin</i>	<i>kanang</i>	<i>raukanang</i>	<i>sasu</i>	<i>roprai</i>
166 needle			<i>aniai, reti</i>	<i>reti, wai rui</i>	<i>rèt</i>	
167 negator	<i>joena</i>		<i>bireri</i>	<i>wereria, wa</i>	<i>ba</i>	
168 new	<i>wanin</i>	<i>riat</i>	<i>vevoru</i>	<i>vevoru</i>	<i>babo</i>	<i>wiworu</i>
169 night	<i>namane</i>		<i>diru</i>	<i>diru</i>	<i>ròb</i>	
170 nose	<i>atum</i>	<i>atum</i>	<i>ube</i>	<i>wompemo</i>	<i>snò</i>	<i>sore</i>
171 old	<i>wusyine</i>	<i>wusin</i>	<i>tawa</i>	<i>wepaituang, tawa</i>	<i>kwar</i>	<i>minda</i>
172 older sibling	<i>andoja</i>	<i>anuija</i>	<i>tafuai</i>	<i>basar</i>		<i>manggobapi,</i> <i>minggubapi</i>
173 one	<i>ntabo</i>	<i>intabo</i>	<i>bo-yari</i>	<i>koiri</i>	<i>sai</i>	<i>bosandi</i>
174 other			<i>siai</i>		<i>wèsè</i>	
175 owl	<i>bo</i>	<i>vorat</i>	<i>bo, wo</i>	<i>patirewai</i>	<i>borès</i>	<i>awo</i>
176 to paddle				<i>awo</i>		
177 pandanus fruit				<i>nyontarai</i>	<i>kawàsa</i>	<i>sinontu</i>
178 person	<i>batan</i>	<i>vatan</i>	<i>inon-tarai</i>	<i>tapui</i>	<i>bén</i>	
179 pig	<i>gwe</i>	<i>ugwe</i>		<i>tanami</i>	<i>kàrker</i>	
180 to plant	<i>ranyun</i>	<i>ratayum</i>	<i>i-tanamp</i>	<i>tara</i>	<i>nuk, kakar</i>	
181 to pound (sago)	<i>rakaro</i>	<i>raman</i>	<i>tara, -tuta(k)</i>	<i>kiru</i>	<i>afër</i>	
182 quicklime (<i>ka-pur</i>)			<i>roa</i>			
183 (to) rain	<i>maru(gwe)</i>	<i>maru</i>	<i>meta</i>	<i>mamang, miuna</i>	<i>mèkèm</i>	<i>ram</i>
184 red	<i>nija</i>	<i>niyam</i>	<i>berika</i>	<i>merai</i>	<i>rik</i>	<i>kinun</i>
185 rice	<i>pawa</i>		<i>pa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>fas</i>	
186 right (side)			<i>moya</i>	<i>dowatang</i>	<i>karèmbòbò</i>	<i>rowar</i>
187 road	<i>nandoi</i>	<i>unani</i>	<i>rang, ran</i>	<i>rang</i>	<i>nyàn</i>	
188 root	<i>kawen</i>	<i>pif</i>	<i>ne-wa(sa)</i>	<i>woa</i>	<i>rarès</i>	<i>wam</i>
189 rope	<i>wai</i>	<i>wati</i>	<i>wai</i>	<i>wai</i>	<i>ràbràb</i>	<i>waysnip</i>
190 rotten			<i>piso</i>	<i>kengkong</i>	<i>pòkèm</i>	<i>sisupra</i>

Def	Pom	Serewen	Serui-Laut	Wamesa	Wooi
163 narrow	<i>hahar</i>			<i>kotar</i>	
164 near	<i>kakieu</i>		<i>(na) kefa</i>	<i>dirioi</i>	<i>kikie</i>
165 neck	<i>rau karo</i>	<i>rau karo</i>	<i>raukanao</i>	<i>rau</i>	<i>raukuo</i>
166 needle	<i>waituhi</i>		<i>reti</i>	<i>ret</i>	
167 negator	<i>piewa, va</i>			<i>va</i>	<i>va</i>
168 new	<i>vaworu</i>		<i>vavoru</i>	<i>avori, vavoru</i>	<i>vavoru</i>
169 night	<i>rowi</i>		<i>diru</i>	<i>diru</i>	<i>curu</i>
170 nose	<i>hokama</i>	<i>hokama</i>	<i>wompi</i>	<i>suo</i>	<i>hokama</i>
171 old	<i>tawa</i>		<i>aina</i>	<i>woroi</i>	<i>paituang</i>
172 older sibling	<i>basar</i>	<i>neta veava</i>	<i>manetababa,</i> <i>anewori</i>	<i>babai</i>	<i>neta baba</i>
173 one	<i>korisi</i>		<i>boiri</i>	<i>siri</i>	<i>korisi</i>
174 other	<i>hehivera</i>			<i>esi(a)</i>	<i>eha</i>
175 owl			<i>aya diru</i>	<i>aya tomoro</i>	<i>kou</i>
176 to paddle	<i>bo, vo</i>	<i>vo</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>vo</i>	<i>vo</i>
177 pandanus fruit	<i>buo vemarou</i>			<i>abo viurar</i>	<i>avo</i>
178 person	<i>hinontarai</i>	<i>hinontarai</i>	<i>inontarai</i>	<i>kawasa, sinitu</i>	<i>hinyontarai</i>
179 pig	<i>vowa</i>		<i>tafui</i>	<i>pimuna</i>	<i>asurang</i>
180 to plant	<i>tantanan</i>		<i>tana</i>	<i>tana</i>	<i>tanang</i>
181 to pound (sago)				<i>tara</i>	<i>tung</i>
182 quicklime (<i>ka-pur</i>)	<i>kiru</i>		<i>rowa</i>	<i>kiru</i>	
183 (to) rain	<i>mamang</i>		<i>metan</i>	<i>diobara, muna</i>	<i>mamang, miuna</i>
184 red	<i>vemarou</i>		<i>merai</i>	<i>urar</i>	<i>(ve)ria</i>
185 rice	<i>pa</i>		<i>fa</i>	<i>pase</i>	<i>pa</i>
186 right (side)	<i>diawatan</i>			<i>vata</i>	<i>cobatang</i>
187 road	<i>rayan</i>		<i>ran</i>	<i>ra</i>	
188 root	<i>wari</i>		<i>rewa</i>	<i>war</i>	<i>uari</i>
189 rope	<i>arora</i>	<i>arora</i>	<i>wai</i>	<i>wai</i>	<i>arora</i>
190 rotten	<i>kangkong</i>			<i>saire</i>	

Def	Saweru	Central Yawa	Ambaidiru Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
191 to run		<i>pansanan</i>	<i>nansanan</i>	<i>nyansanan</i>	<i>nansanan</i>	<i>nansanan</i>
192 sago		<i>anan</i>	<i>anan</i>	<i>anan</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>anate</i>
193 sago porridge (<i>papeda</i>)		<i>anano rayat</i>				
194 to sail		<i>ayun</i>				
195 salt		<i>mayan, garan</i>				
196 sand		<i>anayav</i>	<i>nayab</i>	<i>ugai</i>	<i>nyave</i>	<i>nibugane</i>
197 to say		<i>ayao, raura</i>				
198 to scratch	<i>karama</i>	<i>rakaramae</i>				
199 sea		<i>mayan</i>				
200 (sea) turtle	<i>andetafuay</i>	<i>paripur, kin- duwai, wao,</i>				
		<i>maova</i>				
201 to see	<i>en</i>	<i>raen</i>	<i>raen</i>	<i>rain</i>	<i>rato</i>	<i>rato</i>
202 seed		<i>kami</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami</i>
203 to sew		<i>rarijat, rarawat</i>				
204 sharp		<i>siu, sansinao</i>				
205 to shoot	<i>atafo</i>	<i>ramer, ratapo</i>				
206 short		<i>tumainy</i>	<i>tumain</i>	<i>tumai</i>	<i>tumai</i>	<i>arapa</i>
207 shoulder		<i>awaivam</i>	<i>aibam</i>	<i>aivam</i>	<i>kumane</i>	<i>avam</i>
208 to sit	<i>nunu</i>	<i>tuna</i>	<i>tuna</i>	<i>tuna</i>	<i>tuna</i>	<i>tuna</i>
209 six		<i>kaujentabo</i>	<i>kawintabo</i>	<i>kaujintavo</i>	<i>kaujintavo</i>	<i>kaujintavo</i>
210 skin		<i>kea</i>	<i>kea</i>	<i>kea</i>	<i>kea</i>	<i>kea</i>
211 sky		<i>anaum</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>naum</i>	<i>naum</i>	<i>naum</i>
212 to sleep	<i>nei</i>	<i>niki</i>	<i>niki</i>	<i>niki</i>	<i>niki</i>	<i>nei</i>
213 small		<i>mamaun, tuvan,</i>	<i>mamau</i>	<i>tuban</i>	<i>mamau</i>	<i>tubanet</i>
		<i>mawae</i>				
214 smoke		<i>kijao</i>	<i>kiyao</i>	<i>kijau</i>	<i>kijau</i>	<i>kijo</i>
215 snake		<i>tawae</i>	<i>tawae</i>	<i>tawae</i>	<i>tawae</i>	<i>unane</i>
216 to sniff, to smell		<i>ranu</i>				
217 spider		<i>ugarakaki</i>	<i>gwarakaki</i>	<i>kaki</i>	<i>apaki</i>	<i>kakija</i>

191	to run	<i>nansanan</i>	<i>nantan</i>	<i>mito</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>f-ŕar</i>	<i>doa</i>
192	sago	<i>anan</i>	<i>anan</i>	<i>taun</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>baryan</i>	
193	sago porridge (<i>papeda</i>)			<i>anan</i>	<i>wadang</i> <i>anang</i>	<i>sui</i>	
194	to sail			<i>arawin</i>	<i>aravi</i>		<i>maysum</i>
195	salt			<i>ai</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>másén</i>	<i>komde</i>
196	sand	<i>nusye, nuisye</i>	<i>nyab</i>	<i>uai, nefá</i>	<i>nin-</i> <i>ruwuang</i>	<i>kayén</i>	
197	to say			<i>ai</i>	<i>topana</i>	<i>kòjèn</i>	
198	to scratch	<i>raurwa</i>		<i>ramati</i>	<i>karamut</i>	<i>rār</i>	
199	sea			<i>ai-rau, rawana</i>	<i>rawanang</i>	<i>másén</i>	<i>sorm</i>
200	(sea) turtle				<i>poti, keryang,</i> <i>mangkengkeng</i>	<i>wáw</i>	
201	to see	<i>rae(n)</i>	<i>ndai</i>	<i>wati</i>	<i>reo</i>	<i>mám</i>	<i>dumda</i>
202	seed	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>kamiai</i>	<i>(ne)kami, neina</i>		<i>kmi, gumipi</i>
203	to sew			<i>awa</i>	<i>awasung</i>	<i>sápsip</i>	
204	sharp			<i>reisa</i>	<i>besasung</i>	<i>sār</i>	<i>mintar</i>
205	to shoot			<i>i-ana</i>	<i>ana, nunung</i>	<i>kjo</i>	
206	short	<i>tumai</i>	<i>tumai</i>	<i>tanán</i>	<i>tenang, wotadari</i>		<i>turu</i>
207	shoulder	<i>kumane</i>	<i>aibiam</i>	<i>boyawa</i>	<i>warandara</i>	<i>radar(si)</i>	<i>wrawo</i>
208	to sit	<i>tuna</i>	<i>tuna</i>	<i>i-minohi</i>	<i>mayoi</i>	<i>kein</i>	<i>tura</i>
209	six	<i>kaijintavo</i>	<i>kawintabo</i>	<i>wonan</i>	<i>bowonang</i>	<i>wòném</i>	<i>bowerim bosandi</i>
210	skin	<i>kea</i>	<i>kea</i>	<i>rerawa</i>	<i>rerawa, nentari</i> <i>ri</i>	<i>rib</i>	<i>rui</i>
211	sky	<i>naumwe</i>	<i>naun</i>	<i>rora</i>	<i>rora</i>	<i>nanék</i>	
212	to sleep	<i>niki</i>	<i>niki</i>	<i>ena</i>	<i>ena</i>	<i>eněf</i>	<i>dena, wiyata</i>
213	small	<i>tuban</i>	<i>maumau</i>	<i>katui, ketui</i>	<i>meia</i>	<i>kasun</i>	<i>pyokri</i>
214	smoke	<i>kijau</i>	<i>kijau</i>	<i>riraun</i>	<i>wio</i>	<i>apn</i>	<i>maup</i>
215	snake	<i>tawae</i>	<i>tawae</i>	<i>tawai</i>	<i>piara</i>		<i>mor</i>
216	to sniff, to smell			<i>naha</i>		<i>nàsém</i>	<i>inis</i>
217	spider	<i>papaki</i>	<i>ugarakaki</i>	<i>mansai</i>	<i>ingkira</i>	<i>kabòkakin</i>	<i>konderaibo</i>

Def	Pom	Serewen	Serui-Laut	Wamesa	Wooi
191 to run	<i>apai</i>		<i>afai-afai</i>	<i>apai</i>	<i>apai</i>
192 sago	<i>tuing</i>		<i>tau</i>	<i>tau</i>	<i>taung, anang</i>
193 sago porridge (<i>papeda</i>)	<i>hu</i>		<i>ana</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>anang</i>
194 to sail			<i>arawa</i>	<i>sarawi</i>	
195 salt	<i>hahi</i>		<i>kara</i>	<i>sasi</i>	<i>garam</i>
196 sand	<i>rowyang</i>		<i>nunoi</i>	<i>rubua</i>	<i>nyapa</i>
197 to say	<i>payaya</i>		<i>afa</i>	<i>oyo</i>	<i>kavio, oyo, paya</i>
198 to scratch	<i>arar</i>			<i>kara</i>	
199 sea	<i>hundaaurau</i>		<i>sairau</i>	<i>rau, rawana</i>	<i>rau</i>
200 (sea) turtle	<i>romung</i>		<i>amawa</i>	<i>poti, bianggaina, pibata</i>	
201 to see	<i>reho</i>		<i>wai</i>	<i>ser(a)</i>	<i>reho</i>
202 seed	<i>mo</i>		<i>bong, kami, awa</i>	<i>mor</i>	<i>kami</i>
203 to sew	<i>awar</i>		<i>daawa</i>	<i>aware</i>	
204 sharp	<i>masain</i>		<i>ren</i>	<i>masiet</i>	<i>mehaing</i>
205 to shoot	<i>ana</i>	<i>pare</i>		<i>ana</i>	
206 short	<i>tawawa</i>		<i>sana</i>	<i>tanam</i>	<i>tanang</i>
207 shoulder	<i>nadiara</i>	<i>karuhina</i>	<i>warabon</i>	<i>varabo</i>	<i>varacara</i>
208 to sit	<i>mahoi</i>	<i>mahoi</i>	<i>moi</i>	<i>masoi</i>	<i>mahoi</i>
209 six	<i>wonan</i>		<i>boirikori</i>	<i>rime siri</i>	<i>wona</i>
210 skin	<i>rerawa</i>		<i>rerawa</i>	<i>rawa</i>	<i>rawa</i>
211 sky	<i>rora</i>		<i>rora</i>	<i>rora</i>	<i>rora</i>
212 to sleep	<i>ena</i>		<i>ena</i>	<i>ena</i>	<i>ena</i>
213 small	<i>haho</i>			<i>katu</i>	<i>moma</i>
214 smoke	<i>tiup</i>		<i>rirau</i>	<i>wuyu</i>	<i>wijow</i>
215 snake	<i>tawai</i>		<i>tawai</i>	<i>koro, tawai</i>	<i>pinamunai</i>
216 to sniff, to smell	<i>huoho</i>			<i>anasa</i>	<i>hei</i>
217 spider	<i>ingkira</i>		<i>manakakai</i>	<i>apopa</i>	<i>ròviròvi</i>

Def	Saweru	Central Yawa	Ambaidiru Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
218 to split		<i>raporar</i>				
219 sprout, shoot		<i>kamin, tuba</i>				
220 to squeeze		<i>rakugan</i>				
221 to stab		<i>ratukam</i>	<i>ratukam</i>	<i>ratukam</i>	<i>ratukam</i>	<i>ratuga</i>
222 to stand	<i>te</i>	<i>seo tet</i>				
223 star		<i>tume</i>	<i>tum</i>	<i>tum</i>	<i>tum</i>	<i>tum</i>
224 to steal		<i>anaanoambe</i>				
225 stone		<i>oram</i>	<i>oram</i>	<i>oram</i>	<i>oram</i>	<i>orama</i>
226 to suck		<i>rausuv</i>				
227 sun		<i>uma</i>	<i>uma</i>	<i>uma</i>	<i>uma</i>	<i>uma</i>
228 to sweat		<i>mamawandi</i>				
229 to swell		<i>bambana</i>				
230 to swim		<i>jai</i>				
231 tail		<i>atevan</i>				
232 taro		<i>kambor, inje</i>	<i>kambor</i>	<i>kambor</i>	<i>kambor</i>	<i>kambor</i>
233 ten		<i>abusyin</i>	<i>abusyin</i>	<i>abusin</i>	<i>abusin</i>	<i>sabui</i>
234 that	<i>efie</i>	<i>wato, namuwato</i>				
235 thatch, roof		<i>manyum</i>	<i>manyum</i>	<i>rate</i>	<i>manyum</i>	<i>rate</i>
236 thick		<i>tapekan</i>	<i>tapekan</i>	<i>tapekan</i>	<i>tapekan</i>	<i>tafeya</i>
237 thin		<i>manyijan</i>	<i>manini</i>	<i>maninjam</i>	<i>sambera</i>	<i>sambera</i>
238 to think		<i>ratantona</i>				
239 this		<i>so, namiso</i>	<i>so</i>			
240 three		<i>mande</i>	<i>madet</i>	<i>mande</i>	<i>mande</i>	<i>mainde</i>
241 to throw	<i>mau</i>	<i>ramau</i>				
242 thunder		<i>katiir, katiir</i>	<i>katiir</i>	<i>katiir</i>	<i>katiir</i>	<i>kunduma</i>
243 to tie		<i>raokae</i>				
244 today	<i>inimiso</i>	<i>unumeso</i>				
245 tongue		<i>aunan</i>				
246 tooth	<i>tu</i>	<i>atomokan</i>				
247 tree, wood		<i>nyoe (mot)</i>	<i>nyo</i>	<i>nyo</i>	<i>nyo</i>	<i>nyo</i>
248 to turn		<i>ratugao</i>				

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

	Def	Pom	Serewen	Serui-Laut	Wamesa	Wooi
218	to split	<i>baho</i>			<i>visisiwa</i>	<i>kama</i>
219	sprout, shoot	<i>tavar</i>			<i>kusar</i>	
220	to squeeze	<i>ihang</i>			<i>isami, tisa</i>	
221	to stab	<i>oha</i>		<i>oa</i>	<i>osa</i>	<i>tura</i>
222	to stand	<i>piori</i>		<i>avaa</i>	<i>sivererei</i>	
223	star	<i>manana</i>		<i>kami</i>	<i>manana</i>	<i>kami</i>
224	to steal	<i>kami</i>			<i>rebuki</i>	
225	stone	<i>hup</i>		<i>woo</i>	<i>sum</i>	
226	to suck	<i>wo</i>			<i>wor</i>	<i>wange, wo</i>
227	sun	<i>hamaya</i>			<i>samayar</i>	<i>hamaya</i>
228	to sweat	<i>bavara</i>		<i>rankui, fajua,</i>	<i>barbara</i>	
229	to swell			<i>kaipau babara</i>		
230	to swim	<i>hau</i>		<i>oi</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>hoi</i>
231	tail	<i>kapung</i>	<i>kapung</i>	<i>amangi</i>	<i>sama kai</i>	<i>kapung</i>
232	taro				<i>barimu</i>	<i>wariumu</i>
233	ten	<i>haura</i>		<i>sura</i>	<i>sura</i>	<i>hura</i>
234	that	<i>rawani</i>		<i>wedani</i>	<i>yani</i>	<i>pai</i>
235	thatch, roof	<i>nandaun</i>		<i>ratarau</i>	<i>nandau</i>	<i>randaung</i>
236	thick	<i>tapapei</i>		<i>biatoya</i>	<i>batoyar</i>	<i>tepei</i>
237	thin	<i>manani</i>		<i>sambena</i>	<i>minis</i>	<i>meni</i>
238	to think	<i>hanehowo</i>			<i>sanepai</i>	<i>hanetato, ora</i>
239	this	<i>rane</i>		<i>nini</i>	<i>nini</i>	<i>nei</i>
240	three	<i>toru</i>		<i>botoru</i>	<i>toru</i>	<i>toru</i>
241	to throw	<i>ho</i>		<i>ka</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>ho</i>
242	thunder	<i>kadidiu</i>		<i>kandidau</i>	<i>kuriya</i>	<i>kuriya</i>
243	to tie	<i>kavei</i>	<i>awar</i>	<i>kui</i>	<i>kasie</i>	<i>kahie</i>
244	today	<i>hani</i>			<i>raria nini</i>	<i>ha ning</i>
245	tongue	<i>watanden</i>	<i>watandeng</i>	<i>ore-tapare</i>	<i>sore tapare</i>	<i>horetapare</i>
246	tooth	<i>ditain</i>	<i>dieng</i>	<i>doreng</i>	<i>dire</i>	<i>tere</i>
247	tree, wood	<i>ai</i>		<i>ai</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ai</i>
248	to turn	<i>taveri</i>			<i>sovera</i>	

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

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

Def	Pom	Serewen	Serui-Laut	Wamesa	Wooi
249 two	<i>koiru</i>		<i>boru</i>	<i>muandu</i>	<i>koru</i>
250 to vomit	<i>mamuta</i>			<i>mamuta</i>	
251 village	<i>pandu</i>		<i>nu, awa</i>	<i>aniose</i>	<i>pandu</i>
252 wallaby, tree kangaroo					
253 water	<i>dia</i>			<i>maria, kambu</i>	<i>maria</i>
254 wet	<i>hapapu</i>		<i>vavaa</i>	<i>vabasa</i>	<i>hapapu</i>
255 what	<i>wonto</i>		<i>fidoe</i>	<i>vitoi</i>	<i>pito</i>
256 where	<i>riodino</i>		<i>nadonie</i>	<i>na toi</i>	<i>nani</i>
257 white	<i>vewuha</i>		<i>bua</i>	<i>vusa</i>	<i>vekadui</i>
258 wide	<i>vawa</i>		<i>saparera</i>	<i>savaveri</i>	
259 wife		<i>hinamui</i>	<i>vinempi</i>	<i>vinie</i>	
260 wind	<i>wanan</i>		<i>wana</i>	<i>wana</i>	<i>wanang</i>
261 woman	<i>wawin</i>	<i>vavin</i>	<i>vavin</i>	<i>vavi</i>	<i>vaving</i>
262 to work	<i>(ve)kardia</i>			<i>nanaripi</i>	<i>karja</i>
263 worm	<i>karapauri</i>		<i>kauna</i>	<i>kasibui</i>	<i>kasewoiri</i>
264 yam, sweet potato				<i>uvi</i>	<i>paringkieng</i>
265 year	<i>piorihia</i>			<i>taune</i>	
266 yellow	<i>vebotai</i>			<i>nukwai</i>	<i>vevovotai,</i> <i>wowotai</i>
267 younger sibling	<i>basar vehaho</i>	<i>neta vehaho</i>	<i>raro</i>	<i>maditawi,</i> <i>katu</i>	<i>neta</i> <i>neta vemoma</i>
268 *(fishing) spear				<i>manora</i>	
269 *arrow	<i>apai antung</i>		<i>amoina,</i> <i>boba, faio</i>	<i>atovi</i>	<i>paremayang</i>
270 *axe	<i>tamang</i>			<i>tama</i>	<i>tamang</i>
271 *bow	<i>apai</i>			<i>apai</i>	
272 *conch shell				<i>tabura</i>	
trumpet					
273 *east			<i>wanamurang</i>		
274 *to forget				<i>panande</i>	<i>parandeng</i>

Def	Saweru	Central Yawa	Ambaidiru Yawa	Ariepi Yawa	Konti-unai Yawa	Mariadei Yawa
275		<i>sopat</i>	<i>sopat</i>	<i>sopat</i>	<i>sofat</i>	<i>sofat</i>
276		<i>omak</i>	<i>omak</i>	<i>omak</i>	<i>omak</i>	<i>umbene</i>
277		<i>angkai</i>				
278		<i>anane ine</i>				
279		<i>avusyawi, avatar</i>				
280		<i>inam</i>				
281		<i>iru</i>				
282	<i>kao</i>	<i>kawe, kao</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>kawe</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>kawe</i>
283		<i>marova</i>				
284		<i>rarane, aneae (yakoe)</i>	<i>aneae</i>	<i>aneae</i>	<i>aneae</i>	<i>aneae</i>
285		<i>varet</i>	<i>waret</i>	<i>wanampui</i>	<i>wanampui</i>	

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

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

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