

*The Bungku-Tolaki languages of
South-Eastern Sulawesi, Indonesia*

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THE BUNGKU-TOLAKI LANGUAGES OF SOUTH-EASTERN SULAWESI, INDONESIA

David E. Mead



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The Australian National University

Canberra

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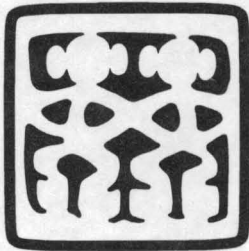
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The *Pacific Linguistics* logo was designed by Ian Scales after one small panel of a *poro batuna* from Vella Lavella, held in the Australian Museum (A8517). This is an artefact made from a plaque of fossilised giant clam shell (*Tridacna sp.*), carved into an elaborate fretwork design. These particular artefacts were made in the western Solomon Islands, probably between 100 and 200 years ago.

The basic cover design is also by Ian Scales. The motif was drawn by Malcolm Ross after the stylised representation of a design on Lapita pottery found by Roger Green in the Reefs–Santa Cruz Islands (source: Matthew Spriggs (ed.), *Lapita design, form and composition*. Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University.)

*This book is dedicated to the Tolaki scholar,
Dr Abdurrauf Tarimana*

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This language survey, the results of which are presented herein, was conducted under the auspices of the former UNHAS-SIL Cooperative Program from July 1988 through January 1989, and encompassed portions of three separate provinces in Indonesia: South Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, and South-East Sulawesi. We are indebted to officials at Hasanuddin University in South Sulawesi for officially sponsoring this survey, to officials and employees at Haluoleo University in South-East Sulawesi for enthusiastically delving into the project, and to government officers in all three provinces for granting us the necessary paperwork and travel papers.

During the course of this survey, we encountered literally hundreds of people who helped us in countless ways. On the cutting edge of the survey, we had 89 word list respondents for Bungku-Tolaki languages alone; another 20 for various other languages encountered on the way, and more still for sociolinguistic questionnaires. Local officials pointed us to the best respondents; they also answered our requests for population figures and other information. Then there were those who provided the back-up support, which allowed us to complete our work. Forty-one nights on the road meant that many times we were hosted by a village family; we ate well while others did the cooking and cleaning. Still others helped with our transportation needs. On Kabaena Island employees of the subdistrict office ferried us from east to west by motorcycle. On the upper reaches of the Konawe, young men of Ahilulu village built a raft to carry us downstream. The head of Bungku Selatan Subdistrict offered us the use of his boat returning to the Salabangka archipelago. And often escorts accompanied us just to make sure we ended up where we thought we were heading. Still others we would have to list as civil servants just performing their duties, or simply friends who would go to bat for us—for example the Haluoleo graduate who contacted her uncle at the police station when there was a hold-up in our paperwork.

In whatever we did, we could depend on being helped and hosted with characteristic Indonesian graciousness. For that, we thank the people of Indonesia.

I can't begin to name all of these people, and I am faced with the dilemma that by naming some, I may leave out others equally deserving of mention. However, one person does stand out above all the rest, Dr Abdurrauf Tarimana. On our first visit to South-East Sulawesi, Dr Rauf was appointed the coordinator at Haluoleo University for anything in regard to our survey work. He watched over the survey to its completion; he was also a wise adviser.

Dr Rauf also appointed university counterparts to accompany us on various phases of the survey. Because these counterparts were from the local areas we visited, they were invaluable in introducing us and opening up doors for us. They were: Drs Tambunan; Drs Sabaruddin; Drs La Ode Sidu Marafad; Ir Mochtar; Muntaha S.H.; and Pak Tibe Hafid.

Not associated with the university, Pak B.H. Bhurhanuddin at the Department of Education and Culture in Kendari shared with me his perspective on the language situation; and Emil Poluan at the Agrarian Directorate was most helpful in providing us with several land-use maps.

In addition, I would like to mention three colleagues who assisted in this survey: Timothy Friberg, who provided me with my first taste of actual surveying; Tom Laskowske, who came for the first week to check my technique; and Scott Youngman, who was a travelling companion on two separate portions of the survey.

Despite its extensive nature and the amount of time we spent on the survey trail, this survey in itself did not cover the entire language area. For a complete picture of the Bungku-Tolaki languages, I necessarily turned to the work of Marjo Karhunen and Paula Vuorinen, members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who had previously researched the Mori language situation, and who freely gave me access to their materials. Their word lists have been included as part and parcel of this presentation (although I have made my own lexical cognate decisions). Readers familiar with their results (Karhunen & Vuorinen 1991) will also note a resemblance between my and their presentation of the Mori Family.

On the home front, Jennifer Geran and Lisa Hines—respectively librarian and assistant librarian for Interlibrary Loan at Rice University—helped me obtain many of the older documents. Ninon Guicherit, a friend, helped me understand the finer points of Dutch.

Finally, this section would not be complete without acknowledging my wife, Melanie, who also helped with portions of the actual survey work. She has a husband who often throws himself wholeheartedly into his work—even to the point of neglecting her—yet loves him anyway. I am most grateful to the support I have received from her throughout the survey and writing process.

David Mead
Houston, August 1994.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The interior of the south-eastern peninsula of the Celebes, together with its offshore islands, was in the year 1896 still an entirely unexplored land.

Paul and Fritz Sarasin, *Reisen in Celebes* (trans. D.M.)

1.1 GEOGRAPHY

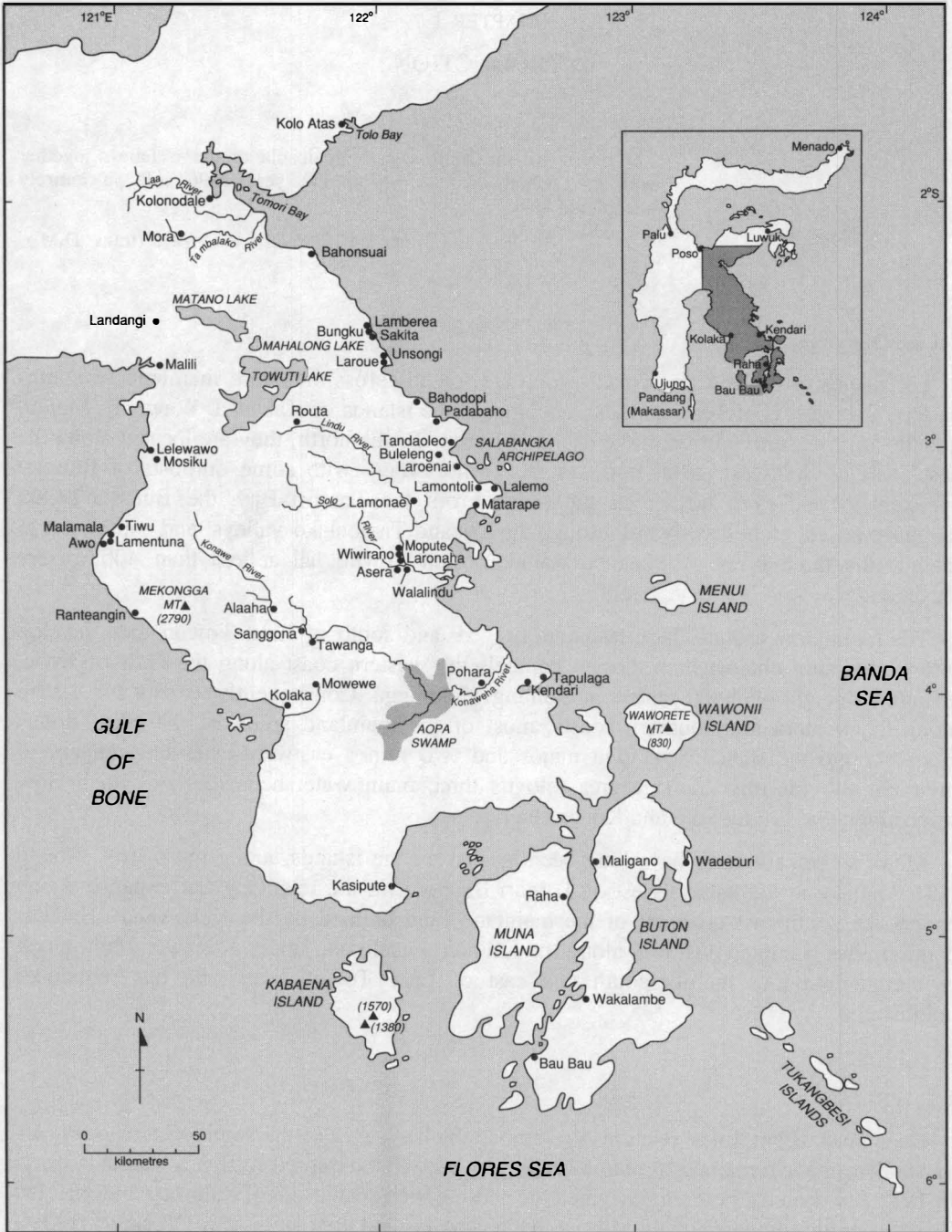
Languages of the Bungku-Tolaki group are spread across the entire mainland of south-eastern Sulawesi (Celebes), and also encompass the islands of Kabaena, Wawonii, Menui, and the north-eastern portion of the island of Buton. To the north, they are located along the east coast of Sulawesi as far north as the Tomori Bay—with some outposts of Bungku speakers located even further up the coast. From the Tomori Bay, the Bungku-Tolaki language area stretches westward through the Laa and Tambalako valleys, and southward to include the three lakes of Matano, Mahalong and Towuti, all at less than 400 meters elevation.

The mountains around these lakes are rugged, and south of Lake Towuti they develop into a mountain chain which closely parallels the western coast along the Gulf of Bone, attaining a height of 2,800 meters at Gunung Mekongga. Consequently, except for a strip along the western and southern coasts, most of the mainland south of the lakes drains eastward into the Banda Sea. One major and two minor eastward-extending fingers of mountains divide this drainage area into its three main watersheds, out of which flow respectively the Lindu, Solo and Konaweha rivers.

Major settlement areas have long been located on the islands, along the coasts, around Lake Matano, in the valleys west of Tomori Bay, and in the relatively flat expanse which covers the south-east quadrant of the mainland (and drained by the Konaweha). Smaller communities occupied positions along the Lalindu, Lasolo and upper Konawe; while much of the mountainous interior south and east of Lake Towuti was (and has remained) uninhabited.

1.2 HISTORY

Even until recent times, relationships among the languages of the south-eastern peninsula of Sulawesi have remained obscure. The region was first explored relatively late in history. In 1831 J.N. Vosmaer circumnavigated the south-eastern peninsula of Sulawesi and was the first to provide some information about the inhabitants and their languages (Vosmaer 1839); nine years later the Englishman James Brooke led a private expedition which surveyed Bone Bay (Mundy 1848:150ff.); and in 1850 Captain Van der Hart visited several locations on the



MAP 1: SOUTH-EASTERN SULAWESI

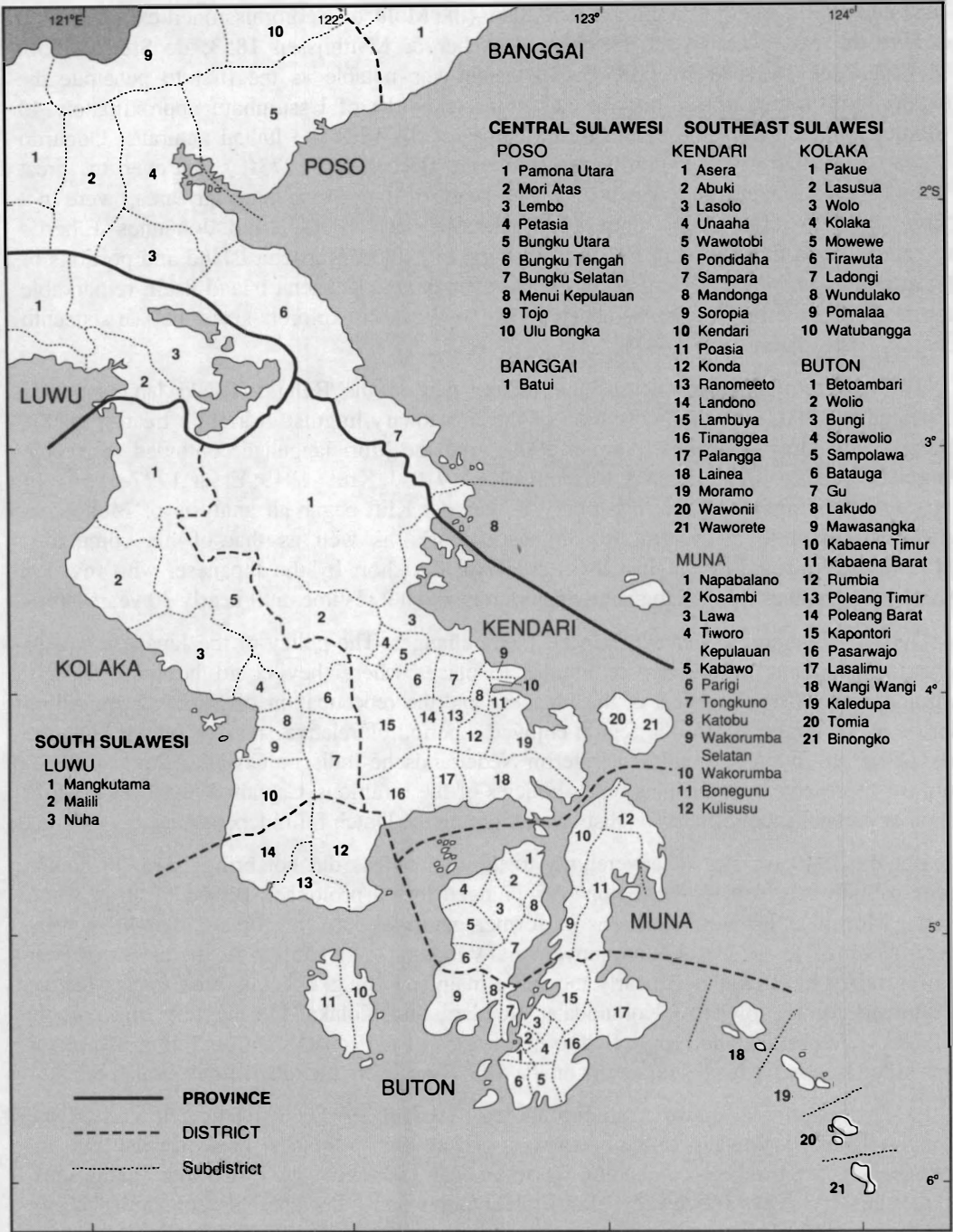
east coast of the peninsula on his way from Makassar to Ternate (Van der Hart 1853). In 1852 and 1856 Governor Goldman of Maluku (the Moluccas) commissioned expeditions to explore the east coast of the Celebes (Bosscher & Matthijssen 1853; de Stuers 1856; O. Uhlenbeck 1861; Weitzel 1883). The latter was notable as the first to penetrate the interior, until forced to turn back at the defensive works of Ussumbatu approximately 40 kilometers inland from the mouth of the Laa river. In 1874 the Italian naturalist Odoardo Beccari spent half a year exploring the peninsula (Beccari 1924:273ff.). But even the great interior lakes Matano and Towuti, in the heart of the Mori language area, were not 'discovered' by Europeans until 1896 (Sarasin 1931:103ff.), and Johannes Elbert's so-called Sunda Expedition in 1909 was the first to explore Kabaena Island and portions of the adjoining mainland (Elbert 1911–1912)—even though Kabaena Island itself, remarkable for its nearly mile-high peaks, had been known to Western explorers since the late sixteenth century (Abendanon 1918:1457).

The first solid linguistic description of any part of the Bungku-Tolaki language area appeared in 1900, with the publication of the missionary-linguist Adriani's treatise on the Bungku and Mori languages (Adriani 1900), and the Mori language continued to receive linguistic attention (Van Eelen & Ritsema 1918–1919; J. Kruyt 1919; Esser 1927–1933). In the south-west mainland, the missionary H. van der Klift began an analysis of Mekongga after his arrival in 1915. But his linguistic work, as well as that of his compatriot M.J. Gouweloos and the linguist S.J. Esser, was cut short by the Japanese, who invaded Sulawesi in January 1942. Linguistic explorations did not resume until nearly 30 years later.

During the hiatus the area experienced many changes. The policy of the Japanese was to resettle inhabitants of the remote interior to places where they could be more closely administered. After the defeat of the Japanese and the reoccupation of Sulawesi by Allied forces in September 1945, the region enjoyed a period of relative stability (along with the rest of eastern Indonesia) under the interim *Nederlandsche-Indische Civiele Administratie*—and the repressive counter-insurgency policies of the infamous Captain Westerling—while in other parts of Indonesia nationalists were fighting the Dutch for independence.

But the 1949 transfer of sovereignty to the nationalists did not bring peace to south-eastern Sulawesi. Instead, the region was plunged into a prolonged period of strife when Kahar Muzakkar led four battalions of former guerrillas into the forests to fight in what became known as the Darul Islam movement (Van Dijk 1981:155ff.). At the height of their power, rebels held sway over nearly the entire mainland Bungku-Tolaki area, except for the reinforced coastal towns of Kolonodale, Kendari, and Kolaka. During this time, whole villages were burned, and people fled to the jungles or the coasts. Not until after Muzakkar was killed in 1965 at his headquarters on the Solo River were the rebels finally subdued.

Except for an analysis of Mori morphology (Barsel 1994), linguistic research of the Bungku-Tolaki languages in the post-war period has primarily been carried out by Indonesians themselves, including grammatical sketches of particular languages, lexicostatistic surveys (reviewed below), dictionaries and other articles about morphology and syntax (for all these, see the extensive bibliographic entries included in Appendix 1; a review of the extant literature on Bungku-Tolaki languages is also to be found in Noorduyn 1991:107–119). However, written only in Bahasa Indonesia, the national language, these sources have been less accessible to the scholarly community at large. Outside works such as Salzner's *Sprachenatlas des Indopazifischen Raumes* (1960) and Sneddon's linguistic maps of Sulawesi (1983a, 1983b) still relied heavily on the older Dutch sources.



MAP 2: PRESENT-DAY PROVINCIAL, DISTRICT AND SUBDISTRICT BOUNDARIES

1.3 PREVIOUS CLASSIFICATIONS

The following is a critical survey of the major historical sources for the classification of the Bungku-Tolaki languages. In addition to the summaries below, more detail concerning classification has been included as appropriate in the discussions of individual languages in Chapter 3.

The Bungku-Tolaki language area includes portions of three present-day provinces of Indonesia. But several of the more recent language surveyors limited themselves to just one province—for example, Barr and Barr (1979) and Wumbu, Kadir, et al. (1986) to Central Sulawesi, Grimes and Grimes (1987) to South Sulawesi, and Anceaux (1978) and Kaseng, Alimuddin, et al. (1983) to South-East Sulawesi. Consequently, most of the recent classifications present only partial pictures of the entire Bungku-Tolaki group.

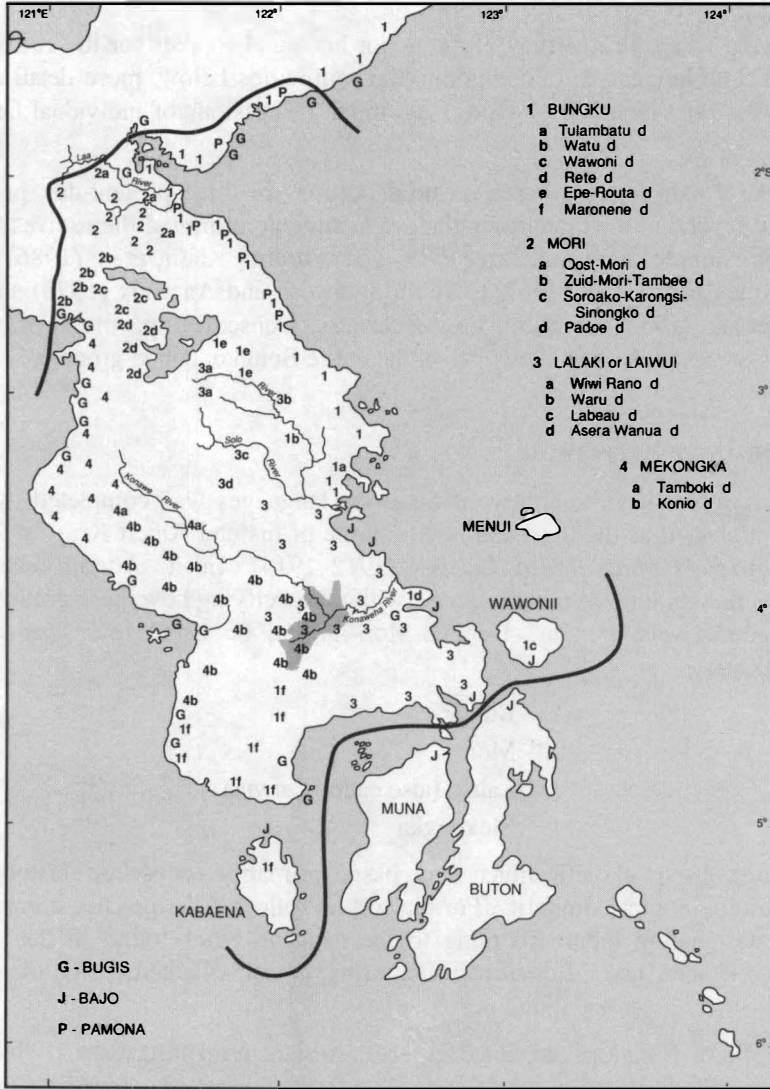
1.3.1 ADRIANI AND KRUYT (1914)

The first comprehensive treatment of Sulawesi languages was completed by Nicolaus Adriani, and published as the third and final volume of his and Albert Kruyt's *De Bare'esprekende Toradja's van Midden Celebes* (1912–1914). In it, Adriani classified the languages of Sulawesi into eleven groupings, without specifying how these groups might be related at higher levels. For his Bungku-Mori group, he listed four languages, with numerous dialects:

1. Bungku
2. Mori
3. Lalaki (also called Laiwui)
4. Mekongka

His language group classifications were based primarily on shared historical sound changes and morphological similarity. For dialects he followed the practice common at that time of also designating them according to the negative word found in that dialect. In practice, if two isolects had different negative terms, it seems he considered them different dialects.

For his northern Bungku-Laki language area, Adriani used information which he and Kruyt had gleaned during first-hand visits; but for the south, he relied on sometimes inaccurate information supplied by others. Four years after publication, he noted that the dialect situation as he had stated it for Mekongka was incorrect (Van der Klift 1918:163). Another oversight was excluding from his Bungku-Laki language area the north-eastern portion of Buton Island, where the inhabitants speak an isolect related to Bungku.



MAP 3: ADRIANI'S BUNGKU-MORI GROUP

1.3.2 ESSER (1938)

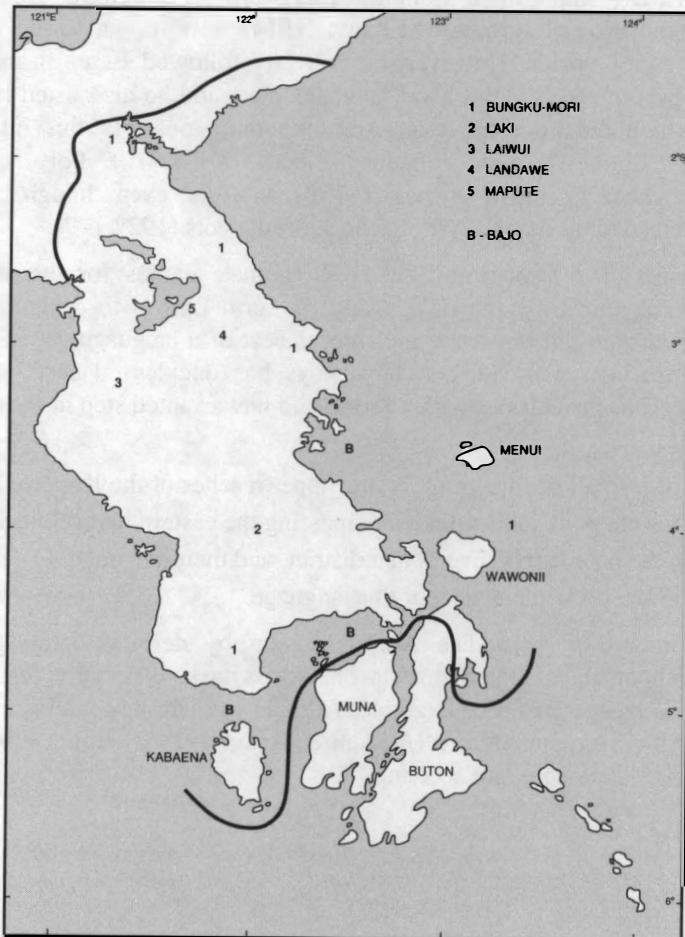
S.J. Esser completed his doctoral research on aspects of Mori phonology and morphology (Esser 1927), and subsequently returned to Indonesia and was there a language officer from 1928 until his death in World War II (from 1933 on, primarily in the Celebes). As part of the *Atlas van Tropisch Nederland* compiled by the Royal Dutch Geographic Society (1938) he submitted a language map for all of the Dutch East Indies, which was itself a condensation and revision of a language map which he had prepared for the 1931 Paris Colonial Exhibition (Noorduyn 1963:333–334). In the format which he chose for the new language map, no dialect names were given. As for the languages themselves, Esser

expressed confidence about having included most languages with more than 50,000 speakers, but admitted having insufficient information for many smaller language groups (Noorduyn 1963:335).

In Esser's language map, all of Sulawesi fell within his Malayo-Polynesian language area, and within Sulawesi he postulated eight language groups, including (as did Adriani) a Bungku-Mori group, which he renamed Bungku-Laki. In this group he listed five languages:

- | | |
|----------------|------------|
| 1. Bungku-Mori | 4. Landawe |
| 2. Laki | 5. Mapute |
| 3. Laiwui | |

Although Adriani's and Esser's lists are numerically similar, Esser in fact presents three new languages not found in Adriani's work (Laiwui, Landawe, and Mapute), while combining two pairs of languages which Adriani had kept separate: Bungku and Mori, and Mekongka and Lalaki (respectively Bungku-Mori and Laki on Esser's map).



MAP 4: ESSER'S BUNGU-LAKI GROUP

These two authors also differ in their use of the term Laiwui. Originally this name referred only to a small group of people located on the upper reaches of the Konawe River (cf. Treffers 1914:199), but later became the name by which the Dutch referred to the entire district comprising the eastern half of the peninsula.¹ Adriani used the term in this latter sense, but Esser in the former sense.

Esser's source of information for his Laiwui, Landawe and Mapute languages was not first-hand knowledge. He later stated that Laiwui was possibly a dialect of Laki, and Landawe and Mapute were possibly dialects of Bungku; in 1941 he was planning to send his assistant to these remote areas in order to ascertain the language situation more exactly (Noorduyn 1963:362)—a project which unfortunately he was never able to complete.

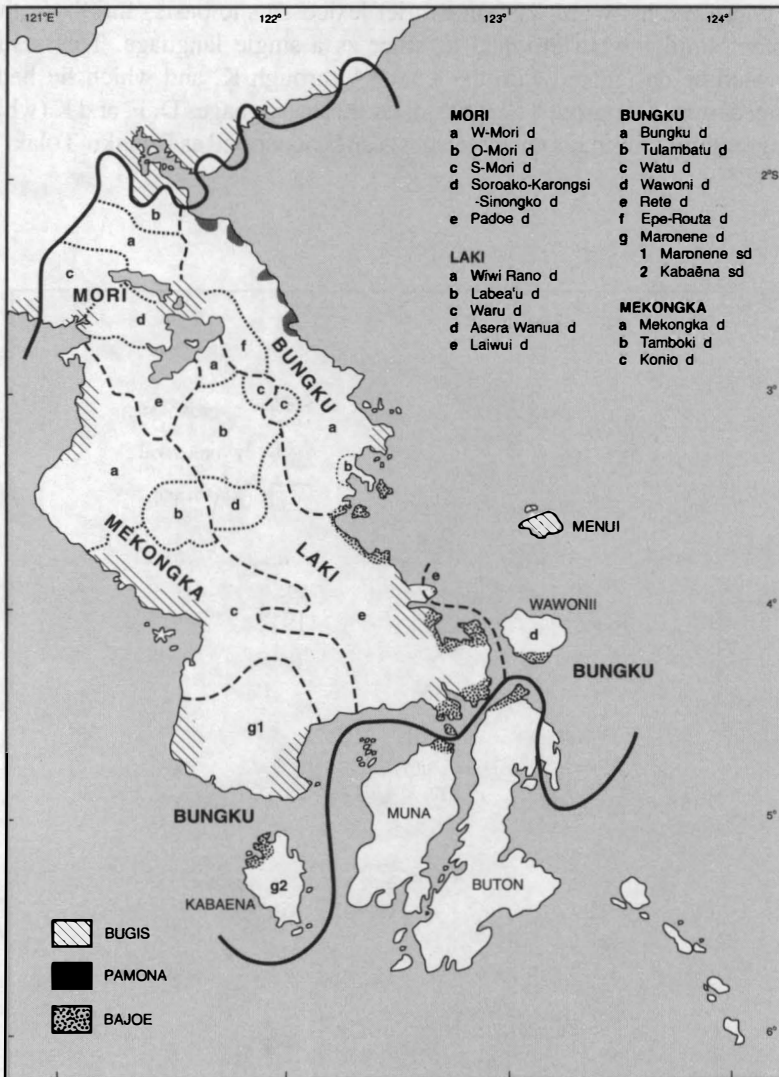
1.3.3 SALZNER (1960)

Richard Salzner's *Sprachenatlas des Indopazifischen Raumes* was published at the height of the Darul Islam rebellion in south-eastern Sulawesi, when access to the area by an outsider was virtually impossible. For the Bungku-Mori language area, his map is essentially a recapitulation of Adriani and Kruyt (1914), even down to the location of the nomadic Bajo or Sea-Gypsies. However, he correctly followed Esser in including north-eastern Buton as part of the Bungku-Mori language area, and he also listed two subdialects for Moronene which did not appear on Adriani's map; possibly this information was gleaned from his fellow German, Johannes Elbert (1912:24ff.). For the Mori dialect situation, Salzner chose to follow Adriani's 1914 analysis, even though by then it had already been superseded by Esser's writings on Mori dialects (1927:1–7).

Although Adriani gave Laiwui and Lalaki as alternate names for the same language, Salzner chose to call this language Laki, using the term Laiwui to designate its principle dialect. (Because Adriani did not name the chief dialect of a language separately from that language, in comparison with Salzner, he always has one less dialect listed for every language.) Salzner thus provides us with a fourth and unwarranted step in the use of the term Laiwui:

1. the name of a small people group on the upper reaches of the Konawe River,
2. the name for the political district encompassing the eastern half of the peninsula,
3. a name for the people who live in that district, and their language,
4. the name of the principle dialect of this language.

Salzner also undertook to update Adriani's map by defining language and dialect boundaries—which must be regarded as a hazardous task, especially for someone less familiar with the language area. For example, Adriani was clear in stating portions of the mountainous interior were uninhabited (Adriani & Kruyt 1914:219), but nowhere it seems did Salzner take such statement into account.



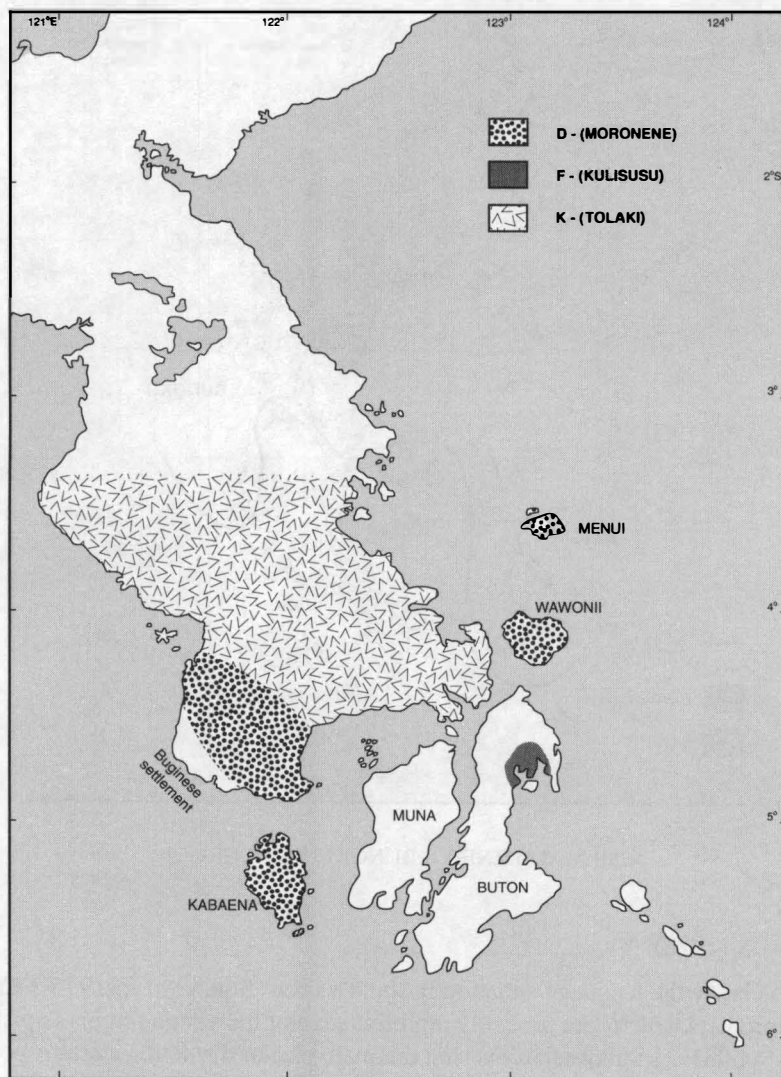
MAP 5: SALZNER'S BUNGU-MORI GROUP

1.3.4 ANCEAUX (1978)

In order to clarify the language situation in south-east Sulawesi, in 1975 J.C. Anceaux elicited 32 word lists which "are probably representative of the whole linguistic picture of the province of [South-East Sulawesi], covering the main part of the south-western peninsula of the island and all the adjacent smaller islands..." (1978:276). However, the distribution of these word lists shows his particular interest in the languages of Muna and Buton: 16 word lists were collected on Buton and its offshore islands, six on Muna, and five on the Tukang

Besi Islands; but only three were collected for the entire mainland, two on Kabaena Island, and none on Wawonii Island.

Anceaux compared his word lists on a strict lexicostatistic basis, and those that were 80 or more percent similar were grouped together as a single language. This resulted in ten languages, which he designated with the letters A through K, and which he had reason to believe belonged to a single group (1978:281). Of these, languages D, F, and K (which formed a natural subgrouping within his ten languages) can be identified as Bungku-Tolaki languages.



MAP 6: ANCEAUX'S LANGUAGES 'D', 'F' AND 'K'

Although his work was incomplete in regard to the entire Bungku-Tolaki language area, it is possible to make certain observations. First, the isolects of Kabaena Island and the neighbouring mainland he grouped as one language, Moronene, which is comparable to Adriani and Salzner's Moronene dialect of Bungku. Second, the related isolect of north-eastern Buton (his language F, presumably Kulisusu) he also classified as a separate language. Unfortunately, he was unable to say anything significant about the relationship between this language F and whatever isolect was spoken on Wawonii, having neglected to collect a word list from the latter. The shading on his map indicates he might have believed the isolects of Kabaena and Wawonii Islands had some close affinity with each other as opposed to that of north-eastern Buton. Salzner, however, had grouped north-east Buton with Wawonii, and opposed both of these to Kabaena. Both researchers, it seems, were taking shots in the dark.

Anceaux did not distinguish Mekongga and Lalaki as separate languages, as did Adriani and Salzner; instead, he gave only one additional language located on the mainland, which he named as Tolaki or Lalaki.

1.3.5 BARR AND BARR (1979)

In 1978 Don and Sharon Barr of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, with the help of Dr C. Salombe, undertook a survey of the languages of Central Sulawesi. A third of the 34 Swadesh 100 word lists which they used had been collected in 1973–75 by local officials of the Department of Education and Culture; the remainder they collected themselves. They recognised four languages within their Bungku-Mori subgroup lying within the provincial borders: West Mori, East Mori, Bungku and Menui. They did not adhere to a strict lexicostatistic classification, sometimes postulating separate languages even if two word lists were more than 80% similar:

Social and political factors and one's cultural identity play a strong role too...West Mori (Mori Atas) and East Mori (Mori Bawah) are a [case in point]. A cognate comparison shows 85% similarity between these two languages, yet informants consistently maintained that these are separate languages.

(Barr & Barr 1979:7)

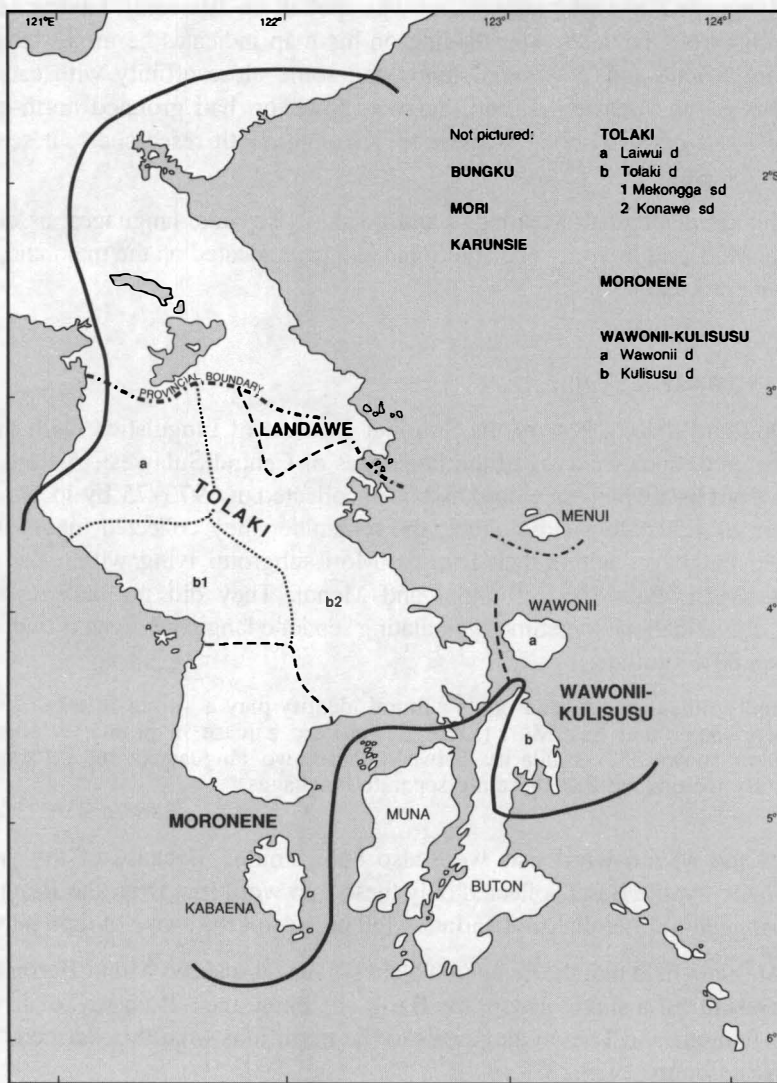
Their Bungku and Menui word lists were also 85% similar. Because of the preliminary nature of their survey, the Barrs collected only these four word lists from the Bungku-Tolaki area. Uncovering any further dialectal variation fell outside of the scope of their survey.

Whereas Anceaux held that the Bungku-Tolaki languages and the Muna-Buton languages to the south constituted a single group, the Barrs combined their Bungku-Tolaki subgroup with the Kaili-Pamona and Tomini languages to the north into what they termed their West Central Sulawesi Group (1979:23).

1.3.6 BHURHANUDDIN (1979)

At the same time as the Barrs, a similar venture was proceeding in South-East Sulawesi Province, under the direction of B.H. Bhurhanuddin, an official at the Department of Education and Culture in Kendari. Although he was not a trained linguist, his research showed thoughtfulness on two counts: first, he was careful to complete his survey by collecting data from languages outside the province proper; and second, with Esser's 1938

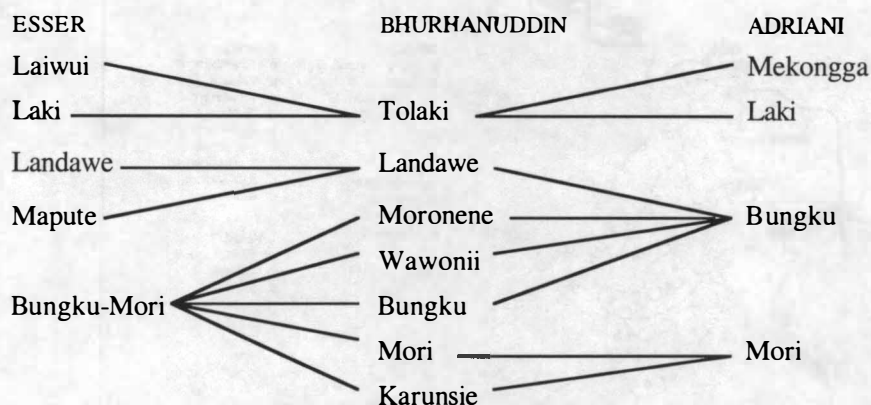
map as his guide, he made it his objective to ascertain the linguistic position of Laiwui, Landawe, and Mapute. Bhurhanuddin's (1979) work then stands out as the first new survey of the entire Bungku-Tolaki area undertaken in 40 years, and included information unavailable to either Adriani or Esser when they compiled their language maps.



MAP 7: BHURHANUDDIN'S BUNGKU-TOLAKI GROUP

Bhurhanuddin used informants to develop a picture of the linguistic situation in South-East Sulawesi, then collected 25 word lists for Muna-Buton languages, and eleven for Bungku-Tolaki languages (all of which are contained in his mimeograph, except for three from Central Sulawesi languages). For word list respondents, he usually used those who were closest at hand—often civil servants working in Kendari who had come from outlying

areas of the province. Based on a lexicostatistic analysis, he gave seven languages for his Bungku-Tolaki group, which may be compared with Esser's five and Adriani's four:



According to Bhurhanuddin, the Tolaki language consists of three dialects, Laiwui, Mekongga and Konawe, the latter two of which are closely related to each other, probably at the subdialect level. (In fact, Bhurhanuddin never collected a word list from Mekongga, so strong was the impression he got from informants that Konawe and Mekongga constituted a single language.) The Laiwui dialect he placed in the north-west corner of South-East Sulawesi Province, corresponding with Esser's location of Laiwui.

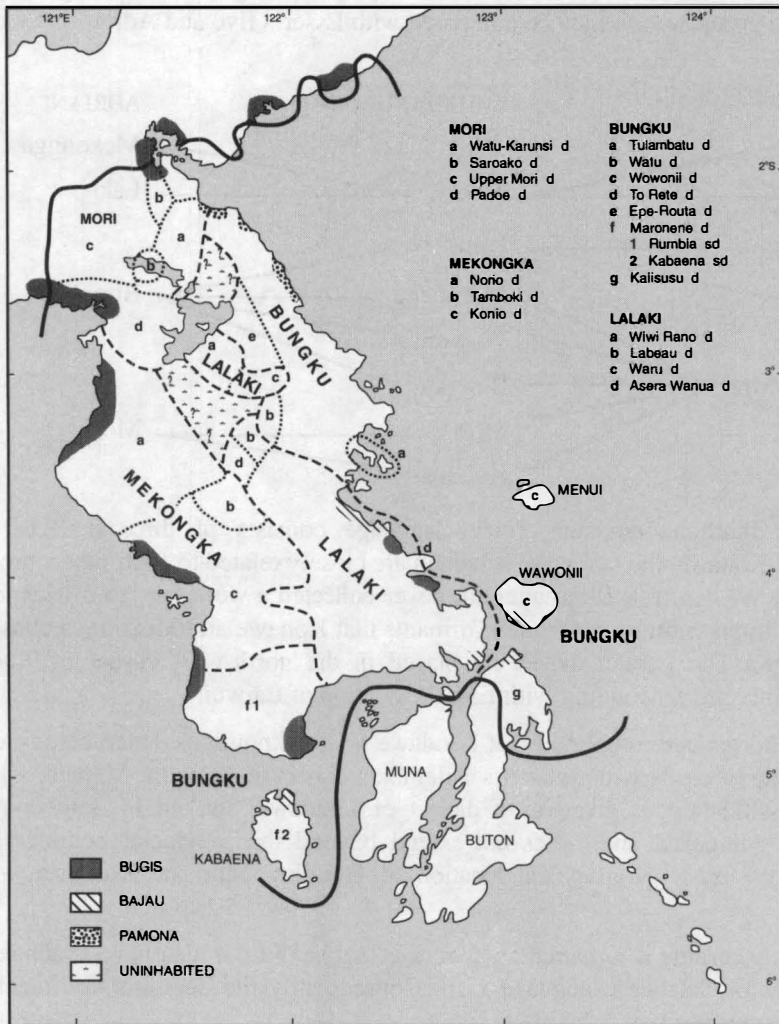
Although Bhurhanuddin reported that Landawe is also known as Tulambatu, it does not correspond geographically with Salzner's Tulambatu dialect of Bungku. Mapute, a language in Esser's classification, is given as a dialect of Landawe, spoken in only one village. Bhurhanuddin's linguistic map does not extend beyond the provincial boundary, so we cannot know the exact geographical location of Bungku, Mori or Karunsie which he intended.

One regret concerning Bhurhanuddin's work is that he did not also have available to him either Adriani's or Salzner's language map. Consequently, he does not comment on the many dialect names used by Adriani.

1.3.7 SNEDDON (1983)

As part of the Wurm and Hattori *Language Atlas of the Pacific Area* (1983), James Sneddon compiled a map of the languages of Sulawesi. In his Bungku-Mori subgroup he listed four languages: Bungku, Mori, Lalaki (which he equated with Laiwui), and Mekongga. Sneddon's map corresponds with Adriani's and Salzner's in terms of languages and number and names of dialects, with only the following differences: (a) there are certain variances in language boundaries; (b) Kalisusu was added as a dialect of Bungku, located in north-eastern Buton, and (c) the dialect situation in Mori was rearranged to reflect Esser's 1927 description.

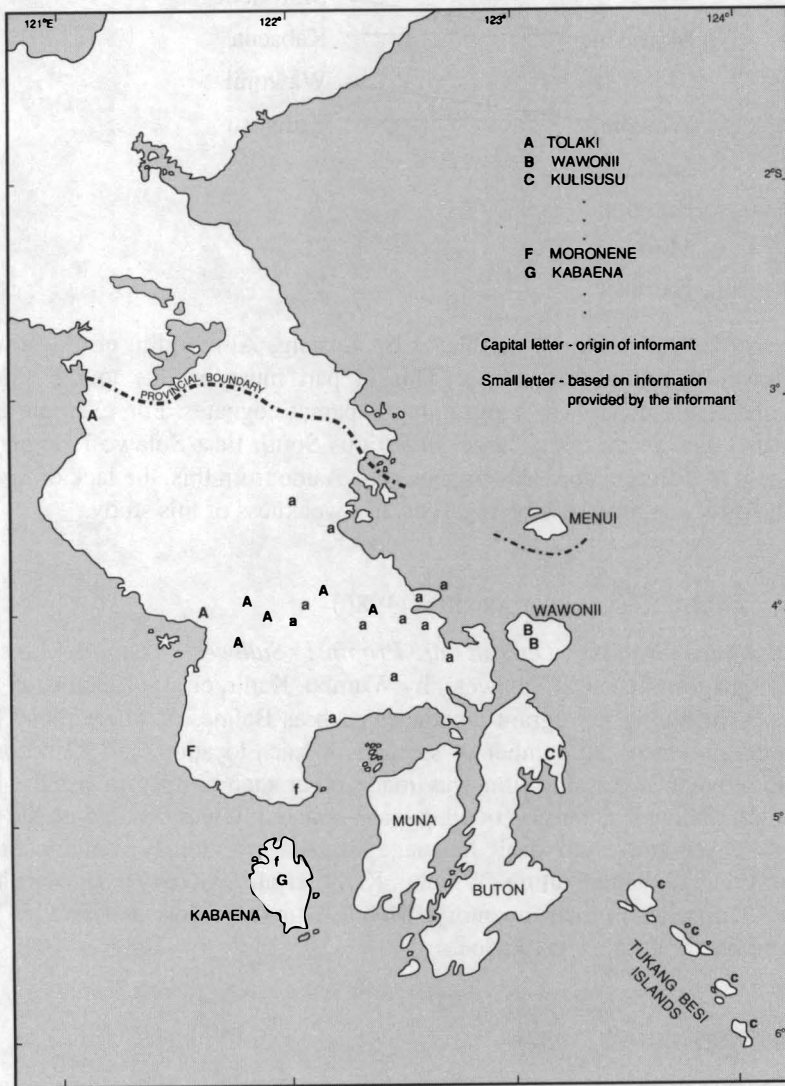
Rather than postulating Bungku-Mori as one of ten or so roughly coordinate groups across the island of Sulawesi (compare Adriani & Kruyt 1914; Esser 1938; Salzner 1960), Sneddon chose to follow Barr and Barr (1979) and combined his Bungku-Mori subgroup with languages to the north into a single West-Central Sulawesi group.²



MAP 8: SNEDDON'S BUNGKU-MORI SUBGROUP

1.3.8 KASENG, ALIMUDDIN, MAHMUDDIN AND RASDIANA (1983)

The *Pemetaan Bahasa di Sulawesi Tenggara* (Mapping of Languages in South-East Sulawesi) which appeared in 1983 (and was republished in a slightly revised form in 1987) was the result of a project officially sponsored by the Department of Education and Culture in South Sulawesi. The assigned team headed by Syahrudin Kaseng collected 29 word lists. Of these, 20 which apparently were thought to represent different languages were chosen as the basis for a lexicostatistic comparison, and it is only these which appear in their volume. No attempt was made by the researchers to identify dialects, and their classifications above language level consisted of noting a few pairs of languages which have a close relationship (1983:114–115). Of their 20 languages spoken in South-East Sulawesi, five can be identified as Bungku-Tolaki, the rest being Muna-Buton languages.



MAP 9: KASENG'S LANGUAGES OF SOUTH-EAST SULAWESI

This total of five languages is surprising, because they do not even include the Mori and Bungku language areas which lie to the north of South-East Sulawesi Province proper. Each of Salzner's and Sneddon's Bungku dialects (or subdialects, as the case may be) of Moronene, Kabaena, Wawonii and Kalisusu were all elevated to language status, whereas Mekongga and Lalaki were reduced to one language, called Tolaki. In this sense Kaseng, Alimuddin, et al. follow Bhurhanuddin, and the two may be compared:

BHURHANUDDIN		KASENG
Tolaki	—————	Tolaki
		Moronene
Moronene	—————	Kabaena
		Wawonii
Wawonii	—————	Kulisusu
Landawe		?
Bungku		?
Mori		?
Karunsie		?

Percentages of lexical similarity calculated by Kaseng, Alimuddin, et al., however, are consistently lower than Bhurhanuddin's. This in part must be due to the strict criteria employed by these researchers for determining apparent cognates. For example the words *maoge*, *no:ge* and *uge*, all meaning 'large' in various South-East Sulawesi languages, were assigned by them to different apparent cognate sets. Aside from this, the lack of resolution in the north of the province must also be regarded as a weakness of this study.

1.3.9 WUMBU, KADIR, BASO AND MARANUA (1986)

The *Inventarisasi Bahasa Daerah di Propinsi Sulawesi Tengah* (Inventory of Indigenous Languages of Central Sulawesi) by Wumbu, Kadir, et al. (1986) is an inventory of 53 languages (including immigrant languages such as Balinese), where those languages are spoken in the province, the number of speakers in each location, and 37 accompanying word lists. No attempt at classification was made other than simply to list the languages spoken in Central Sulawesi; inclusion of a language apparently was decided on the basis of a number of surveys and individual language studies previously undertaken by the Department of Education and Culture (Wumbu, Kadir, et al. 1986:6–7). They included four Bungku-Tolaki languages in their inventory: Menui, Bungku, Mori and Padoe. They also included a word list for each except Padoe.

1.3.10 GRIMES AND GRIMES (1987)

In their linguistic overview of a single province, *Languages of South Sulawesi*, Chuck and Barbara Grimes stated that the Bungku-Tolaki languages are represented in this province by only one language, Padoe (1987:59–60). They placed their Bungku-Mori and Kaili-Pamona families together in a single Central Sulawesi stock, thus agreeing with the Barrs (1979) and Sneddon (1983) that the Bungku-Tolaki languages' closest relatives lie to the north.

The Grimes' field work for this survey was actually completed in January 1983. A follow-up survey made in 1986 (Valkama 1987) found communities of three Bungku-Tolaki languages—Padoe, Mori Bawah and Mori Atas—located in South Sulawesi.

1.3.11 KARHUNEN AND VUORINEN (1991)

In 1988, two researchers with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Marjo Karhunen and Paula Vuorinen, set out to determine more exactly the dialect situation in the Mori area by visiting locations in both South and Central Sulawesi. After reviewing the lexicostatistic evidence of 24 word lists, they posited three languages in the Mori area, Padoe, Mori Bawah and Mori Atas, divisions of which were generally supported by sound change correspondences. They did not make dialect divisions based on lexical evidence, however, but followed the Mori people's own practice of dividing themselves into *anak suku* or 'subgroups'. Each *anak suku* speaks its own isolect which is more or less different from those of neighbouring subgroups.

Karhunen and Vuorinen (1991) do not refer to Esser's (1927) analysis of the Mori dialect situation. But because Esser (as well as Adriani before him) also used *anak suku* names in their descriptions, all three works are comparable.

1.3.12 OTHER CLASSIFICATIONS

Despite the promising title, the authors of the *Kekerabatan Bahasa-bahasa di Sulawesi Tengah* (Language Relationships in Central Sulawesi) (Wumbu, Masjuda, et al. 1973) actually had a more narrow focus: languages of the Kaili-Pamona Family. Consequently they do not touch on Mori, Bungku, or any of the other Bungku-Tolaki languages.

The *Peta Bahasa Sulawesi Selatan* (Language map of South Sulawesi) is a source of information about language locations, but Pelenkahu and the other editors do not give higher level classifications. They present Mori as a Central Sulawesi dialect spoken in two South Sulawesi subdistricts, where, they note, it is usually called Padoe (Pelenkahu, Muthalib & Pattiasina, eds 1974:32).

Because of the dearth of information about South-East Sulawesi in the early seventies, J.S. Sande undertook to compile a brief guide to the languages of that province, published as his nineteen-page *Data dan Informasi Tentang Bahasa-bahasa Daerah di Sulawesi Tenggara* (Data and Information Concerning the Indigenous Languages of South-East Sulawesi) (1974/1975). In it, he identifies three main groups in South-East Sulawesi: Muna, Buton, and Tolaki. This last he further subdivides into Laki (Mekongga and Konawe dialects), Moronene (Moronene and Kabaena dialects), Wawonii, and Kulisusu. Sande's presentation is without any supporting documentation for his conclusions.

The work of Kaseng, Masjuda, et al., *Bahasa-bahasa Daerah di Sulawesi Tengah* (Indigenous Languages of Central Sulawesi), appeared in 1979, the same year that the Barrs presented their description of languages of Central Sulawesi. This study has no significance except to demonstrate that 23-item word lists are an insufficient basis for a lexicostatistic analysis. Because of the small database, Bungku was classified as an Andio Family language, along with Saluan, Balantak and Buol. Mori appeared as a member of the Napu Family, along with Bada and Besoa. In light of other research concerning Sulawesi languages, these results cannot be taken credibly.

1.4 SCOPE

The goal of this survey was to collect word lists for a thorough comparison of all Bungku-Tolaki languages and dialects. Beyond this general goal, three other goals were considered especially important:

- (a) To clarify what was meant by the dialect names first proposed by Adriani in 1914. He used no less than eleven names for dialects which were either repeated verbatim or else left completely unaddressed by all subsequent researchers. Most of these names were applied to groups located in the mountainous northern interior south of Lake Towuti, or along the eastern coast between Kendari and Bungku.
- (b) To determine whether pairs of known isolects constitute separate languages, separate dialects of the same language, or the same dialect, for example: Mekongga-Tolaki; Moronene-Kabaena; Wawonii-Kulisusu; and Bungku with all of the preceding four isolects.
- (c) To obtain first-hand information from each area, and to follow up on every report in the field of a different language or dialect.

To this end, five trips were made to parts of South-East, Central, and South Sulawesi Provinces from July 1988 through January 1989 on which a total of 89 word lists were collected. Twenty-four Mori word lists provided by Karhunen and Vuorinen brought the total to 113 Bungku-Tolaki word lists which were used in a lexicostatic comparison.

The greatest shortcoming of a lexicostatic survey is that it proposes to classify languages based on a single aspect of language, similarity of vocabularies. The hazards of this approach are discussed in the next chapter. A distinct advantage of lexicostatistics, however, is that it provides a relatively fast method of gaining an overview of a language area. Given the current state of knowledge about Bungku-Tolaki languages, such an overview has been needed for some time.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

When one of the old collectors asked what were the words for 'yesterday', 'today' and 'tomorrow', he was answered with the words which really meant 'Friday', 'Saturday' and 'Sunday', and he credulously accepted what he heard.

Holger Pedersen, *The discovery of language*

The purpose of this survey was to obtain an overview of all the languages and dialects of the Bungku-Tolaki language area. Because no clear picture of the language and dialect situation had emerged from previous attempts at classification, a lexicostatistic analysis was judged the most appropriate means for determining language and dialect boundaries.

This chapter begins with a discussion of lexicostatistics in general, including two possible misuses of lexicostatistic analyses. This discussion is followed by information specific to this survey about how data was collected, how word lists were compared, and how the results are presented.

2.1 LEXICOSTATISTICS

A word list is taken in village X; another word list is taken in village Y. Item by item the pairs of words are compared, and by some criterion, judged same or different. The number of items with the same response, divided by the total number of items, is the percentage similarity shared by the two word lists. Lexicostatistics is the "process of quantifying lexical similarity" (Grimes & Grimes 1987:9), and when repeated pair-wise with word lists from other locations, it can provide a relatively easy and quick means of data collection and analysis. The resultant percentages of similarity show patterns of relationships between speech varieties. In this study similarity scores have also been used to tentatively classify speech varieties as belonging to the same or different languages—though important caveats apply.

This study approaches lexicostatistics from a synchronic perspective, that is, our primary interest has been the language situation as perceived by present day speakers. Therefore it is to be noted that the terms lexically similar, lexical similarity and apparent cognates are used throughout, as opposed to the terms (true) cognates and cognate set. Lexical similarity is used in this survey as a barometer of mutual intelligibility between language groups.³ In contrast, a diachronic approach is used to determine historical or genetic relationships between languages.

The first step in comparing two word lists is to determine which pairs of words are similar enough to constitute apparent cognates. The next step is to compute a percentage of lexical similarity.

Once similarity scores are calculated, a question remains of where to draw the boundaries between languages. The cut-off percentage in a synchronic study is more clearly determinable than in a diachronic study. According to Simons (1977b:16), in a synchronic study the boundary must lie at the point where intelligibility between speech groups begins and ends—and which is best determined by means outside of lexicostatistics.⁴ In this study I have followed the grouping of word lists presented and used by Grimes and Grimes (1987:12–13):

- under 15% : belong to different phyla
- over 15% : belong to the same phylum
- over 25% : belong to the same superstock
- over 45% : belong to the same stock
- over 60% : belong to the same family
- over 75% : belong to the same subfamily
- over 80% : belong to the same language
- over 90% : belong to the same dialect

2.1.1 LEXICAL SIMILARITY AND INTELLIGIBILITY

In practice, the percentage of lexical similarity can provide only a rough approximation of whether two isolects are mutually intelligible. As Joseph Grimes (1988:19) notes in his report comparing vocabulary similarity and intelligibility,

At the low end of the scale there is a constant relationship: comprehension is always poor when vocabulary similarity is low. But that relationship does not hold up at the high end of the scale...The reason why high similarity is a poor predictor of high intelligibility is that there are other factors besides similarity in vocabulary that influence intelligibility. Even when vocabulary similarity is high, other factors can get in the way—the effect of differences in function words and affixes, syntactic and morphological rearrangements, certain kinds of regular sound shifts, and semantic shifts in both genetically derived and vocabulary loans.

Reviewing eleven surveys, he encountered only two where lexical similarity scores correlated with separately derived intelligibility scores. He concluded that two speech varieties which share a lexical similarity percentage below 60% can be considered separate languages; but lexical similarity figures above 60% simply indicate the need for intelligibility testing by some other means (1988:29). In this regard the reader is cautioned that language divisions presented here *must* be regarded as tentative—because we made no formal outside determination of intelligibility.

As an informal check on the results of the lexicostatistic analysis, however, we did elicit the responses of individuals throughout the language area seeking to discover how they viewed the relatedness of their speech variety to other varieties around them. More often than not, these comments confirmed the classification based on lexical analysis; when they differed, such comments have been included in the presentation of languages and dialects in the following chapter. But with this sampling method we are now dealing with three different definitions of what constitutes a language, which may or may not agree: (a) speech

varieties which share a similarity score above 80%, (b) speech varieties which are mutually intelligible, and (c) speech varieties which the speakers themselves consider to be a single language. Unless otherwise noted, results presented in the following chapter are to be understood in terms of this first definition.

2.1.2 ERRORS IN COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

When any two word lists are compared the results are expressed as a percentage of lexical similarity. Gary Simons (1977c:75) describes the significance of these percentages in the following statement:

When a linguist says that two languages are 75% cognate, he is really saying that the true percentage of cognates lies somewhere within a range defined by a statistical distribution centered on 75%. Stated another way, it is probable that the true percentage of cognates is not significantly different from 75%, the observed percentage of cognates.

If one error of previous lexicostatistic analyses has been to equate lexical similarity with intelligibility, another has been to attach too great a significance to individual similarity scores (and comparisons between scores) than is warranted by the data collection procedures. Simons notes there are at least four factors contributing to why a similarity score represents a range rather than a specific value: (a) the word list may not represent a perfect cross-section of the 'basic vocabulary'; (b) for various reasons the elicited forms may not represent the majority forms used in a community (in fact it is unlikely that two word lists taken in the same community would be identical); (c) it is highly improbable that two linguists computing similarity percentages would make identical apparent cognate decisions; and (d) it is highly improbable that a linguist would make no errors in judgment or computation, including errors in counting, recording results or dividing (Simons 1977c: 76–77).

Because of these factors, similarity percentages which are close to each other are not likely to be *significantly* different. How different do two scores have to be in order for their difference to be considered significant? For 200-word word lists, taken under average survey conditions with good bilingual informants, a rule of thumb is: a similarity score around 50 or 60% is significantly different from a score which is 7% or more higher than it; around 70%, a score which is 6% or more higher; around 80%, a score which is 5% or more higher; and around 90%, a score which is 4% or more higher.⁵

However, there is some external evidence which indicates that within this survey—where the same word list instrument was used throughout, and apparent cognate decisions were made by a single individual—smaller differences may be significant. For example, the Laiwui dialect relates to its geographically closest neighbour—12 kilometers downstream—at 86% similarity. But its closest lexical relationships at 88% and 90% are with communities on the coast across the mountains from Laiwui. Supposedly the differences between these percentages are not significant; but both the evidence from sound change and from the record of tradition place the Laiwui community at this point along the coast at some point in their history—a history still reflected in the lexicon today.

In another case, in the Konawe (eastern) region of Tolaki, one word list always scored at least one percentage point higher than any other Tolaki word list—and averaged 2 or 3% higher—when compared with any word list from a Bungku Family language. When I

investigated this phenomenon, I discovered this particular word list came from the Tolaki community located on the island of Wawonii. Apparently their close contact with the Bungku language spoken on this island was enough to influence lexical similarity scores.

Examples such as these have increased my confidence that a lexicostatistic analysis can capture even subtle relationships among languages. But the reader should bear in mind that not every difference between similarity percentages is significant.

2.2 DATA ELICITATION

The word list used in this survey was the 226-Word Sulawesi Combined Survey Word list. This word list comprises the Swadesh 100 word list in its entirety; additional portions from the Swadesh 200-word list; and some items culturally relevant to Austronesian societies. It is essentially the same as the one used by Grimes and Grimes (1987) in their survey of South Sulawesi languages.⁶

Additional information was obtained using a sociolinguistic questionnaire, which contained questions pertaining to community accessibility/isolation; livelihood/commercial orientation; religion; education; reported centers of social activity; dynamics of social interaction between communities; perceived dialect differences; and language use. Questions were asked directly to informants. No formal verification of their responses was made, but answers from adjacent communities often served as a form of cross-checking.

The language of elicitation for both the word list and the sociolinguistic questionnaire was Indonesian, the official and national language of Indonesia. This proved suitable because Indonesian is widely known in the survey area and allowed for consistent elicitation of the desired semantic domains. Photographs were used for clarity in cases where the word list item was concrete and picturable. We also followed the annotations for word list items (Friberg 1987), designed to limit the potential semantic range of an item to a specific, intended meaning.

Eighty-nine word lists were collected. The four qualifications for word list respondents in order were: a person who was a native speaker of the language being elicited, born in the town or village of elicitation, of parents from the local area, and someone who had not lived outside of the area for an extended period of time. In every case, we sought someone who met all four criteria. But because during the Darul Islam rebellion many fled to the coast and whole villages were relocated, it was impractical (if not impossible) to find fully qualified respondents for some mainland locations.

In addition, Karhunen and Vuorinen provided 24 word lists for Mori languages and dialects. These were included in the lexicostatistic analysis along with two word lists from each bordering language group: Muna and Wolio as representative of the Muna-Buton group, Uma and Pamona as representative of the Kaili-Pamona group, and Lemolang and Bugis Bone as representative of the South Sulawesi group.⁷ Comparisons were also made with Bahasa Indonesia, the national language.

2.3 COMPARISONS AND DECISIONS

Decisions of lexical similarity were made by inspection, generally using two criteria. The first was that of 50% phoneme correspondence as used by McElhanon. According to this

criteria, two forms are considered lexically similar if 50% or more of their phonemes are similar (McElhanon 1967:8, cited in Sanders 1977:34). In addition, consonant agreement was given greater weight than vowel agreement in making cognate decisions (Z'graggen 1971:6). The reasoning behind this is that “vowels may tend to be more variable in pronunciation and are more difficult to hear consistently in elicitation” (Sanders 1977:34).

It is important to note that unlike diachronic lexicostatistics, in a synchronic comparison two forms can be considered apparent cognates even if one form is a recognised loan, provided the criteria of phonetic similarity are met:

For example, consider the following three forms for ‘heart’: *sule*, Pamona; *hule*, Bungku; and *hule*, Tombelala. The first two are genetically related, as attested by the many *s:h* correspondences found between Pamona and Bungku words. In Tombelala, a Pamona community, their word for heart has no doubt been borrowed from Bungku, and therefore shares no genetic relationship with *sule*; however, the two are still considered lexically similar.

(Mead & Mead 1991:126)

On the other hand, two forms may share a genetic relationship, but have diverged to such an extent as to be no longer considered phonetically similar. For example, the roots *koni* and *kaa* may both derive from the etymon **kaen* ‘eat’, but have had such different developments that they are no longer considered lexically similar.

Despite the above guidelines, determining lexical similarity based on phonetic criteria sometimes proved a subjective task (compare Bugenhagen 1981:14). For example, the words *ϕuku*, *βuku*, *buku* and *buu*, all meaning ‘bone’, were judged phonetically similar enough to be assigned to the same apparent cognate set—although considered separately *ϕuku* and *buu* are rather divergent. Similarly, in the set *lali*, *lalo*, *laro* and *raro*, ‘inside’, the pair *lali* and *raro* contain only one segment in common—yet were assigned to the same cognate set because of the intermediate forms *lalo* and *laro*.⁸

Lexical similarity decisions were based on roots, ignoring affixation. Thus all of the following responses meaning ‘to awaken someone’ were considered lexically the same because the root *tiba* can be identified in each: *metiba*, *mandiba*, *mondibali*, *tinibali*, *tumibaʔi*, *tumibaliʔi*, *tibalio*, *tubaʔo*, *tibae*, *tibaʔi*.

Ten items were eliminated from consideration because of the difficulty of eliciting a consistent response. These were: ‘ancestor’, ‘seedling’, ‘lake’, ‘that’, ‘there’, ‘way over there’, ‘speak’, ‘repeat’, ‘bite’ and ‘wake up’.

In addition, the first members of the following 22 pairs (or triplets) were disqualified because the items frequently, if not always, shared the same root. Retaining them would have falsely elevated similarity percentages. If one of the members of a pair was a phrase, that member was eliminated. Otherwise the decision was made by the flip of a coin.

husband – male, also father
 wife – female, also mother
 first born child – child
 last born child – child
 grandmother – grandchild
 grandfather – grandchild
 older brother – older sister
 father’s brother – mother’s brother

father's sister – mother's sister
 feather – body hair
 (tree) bark – wood and skin
 coconut (unripe) – coconut (ripe)
 seed – bone, also round
 spring – water and eye
 here – this
 twenty – two and ten
 to fall, drop – to drop (intentionally)
 to give someone a bath – to bathe
 to kill – to die
 to nod, be sleepy – to sleep
 why? – what?

The above eliminations and disqualifications left 194 items to be compared. Lexical similarity values were computed using John Wimbish's (1989) WORDSURV program.

2.4 PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

2.4.1 MATRICES

Matrices are the most convenient format for presenting the results of a lexicostatistic analysis. The percentage of lexical similarity of any two word lists can be known simply by finding the intersection of their respective row and column. Because a lexicostatistic matrix is always symmetrical (the similarity score of word list X compared with word list Y is the same as Y compared with X), and because the diagonal consists of identities (every word list is 100% identical with itself), only the portion below the diagonal is normally considered.

When the rows and columns of a matrix are permuted so that highest values lie along the diagonal and lowest values in the corner, patterns of relationships often emerge. For a lexicostatistic survey, the most important patterns are divergence, dialect chaining, and sporadic convergence. Idealised patterns are discussed below; each type of patterning is also found in the matrices for this survey.

The ideal divergence pattern assumes that one group at a time splits from all the others. For three language groups, the pattern may be represented (Simons 1977a:109):

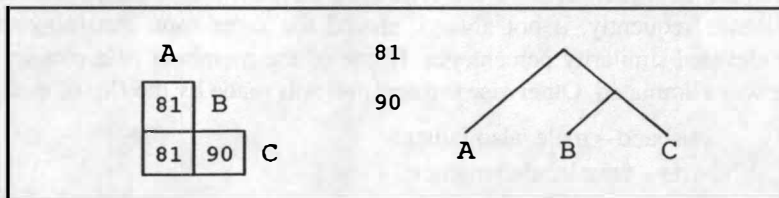


FIGURE 1: DIVERGENCE PATTERN FOR THREE SPEECH COMMUNITIES

The pattern "for three speech groups contains one high percentage and two percentages which are lower and equal to one another. As more speech groups are added to the divergence pattern, the diagnostic feature of the pattern becomes apparent" (Simons 1977a:110):

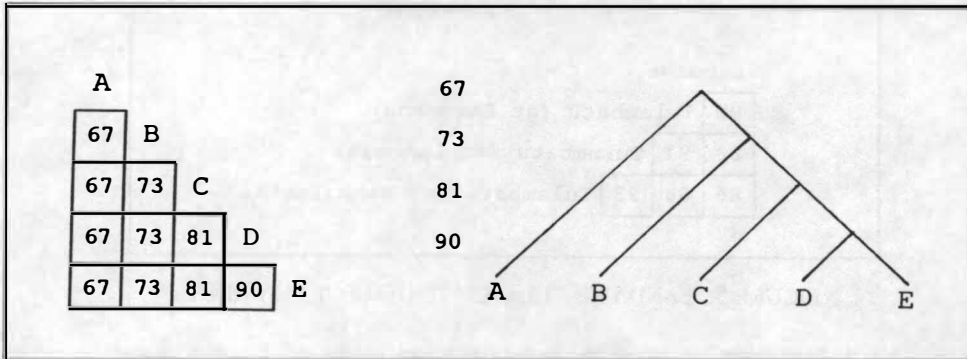


FIGURE 2: SUCCESSIVE DIVERGENCE PATTERN

Menui represents a classic case of divergence from the other Wawonii speech communities, exhibited by the uniformly low values in the column for the Menui word list.

Menui			
91		Wawonii (at Lansilowo)	
92	98	Wawonii (at Lawey)	
92	97	98	Wawonii (at Munse)

FIGURE 3: MENUI DIVERGENCE FROM WAWONII

The island and mainland dialects of Moronene also show a clear divergence pattern, and this pattern also appears in Waru, which diverged first from the other members of the Tolaki Subfamily.

In the ideal dialect chaining situation, speech communities are located contiguous to one another. Each community has contact with the other communities which are geographically closest; therefore a language group will have its highest lexical scores with its nearest neighbours, with similarity values dropping in proportion to geographical distance. Consequently, "the highest lexicostatistic relations will occur on the diagonal and the lowest relations will occur in the corner" (Simons 1977a:116):

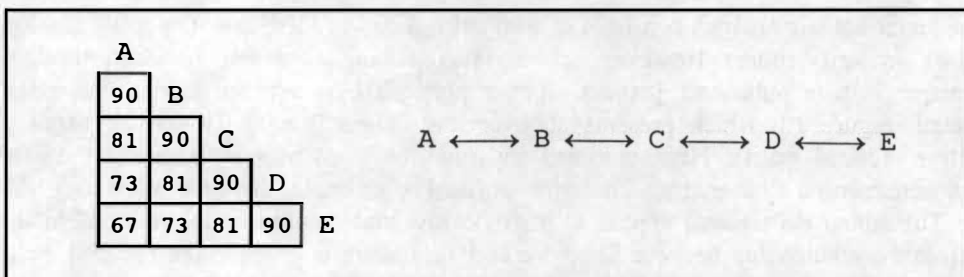


FIGURE 4: DIALECT CHAINING PATTERN

Dialect chaining was extremely common throughout the Bungku-Tolaki language area. The Landawe and Tulambatu word lists (Bungku area) are a microcosm of dialect chaining:

Landawe			
90	Tulambatu (at Laronaha)		
88	91	Tulambatu (at Lamonae)	
86	88	93	Tulambatu (at Sambalagi)

FIGURE 5: LANDAWE-TULAMBATU DIALECT CHAINING

There is also dialect chaining along the western coast in the Mekongga dialect area, and chaining exists at higher levels as well. Bungku, Wawonii and Kulisusu are three languages related in a nearly classic dialect chain.

The diagnostic pattern for sporadic convergence is an unusually high figure in a block of lower figures. The circled figure below indicates an instance of sporadic convergence.

A				
67	B			
76	73	C		
67	73	81	D	
67	73	81	90	E

FIGURE 6: SPORADIC CONVERGENCE PATTERN

A pattern of sporadic convergence may show up in a lexicostatistic matrix when two speech communities which had diverged subsequently enter into a relationship where one community borrows words from the other—for example two geographically separate communities which regained contact through resettlement or shift in trading patterns. The sole Tolaki community on Wawonii island (discussed above) shows sporadic convergence with the Wawonii communities there. Bahonsuai and Tomadino, two Mori communities located within the heart of the Bungku language area, show sporadic convergence with Bungku.

The lexicostatistic analysis consisted of comparing 120 word lists taken in pairs, resulting in 7,140 similarity scores. However, no matrix containing all seven thousand similarity percentages is here published. Instead, smaller portions of the entire matrix are usually presented. Figure 18, which presents an overview of the Bungku-Tolaki languages, is actually a reduced matrix. Here, columns and rows of word lists representing the same dialect were merged by averaging similarity scores. For example, the three word lists taken in the Tulambatu dialect area appear as a single row and column in the reduced matrix. Therefore the relationship between Landawe and Tulambatu is given in the reduced matrix as:

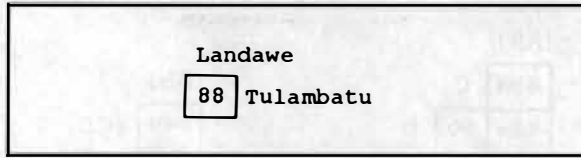


FIGURE 7: LANDAWE-TULAMBATU IN THE REDUCED MATRIX

because 88% is the average of 90%, 88% and 86%—the respective percentages of similarity which Landawe shares with the three Tulambatu word lists (compare Figure 5).

2.4.2 BINARY-BRANCHED TREES

Mathematically, any similarity matrix can be converted into a binary-branched tree. But only matrices representing the ideal divergence type can be converted into tree form without distortion.

The procedure used in this study to convert matrices into trees was the average link method, outlined and exemplified in Joe Grimes' (1995:69) *Language survey reference guide*. The procedure begins with a similarity matrix and:

At the beginning, think of each dialect as a dialect cluster with only one member. Each clustering step merges two existing dialect clusters into one. The size of the new cluster is the sum of the sizes of the two clusters that make it up. As a result the total number of clusters is reduced by one, so the matrix has one less row and one less column at each cycle.

At each step, the two clusters which share the highest percentage of lexical similarity are merged, with this value being carefully noted. The two rows and two columns are merged by averaging the values in each, weighting the averages according to the size of the clusters being combined. This step is repeated until there are no more clusters to merge. A tree is then constructed by noting the values at which the various clusters were joined; the members of each cluster tell how the branches divide. For example, consider these four Mori Bawah word lists, for our purposes here simply labelled A, B, C and D.

A			
91	B		
83	88	C	
81	86	90	D

FIGURE 8: SELECTED MORI BAWAH WORD LISTS, SIMILARITY SCORES

The matrix exhibits a divergence pattern with sporadic convergence, but it can still be converted into a tree. Since the highest similarity score found anywhere on the matrix is 91%, the first step is to combine clusters A and B, noting this score. The pairs 83%–88% and 81%–86% are averaged.

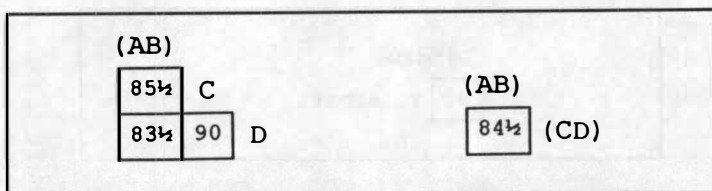


FIGURE 9: CLUSTER MERGERS: STEPS ONE AND TWO

The second step is to merge clusters C and D at 90%, combining the scores 83.5% and 85.5% using a weighted average. The final step is to note that the clusters (AB) and (CD) combine at 84.5%. A tree can now be constructed:

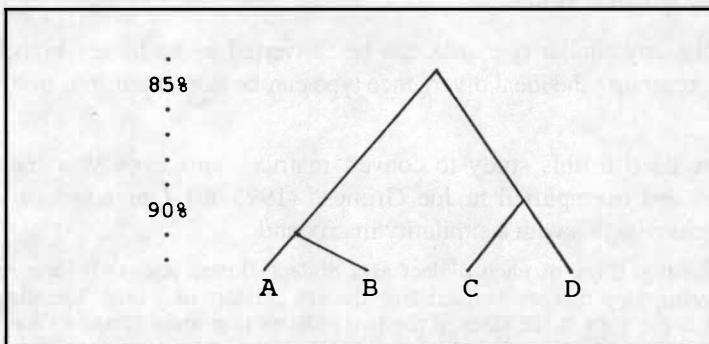


FIGURE 10: TREE STRUCTURE FOR SELECTED MORI BAWAH WORD LISTS

In each case, trees are presented with a correlation value (specifically, the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient; cf. J. Grimes 1995:72). Values close to 1 indicate little distortion; values close to zero indicate that important relationships have been grossly distorted. The tree structure in Figure 10 fails to capture that word list B closely relates to C and D (at 88% and 86%); this tree structure has a correlation value of 0.79.

Sometimes it is possible to compensate for distortions by connecting a single node to more than one point on the tree. For instance, Figure 11 is a revision of Figure 10; here a line has been added which connects B to the (CD) branch at 87%, the average similarity score which B shares with these two word lists. The revised tree better represents the relationships between the four word lists; it has a correlation value of 0.95.

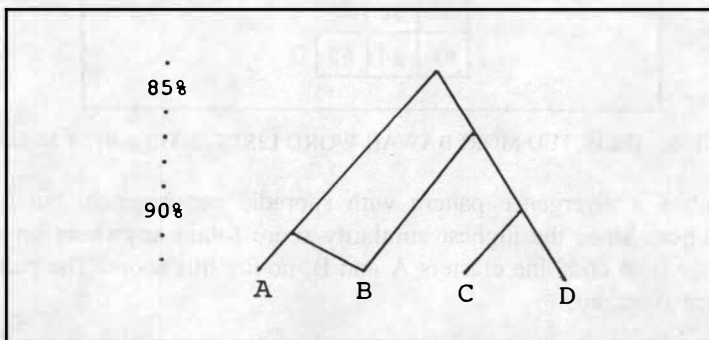


FIGURE 11: REVISED TREE STRUCTURE FOR SELECTED MORI BAWAH WORD LISTS

2.4.3 MAXIMAL SPANNING TREES

Another way to convert a matrix into a tree form (and without averaging similarity scores) is to construct a maximal spanning tree (J. Grimes 1995:76ff.). Unlike the average link method just described, this method is particularly suited to representing dialect and language chaining situations. In this method every word list location ('node') represented in a matrix is incorporated into a single structure by linking each node with its closest neighbour—'closest' in this case meaning greatest in similarity. J. Grimes describes how to construct a maximal spanning tree (1995:76):

- (1) Start by choosing any place represented by the matrix. Think of it as a minimal tree with one node.
- (2) Add to the tree the line of greatest similarity from any point outside the tree
 - to at least one point on the tree
 - without forming a loop
 - taking either branch in case of a tie.
- (3) Repeat 2 until all points have been brought into the tree.

Whenever one node has neighbours which are equally closest, the maximal spanning tree can be constructed in different ways. Non-unique solutions are common.

For example, consider again the Mori Bawah word lists of Figure 8, repeated here:

A			
91	B		
83	88	C	
81	86	90	D

FIGURE 8: SELECTED MORI BAWAH WORD LISTS, SIMILARITY SCORES (REPEATED)

If we arbitrarily begin with node A, then inspecting the A column reveals that its highest similarity (91%) is with node B. At this point the maximal spanning tree consists of two nodes, linked at 91%:

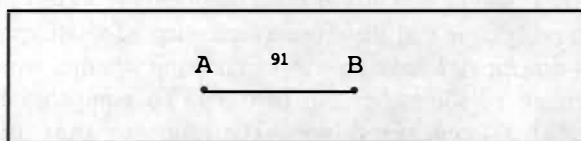


FIGURE 12: MAXIMAL SPANNING TREE, STAGE ONE

When we inspect the matrix again, our next observation is that the closest neighbour to either A or B is C, which relates to B at 88%. Finally, node D is brought into the spanning tree linked to node C (at 90%). Thus:

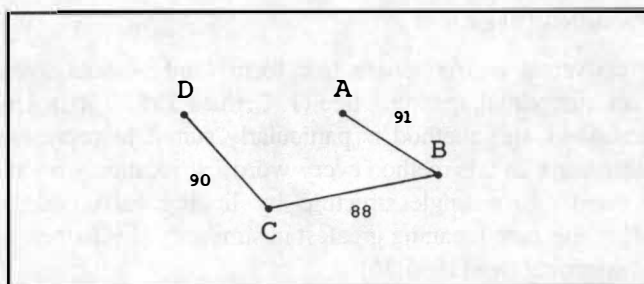


FIGURE 13: SELECTED MORI BAWAH WORD LISTS, MAXIMAL SPANNING TREE

In the presentation of maximum spanning trees, line length is significant. The shorter the line between nodes, the more similar the two respective word lists are. Because length is used to represent linguistic distance, geographic distance can be represented only approximately, with appropriate bending or stretching of geographic features.

2.4.4 CLIQUE ANALYSIS

In a clique analysis, all the speech communities within a circle relate to each other at or above the specified percentage.⁹ The following is a clique analysis of the same Mori Bawah word lists at 85%:

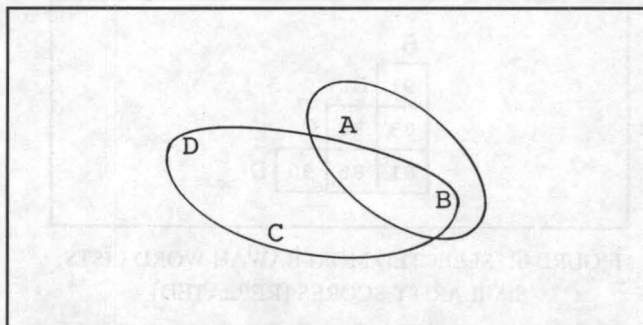


FIGURE 14: SELECTED MORI BAWAH WORD LISTS, CLIQUE ANALYSIS AT 85%

Unlike the maximal spanning tree of Figure 13, the clique analysis captures the close relationship shared by B, C and D, and that of these three only B relates closely with A. The disadvantage of clique analysis is that there is no indication of relationships *within* cliques, for example, from this diagram we have no way of knowing whether word lists A and B are 85% similar, 99% similar, or somewhere in between. To compensate, it is possible to present clique analyses at different percentages. The following uses the same scores, but presents the clique analysis at 90% similarity. This particular diagram shows that A and B, and C and D, are the most lexically similar speech varieties.

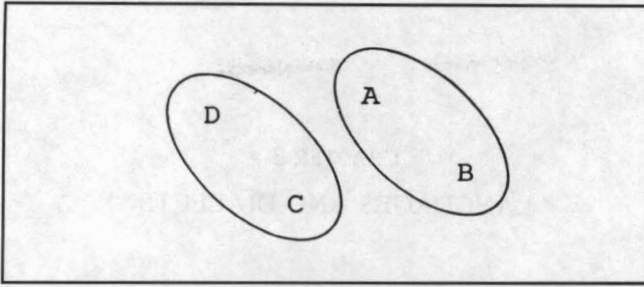


FIGURE 15: SELECTED MORI BAWAH WORD LISTS, CLIQUE ANALYSIS AT 90%

At a very high percentage of similarity, each word list will be isolated in its own clique. At low percentages of similarity, all word lists will fall within a single clique. Such diagrams are, of course, unrevealing. Between these extremes, however, one can usually hit upon one or two values which are particularly revealing of relationships between word lists. Clique analysis proved especially useful in capturing the complex relationships among the various Mori communities.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

The Amalekites live in the southern part of the land; the Hittites, the Jebusites, and the Amorites live in the hill country; and the Canaanites live by the Mediterranean Sea and along the Jordan River.

Summary of an ancient survey report, *Book of Numbers*

3.1 OVERVIEW

Figure 16 is an overview of the Bungku-Tolaki Stock¹⁰—its three language families and 15 languages—arrived at by lexicostatistic comparison. A more detailed summary including information about dialects and subfamilies appears in Figure 17. When comparing the Bungku, Mori and Tolaki Families, their respective languages are on average more than 50% similar, which places all three families well within a single stock—even though a few individual scores range below 45%.

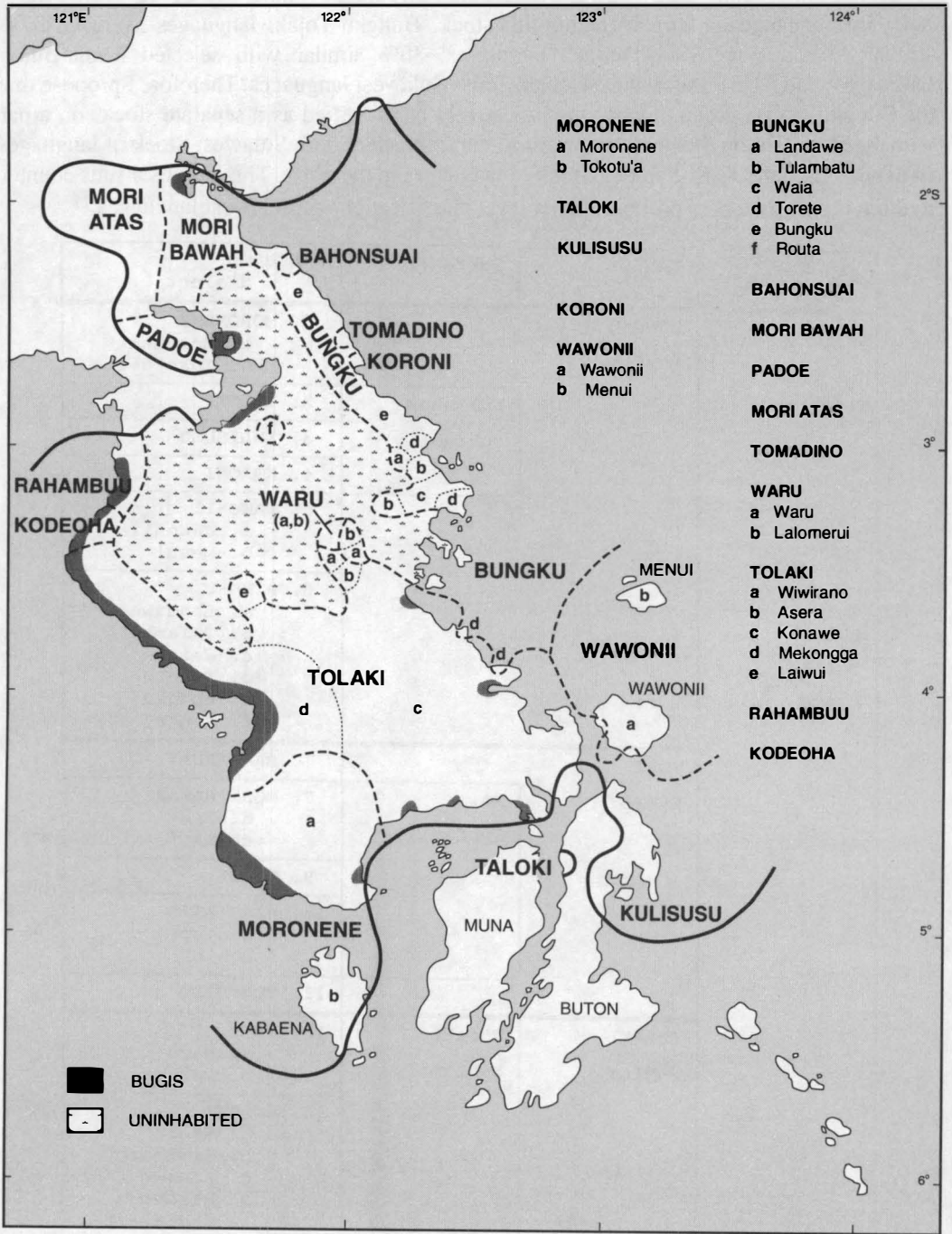
BUNGKU-TOLAKI STOCK	
A. Bungku Family	
1.	Moronene
2.	Taloki
3.	Kulisusu
4.	Koroni
5.	Wawonii
6.	Bungku
B. Mori Family	
7.	Bahonsuai
8.	Mori Bawah
9.	Padoe
10.	Mori Atas
11.	Tomadino
C. Tolaki Family	
12.	Waru
13.	Tolaki
14.	Rahambuu
15.	Kodeoha

FIGURE 16: BUNGKU-TOLAKI LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE FAMILIES

On the other hand, there is no lexicostatistic basis for including any of the surrounding languages or language families within this stock. Bungku-Tolaki languages averaged 37% similar with selected Kaili-Pamona languages; 36% similar with selected Muna-Buton languages; and 31% similar with selected South Sulawesi languages. Therefore I propose that the Bungku-Tolaki group of languages tentatively be classified as a separate stock, on a par with the Muna-Buton Stock of languages to the south, the South Sulawesi Stock of languages to the east, and the Kaili-Pamona Stock of languages to the north. This proposal runs counter to three recent studies to propose higher level classifications of Sulawesi languages.¹¹

STOCK	FAMILY	SUBFAMILY	LANGUAGE dialect
BUNGKU- TOLAKI STOCK	BUNGKU FAMILY	Kulisusu Subfamily	1. MORONENE a. Moronene b. Tokotu'a
			2. TALOKI
			3. KULISUSU
			4. KORONI
			5. WAWONII a. Wawonii b. Menui
			6. BUNGKU a. Landawe b. Tulambatu c. Waia d. Torete e. Bungku f. Routa
	MORI FAMILY	Mori Subfamily	7. BAHONSUAI
			8. MORI BAWAH dialect chain
			9. PADOE
			10. MORI ATAS dialect chain
			11. TOMADINO
	TOLAKI FAMILY	Tolaki Subfamily	12. WARU a. Waru b. Lalomerui
			13. TOLAKI a. Asera b. Wiwirano c. Konawe d. Mekongga dialect chain e. Laiwui
			14. RAHAMBUU
		15. KODEOHA	

FIGURE 17: SUMMARY CLASSIFICATION OF THE BUNGKU-TOLAKI LANGUAGES



MAP 10: BUNGPU-TOLAKI LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

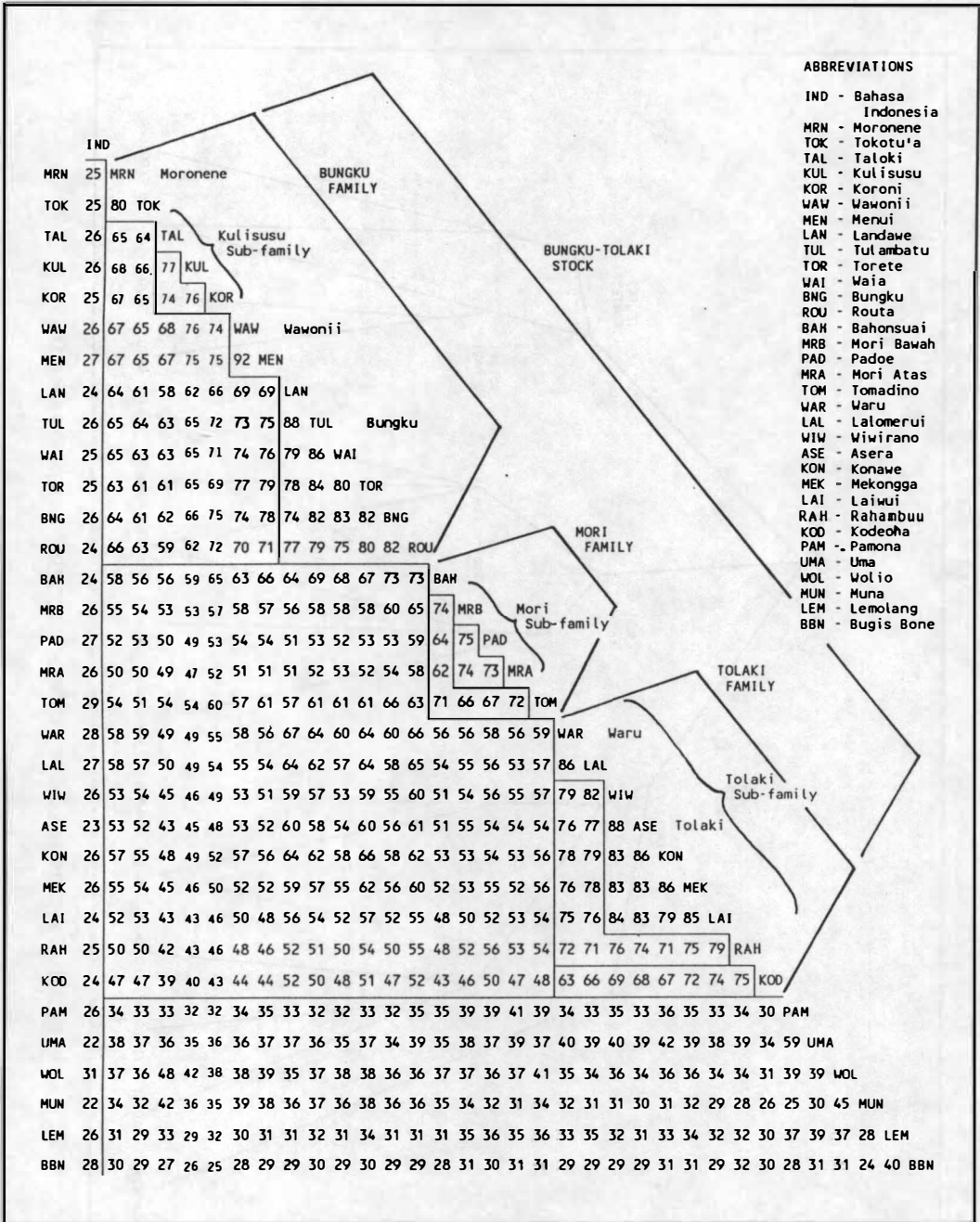


FIGURE 18: LEXICAL SIMILARITY OF BUNGPU-TOLAKI LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS (REDUCED MATRIX)

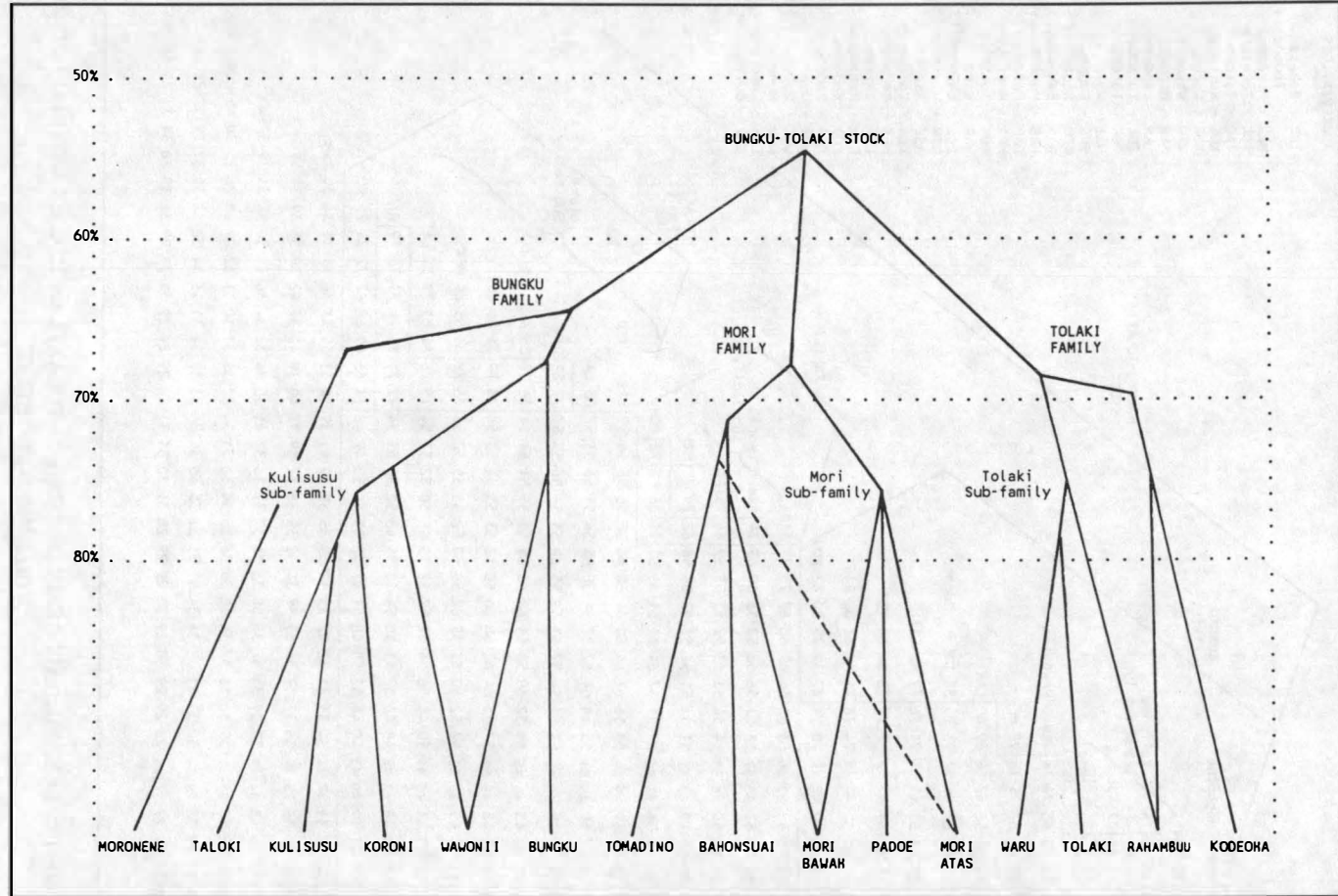


FIGURE 19: THE BUNGKU-TOLAKI STOCK (CORRELATION VALUE = 0.85)

KEY: Detailed information about each of the 15 Bungku-Tolaki languages is presented in this chapter, in the following format:

- LANGUAGE NAME:** The current name of the language group, following modern Indonesian spelling conventions.
- ALTERNATE NAMES:** The names and alternate spellings by which the language or the people who speak the language are known in the extant literature or in the surrounding area. The use of negative terms to designate languages or dialects—confer, for example, Adriani and Kruyt (1914)—is no longer practiced in the Bungku-Tolaki area. Negative terms have been enclosed in single quotes. Where appropriate, alternate names for dialects have also been listed.
- NUMBER SPEAKERS:** Our best estimate for the number of speakers of the language in 1988. Unless otherwise noted, we arrived at speaker totals by obtaining population data and then asking officials at the subdistrict or village level to estimate what percentage of the population in their area of administration spoke which languages.
- DIALECTS:** The names of the dialects of the language, followed in parentheses by population estimates for each dialect. Also included is information about the location of each dialect area, and any pertinent information concerning the classification of dialects.
- CLASSIFICATION:** A review of the literature concerning the language. This section outlines the basis for our classification of the language, especially in light of what other researchers have written about it.
- RELIGION:** The religion of the speakers of the language, either Islam or Christianity.
- LOCATION:** A brief description of the location and geography of the language area.
- ECONOMY:** A description of how most speakers of the language earn their livelihood, including descriptions of economic ties which affect their contact with surrounding language groups.
- LANGUAGE USE:** Our evaluation of how strongly the language is used—and therefore likely to be maintained—by present-day speakers. Degree of language use was estimated only by questionnaire and informal observation.
- PAST MIGRATIONS:** Information from present-day speakers, the literature, tradition, language change or language relationships, about how speakers of the language arrived at their present location.

3.2 BUNGKU FAMILY

The Bungku Family consists of six languages. Geographically, Bungku Family languages are the most widespread, comprising the north-eastern, south-eastern and south-western limits of the Bungku-Tolaki language area. Three of these languages, Taloki, Kulisusu and Koroni—at one time all spoken on northern Buton Island—relate closely enough to each other to be considered a subfamily within the Bungku Family.

3.2.1 MORONENE

The two Moronene dialects are on average 65% similar compared to the other languages of the Bungku Family, and the actual values fall within a narrow range (61% to 68% similar). Since these values are among the lowest found within the Bungku Family, probably one of the earliest splits in this family involved the Moronene ancestors leaving the Bungku homeland.

1. LANGUAGE NAME: MORONENE

ALTERNATE NAMES: Maronene, Marumeme, Mboeroenene, 'Nahina'; Rumbia, Rombia, Roembia; Tokotua, Kabaena, Kabaëna, Kabaina, Kabeina, Kobaena, Kobaina, Kamboena, Kambaëna, Kambaina, Kambeina, Kambijna, Kambyna, Cobeyna, Cabona, Cabijna, Cabyna, Cambyna, Combyna, Camboyna, Cambaina, Cambeno, Camabona.

NUMBER SPEAKERS: 31,000

DIALECTS: The lexicostatistic matrix shows a clear pattern of divergence between mainland and Kabaena Island word lists. These compose two dialects. There is also slight east to west chaining within the mainland dialect (see Figure 21).

- a. Moronene (20,000), the prestige dialect, is spoken on the mainland. Following Andersen (1995) this may also be termed the Rumbia-Poleang or mainland dialect.
- b. Tokotu'a (11,000) dialect is spoken on Kabaena Island. Kabaena (spelled variously) is the term most frequently used in the literature to refer to this dialect of Moronene, but this is a Butonese term which means 'the people who have rice'. *Tokotu'a* (meaning 'the oldest people') is the preferred self-designation.

DIALECT	VILLAGE
Moronene	Rakadua
	95 Tongkoseng
	92 93 Rompurompu
	89 89 94 Ladumpi
Tokotu'a	80 80 81 81 Tangkeno
	79 79 83 82 96 Langkema
	78 78 81 80 92 93 Rahadopi

FIGURE 20: MORONENE LANGUAGE LEXICAL SIMILARITY MATRIX

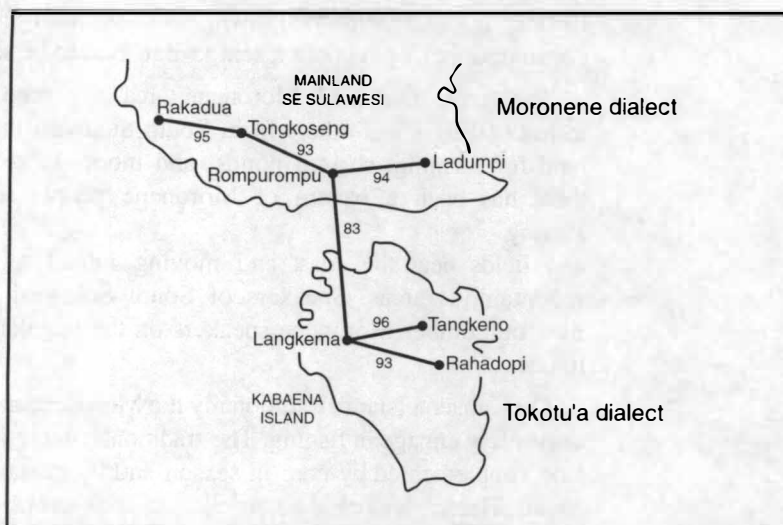


FIGURE 21: MORONENE LANGUAGE MAXIMAL SPANNING TREE
(APPROXIMATE GEOGRAPHY)

CLASSIFICATION:

Adriani and Kruyt (1914), Esser (1938), Salzner (1960) and Sneddon (1983) considered Moronene to be a dialect of Bungku. I concur with Bhurhanuddin (1979) and consider Moronene to be a separate language.

Because the Tokotu'a and mainland word lists relate to each other at an average above 80%, I do not consider these to be separate languages as did Kaseng, Alimuddin, et al. (1983).

RELIGION:

Predominantly Islamic; 3% Christian.

LOCATION:

The Moronene live in the south-west corner of mainland Sulawesi, and on Kabaena Island. The eastern portion of the mainland area—and the most heavily populated with Moronene—is mountainous and fertile. Moronene settlements in the western mainland area are near the coastal road.

Most of Kabaena Island is rugged, uninhabited mountains. The only populated areas are an east-west valley across the middle of the island, forming a saddle between peaks to the north and south, and along the east and west coasts where the valley opens. Some rivers go dry in the summer. The clay soil has limited fertility.

ECONOMY:

On the mainland, most Moronene are farmers, whose staple crops are rice (raised in both wet and dry fields), supplemented by corn. Most farming is still conducted to meet household needs, and the Moronene have not yet fully integrated into a cash economy. Bartering is still common at local markets. Money is obtained from the outside by selling farming and forest products, mainly rice, fruits, vegetables, lumber and rattan, copra, cashews, and more recently cacao.

Coffee is also widely grown, but primarily for local consumption. Copra is often sent to Bau-Bau to be sold.

The fertile mainland Moronene area has seen a steady influx of Bugis and others from South Sulawesi in search of land for farming, shrimp ponds, and more. In recent years there has been a pattern of Moronene people selling and leaving land and fields near the coast and moving inland to the more mountainous areas. Speakers of South Sulawesi languages now outnumber Moronene speakers on the mainland by two to one.

On Kabaena Island, traditionally the Moronene are farmers; only a few engage in fishing. The traditional staple is dry-field rice, supplemented by corn in season and by cassava the year round. Horses and carabao are also raised—cows, goats and chickens to a lesser extent.

Copra and refined palm sugar are the traditional exports of Kabaena, although cashews have become important to the economy in the past ten years. In 1986, cashew sales brought in US\$250,000 to West Kabaena alone.

In addition, many young men find employment outside of Kabaena, working in places such as Kalimantan, Irian Jaya and Maluku for a few months or a few years before returning to Kabaena.

LANGUAGE USE:

Language use among the Moronene people remains strong, Bahasa Moronene being the language of home, gardening and festivals. The traditional feasts are still practiced, and on Kabaena young men are still taught the special *adat* language after their initiation into manhood. There are still those who sing the *Kada*, the *Ohoho* and other traditional Moronene epic songs; and some have set Moronene words to modern tunes.

PAST MIGRATIONS:

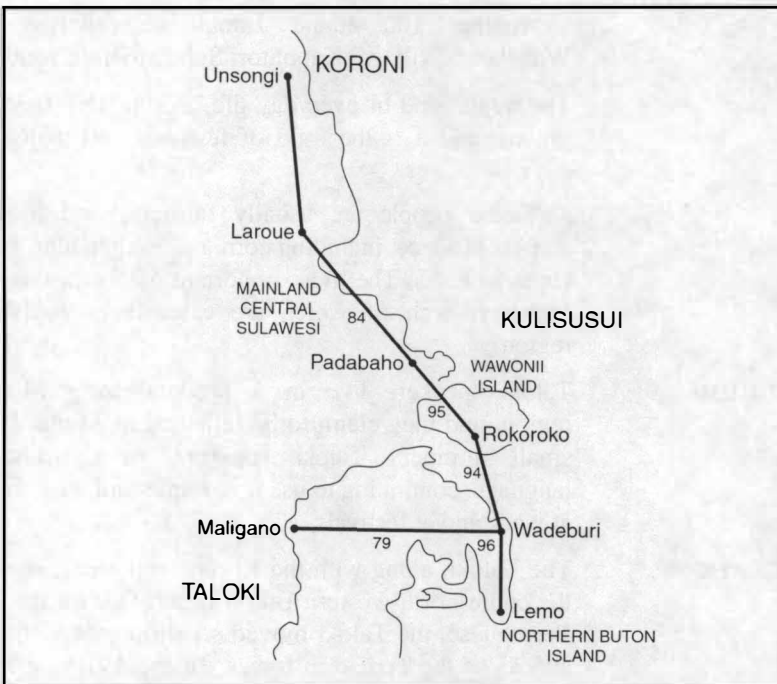
Place names in present-day Tolaki areas which have retained their recognisable Moronene origins bear evidence that Moronene speakers once inhabited a much larger portion of mainland Sulawesi, before they were displaced by the Tolaki.

3.2.2 KULISUSU SUBFAMILY

Taloki, Kulisusu and Koroni constitute a subfamily within the Bungku Family. But the lexicostatistic matrix for this subfamily bears some explaining, particularly the Kulisusu word list taken in Laroue village in Central Sulawesi. If we ignore this single word list, that is, if we ignore the shaded portion of Figure 22, the lexicostatistic matrix shows a pattern of divergence: Koroni diverged first (indicated by its average 74% similarity with Kulisusu-Taloki word lists) followed by the divergence of Taloki and Kulisusu (average similarity 78%, which may not be significantly different from 74%). The position of the Laroue word list must be interpreted within this clear pattern of divergence.

LANGUAGE	VILLAGE
TALOKI	Maligano
KULISUSU	78 Lemo
	79 96 Wadeburi
	78 93 94 Rokoroko
	79 82 84 95 Padabaho
	73 77 79 81 84 Laroue
KORONI	74 71 72 75 76 86 Unsongi

FIGURE 22: KULISUSU SUBFAMILY LEXICAL SIMILARITY MATRIX

FIGURE 23: KULISUSU SUBFAMILY MAXIMAL SPANNING TREE
(APPROXIMATE GEOGRAPHY)

By our respondents' own admission, the Laroue village is a longstanding Kulisusu community in Central Sulawesi (whose self-designation is actually Kolensusu). Their long separation from the motherland in north-eastern Buton¹² accounts for their divergence from standard Kulisusu. And the close proximity of this outpost with the Koroni community—a scant five kilometers away—and the opportunities for interaction over scores of years, doubtless explain the sporadic convergence exhibited between these two speech communities.

2. LANGUAGE NAME:	TALOKI
ALTERNATE NAMES:	Taluki, Talloki.
NUMBER SPEAKERS:	500
DIALECTS:	none
CLASSIFICATION:	Van den Berg (1991:23–24) was the first to report the existence of this isolect, and noted that at 76% lexical similarity, Kulisusu was the closest language relative. Our nearly identical score (77%) clearly places Taloki within the Kulisusu Subfamily.
RELIGION:	Islamic
LOCATION:	400 Taloki speakers live in and around Maligano village on the north-west coast of Buton Island, nearly opposite the town of Raha on Muna Island. They are part of a community which inhabits the coastal strip between the Strait of Buton on the west and rugged, uninhabited mountains to the east. Another 100 ethnic Taloki are reported to live in Wakalambe village, Kapontori Subdistrict, in southern Buton.
ECONOMY:	The staple food of everyday life is corn. Dry field rice is also grown, and it is the food of festivals and major celebration days. Taloki people are usually farmers, and they sell their surplus produce, including corn, rice, vegetables, bananas, and copra in Raha. The most important cash crops are cacao and cashews, both of which are extensively cultivated in the region.
LANGUAGE USE:	Taloki speakers live in a predominantly Muna-speaking region, and they claim to be bilingual in Muna. Despite their small numbers Taloki speakers have maintained their language, continuing to use it at home and with their children, at work and at festivals.
PAST MIGRATIONS:	The Taloki, along with the Koroni, reportedly used to inhabit the entire north-western Buton coast. During the time of the Portuguese, the Taloki moved south to escape the destructive attacks of the Ternatean forces. In the 1910s, a migration of Taloki back to northern Buton occurred during a period of famine, although to this day a community of Taloki speakers remains in southern Buton, about 40 kilometers north of Bau-Bau.

3. LANGUAGE NAME: KULISUSU
- ALTERNATE NAMES: Kolisusu, Kalisusu, Kolensusu, Kolinsusu, Kalingsusu, Kolongtjoetjoe, Kolontjoetjoe, Kalensoesoe, Kalingsoesoe, Kalinsoesoe, Kalingtjoessoe, Callasusung, Callasusong, Klensis.
- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 22,000
- DIALECTS: All of the Kulisusu word lists relate closely to each other (above 90%), with one exception: the language of a longstanding Kulisusu community at Laroue village in Central Sulawesi has converged considerably with Bungku, and with nearby Koroni. This could be considered a separate but unnamed dialect with 250 speakers.
- Because of its convergence with Koroni, on a strict lexicostatistic basis the isolect spoken at Laroue could just as well be considered a dialect of Koroni. However, we grouped it with Kulisusu because the speakers themselves prefer this designation.
- CLASSIFICATION: Kulisusu has been considered a dialect of Bungku (Esser 1938; Salzner 1960; Sneddon 1983), a dialect of Wawonii (Bhurhanuddin 1979), and a separate language (Anceaux 1978; Kaseng, Alimuddin, et al. 1983). Based on this lexicostatistic analysis and reports of intelligibility, I consider Kulisusu to be a separate language within the Bungku Family.
- RELIGION: Islamic
- LOCATION: The Kulisusu heartland is located in the north-east corner of Buton Island, predominantly along the protective Koro Bay. Here, the coastline consists of extensive mangrove forests, but as one moves inland one finds these gradually becoming interspersed with coconut groves and other garden plots. The villages themselves are located a few kilometers inland, but still linked to the sea by navigable rivers. In the foothills beyond these settlements, rice, cassava, corn and other produce are grown. The interior is mountainous, covered almost completely by virgin forest.
- The eastern seashore is less hospitable, being periodically subject to strong wind and waves. The only natural harbour is at Wadeburi, which has been the major settlement along this coast—although in the past 20 years people have been moving up the coast in search of farmland and to hunt.
- In addition, Kulisusu speakers have also settled in small communities in coastal areas to the south in Lasalimu Subdistrict, on Wawonii Island and on the mainland of South-East Sulawesi and Central Sulawesi. Speakers in these outlying communities number approximately 2,000.

The claim by Kaseng, Alimuddin, et al. (1983) that Kulisusu is spoken on the Tukang Besi Islands is true only to the extent that the odd Kulisusu family has taken up residence here and there amidst the indigenous population (Mark Donahue 1991: pers. comm.).

ECONOMY:

The Kulisusu are traditionally farmers, although there are some who engage in part-time trading and fishing. Crops include corn, cassava, sweet potatoes, squash, dry-field rice, sugar cane, coconut and cashews. The latter two are important cash crops. Cloves and cacao, recently planted, are of lesser importance. Cassava and corn are the traditional staple foods, but more and more dry-rice cultivation is practiced. Still, rice is imported from South Sulawesi to satisfy the people's growing preference for rice. The only major livestock animal is the chicken, although goats and cows have been introduced, primarily in nearby transmigration areas.

Fishing is a year-round activity. Harvest is greater during the west wind season (approximately October through March), when fishermen can leave the shallow waters of the Koro Bay.

The forested interior contains oil reserves, which may play a role in the future economy of the region.

LANGUAGE USE:

Very few outsiders live in the Kulisusu area, with the consequence that use of the local language is strong. Kulisusu is the language of all domains except government offices and mosques.

PAST MIGRATIONS:

There are no reports of major migrations of Kulisusu people to or from their present location in north-eastern Buton. They were certainly well-established in this area by the seventeenth century, having constructed stone ramparts to protect themselves from marauding pirates (Dampier 1698:454)—which are still standing in places today. Legends report that the first Kulisusu entered this region travelling overland, not by sea.

4. LANGUAGE NAME:

KORONI

ALTERNATE NAMES:

Koromi, Oengsongi.

NUMBER SPEAKERS:

500

DIALECTS:

none

CLASSIFICATION:

Koroni has not been mentioned in any previous language classifications. In the present study it is classified as a language within the Kulisusu Subfamily, despite its considerable convergence with Bungku.

RELIGION:

Islamic

- LOCATION:** The sole Koroni community is located in Central Sulawesi, in Unsongi village twelve kilometers south along the coast from the town of Bungku. All the communities in this area lie near the coast; to the west is uninhabited forest.
- ECONOMY:** The Koroni people are farmers. Surplus vegetables, bananas and copra are sold at the market in Bungku. Rattan and timber are harvested and sold to travelling traders.
- LANGUAGE USE:** The Koroni people have maintained their own language since leaving Buton, and seem likely to do so for the foreseeable future. They indicated a preference for using Indonesian with those outside of their community, even though not a few Koroni speakers also understand and speak Bungku.
- PAST MIGRATIONS:** The Koroni people migrated to their present location from north-western Buton Island; according to tradition this resettlement predated the advent of the Dutch in south-eastern Sulawesi. Legends still recited by the Taloki people tell of a common ancestry shared by them and the To Koroni.

3.2.3 WAWONII AND BUNGKU

From a lexical perspective, Wawonii occupies the central position in a language chain stretching from Bungku to Kulisusu. Wawonii is 75% similar on average with both of its neighbours; but Bungku and Kulisusu—representing respectively the northern and southern ends of the chain—share a lexical similarity percentage of only 65%. Wawonii could marginally have been placed in a subfamily with either Bungku or Kulisusu; but to do so would have downplayed the close relationship which Wawonii shares with **both** languages. Therefore neither Wawonii nor hence Bungku has been placed within any subfamily classification.

- 5. LANGUAGE NAME:** WAWONII
- ALTERNATE NAMES:** Wawoni, Wawoni-i, Wowoni, Boboni, Wawony, Wawongy, Wa Wony, Wawany, Wargay, Waxway, Waxoway, 'Naida'; Manui, Manoei, Menoei.
- NUMBER SPEAKERS:** 22,000
- DIALECTS:**
- a. Wawonii (14,000) is spoken on Wawonii Island.
 - b. Menui (7,500) is spoken on Menui Island and at Matarape village on the mainland.

Although all of the Wawonii language word lists relate to each other above 90% and technically compose just one dialect, Menui is considered to be a separate dialect based on two other criteria: (a) the people themselves strongly perceive their isolect to be different than that spoken on Wawonii Island, and (b) phonetically, the bilabial fricative (which is phonemically unspecified for voicing) is often

pronounced in Menui with a voiceless quality and spelled with an *f*; but on Wawonii it is always voiced and written as *w*. The devoicing is an innovation which has spread outward from Bungku, affecting other nearby languages and dialects besides Menui (Mead & Mead 1991:130).

DIALECT	VILLAGE
Wawonii	Lansilowo
	98 Lawey
	97 98 Munse
Menui	91 92 92 Ulunambo

FIGURE 24: WAWONII LANGUAGE LEXICAL SIMILARITY MATRIX

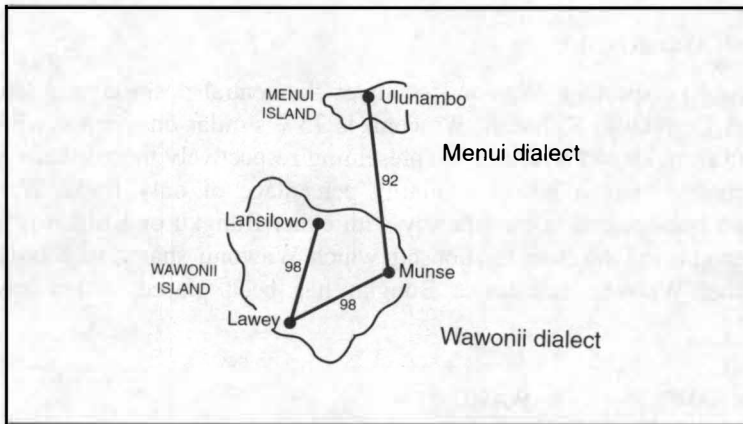


FIGURE 25: WAWONII LANGUAGE MAXIMAL SPANNING TREE (APPROXIMATE GEOGRAPHY)

CLASSIFICATION:

Lexicostatistically and geographically, Wawonii is located midway between Bungku and Kulisusu. Adriani and Kruyt (1914), Esser (1938), Salzner (1960) and Sneddon (1983) classified Wawonii as a dialect of Bungku. Bhurhanuddin (1979) grouped Wawonii together with Kulisusu as a single language versus Bungku. Kaseng, Alimuddin, et al. (1983) considered Kulisusu and Wawonii to be separate languages, but concerned only with South-East Sulawesi languages they made no comparison of Wawonii with Bungku. I consider all three to be separate languages. Based on our lexicostatic analysis the only debate (see above) is whether Wawonii ought to be classified in a subfamily with either Bungku or Kulisusu.

In his language map, Anceaux (1978) incorrectly grouped the isolect spoken on Wawonii Island with Moronene (but not Kulisusu), although it is unclear on what basis as he apparently did not obtain any word list from the island.

- RELIGION:** Islamic
- LOCATION:** Wawonii is dominated by the 830 meter Waworete Peak near the center of the island. The whole island is mountainous, fertile and forested. Considering its size, Wawonii is sparsely inhabited, with villages located only along the coast, usually at locations where rivers or streams provide a source of fresh water.
- The terrain of Menui Island is different: it is rugged, consisting mainly of uplifted coral rock. In only a few places is there sufficient topsoil to support gardening. Rain water is absorbed and quickly lost, so that obtaining fresh water is problematic, especially in the dry season.
- Reportedly there are outposts of Menui speakers in Luwuk (Central Sulawesi) and in Maluku, but we were not able to confirm this information.
- ECONOMY:** The main occupations of the Wawonii people are farming, fishing and trading, in that order of importance. The staple crop of Wawonii is dry-field rice, but on Menui it is cassava. Inhabitants of both import rice. Copra has long been an export of both islands, and more recently nutmeg, cloves, coffee, cacao, cashews and pepper have been introduced as cash crops. Wawonii Island is also a source of rattan and timber, the latter especially used in boat building.
- Fishing, carried on locally, is a common activity except during the east wind season (approximately April through September) when the seas are rough.
- Wawonii sailors conduct trade with places as distant as Manado to the north, Ujung Pandang to the west, and Maluku to the east, sailing in locally constructed ships.
- LANGUAGE USE:** Language use is vigorous, and Wawonii can be heard in all locations, including mosques and government offices. Traditional Wawonii songs and dances are still performed. On Menui Island, even second generation Bugis immigrants know the local language.
- PAST MIGRATIONS:** According to legend, the Wawonii people have twice vacated Wawonii Island and lived on the mainland during times of sickness and war. However this cannot be substantiated linguistically, as Wawonii does not exhibit convergence with Tolaki.

6. LANGUAGE NAME: BUNGKU

ALTERNATE NAMES: Boengkoe, Toboengkoe, Taboenkoe, Tabungku, Tabuco, Tobuco, Tobuquo, Tobuque, Tobueco, Tamboeko, Tamboekoe, Tomboekoe, 'Nahina'; Laandawe; Toelangbatoe, Toloengbatoe, Tolambátu, 'Hileo'; To-Faja, To-faja; Tawarete, To Rete, To-rété, Rete, 'Naida'; Ro-oeta, Raoeta, To Rooeta, 'Nahina'.

NUMBER SPEAKERS: 21,500

DIALECT	VILLAGE
Landawe	Wiwirano
Tulambatu	90 Laronaha
	88 91 Lamonae
	86 88 93 Sambalagi (a)
Waia	79 85 87 86 Lamontoli
Torete	79 81 82 85 78 Tapulaga
	78 81 82 86 78 96 Pudonggala
	78 82 86 90 83 94 94 Sambalagi (b)
Bungku	74 77 80 82 81 80 79 83 Lalampu
	81 85 90 92 91 84 84 90 92 Labota
	74 77 83 85 84 81 81 86 92 95 Bahodopi
	73 76 83 84 82 79 79 85 88 92 94 Marsaoleh
	71 74 82 83 81 78 77 83 88 92 91 96 Kolo Atas
70 74 80 82 81 78 78 84 87 91 91 93 93 Wosu	
Routa	77 78 78 81 75 80 78 80 87 84 84 80 78 77 Routa

FIGURE 26: BUNGKU LANGUAGE LEXICAL SIMILARITY MATRIX

DIALECTS:

- a. Landawe (800) is spoken in Wiwirano village in South-East Sulawesi and Laroenai village in Central Sulawesi.
- b. Tulambatu (1,000) dialect is spoken in Laronaha and Lamonae villages in South-East Sulawesi and Buleleng village in Central Sulawesi.
- c. Waia (650) dialect is spoken in Lamontoli, Lalemo and Matarape villages in Central Sulawesi.

- d. Torete (2,500) dialect is geographically the most wide-spread; it is spoken in discontinuous locations along the coast, as far north as Tandaoleo village in Central Sulawesi and as far south as Tapulaga village, on the outskirts of Kendari City in South-East Sulawesi.
- e. Bungku (16,400), the prestige dialect, is spoken in villages along the coast from near Dongkala Cape as far south as the Salabangka Archipelago.
- f. Rota (100) is spoken in Rota village, near Lake Towuti, in South-East Sulawesi.

The Epe dialect reported by Adriani and Kruyt (1914:230–231) (and following them, Salzner 1960 and Sneddon 1983) no longer exists.¹³ A description can be found in Goedhart (1908:503–504) of how in the year 1900 the Epe fled the interior from the terror then being wreaked by La Patiku, chief of the Wiwirano, and settled on the coast—where two subsequent epidemics drastically reduced their numbers. Ethnic Epe people can still be identified living in Bahodopi village on the coast; however they now speak the Bungku dialect.

When Adriani and Kruyt described a certain Watu dialect of Bungku (1914:352), they probably meant the isolect spoken in Watu village, located in those days on the Lindu River (see Map 11). If so, then our evidence dictates it should be collapsed with either Landawe or Tulambatu of the present study. Adriani gave the negative term in Tulambatu as *hileo*, and the negative term in Watu as *hina*, but this is misleading: in **both** Landawe and Tulambatu the former means ‘no, not’ while the latter means ‘does not exist’.

CLASSIFICATION:

When the lexicostatistic data is converted to tree form (Figure 28), it becomes evident that all of the clusters relate to each other at or above 80%. Therefore I consider that these compose one language. However, the tree diagram hides chaining relationships. As the spanning tree shows (Figure 27), all of the word lists relate to each other in a chain in which only one of the links falls below 90%—but the ends may be quite distant. In particular, the Landawe and Rota word lists consistently relate to the other Bungku word lists below 80%. Esser (1938) and Bhurhanuddin (1979) in fact listed Landawe as a separate language.

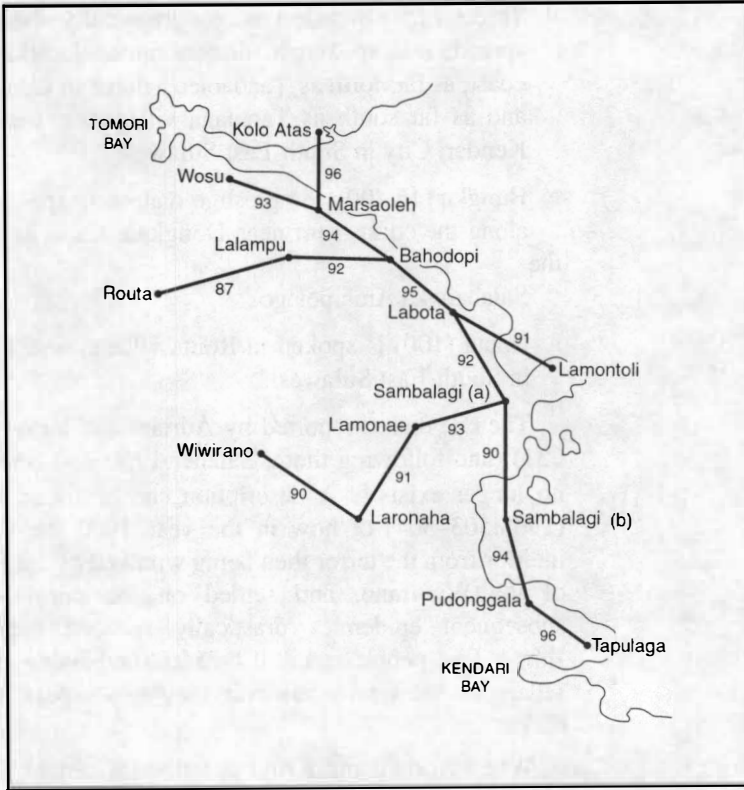


FIGURE 27: BUNGPU LANGUAGE MAXIMAL SPANNING TREE (APPROXIMATE GEOGRAPHY)

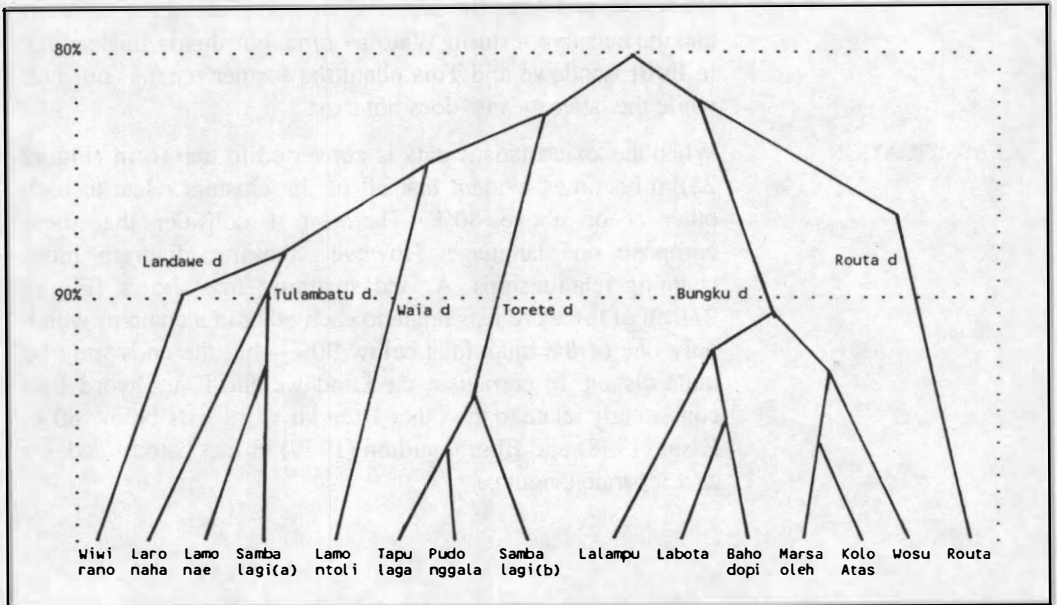


FIGURE 28: BUNGPU LANGUAGE (CORRELATION VALUE = 0.77)

Bhurhanuddin (1979:7) wrongly equated Mapute with Tulambatu, and this error is repeated in Noorduyn (1991:117). The term Mapute, referring to a language, should be considered an alternate name for Waru, a Tolaki Family language.

RELIGION:

Islamic

LOCATION:

All Bungku settlements in Central Sulawesi lie along the coastal plain, and no village is more than four kilometers inland. The uninhabited and forested interior is ruggedly mountainous, but few peaks rise above 300 meters. A road from the port of Kolonodale extends as far as the town of Bungku; further south, access is either by foot or, more usually, by boat.

There is also a community of Bungku speakers to the north across Tolo Bay, in Kolo Atas village. Other ethnic Bungku live even further north along the coast (Wumbu, Kadir, et al. 1986:21), but according to my informants they no longer speak Bungku.

In South-East Sulawesi, Tulambatu and Landawe speakers have settled in villages along the navigable portion of the Lindu River, close to areas they inhabited before the Japanese invasion but further downstream.

Routa speakers still live in the village by that name, across the watershed divide from Lake Towuti near the headwaters of the Lindu River. It is a four day hike to the nearest villages downstream, but Routa is more often reached by crossing Lake Towuti and following the road 20 kilometers inland.

ECONOMY:

Although the closest major sheltered port is Kolonodale to the north, more competitive prices are available in Kendari. As a result, the coastal Bungku communities are economically oriented towards the south.

The main staples of the Bungku people are sago and dry-field rice. Surpluses are sold, often at local markets, along with other gardening products (in the inland areas, especially peanuts, soy beans and other beans). Copra is a major export of the coastal areas, and Bungku people also harvest and sell forest products: timber, rattan, and dammar. More and more they are planting other cash crops such as cloves, cashews, pepper and cacao.

Among the Bungku, the Torete are the only ones who fish extensively as well as farm. Catches are sold locally and in Kendari.

LANGUAGE USE:

The Bungku people are proud of their language. In the town of Bungku there are public signs in the local language, and even traders who come from outside usually learn some Bungku.

Only in the small Routa community is there doubt concerning the continued viability of their dialect of Bungku; children reportedly often use Tolaki, Buginese or Torajan rather than Routa.

PAST MIGRATIONS:

According to their own legends, the Torete people once lived on Wawonii Island (where there is to this day a mountain called Waworete), but certainly by 1914 they had relocated to their present locations (see Adriani & Kruyt 1914:218; Treffers 1914:197–198).

3.3 MORI FAMILY

We tentatively propose five languages in the Mori Family. Of these five, Bahonsuai and Tomadino are virtually unreported in previous writings about Mori. Both Bahonsuai and Tomadino are spoken by only a few hundred speakers. They represent Mori communities which migrated into the Bungku language area; consequently both languages exhibit divergence from Mori and sporadic convergence with Bungku.

Despite the differing views concerning languages and dialects in the remaining Mori area, the lexicostatistic pattern clearly leads us to propose three languages. Mori Bawah, also known as Lower or East Mori, refers to the language of Mori settlements formerly located near the coast south of Tomori Bay; Mori Atas, also known as Upper or West Mori, refers to the language of settlements formerly located in the mountainous region further to the west. Padoe speakers formerly lived south of Lake Matano. These three languages are closely enough related to be considered a subfamily within the Mori Family.

However, drawing any lines which might represent present-day language borders is difficult because of the considerable mixture of Mori communities from all three language groups. Resettlement began before the establishment of Dutch hegemony, was encouraged by the Dutch, and continued through the period of the Darul Islam rebellion.

There is no lexicostatistic basis for subgrouping Padoe with either Mori Atas or Mori Bawah. But two sound changes indicate Padoe shares a closer relationship to the upland dialects. In both Padoe and Mori Atas, original *t* merged with *s* preceding high vowels *i* and *u*:

Mori Bawah	Padoe	Mori Atas	
<i>punti</i>	<i>pusi</i>	<i>punsi</i>	banana
<i>kutu</i>	<i>kusu</i>	<i>kusu</i>	louse
<i>watu</i>	<i>wasu</i>	<i>wasu</i>	rock
<i>tiporo</i>	<i>siporo</i>	<i>siporo</i>	mosquito

FIGURE 29: CONDITIONED MERGER OF *t* WITH *s* PRECEDING HIGH VOWELS

In some words original *a* merged with *o* in final position, and wherever it occurs this change was shared by both Padoe and Mori Atas:¹⁴

Mori Bawah	Padoe	Mori Atas	
<i>motu'a</i>	<i>mosu'o</i>	<i>mosu'o</i>	old
<i>ohia</i>	<i>ohio</i>	<i>ohio</i>	salt
<i>orua</i>	<i>oruo</i>	<i>oruo</i>	two
<i>olima</i>	<i>olimo</i>	<i>olimo</i>	five

FIGURE 30: CONDITIONED MERGER OF *a* WITH *o* IN WORD FINAL POSITION

Based on these sound changes, we may also surmise that the Tomadino originated from the Mori Atas or Padoe area, while the Bahonsuai originated from the Mori Bawah area.

LANGUAGE	ANAK SUKU	VILLAGE/TOWN OF WORDLIST ELICITATION	
BAHONSUAI	Bahonsuai	Bahonsuai	
	Watu	76 Ungkaya	
	"	74 89 Mohoni	
	"	72 88 94 Ronta	
	Bahano	71 84 88 90 Uluanso	
	Mo'iki	80 82 88 88 86 Korowou	
	MORI BAWAH	Ngusumbatu	76 78 82 82 84 92 Tinompo
		Roda	76 76 82 83 81 91 95 Beteleme
		Petasia	74 75 82 80 81 91 94 95 Sampalowo
Kangua		73 75 82 82 78 87 89 87 88 Tiu	
Soroako		74 74 79 77 79 85 88 88 87 81 Soroako (Desa Nikkel)	
Karonsi'e		70 80 80 80 84 81 82 80 80 76 86 Soroako	
PADOE	Padoe	65 72 77 75 76 75 78 77 77 74 81 80 Lasulawai 63 70 74 73 75 73 76 75 74 71 81 81 96 Kawata 64 70 75 74 75 74 76 75 74 71 80 80 93 96 Taliwan	
	Tambée	64 70 74 73 75 74 75 74 76 75 73 75 79 76 77 Landangi	
	Ulu'uwoi	65 73 75 76 78 76 78 77 78 77 75 78 80 78 79 91 Mora	
MORI ATAS	Impo	63 71 74 75 75 77 78 76 78 78 69 73 75 72 72 80 84 Korompeli	
	Molongkuni	62 69 72 73 73 76 78 77 77 75 72 74 73 71 72 77 83 89 Wawopoda	
	Kolokolo	63 70 72 75 76 76 82 78 78 79 71 74 75 73 74 80 83 88 91 Wara'a	
	Olota	63 71 75 75 75 76 81 78 78 81 71 74 75 73 74 81 84 86 89 92 Tontowea	
	Lolonggoio	62 70 73 74 73 74 78 77 78 82 70 72 74 72 72 82 84 83 84 87 92 Moleono	
	Wulanderi	61 68 71 73 74 73 77 73 73 76 69 72 72 70 71 79 82 87 87 88 91 89 Bunta	
	Doule	57 65 68 69 69 70 75 72 72 75 67 70 73 71 73 77 81 83 83 86 91 89 92 Kolaka	
	Molio'a	61 68 70 72 72 71 76 74 74 77 68 72 73 71 74 79 82 81 82 86 89 91 90 94 Ensa	
"	60 66 69 69 70 70 74 72 73 76 67 71 71 69 71 79 81 80 79 83 85 88 88 93 97 Tomata		
TOMADINO	Tomadino	71 68 65 66 68 66 67 66 66 68 64 66 68 66 66 72 72 71 68 74 73 74 72 69 74 72 Sakita	

FIGURE 31: MORI FAMILY LEXICAL SIMILARITY MATRIX

7. LANGUAGE NAME:	BAHONSUAI
ALTERNATE NAMES:	Bahonsoewaaai, Bahoe-soeaaai.
NUMBER SPEAKERS:	200
DIALECTS:	none
CLASSIFICATION:	A brief sentence by Goedhart (1908:516) about a certain "To Bahonsoewaaai" is the only reference to these people to be found in the literature. He astutely noted that their language much resembled Mori.
	<p>Because the Bahonsuai isolect has low lexical similarity percentages compared with all other Mori Family word lists, I tentatively consider Bahonsuai to be a separate language. Its closest relationship is with Mori Bawah; at one time these no doubt composed just one language. Bahonsuai speakers themselves report a close affinity with the To Mo'iki within Mori Bawah, a relationship which is even born out by the lexical similarity results.</p> <p>While Bahonsuai exhibits divergence from Mori Bawah, it exhibits sporadic convergence with Bungku, a result no doubt of these speakers having lived within the Bungku language area for a considerable period of time.</p>
RELIGION:	Islamic
LOCATION:	Bahonsuai speakers live in the village of Bahonsuai in the Bungku Tengah Subdistrict.
ECONOMY:	Some Bahonsuai make their living by farming, others by fishing, and some by practicing both. Rice is the main staple, and the Bahonsuai grow enough to sell surplus rice as far south as the Bungku Selatan Subdistrict. Copra is taken to Kendari to be sold; other exports (palm sugar, fish, rattan and timber) are sold locally or in Kolonodale.
LANGUAGE USE:	Although only about a third of the inhabitants of Bahonsuai village are Bahonsuai speakers, they report that their language continues to be used at home and in the fields and boats. Indonesian is the language of trading and commerce, and is used at cultural celebrations maybe even more than is Bahonsuai.
PAST MIGRATIONS:	The Bahonsuai formerly must have lived further west in the Mori Bawah area.

8. LANGUAGE NAME:	MORI BAWAH (LOWER MORI)
	These lowland people originally did not denote themselves by the name Mori, but applied it only to peoples located further to the west and speaking a related language (today's Mori Atas

people). However, they soon adopted it as a self-designation following the usage promoted by the Dutch (Esser 1927:2).¹⁵

ALTERNATE NAMES:

Oost-Mori, East Mori, E-Mori, Beneden-Tomori, Lower Mori, To Moiki, Tomaiki, Petasia, Soroako, Saroako, Mokole, To Watoe, Towatoe, Watu, Karunsi, Karunsie, Karunsi'e, Karonsi'e, Karonsie, Karongsi, Sinongko, 'Nahina'.

Adriani did not leave it entirely clear when he used the term "Oost-Mori" in his 1914 work, whether he intended it to refer to dialects of Lower or Upper Mori—but probably the former was intended. Certainly this is the sense in which other researchers have used the term. For further discussion see endnote 18.

NUMBER SPEAKERS:

12,000–18,000

Most of the extant literature provides us only with population estimates for the Mori Bawah, Padoe and Mori Atas languages considered as a whole. Wumbu, Kadir, et al. (1986) estimated 27,000 Mori speakers in Central Sulawesi, which also agrees with the figures arrived at by Karhunen and Vuorinen (1991:46–48) and Mead and Mead (1991:139–142), when you combine their respective population estimates for various Central Sulawesi subdistricts.

In South Sulawesi, Grimes and Grimes (1987:60) estimated there were 7,000–10,000 speakers of Padoe, the only Bungku-Tolaki language which they reported in South Sulawesi. In a later survey, Vail (1991:61) estimated the number of Padoe speakers outside of Nuha Subdistrict to number about 5,000; while Karhunen and Vuorinen (1991:48) estimated Mori speakers within the Nuha Subdistrict at about 8,000.

Combining the totals for both provinces, Mori Bawah, Padoe and Mori Atas speakers in Sulawesi must number about 40,000.

DIALECTS:

Because of complex patterns of divergence and convergence, the dialects of Mori Bawah resist easy classification. Furthermore, descriptions of the dialect situation have been complicated by the lack of suitable cover terms; the Mori themselves simply do not have designations for groupings based on linguistic criteria. Instead, the Mori recognise a number of subdivisions among themselves called *anak suku*, literally 'child tribes' or 'tribal offspring'.¹⁶ Two *anak suku* may speak the same subdialect; conversely, the speech of peoples belonging to a single *anak suku* may exhibit dialectal variation.

Consequently, earlier researchers have used some combination of *anak suku* names, village names, *anak suku* names presented as village names, negative terms or even other terms when describing dialectal variations within Mori. For example Esser (1927:3ff.) distinguished two dialects which can be equated with our Mori Bawah: his Mokole dialect, and his Watu-Karunsi'e dialect. The Mori word for 'prince' is *mokole*, and thus 'Mokole dialect' designates the language spoken in villages of the royal lineage. Watu and Karunsi'e are the names of two Mori *anak suku*. About Watu he wrote:

The inhabitants of the villages which are indicated on the map as 'Watu' do not all call themselves *To Watu*. In Kumpi and Ulu Anso, for example, live the *To Mobahono* (whose dialect deviates somewhat from Watu), and in Lintu Mewure live the *To Ture'a*, who evidently are very closely connected with the *To Mobahono*. Not all of these distinctions are of much interest...

(Esser 1927:3) (trans. D.M.)

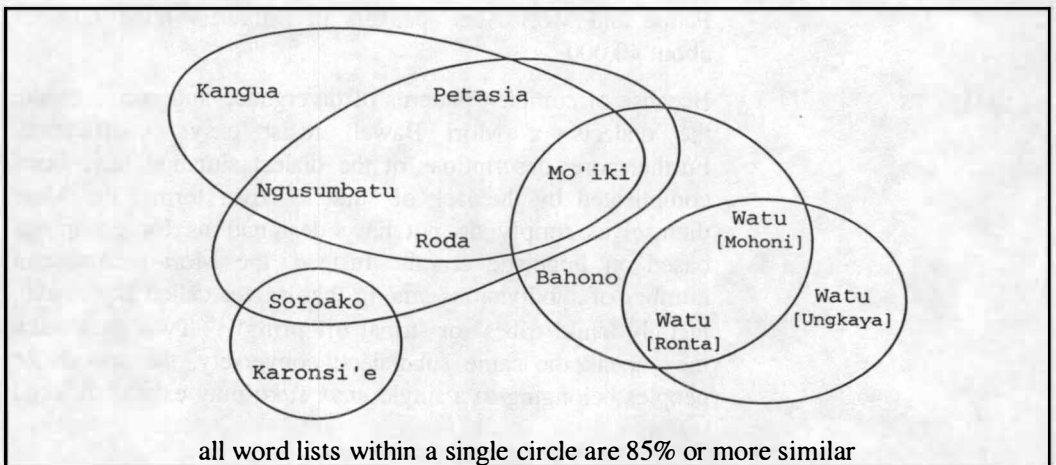
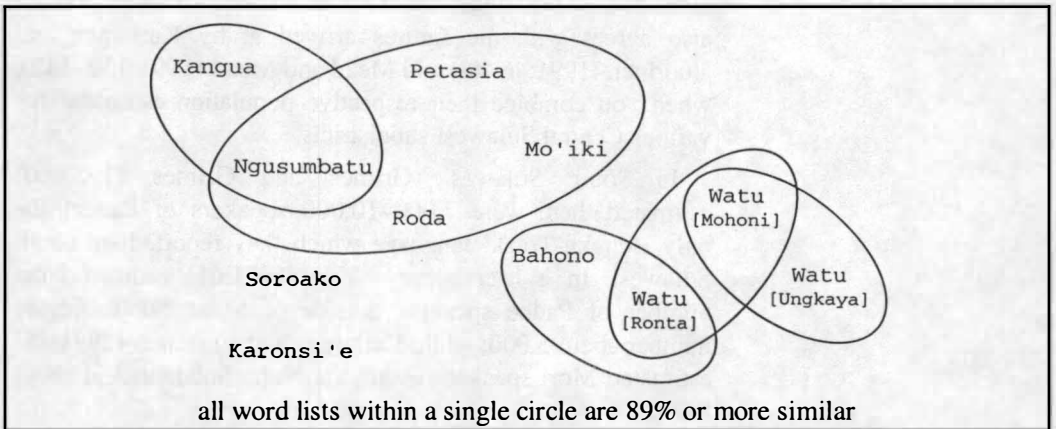


FIGURE 32: MORI BAWAH DIALECT CHAINING (APPROXIMATE GEOGRAPHY)

Included under his Mokole dialect he listed no less than eight *anak suku*—the To Mo'iki, To Kangua, To Ngusumbatu, To Roda, To Petasia, To Nuha, To Rahampu'u and To Taipa—though just as often he referred to these groups according to the name of the village(s) in which they lived. And between these eight he distinguished only four Mokole subdialects.

I have not attempted any classification of Mori Bawah dialects based on a divergence (tree-branching) model of language development. Instead, the clique analyses presented in Figure 32 show who—in terms of lexical similarity—are the closest neighbours of each *anak suku*. Geographic locations have only been very approximately maintained.

The subdialect of the To Nuha, the To Rahampu'u and the To Taipa—three people groups whom Esser felt to be closely related, though possibly with some linguistic variation between them (1927:5)—should probably be equated with that of the To Soroako mentioned in the present study.

CLASSIFICATION:

Early researchers, who based their classifications on sound change and morphosyntactic similarities between languages, found no reason for postulating more than one Mori language (Adriani 1900; Adriani & Kruyt 1914; Esser 1927). The Dutch Missionary Society published only one New Testament version (in the dialect of the To Ngusumbatu) (Riedel 1948), which they felt would sufficiently serve the entire Mori area. (The Dutch actively promoted Ngusumbatu as a unifying dialect for the region; cf. Karhunen & Vuorinen 1991:42–43.)

Many later researchers, basing their classifications on lexical similarity, have found reason to distinguish Mori Bawah as a separate language (including Bhurhanuddin 1979; Valkama 1987; Karhunen & Vuorinen 1991). Even the Barrs found reasons for postulating separate languages in the Mori area, despite the lack of correlating evidence from their lexicostatistic analysis (Barr & Barr 1979:7). I side with these researchers, and propose that Mori Bawah be considered a separate language.

RELIGION:

Predominantly Christian. Villagers living close to or along the coast tend to be Muslim.

LOCATION:

Mori Bawah speakers inhabit the low hilly area to the south and south-west of Tomori Bay, in areas drained by the Tambalako and the lower Laa, both of which are navigable. The coast forms a natural border on the east. The mountains to the north are sparsely inhabited, primarily by Pamona peoples; the mountains to the south are uninhabited.

- ECONOMY:** Subsistence farming remains the principle trade of most Mori Bawah people. Rice is the most important grain crop, and as to be expected fruit, vegetables and various cash crops are also grown. The area around Tomori Bay is also rich in dammar.
- Particularly in Central Sulawesi, Mori people have also become school teachers as well as occupied other positions within the local government.
- Despite its sheltered location, Kolonodale located on Tomori Bay is not a major seaport, being overshadowed in economic importance by the ports of Luwuk to the north-east and Kendari to the south. More goods are brought in overland from Poso and even from Ujung Pandang rather than through Kolonodale.
- LANGUAGE USE:** Mori is the predominant language used in homes, village affairs, and fields, while Indonesian is the primary language of churches, mosques and government offices. Karhunen and Vuorinen (1991:42–43) report a high degree of bilingualism in Indonesian throughout the Mori area.
- PAST MIGRATIONS:** There are no reports of migrations of the Mori Bawah people. From their earliest contacts with Westerners they have been located in their present area of settlement.
- 9. LANGUAGE NAME:** PADOE
- ALTERNATE NAMES:** Padoë, Pado-e, To Padoé, ‘Alalao’, Ussu, Oessoe.
- Grimes and Grimes (1987:59) included Soroako, Karongsi, Sinongko, ‘Nahina’, South Mori, Tambe’e, and ‘Ajo’ as alternate names for Padoe. However in the present study the first four must be regarded as referring to Mori Bawah or its dialects; the other three as referring to Mori Atas or its dialects.
- NUMBER SPEAKERS:** 8,000–15,000
- DIALECTS:** none
- CLASSIFICATION:** Both Adriani and Esser included Padoe as a dialect in the Mori language area. Adriani had originally classified Padoe as an East Mori subdialect (Adriani & Kruyt 1914:231), but Esser considered this an error based on faulty data. He himself thought Padoe could be reckoned as a subdialect of Upper (that is, West) Mori (1927:6).
- The three Padoe word lists relate to other Mori word lists at an average of 74% similarity. On this basis, and because of the clear divergence pattern exhibited by Padoe, we follow Karhunen and Vuorinen (1991) and consider it to be a separate language.

RELIGION: Predominantly Christian. Some Padoe villages are predominantly Christian, some predominantly Muslim, while still other villages have a more equal distribution between adherents of the two religions (Karhunen & Vuorinen 1991:39).

LOCATION: The traditional Padoe language area is south and west of Lake Matano, and today most Padoe communities are still found in Nuha Subdistrict and the adjoining Malili and Mangkutama Subdistricts. As a result of the Darul Islam rebellion, several Padoe villages relocated to Central Sulawesi, where they have remained to this day.

ECONOMY: Most Padoe are subsistence farmers, whose main staple is rice grown in both wet and dry fields.

Since 1968, many Padoe have found employment in the nickel industry after a Canadian company began mining the area south of Lake Matano. The economic development has led to increased communication with the outside world, as well as to a large influx of non-Padoe speakers into the Padoe area.

LANGUAGE USE: The Padoe themselves report a high degree of bilingualism in Indonesian.

PAST MIGRATIONS: Esser (1927:6) speculated that the Padoe might originally have been Tolaki or Mekongga speakers who migrated into the Mori area and whose language subsequently converged with Mori Atas. We cannot support this conjecture either by our lexicostatistic results¹⁷ or by other known facts about these languages. For example, Esser cites Padoe *olo* 'day, sun' (all other Mori languages *oleo*) as an indication of the foreign influence which must have at one time operated upon their language. But this is certainly not due to the influence of any Tolaki Family language, all of which have retained *oleo* down to the present day.

In a tradition reported by Karhunen and Vuorinen (1991:37), the Padoe originally lived in the area north of Lake Matano, but migrated south during a period of warfare.

10. LANGUAGE NAME: MORI ATAS (UPPER MORI)

ALTERNATE NAMES: To Mori, Tomori, West-Mori, West Mori, W-Mori, Zuid-Mori, South Mori, S-Mori, Berg-Tomori, Boven-Mori, Upper Mori, 'Aikoa', 'Ajo', Tambe'e, Tambee.

NUMBER SPEAKERS: 12,000–18,000

DIALECTS: Adriani listed the various Mori peoples who composed his East, West and South Mori dialects¹⁸ as follows (Adriani & Kruyt 1914:218, 244):

East Mori:	Molongkuni Impo
West Mori:	Pu'u Ntana Olot Wulanderi Molio'a Ulu'uwoi
South Mori:	Tambe'e

However, where Adriani had three dialects, Esser posited only one dialect, his Upper Mori, of which the four principal subdialects (and a possible fifth) were:

Upper Mori:	Molongkuni Impo Molio'a Ulu Uwoi and Tambee (Pomuaia)
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Esser also noted that there were still many more “miniatur-stammetjes” belonging to Upper Mori, but probably all of them could be connected up with one of his fore-named principal subdialects (1927:5).

What appear in Adriani and Esser's lists are names of various Mori *anak suku*, and except for Adriani's Pu'u Ntana, they can all be identified in the work of Karhunen and Vuorinen. As with Mori Bawah, I have chosen here to highlight only linguistic **chaining** relationships among the various *anak suku* (Figure 33).

Because of the recent migrations of Mori Atas people, it has not been possible to maintain even approximate geography in this presentation. However, I do expect the chaining relationships to reflect previous patterns of settlement. For example, today the To Ulu'uwoi live in Mora village in Central Sulawesi where several other Mori settlements constitute their closest geographic neighbours; but their closest linguistic neighbours, the To Tambee, lie across the mountains in Landangi village in South Sulawesi. The still close linguistic relationship points to some former connection between the To Ulu'uwoi and the To Tambee—which is supported by J. Kruyt's report that in the recent past they were just one people (1924:35).

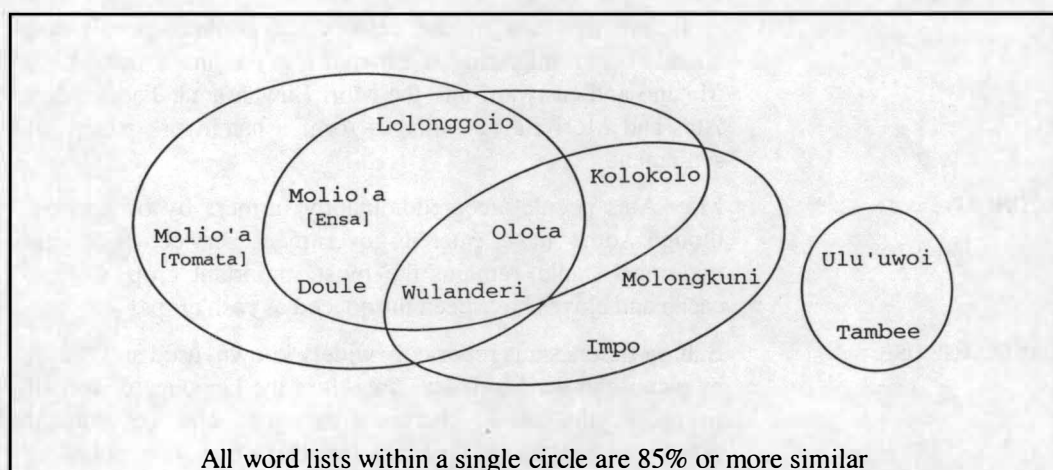
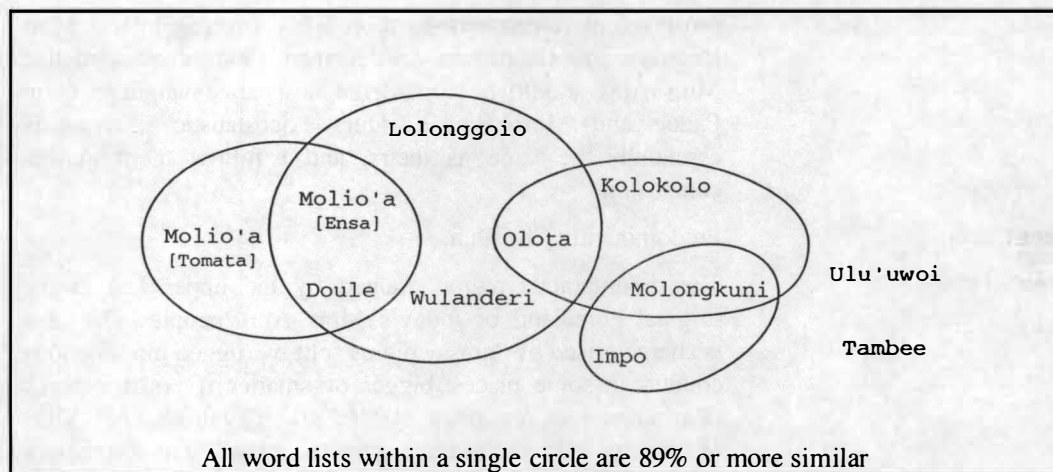


FIGURE 33: MORI ATAS DIALECT CHAINING

The linguistic position of the To Pomuaia must remain a matter of speculation even today. Esser wrote that “their nearest relations [the *To Mbelala*] have settled in Labua village in the Bungku area [also Lambere’a and Pekampua were reported to me as villages of the same tribe, at least of the same language]” (1927:5–6) (trans. D.M.). But the only Tombelala living in the Bungku area today—in and around Lamberea village—speak a Pamona dialect, not any Mori language (Mead & Mead 1991). Karhunen and Vuorinen had heard of the To Pomuaia, but lacked the opportunity to obtain a word list from them (1991:43).

CLASSIFICATION:

Whether one should recognise within the Mori area just one language with several dialects (Adriani & Kruyt 1914; J. Kruyt 1924; Esser 1927; Salzner 1960; Sneddon 1983) or several languages (Barr & Barr 1979; Bhurhanuddin 1979; Valkama 1987) has been a matter of some discussion. The

most recent researchers to thoroughly investigate the Mori language area (Karhunen & Vuorinen 1991) concluded that Mori Atas should be considered a separate language from Padoe and Mori Bawah. Our lexicostatistic analysis is essentially the same as theirs, and I follow them in this conclusion.

- RELIGION:** Predominantly Christian.
- LOCATION:** The mountainous region drained by the upper Laa is the original homeland of today's Mori Atas people. The area is characterised by "grassy plains split by rugged mountainous country in some places, bigger or smaller rivers in others" (Karhunen & Vuorinen 1991:38). Elevations of Mori settlements in this area range approximately 300 to 400 meters above sea level.
- Before the turn of the century, Mori Atas people had already begun migrating southward into the area around Lake Matano and eastward into the Mori Bawah area. Today Mori Atas and Mori Bawah villages form a patchwork pattern of settlement.
- ECONOMY:** Mori Atas people are predominantly farmers by occupation, though some have entered government service. Rice, the traditional staple, remains the most important crop. Coffee, cacao and cloves have been introduced as cash crops.
- LANGUAGE USE:** Bahasa Indonesia is reportedly widely known, used and taught by parents in the Mori Atas area. It is the language of formal situations, that is, in churches, mosques and government offices, as well as the language for interacting with outsiders even in informal situations. But the Mori are not hesitant about switching to their mother tongue at home, in the fields, or in free conversation.
- PAST MIGRATIONS:** The twentieth century has seen Mori Atas people moving from their original mountainous homeland to resettle in parts of the lowland area to the east—as Esser notes, "sometimes voluntarily, but mostly by high command" (1927:2) (trans. D.M.)—because here the Dutch could better enforce colonial rule over their previously oft-warring charges (Karhunen & Vuorinen 1991:37).
- Some migrations, though, had already been occurring before the establishment of Dutch hegemony. The first missionary-explorers, for example, found the To Impo already living in the lower Mori area (A. Kruyt 1900:458). The migration of the To Tambee into the area south of Lake Matano must also be placed in an earlier time.

11. LANGUAGE NAME:	TOMADINO
ALTERNATE NAMES:	none
NUMBER SPEAKERS:	600
DIALECTS:	none
CLASSIFICATION:	The percentages of lexical similarity which Tomadino shares with other Mori Family word lists range from 74% to 65%; on this basis I consider Tomadino to be a separate language within the Mori Family. The Tomatano living in Sokita village (A. Kruyt 1900:438, based on a report by Paul and Fritz Sarasin) are not to be identified with these people.
RELIGION:	Islamic
LOCATION:	The Tomadino live in Sakita village, on the outskirts one kilometer from the town of Bungku. The principal Mori area lies 100 kilometers to the north-west.
ECONOMY:	The Tomadino are farmers. They sell surpluses such as sago, cash crops (cloves, cacao, copra and cashews) and forest products (rattan) at markets in Bungku, Salabangka and Kendari.
LANGUAGE USE:	Tomadino respondents report considerable bilingualism with Bungku. There is no domain which is strictly reserved for Tomadino, therefore it is difficult to imagine that this will remain a stable bilingual situation.
PAST MIGRATIONS:	Compared with all other Bungku-Tolaki languages, Tomadino relates most closely to Mori Atas (average: 72%); this, and shared sound changes bear evidence that the Tomadino originated from the Mori Atas area. After they migrated to their present location in the Bungku language area, their speech diverged from Mori Atas and converged with Bungku.

3.4 TOLAKI FAMILY

The Tolaki Family consists of four languages, but in terms of number of speakers they are not even roughly equivalent. At 280,000 strong the Tolaki themselves outnumber all other Bungku-Tolaki speakers nearly two-to-one. The other three members of the Tolaki Family—Waru, Rahambuu and Kodeoha—are tiny by comparison.

Besides showing statistically significant internal cohesion from a lexical similarity perspective, all of the Tolaki Family languages also share in a singular historical sound change: the merger of voiceless prenasalised stops with voiced prenasalised counterparts. As the data show, Kodeoha also experienced the subsequent merger of (voiced) prenasalised stops with simple voiced stops. (The Laiwui dialect of Tolaki is also lacking in prenasalised stops; see the discussion of this dialect under Tolaki below.) Compare, for example, the

following Bungku forms, which have retained original voiceless prenasalised stops, with corresponding Tolaki and Kodeoha words:

Bungku	Tolaki	Kodeoha	
<i>meampo</i>	<i>meambo</i>	<i>meabo</i>	good
<i>mompepate</i>	<i>mombepate</i>	<i>mobepate</i>	kill
<i>punti</i>	<i>pundi</i>	<i>pudi</i>	banana
<i>mentia</i>	<i>mendia</i>	<i>media</i>	pregnant
<i>in̄koʔo</i>	<i>in̄goʔo</i>	<i>igoo</i>	2SG
<i>moŋkaa</i>	<i>moŋgaa</i>	<i>mogaa</i>	eat

FIGURE 34: UNCONDITIONED MERGER OF VOICELESS PRENASALISED STOPS WITH CORRESPONDING VOICED PRENASALISED STOPS

By a similar process, original *ns* merged with *s* in all Tolaki Family languages (Noorduyn 1963:362).

3.4.1 PEOPLES OF THE LALINDU AND LASOLO

It seems best to preface the presentation of the individual Tolaki languages with a discussion of the small people groups formerly found in the northern Tolaki Family area—that is, along the Solo and Lindu Rivers, and to a lesser extent, the upper Konawe River—and where researchers of the past proposed a number of different languages and/or dialects. In the north small groups of people had carved communities out of the forest along these rivers and their smaller tributaries. They were connected by trails which cut through stretches of uninhabited territory. Each community might bear its own name—but that did not mean they also had a language different from their neighbours. Here were the Tolaki—and so were the Bungku, who had been occupying small pockets on the lower Lasolo and near Lake Towuti.

The linguist Adriani and Lieutenant F. Treffers, post commander at Kendari, shared one view of who these people were. One must suspect their inventories are too similar to have arisen independently:

ADRIANI AND KRUYT (1914:352–353)	TREFFERS (1914:198)
Language: Dialect	Inhabitants of the northern area
Tolaki: To Wiwi Rano	To Wiwirano
To Waroe	To Waroe
To Labeaoe	To Lawiaoe
To Asera Wanoea	To Asera
Bungku: To Watoe	To Watoe
To Toelambatoe	
To Epe and To Ro'oeta	

Although the two authors place the respective To Labeaoe/To Lawiaoe in different locations, there can be little doubt that the terms refer to the same people. On the other hand, the missionary van der Klift made his own investigations, and reported five peoples living in the mountainous north.¹⁹ Esser, aware of both views, apparently split the difference on his

1938 language map: if one of the peoples in Van der Klift's inventory had already been listed as a Bungku or Tolaki dialect by Adriani, then it didn't appear on his map as a separate language; but if it was a 'new' group (namely, not mentioned by Adriani), then Esser was willing to provisionally grant it language status (until such time as he could make his own observations; see Noorduyt 1963:362).

VAN DER KLIFT (1925:243, 1933:164)

Small tribes of the north

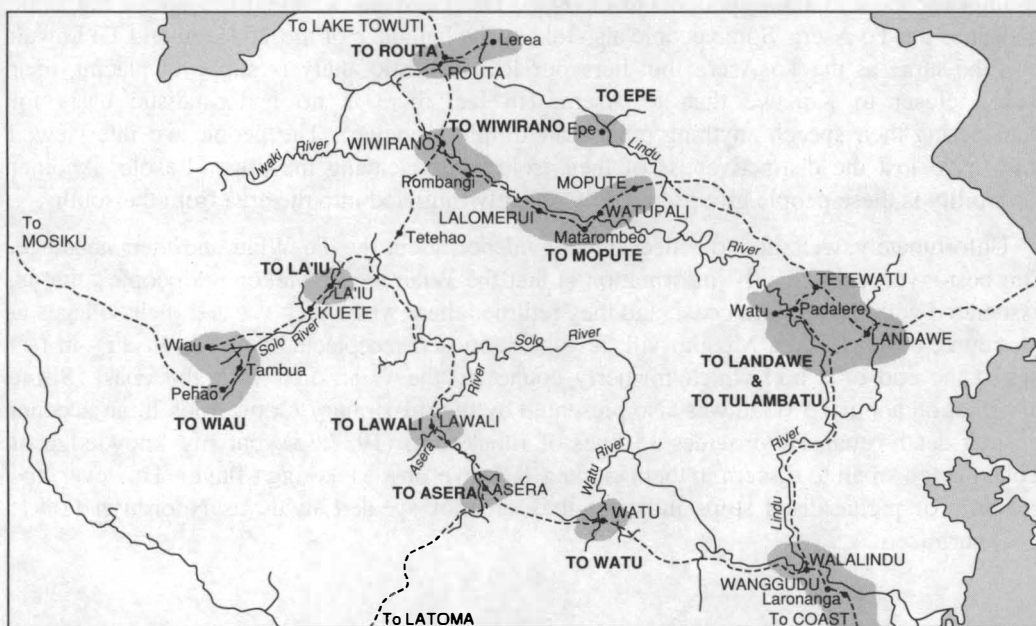
To-Laiwoei
To-Mopoete
To-Landawe
To-Wiwirano
To-Raoeta

ESSER (1938)

Languages of the north

Laiwoei
Mapoete
Landawe

One aspect of clarifying the language situation is deciding which of these actually deserve 'language' or 'dialect' status; another aspect is rectifying the terms used by the two camps. It is to this latter point I speak first.



MAP 11: PEOPLE GROUPS OF THE LALINDU AND LASOLO

Map 11 is an attempt to reconstruct the locations occupied by these people prior to World War II. It is based on various Dutch maps²⁰ and on information supplied by our respondents. Village names were supplied from my source maps, but a village name in upper case indicates it was corroborated by our respondents. The To Watu (Tolaki-speaking), the To La'iu, and the To Lawali were additions suggested by our respondents. On the other hand, we found no one willing to support Adriani and Treffers' To Watu (Bungku-

speaking) as a people distinct from the To Tulambatu or To Landawe. ('To Watu' could be appropriate if taken to refer to the inhabitants of Watu village on the Lindu River). We have also dropped the designation 'To Waru'; the To Mopute call their language Waru, thus they are to be equated with the To Waru of Adriani and Treffers. Besides these groups just mentioned, people from the main (Konawe) region of Tolaki had also been migrating into the area and occupying positions on the lower Solo River (Van der Klift 1922a:469).

Of all the interior villages, only Routa and Padalere (now renamed Lamona) have been reoccupied following the period of civil strife which gripped the area from the forties through the sixties. Peoples who formerly inhabited the interior can all be found today in these two villages or in six villages clustered around the confluence of the Solo and Lindu Rivers—except for the To Wiau, who are said to have resettled in Mosiku village along the western coast. Three of these six villages—Wiwirano, Asera and Mopute—have retained the names (but not the geographic location) of villages formerly in the interior.

As for the languages spoken by these people, the To Routa, To Epe, To Tulambatu and To Landawe spoke dialects closely related to Bungku. Of the remaining people groups, our Asera, Wiwirano, and Waru data show a clear chaining pattern, with Waru also exhibiting convergence with Landawe and Tulambatu. Hence the To Asera, To Wiwirano and To Mopute must have occupied their locations—and maintained patterns of contact—long enough for these chaining patterns to develop. The To Watu were said to speak the same dialect as the To Asera. Some people also told us the language of the To La'iu and To Lawali was the same as the To Asera, but here our lexicostatistic analysis supports placing their isolect closer to Konawe than to Asera. (In fact there is no lexicostatistic basis for considering their speech anything other than simply Konawe). The people we interviewed may have lost the distinctiveness of their isolect after leaving the upper Lasolo. Another possibility is these people groups had only recently migrated into the area from the south.

Unfortunately, we failed to collect direct evidence about the To Wiau and their language. Our best—yet secondhand—information is that the Wiau were 'Mekongga people', that is, associated with the western coast, and they returned there when they vacated their villages at the source of the Lasolo. Mosiku village—the supposed receptacle of the To Wiau—in fact lies at the end of a trail which formerly connected the Wiau area with the coast. Some information about To Wiau was also presented by the missionary Gouweloos in an account of their death ritual. He provides 18 lines of ritual song (1937:35), but my knowledge of Tolaki is too small to discern in them either a Konawe or a Mekongga flavor. However, the presence of prenasalised stops indicates they did **not** speak Laiwui, as Noorduyn (1991: 114) surmised.

3.4.2 TOLAKISUBFAMILY

All the languages of the Tolaki Family except for Kodeoha are closely enough related to constitute a subfamily with the Tolaki Family. As can be seen in Figure 36, these languages—Rahambuu, the various Tolaki dialects and Waru—in fact form a dialect chain which courses roughly southward, eastward, then back to the north. Rahambuu lies at one end of the dialect chain in the extreme north-west; Waru occupied the opposite end in the extreme north-east—at least it did so previously to World War II.

12. LANGUAGE NAME: WARU
- The To Mopute, 'the white people', who live in Mopute village, call their language Waru.
- ALTERNATE NAMES: Mapute, Mapoete, Mapoeti, Mopute, Waroe, 'Nehina'.
- NUMBER SPEAKERS: 350
- DIALECTS: a. Waru (200)
b. Lalomerui (150)
- The Waru and Lalomerui dialects were formerly spoken in separate villages, but these people settled together in one village after the Darul Islam insurrection.
- CLASSIFICATION: Adriani and Kruyt (1914), and following them Salzner (1960) and Sneddon (1983), considered Waru to be a dialect of Tolaki.
- Esser did not know much about his Mapute when he classified it as a separate language (1938), and all the available evidence suggests he never equated it with Waru; in one instance he speculated that Mapute belonged to the Bungku group (confer Noorduyt 1963:362). Bhurhanuddin (1979:7) even claimed that an alternate name for Mapute was Tulambatu—but in this regard he was surely mistaken.
- Waru, in fact, relates closely to the Tolaki dialects, from a high of 82% (Lalomerui-Wiwirano) to a low of 75% (Waru-Laiwui) lexical similarity. The people themselves, however, do not use the term Tolaki to refer to their language, and because the average of all similarity scores falls below 80% I tentatively classify Waru as a separate language within the Tolaki Subfamily.
- RELIGION: Islamic
- LOCATION: The Mopute people now live in Mopute village along the lower Lindu River in South-East Sulawesi. Access to this area is by boat or on foot.
- ECONOMY: The Mopute people are farmers. They sell surplus rice and legumes at the market in Walalindu, near the confluence of the Solo and Lindu rivers. Rattan is harvested and sold to traders from Kendari.
- LANGUAGE USE: Mopute adults communicate with traders and government officials using Tolaki or Bahasa Indonesia, and their children learn Tolaki playing with their friends. Even in homes where both parents are Mopute, they may choose to speak Tolaki with their children rather than Waru.

LANGUAGE	DIALECT	VILLAGE/TOWN OF WORDLIST ELICITATION
WARU	Waru	Mopute
	Lalomerui	86 Mopute (Lalomerui)
TOLAKI	Wiwirano	79 82 Walalindu (Wiwirano)
	Asera	76 77 88 Asera () = former location
		79 80 87 90 Walalindu (La'iu)
		78 81 84 87 94 Walalindu (Lawali)
		75 76 81 83 90 89 Gandaganda
		80 80 85 87 96 95 91 Rوتا
		79 80 85 88 95 96 94 95 Wanggudu
		78 80 85 87 95 96 93 95 99 Andomowu
		79 77 82 86 93 93 93 93 97 96 Toreo
		79 79 83 86 94 95 91 95 98 98 97 Besu
		78 79 83 86 93 95 92 92 97 97 97 97 Kokapi
		79 78 82 87 93 96 92 94 98 97 97 97 98 Lalombonda
		78 79 83 88 95 96 92 93 98 98 97 98 98 99 Lameruru
		77 77 83 87 92 94 91 92 96 96 95 96 97 99 98 Wolasi
		77 77 82 84 91 94 90 91 95 95 94 95 96 99 96 98 Morano
		78 78 83 86 91 94 93 93 96 95 95 95 95 98 96 98 98 Sawah
	Tolaki	79 79 82 86 91 95 92 93 96 95 94 95 96 98 97 96 96 98 Roda
		78 76 83 84 90 92 94 93 94 93 95 94 95 94 94 95 95 97 95 Sangisangi
		77 77 83 84 91 94 91 93 95 95 93 95 95 96 96 96 96 97 95 98 Tambeanga
		79 78 83 86 91 95 94 93 97 97 96 96 97 96 96 95 96 96 97 96 Wungkolo
	78 78 84 88 92 94 92 94 98 97 96 97 96 97 97 95 98 97 96 96 97 Ambesaa	
	75 77 82 85 90 91 89 90 94 93 92 92 93 95 94 95 95 96 94 92 92 95 Lanowulu	
	76 78 83 86 91 93 92 93 96 95 93 95 95 97 96 96 95 97 97 94 94 94 96 97 Benua	
	77 79 82 85 92 93 90 92 96 96 94 95 95 97 97 95 95 96 96 92 93 93 95 97 98 Teteasa	

		77 79	84 86	94 94	89 93	95 95	93 94	94 94	96 96	94 94	94 93	91 92	92 93	95 96	97	Onewbute										
		78 79	84 88	94 97	91 95	96 95	96 96	96 97	97 97	97 98	96 96	94 97	94 95	95 97		Asolu										
		77 78	82 85	94 94	92 94	95 96	94 95	95 96	96 94	93 95	94 93	94 93	94 92	94 95	96 97	Tawanga										
		79 79	83 88	97 95	93 95	97 96	95 96	96 96	96 98	95 95	96 95	93 94	94 95	92 94	95 95	97 96	Ambekairi									
		77 79	84 87	95 96	90 94	96 96	94 95	96 96	96 95	94 94	94 91	92 93	95 92	94 95	96 97	97 98	Walay									
		77 81	86 88	94 93	88 95	93 93	92 92	92 92	92 91	90 91	90 90	90 90	90 93	91 91	91 93	94 92	93 94	Wanggudu (Latoma)								
		77 78	83 87	95 95	90 95	96 96	93 96	95 96	96 94	94 94	93 91	93 93	95 92	94 95	95 96	96 96	97 95	Tawanga								
		78 80	86 89	94 93	87 93	93 93	91 92	92 92	92 93	91 91	91 90	89 90	90 93	91 92	92 93	94 92	92 94	95 96	Ahilulu							
	Mekongga dialect chain	78 80	83 86	89 91	86 88	92 91	89 90	91 92	93 92	90 90	90 88	89 90	91 93	93 93	93 92	91 90	92 91	93 92	Simbune							
		77 79	82 85	89 90	84 90	90 89	87 89	89 90	90 90	89 90	88 87	88 88	91 93	90 91	92 91	89 89	90 92	92 93	94	Mowewe						
		77 80	83 84	87 88	83 87	87 86	85 87	86 88	88 88	89 89	87 86	87 86	88 91	88 89	91 90	88 87	89 90	90 92	94	Wonuambuteo						
		77 79	82 83	86 87	85 86	87 86	85 86	86 88	88 89	88 88	87 88	85 88	91 89	88 89	89 89	88 87	87 87	89 90	94	93 96	Hukohuko					
		74 76	79 79	83 82	82 83	83 83	81 82	82 84	83 85	84 86	83 84	83 81	84 89	86 86	86 86	87 84	84 84	85 87	90	91 93	96	Lamekongga				
		74 74	80 80	83 81	81 82	82 82	82 81	83 83	82 85	83 85	82 83	82 81	83 87	84 85	86 84	86 84	84 85	85 86	90	91 92	93 93	Anaiwoi				
		77 80	86 87	88 86	83 90	87 87	85 86	84 86	85 85	85 86	85 85	86 87	88 86	87 88	88 89	87 87	81 91	90 92	89	92 91	91 88	88	Uluwolo			
		75 77	85 83	84 83	78 85	82 82	80 82	80 81	81 81	81 81	82 80	81 82	80 83	83 81	81 82	83 83	82 82	86 85	87	84 88	87 86	84 83	92	Walasiho		
		74 76	83 82	84 82	81 84	83 82	82 81	81 82	81 82	80 82	81 82	81 81	83 82	81 81	82 83	85 83	84 86	84 87	84	87 86	85 86	85 92	91	Pohu		
		Laiwui	75 76	84 83	81 79	74 81	79 79	77 79	78 79	78 79	79 79	77 77	78 76	80 80	79 79	80 80	79 80	81 83	84 86	83	85 84	84 82	81 88	90 88	Alaaha	
RAHAMBUU		73 71	79 77	75 71	71 75	72 72	71 72	71 71	71 72	71 72	71 73	72 70	72 72	71 73	72 73	73 75	74 77	72	74 74	75 74	74 78	84 82	81	Olooloho		
		71 71	74 72	72 69	68 73	70 69	69 70	69 69	68 68	66 69	69 70	69 69	70 70	71 69	70 69	69 71	70 74	71 72	72	73 73	74 71	72 77	80 78	77	87	Letewawo
KODECHA		63 65	69 69	67 66	65 68	66 65	65 66	66 67	65 69	66 68	67 68	67 66	69 68	68 68	68 68	66 66	67 71	68	70 70	71 71	73 71	70 74	76 75	74 75	75	Awo
		63 66	69 68	67 66	64 68	67 66	65 66	66 65	65 67	64 66	66 66	66 66	65 68	68 67	67 67	66 65	65 66	71 67	70	69 71	71 72	69 69	73 76	76 73	75 76	98

FIGURE 35: TOLAKI FAMILY LEXICAL SIMILARITY MATRIX

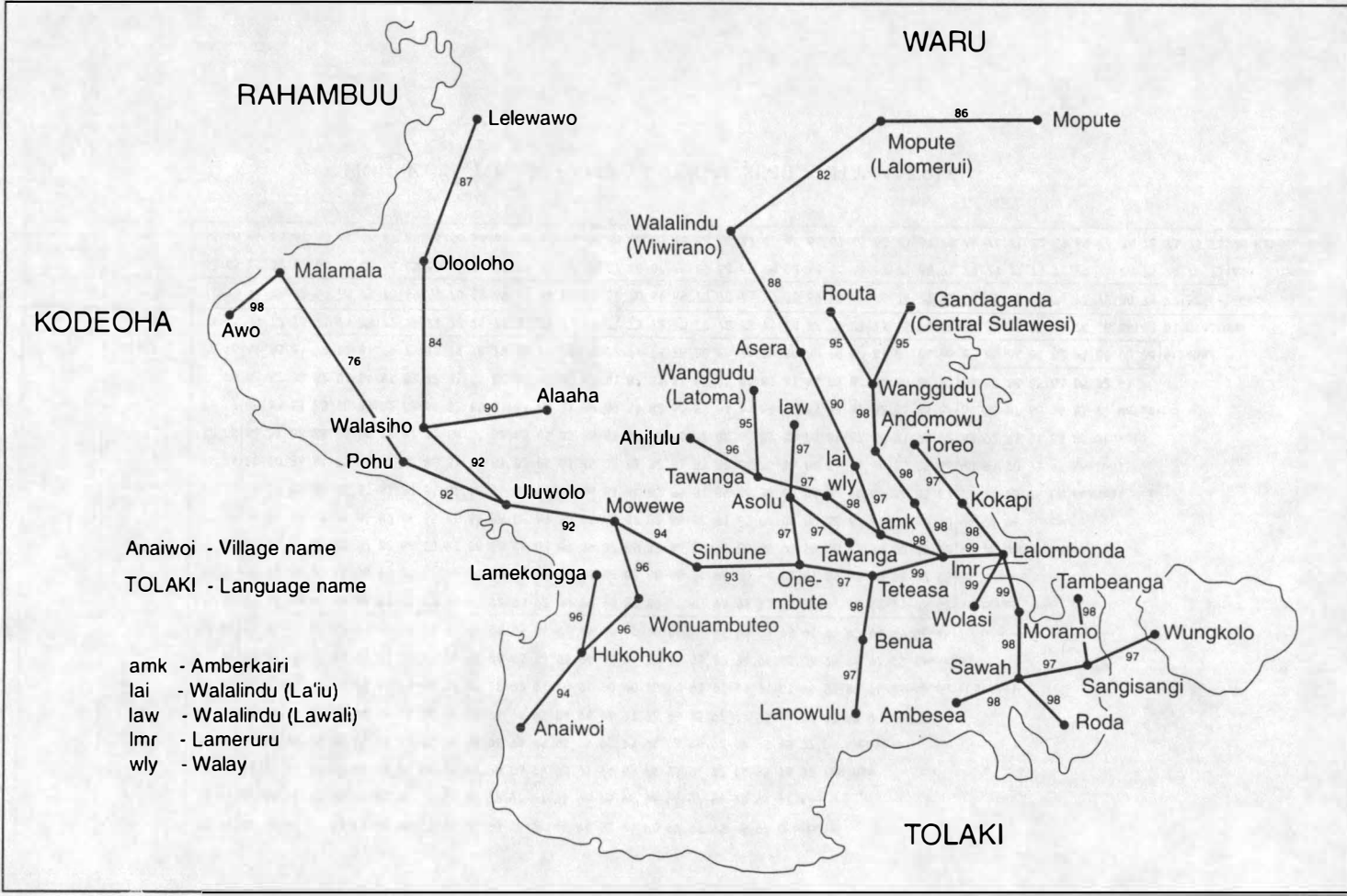


FIGURE 36: TOLAKI FAMILY MAXIMAL SPANNING TREE (APPROXIMATE GEOGRAPHY)

PAST MIGRATIONS: The former Mopute and Lalomerui villages were located 40 kilometers upstream (as the crow flies) from the site of present-day Mopute, on a trail midway between Wiwirano settlements near Lake Towuti and Landawe settlements near the coast. This geographic fact is reflected in the lexical convergence which Waru exhibits with both Wiwirano and Landawe.

13. LANGUAGE NAME: TOLAKI

ALTERNATE NAMES: Laki, To Laki, To Lalaki, Tolalaki, Lalaki, Lolaki, Toolaki, Tololaki, Tolelaki, To Lelaki, To Kea, Tokéa, Tokia, Tokija, To Kia, Tocchia, 'Tambuoki', 'Tamboki'; Wiwi Rano, Wiwiráno, Wirirano, 'Nohina'; Asera Wanua, Asera Wanoea, 'Noie'; Kunawi, Koenawi, Konawi, Kendari, Kandari; Mekongka, Mekonka, Mekangga, Mingkoka, Menkoka, Mengkoka, Bingkoka, Bingkokak, Bai-kongka, Baaikonka, 'Norio', 'Tamboki', 'Konio'; Laiwoei, Lawoei, La'iwoei, Lai-woei, Laiwooi, Laiwói.

NUMBER SPEAKERS: 280,000

DIALECTS:

- a. Wiwirano (<100) is spoken by the To Wiwirano who today are primarily settled in Mapute and Routa villages. Our Wiwirano informant was a man in his seventies living in Walalindu village.
- b. Asera (650) is spoken in Asera village, presently located on the Lasolo River five kilometers above its confluence with the Lalindu. The To Asera settled here following the Darul Islam rebellion, but still maintain gardens in their traditional area a three day's journey by foot upstream.
- c. Konawe (230,000) is spoken in all parts of the eastern half of the peninsula, in one community on Wawonii Island, and in a few recently settled communities in Central Sulawesi.
- d. Mekongga (50,000) is spoken in villages along the western coast and in the westward-draining Mowewe valley just to the east of Kolaka. There is chaining within the Mekongga dialect area (see below).
- e. Laiwui (200) is spoken in Alaaha village, the most remote settlement on the upper Konawe River, yet still 20 to 30 kilometers downstream from the traditional (pre-World War II) Laiwui area. Laiwui alone among the Tolaki dialects lacks any series of prenasalised stops (see below).

Adriani proposed three dialects of Mekongga, correlating with the occurrence of three different negative words: *norio*, spoken in the north, *konio*, spoken in the south, and *tamboki*, spoken on the upper Konawe River (Adriani & Kruyt 1914:353). But four years later Adriani himself admitted that this view was dated, writing for instance, “[*konio*] is as well understood and spoken in Lapai, the northern portion of the language area, as it is in Lambandia, the southern portion...” (Van der Klift 1918:163) (trans. D.M.). Therefore his original proposal should no longer be given serious consideration, even though it is repeated in Salzner (1960), Sneddon (1983) and elsewhere.

Instead what we find in the Mekongga dialect area (from a lexicostatistic perspective) is north-to-south chaining along the coast, and east to west dialect chaining from Kolaka into the Mowewe valley and on into the Konawe area. This chaining can be seen in Figure 36. Another view is presented in the clique analysis of Figure 37. The word lists collected at Uluwolo, Hukohuko, Mowewe, Wonuambuteo and Simbune all share 90% or greater similarity with various Konawe word lists, and properly ought to be included within further circles extending to the east.

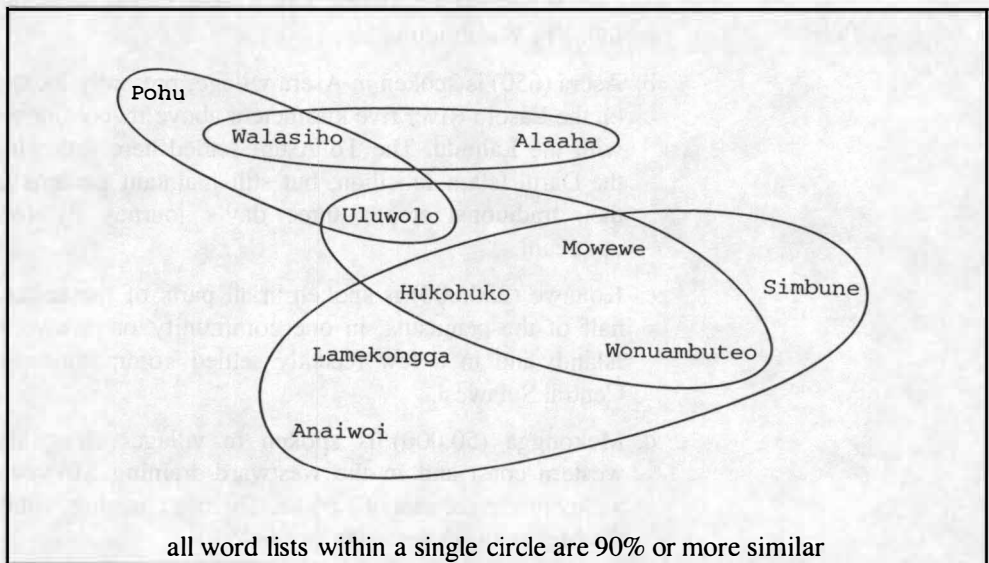


FIGURE 37: MEKONGGA DIALECT CHAINING (APPROXIMATE GEOGRAPHY)

CLASSIFICATION:

It must be regarded as unfortunate that Adriani listed Mekongga and Tolaki as separate languages within his Bungku-Mori group (Adriani & Kruyt 1914), and that this assertion has so often been repeated (Salzner 1960;

Sneddon 1983; Voegelin & Voegelin 1977; B.D. Grimes 1992; Wurm 1994). Perhaps the basis for Adriani's conclusion was his primary interest in grouping languages into higher level classifications—and presented with a 'Tolaki' language and a 'Mekongga' language, he concluded that they both belonged in his Bungku-Mori group. Certainly their similarities did not escape him, for he also wrote:

These few grammatical peculiarities thus confirm what the lexicon has already shown, namely that in the first place Mekongga is related to Lalaki. Every phonetic and grammatical peculiarity which we have detected in Mekongga, we also find back in Lalaki.

(Adriani & Kruyt 1914:238) (trans. D.M.)

In contrast, no language researcher with personal knowledge of the Tolaki area has proposed anything other than that these be considered dialects of the same language—including Gouweloos (1936:2), Esser (1938), Anceaux (1978), Bhurhanuddin (1979), and Kaseng, Alimuddin, et al. (1983). Bhurhanuddin, in fact, only accorded Mekongga and Tolaki subdialect status, a view reflected in Esser's writings:

Also Mekongga, spoken in the Kolaka subdistrict and formerly viewed as a separate language, is merely a variety of Laki; in grammatical respect the differences are so insignificant that one can scarcely speak of it as a dialect.

(Esser, cited in Noorduyn 1963:362) (trans. D.M.)

This lexicostatistic analysis comes to the same conclusion: Mekongga is a dialect of Tolaki, not a separate language.

RELIGION:

Predominantly Islamic; 1% Christian.

LOCATION:

The mountain range which follows the length of the western coast also divided the western (Mekongga) and eastern (Konawe) Tolaki kingdoms. To the west of the mountains, settlements lie along the more or less narrow coastal plain—the chief exception being the Mowewe valley just above Kolaka, which is also settled.

The area of the Lindu and Solo rivers in the north-east “consists entirely of small plains, surrounded by fantastic limestone mountains” (Treffers 1914:191) (trans. D.M.). This area now is nearly entirely uninhabited.

Further south, beyond the mountains which separate the Solo and Konawe drainage areas, the land is less rugged and more open, with great stretches of relatively level plains or small hills. The Konawe River, after rushing down from

high in the Mekongga mountains, flows into the Aopa swamp—once an inland lake broader in expanse than Lake Towuti today. Its waters leave the Aopa in a small set of rapids just above Pohara.

A road system connects most points of the mainland during the dry season. Areas normally accessed by boat year-round include villages along the Lindu river; the communities along the Bone Gulf, especially those north of Ranteangin; and Tawanga village on the upper Konawe River (villages above Tawanga are accessible by foot).

ECONOMY:

Most Tolaki today are farmers. Rice and sago are the traditional staples, but the former has been supplanting the latter in everyday importance. The Tolaki market not only surplus sago, rice, and garden produce but also raise and sell a number of cash crops. Cacao and copra are important throughout the Tolaki area, and coffee is much raised. Cloves are an important crop, especially on the west coast, just as cashews are important in the east. Bananas are a particular specialty of the upper Konawe River region, from where it takes two days to float them down by raft to the nearest road. In all areas, the Tolaki harvest rattan and lumber.

Kendari is the principle port of the region; Kolaka is the second leading port, but of much less importance than Kendari. People along the western coast are as apt to sell their products in Bone and Ujung Pandang as they are in nearby Kolaka.

Members of the former Tolaki royalty have found employment in education, government and business, jobs which more benefit their social status.

LANGUAGE USE:

The Tolaki language area is broad and diverse. But we can make a few general comments about language use among the Tolaki.

In the Konawe region, the use of Tolaki remains strong in all rural areas. Only among those who had settled in Kendari did we find children who knew only Indonesian.

In the west, Mekongga speakers are a minority in their own native area, outnumbered four-to-one by immigrants, mostly from South Sulawesi. In some villages, Mekongga is strongly maintained; in other villages, primarily those with mixed populations, Bugis and/or Indonesian may be the dominant language, even in the home.

The To Asera and the To Laiwui have each established their own community, albeit outside the motherland. They continue to use their own speech variety in homes, in fields

and at festivals. Our impression of Wiwirano, though, was that it may be disappearing. However it was reported to us that even a few children among twenty or so Wiwirano households in Mapute village speak their distinctive dialect.

PAST MIGRATIONS:

A striking feature of the Konawe area is the lack of dialectal variation; compared to the chaining we find in the west and north, this points to a relatively recent settlement by the Tolaki of the Konawe basin. According to Gouweloos (1936:2, 1937:19–20), this occupation was by violent conquest, not gradual assimilation.

Concerning the Laiwui dialect, we find three evidences that the Laiwui people formerly lived on the western coast, from where they crossed the coastal mountain range and settled on the upper Konawe.²¹ First, in Kodeoha tradition the kingdom to their south on the coast was formerly named Laiwui; second, our Laiwui word list exhibited its highest lexical similarity with word lists collected from this portion of the coast; and third, Laiwui alone among Tolaki dialects shares in the merger of prenasalised stops with voiced stops which occurred in Kodeoha. It is more reasonable to assume that the Kodeoha and Laiwui were once neighbours and the sound change spread areally, than that it arose independently in two different locations.

14. LANGUAGE NAME:

RAHAMBUU

Naming this language is problematic. Respondents in long-time coastal settlements simply called their language Mekongga, except in the one village of Lelewawo, where the people preferred the self-designation of Rahambuu. There is also a question about the relationship between this language and that of the To Wiau, people who may have originated from this coastal area and migrated inland across the Mekongga mountain range to settle along the upper reaches of the Solo River.

Since Mekongga better applies to a certain dialect of Tolaki, and since Wiau may or may not be the same as this language, I have chosen Rahambuu as a provisional name for this language group.

Although the Dutch used the name Lelewawo to designate the former small kingdom which held sway over this portion of the coast (Temminck 1851:183), it has no use today other than as a village name.

ALTERNATE NAMES:

Lellewau, Lellewao.

Alternate names for Wiau include: Wiaoe, To Wiaoe, To Lawiaoe, Labeaoe, Labeau, Labea'u, and 'Noihe'.

- NUMBER SPEAKERS:** 5,000
- DIALECTS:** There are no dialects of Rahambuu, although there is slight north to south chaining reported to us in the Rahambuu area.
- CLASSIFICATION:** Linguistically, Rahambuu is located at the northern end of a dialect chain which extends the length of the western coast of the south-eastern peninsula of Sulawesi. Some of the lexical similarity percentages are even above 80% when we compare Rahambuu word lists to Mekongga word lists elicited in villages just to the south.
- However, Rahambuu relates to all Tolaki dialects at an average of only 75%, and for this reason I consider Rahambuu to be a separate language within the Tolaki Subfamily.
- RELIGION:** Islamic
- LOCATION:** The Rahambuu people inhabit the coastal plain in the north-west corner of the peninsula, from Lelewawo village as far south as Tiwu village. Though not far from the town of Malili in South Sulawesi, rugged mountains intervene, making the Rahambuu area accessible only by boat. The interior which adjoins the Rahambuu area is uninhabited and heavily forested.
- ECONOMY:** The Rahambuu people are farmers, whose main staple is rice. As a means of supplementing income, many among the Rahambuu grow cloves and cacao, two important cash crops of the region, as well as harvest rattan and dammar from nearby forests. These are sold in markets in Malili and Palopo, and even as far away as Ujung Pandang.
- LANGUAGE USE:** In their native coastal area, the Rahambuu now are outnumbered by Bugis (and Torajan) immigrants by nearly five to one. Use of the Rahambuu language varies considerably from village to village. In some communities, Rahambuu is used only between members of the older generation, the children speaking exclusively Bugis or Indonesian. In other communities Rahambuu is more strongly maintained, although Bugis is often learned as a second language.
- PAST MIGRATIONS:** The guerrillas of the Darul Islam insurrection sought refuge in the rugged mountains of what is now northern South-East Sulawesi Province, and remained there until their defeat in 1965. The Wiau who formerly inhabited this area settled in the coastal village of Mosiku, and have not returned to the interior since that time.

3.4.3 KODEOHA

The divergent nature of the Kodeoha sound system—which is lacking in any prenasalised stops—has already been mentioned. But the divergent nature of Kodeoha is also seen in several word list responses which were unique to this language. The forms in Figure 38 were responses given only in Kodeoha or in Kodeoha and Tolaki villages immediately to the south. Although they are shown alongside the usual Tolaki response(s) by way of comparison, it should be noted that the Kodeoha responses were unique to the entire Bungku-Tolaki language stock—and therefore must attest to the unusual history of this particular language.

Tolaki	Kodeoha	
<i>taba</i>	<i>seli</i>	fat (noun)
<i>langgai, tama</i>	<i>kinalohi</i>	male
<i>more, tina</i>	<i>pinihupi</i>	female
<i>iku</i>	<i>pale</i>	tail
<i>ti'olu</i>	<i>gorau</i>	egg
<i>manu</i>	<i>laṅao</i>	chicken
<i>tehu, doeke</i>	<i>tagelobu</i>	rat
<i>una, toṅauna</i>	<i>kode</i>	sword grass
<i>one</i>	<i>tabohahi</i>	sand
<i>oḅose</i>	<i>mohola</i>	large
<i>mengau</i>	<i>meoṅa</i>	old
<i>moboṅo</i>	<i>molapa</i>	deaf
<i>mengokoro</i>	<i>mepotusa</i>	stand
<i>merorai, mototao</i>	<i>melama</i>	laugh
<i>umusa</i>	<i>mobido</i>	to pound (rice)
<i>i bungu</i>	<i>i soho</i>	in back

FIGURE 38: WORD LIST RESPONSES UNIQUE TO KODEOHA

15. LANGUAGE NAME: KODEOHA
 ALTERNATE NAMES: Kondeha, Kondea.
 NUMBER SPEAKERS: 1,500
 DIALECTS: none
 CLASSIFICATION: The single word “Kondea” which appears on two maps (Grubauer 1913; Van Vuuren 1920: Map 1a) may be regarded as the only attestation in the literature to the existence of these people.

In 1920 the missionary Van der Klift explored the western coastline north of Kolaka, passing through the Kodeoha area. But circumstances prevented him from meeting with the people themselves, and because his information was gleaned from Bugis informants he entirely

missed the divergent nature of the language here (Van der Klift 1920:250-253).

Similarity scores between Kodeoha and other Tolaki Family word lists ranged between 63% and 76%. Therefore I consider Kodeoha to be a separate language, but clearly within the Tolaki Family.

RELIGION:	Islamic
LOCATION:	Kodeoha speakers live along the coast in northern Lasusua Subdistrict in the four villages of Malamala, Lametuna, Awo and Tiwu. Access to the area is normally by boat.
ECONOMY:	The Kodeoha are rice farmers, planting rice in wet fields twice a year. They are located in a clove-growing region, and many participate in this trade. Cacao, timber and copra are also exported.
LANGUAGE USE:	Kodeoha is the language of the home domain. Informants report considerable bilingualism in Bugis and Bahasa Indonesia.
PAST MIGRATIONS:	There are no migrations to report for the Kodeoha people.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

This area still remains one of the less well-known parts of Celebes.

F. Treffers, *Het landschap Laiwoei in Z.O. Celebes*
(trans. D.M.)

For the entire Bungku-Tolaki area, we posit 15 languages. Four of these—Koroni, Bahonsuai, Tomadino and Kodeoha—were previously unreported in the linguistic literature.

This classification has been based on a lexicostatistic analysis. As such it cannot **prove** the existence of 15 languages in the Bungku-Tolaki area in the traditionally understood sense: isolects which are mutually unintelligible. Following J. Grimes' assertion (1988:29) that only similarity scores below 60% indicate separate languages with any reliability, we can say with confidence only that there are at least three languages in the Bungku-Tolaki area: Bungku, Mori and Tolaki. Testing by other means must confirm or disprove whether the remaining twelve are indeed to be considered separate languages, or merely dialects of one of these. In particular our findings indicate that especially our Waru and Rahambuu are very close to Tolaki; Taloki and Koroni are close to Kulisusu; Bahonsuai is close to Mori Bawah; and Tomadino is close to Mori Atas.

It is hoped, though, that our care to consult the historical sources, with a special view toward rectifying the very divergent views presented by Dutch linguists and others, will prove helpful to other researchers interested in this area. Only Mori and the Mekongga and Konawe dialects of Tolaki have received serious linguistic or anthropological attention outside of Indonesia. Together the Bungku-Tolaki people and their languages are an area open for explorations and new discoveries; this study is being offered as a useful road map.

APPENDIX I
BUNGKU-TOLAKI BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following bibliography is intended to be a fairly exhaustive account of published works relating to the Bungku-Tolaki peoples, their language and their culture. Although an emphasis has been placed on language related material, citations run the gamut from accounts by early Western explorers and colonisers to recent anthropological treatises.

For some commonly cited journals, organisations and universities the following abbreviations are used :

<i>Bijd.</i>	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië</i>
FKIP	Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan
FKSS	Fakultas Keguruan Sastra dan Seni
FPBS	Fakultas Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra
FSS	Fakultas Seni dan Sastra
IKIP	Institute Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
<i>MNZG</i>	<i>Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap</i>
NIAS	Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies
<i>ONZV</i>	<i>Orgaan der Nederlandsche Zendingsvereeniging</i>
PELLBA	Pertemuan Linguistik Lembaga Bahasa Atma Jaya
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
<i>Tijd.</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>
<i>TNAG</i>	<i>Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap</i>
UNHAS	Universitas Hasanuddin
VICAL	Fifth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics

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APPENDIX 2
WORD LIST INFORMATION

A map showing word list locations appears at the end of this appendix.

For the most part headings are self-explanatory. Language and dialect names follow the presentation in the main text. The category I/O refers to whether the word list was collected in or outside of the village which it purports to represent. Asterisks indicate word lists selected to appear in Appendix 3.

No.	Language	Dialect	Village, Subdistrict	Respondent (age)	
1.	MORONENE	Moronene	Rakadua, Poleang Barat	Bunai P. (~50)	
2.	MORONENE	Moronene	Tongkoseng, Poleang Barat	Motea S. (~50)	
*	3.	MORONENE	Moronene	Rompu-rompu, Poleang Timur	Sudirman (36)
	4.	MORONENE	Moronene	Ladumpi, Rumbia	M. Ali Thayeb (30)
*	5.	MORONENE	Tokotu'a	Tangkeno, Kabaena Timur	E. Mohidin (45)
	6.	MORONENE	Tokotu'a	Langkema, Kabaena Barat	Hanani (45)
	7.	MORONENE	Tokotu'a	Rahadopi, Kabaena Barat	Raunde H. (43)
*	8.	TALOKI		Maligano, Wakorumba	La Deja (45)
	9.	KULISUSU		Lemo, Kulisusu	Lambako (50)
*	10.	KULISUSU		Wadeburi, Kulisusu	Suardin (45)
	11.	KULISUSU		Roko-roko, Waworete	Yiara (34)
	12.	KULISUSU		Padabaho, Bungku Selatan	Zakaria (26)
	13.	KULISUSU		Laroue, Bungku Tengah	Syuhada Gamal (56)
*	14.	KORONI		Unsongi, Bungku Tengah	Abdul Gani (47)
	15.	WAWONII	Wawonii	Lansilowo, Waworete	Baruddin (54)
	16.	WAWONII	Wawonii	Lawey, Wawonii	M. Sahid (41)
*	17.	WAWONII	Wawonii	Munse, Waworete	M. Damras (58)
*	18.	WAWONII	Menui	Ulunambo, Menui Kepulauan	Haji Wahid Pombala (52)
*	19.	BUNGKU	Landawe	Wiwirano, Asera	Edi (26)
	20.	BUNGKU	Tulambatu	Laronaha, Asera	Pape (40)
*	21.	BUNGKU	Tulambatu	Lamonae, Asera	Kalimun B. (42)

No.	Language	Dialect	Village, Subdistrict	Respondent (age)
22.	BUNGKU	Tulambatu	Sambalagi, Bungku Selatan	Sair (40)
* 23.	BUNGKU	Waia	Lamontoli, Bungku Selatan	Abdullah (65)
* 24.	BUNGKU	Torete	Tapulaga, Soropia	Subir (84)
25.	BUNGKU	Torete	Pudonggala, Lasolo	Mansar (17)
26.	BUNGKU	Torete	Sambalagi, Bungku Selatan	Mor Salin (34)
27.	BUNGKU	Bungku	Lalampu, Bungku Selatan	Kalabo (55)
28.	BUNGKU	Bungku	Labota, Bungku Selatan	Hasan B. (46)
29.	BUNGKU	Bungku	Bahodopi, Bungku Selatan	Tandili (55)
* 30.	BUNGKU	Bungku	Marsaoleh, Bungku Tengah	M. Yasin Husein (68)
31.	BUNGKU	Bungku	Kolo Atas, Bungku Utara	S. Hijamaluddin
32.	BUNGKU	Bungku	Wosu, Bungku Tengah	A. Hasan (82)
* 33.	BUNGKU	Routa	Routa, Asera	Nde'e (39)
* 34.	BAHONSUAI		Bahonsuai, Bungku Tengah	Ridwan (67)
35.	MORI BAWAH	Watu	Ungkaya, Bungku Tengah	Nasir (42)
36.	MORI BAWAH	Watu	Mohoni, Petasia	P. Tambede (58) and Reden Timpo (40)
37.	MORI BAWAH	Watu	Ronta, Lembo	n.n.
38.	MORI BAWAH	Bahano	Uluanso, Lembo	M. Tonigi (58)
39.	MORI BAWAH	Mo'iki	Korowou, Lembo	n.n.
* 40.	MORI BAWAH	Ngusumbatu	Tinompo, Lembo	Elia Lawento (54), L. Tolesai (53)
41.	MORI BAWAH	Roda	Beteleme, Lembo	Manius Temebi (51)
42.	MORI BAWAH	Petasia	Sampalowo, Petasia	S. Sane (53)
43.	MORI BAWAH	Kangua	Tiu, Petasia	R.Y. Gogali (47)
44.	MORI BAWAH	Soroako	Nikkel (Soroako), Nuha	Lahnis (68)
45.	MORI BAWAH	Karonsi'e	Nikkel (Soroako), Nuha	S. Peruge (57)
46.	PADOE		Lasulawai, Nuha	Ahmad (40)
47.	PADOE		Kawata, Nuha	Haliwela Doinga (30)
* 48.	PADOE		Taliwan, Mori Atas	n.n.
49.	MORI ATAS	Tambee	Landangi, Nuha	Aprinus Sanggona (20)
50.	MORI ATAS	Ulu'uwoi	Mora, Lembo	Lasau Tadehari (55), Hama Tudon (66), T. Latendengay (62), Latupu Sinampu (58)
51.	MORI ATAS	Impo	Korompeli, Lembo	Tamaroia Ronko (43)

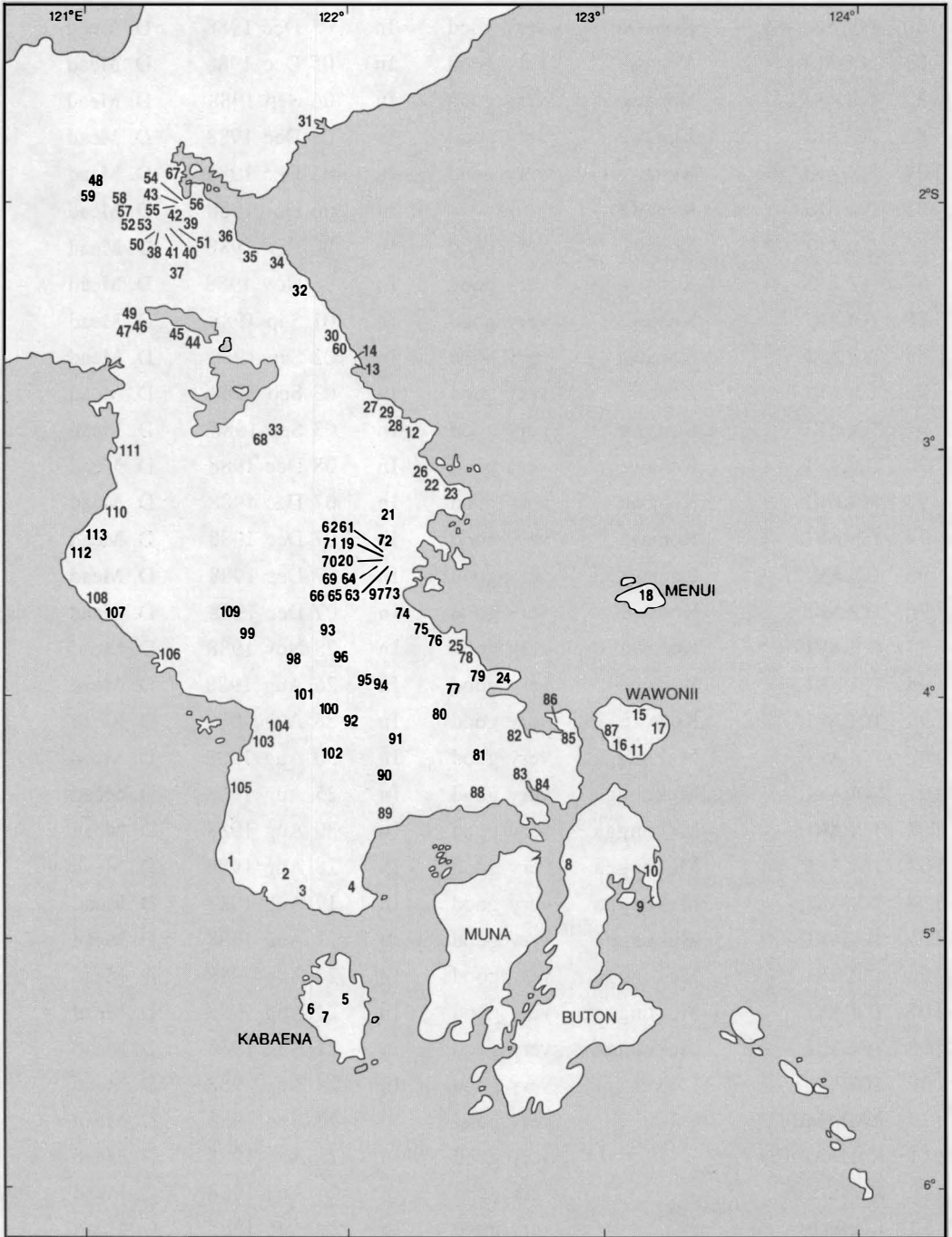
No.	Language	Dialect	Village, Subdistrict	Respondent (age)
52.	MORI ATAS	Molongkuni	Wawopada, Lembo	n.n.
53.	MORI ATAS	Kolokolo	Wara'a, Lembo	Saulus Tapadongko (34)
54.	MORI ATAS	Olota	Tontowea, Petasia	Lakukua Toiehi (52)
55.	MORI ATAS	Lolonggoio	Moleono, Petasia	A. Sende (53)
56.	MORI ATAS	Wulanderi	Bunta, Petasia	M.S. Galela (60)
57.	MORI ATAS	Doule	Kolaka, Mori Atas	n.n.
58.	MORI ATAS	Molio'a	Ensa, Mori Atas	R. Kale'e (44)
* 59.	MORI ATAS	Molio'a	Tomata, Mori Atas	Y.F. Banotau (39)
* 60.	TOMADINO		Sakita, Bungku Tengah	Rasiu (40)
* 61.	WARU	Waru	Mopute, Asera	Abd. Rasyid (24)
* 62.	WARU	Lalomerui	Mopute (Lalomerui), Asera	Matepua (34)
* 63.	TOLAKI	Wiwirano	Walalindu (Wiwirano), Asera	Rabana (70+)
* 64.	TOLAKI	Asera	Asera, Asera	Basir (45)
65.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Walalindu (La'iu), Asera	Tii (45)
66.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Walalindu (Lawali), Asera	n.n. (~40)
67.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Ganda-ganda, Petasia	Achmad (26)
68.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Routa, Asera	Musa (40)
69.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Asera, Asera	Abd. Gafur (35)
70.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Laronaha, Asera	Lapunda (47)
71.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Wiwirano, Asera	M. Djafar (38)
72.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Linomoiyo, Asera	L. Jamal (36)
73.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Wanggudu, Asera	Ruddin (42)
74.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Andomowu, Lasolo	Danihasa (60+)
75.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Toreo, Lasolo	Mhd. Yusuf (47)
76.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Puulemo, Lasolo	Dudo (55)
77.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Besu, Sampara	Barli (43)
78.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Kokapi, Lasolo	Lapau (48)
* 79.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Lalombonda, Soropia	Abd. Halip (42), Djaman (45)
80.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Lameruru, Ranomeeto	Hasan (32)
81.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Wolasi, Konda	Masinau (50)
82.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Moramo, Moramo	Asis Abas (41)
83.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Sawah, Lainea	Weruma (63)
84.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Roda, Lainea	Maesara (55)
85.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Sangi-sangi, Moramo	Haji Abd. Madjit (45)
86.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Tambeanga, Moramo	Dira (32)
87.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Wungkolo, Wawonii	Hasanuddin (51)

No.	Language	Dialect	Village, Subdistrict	Respondent (age)
88.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Ambesea, Lainea	L.A. Rahmad (50)
89.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Lanowulu, Tinanggea	Dodo (52)
90.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Benua, Lambuya	Depu (50)
91.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Teteasa, Lambuya	La Mondo (32)
92.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Onembute, Lambuya	Abidin Lasiraya (45)
93.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Asolu, Abuki	Rakala (46)
94.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Tawanga, Wawotobi	Rubas (44)
95.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Ambekairi, Unaaha	M. Yamin P. (41)
96.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Walay, Abuki	Ramle Metondo (58)
97.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Wanggudu (Latoma), Asera	Tokeu (70+)
98.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Tawanga, Mowewe	Uding (33)
99.	TOLAKI	Konawe	Ahilulu, Mowewe	Buhasuddin (39)
100.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	Simbune, Tirawuta	Mutalip (38)
101.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	Mowewe I, Mowewe	Basruddin (51)
102.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	Wonuambuteo, Ladongi	Rasman (39)
*103.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	Huko-huko, Pomalaa	Yusuf (25)
104.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	Lamekongga, Wundulako	Mohammad Dachlan (53)
105.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	Anaiwoi, Watubangga	Dedasar (47)
106.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	Uluwolo, Wolo	Musakkar L. (48)
107.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	Walasiho, Lasusua	Bastian (27)
108.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	Pohu, Lasusua	Mustapa (54)
*109.	TOLAKI	Laiwui	Alaaha, Mowewe	Zainuddin (59)
110.	RAHAMBUU		Olo-oloho, Pakue	Maini (37)
*111.	RAHAMBUU		Lelewawo, Pakue	Tabiari (54)
112.	KODEOHA		Awo, Lasusua	M. Amin B. (38)
*113.	KODEOHA		Malamala, Lasusua	Nurdin Arif (50)

No.	Language	Dialect	Reliability	I/O	Date	Linguist
1.	MORONENE	Moronene	very good	In	17 Aug 1988	D. Mead
2.	MORONENE	Moronene	good	Out	16 Aug 1988	D. Mead
* 3.	MORONENE	Moronene	very good	In	14 Aug 1988	D. Mead
4.	MORONENE	Moronene	very good	Out	04 Aug 1988	D. Mead
* 5.	MORONENE	Tokotu'a	very good	In	06 Aug 1988	D. Mead
6.	MORONENE	Tokotu'a	very good	In	07 Aug 1988	D. Mead
7.	MORONENE	Tokotu'a	very good	In	07 Aug 1988	S. Youngman
* 8.	TALOKI		very good	In	29 Jul 1988	D. Mead
9.	KULISUSU		very good	In	31 Jul 1988	D. Mead
* 10.	KULISUSU		very good	In	01 Aug 1988	D. Mead
11.	KULISUSU		very good	In	23 Nov 1988	D. Mead
12.	KULISUSU		very good	In	13 Jan 1989	D. Mead
13.	KULISUSU		very good	In	12 Jan 1989	D. Mead
* 14.	KORONI		very good	In	12 Jan 1989	D. Mead
15.	WAWONII	Wawonii	very good	In	24 Nov 1988	D. Mead
16.	WAWONII	Wawonii	very good	In	23 Nov 1988	D. Mead
* 17.	WAWONII	Wawonii	very good	In	22 Nov 1988	D. Mead
* 18.	WAWONII	Menui	very good	In	17 Jul 1988	T. Laskowske
* 19.	BUNGKU	Landawe	very good	In	30 Nov 1988	D. Mead
20.	BUNGKU	Tulambatu	very good	In	30 Nov 1988	D. Mead
* 21.	BUNGKU	Tulambatu	very good	In	29 Nov 1988	D. Mead
22.	BUNGKU	Tulambatu	very good	In	13 Jan 1989	D. Mead
* 23.	BUNGKU	Waia	very good	In	14 Jan 1989	D. Mead
* 24.	BUNGKU	Torete	very good	In	05 Sep 1988	D. Mead
25.	BUNGKU	Torete	very good	In	02 Dec 1988	D. Mead
26.	BUNGKU	Torete	very good	In	13 Jan 1989	D. Mead
27.	BUNGKU	Bungku	very good	In	13 Jan 1989	D. Mead
28.	BUNGKU	Bungku	very good	In	13 Jan 1989	D. Mead
29.	BUNGKU	Bungku	very good	In	12 Jan 1989	D. Mead
* 30.	BUNGKU	Bungku	very good	In	11 Jan 1989	D. Mead
31.	BUNGKU	Bungku	very good	In	08 Jan 1989	D. Mead
32.	BUNGKU	Bungku	very good	In	10 Jan 1989	D. Mead
* 33.	BUNGKU	Routa	very good	In	31 Dec 1988	D. Mead
* 34.	BAHONSUAI		very good	In	09 Jan 1989	D. Mead
35.	MORI BAWAH	Watu	very good	In	10 Jan 1989	D. Mead
36.	MORI BAWAH	Watu	good	In	18 Jun 1988	P. Vuorinen
37.	MORI BAWAH	Watu	very good	In	11 Jun 1988	M. Karhunen
38.	MORI BAWAH	Bahano	good-fair	In	09 Jun 1988	M. Karhunen
39.	MORI BAWAH	Mo'iki	—	In	07 Jun 1988	P. Vuorinen

No.	Language	Dialect	Reliability	I/O	Date	Linguist
* 40.	MORI BAWAH	Ngusumbatu	–	In	04 Jun 1988	P. Vuorinen
41.	MORI BAWAH	Roda	–	In	13 Jun 1988	P. Vuorinen
42.	MORI BAWAH	Petasia	good-fair	Out	20 Jun 1988	M. Karhunen
43.	MORI BAWAH	Kangua	fair	Out	16 Jun 1988	P. Vuorinen
44.	MORI BAWAH	Soroako	very good	In	27 May 1986	K. Valkama
45.	MORI BAWAH	Karonsi'e	good-fair	In	30 May 1986	J. Christensen
46.	PADOE		good	In	25 Mar 1988	M. Karhunen
47.	PADOE		good-fair	In	23 Mar 1988	P. Vuorinen
* 48.	PADOE		–	–	–	–
49.	MORI ATAS	Tambee	good-fair	Out	10 Apr 1988	P. Vuorinen
50.	MORI ATAS	Ulu'uwoi	very good	In	11 May 1988	M. Karhunen
51.	MORI ATAS	Impo	very good	In	06 Jun 1988	M. Karhunen
52.	MORI ATAS	Molongkuni	–	In	–	M. Karhunen
53.	MORI ATAS	Kolokolo	very good	In	10 Jun 1988	M. Karhunen
54.	MORI ATAS	Olota	good	Out	20 Jun 1988	M. Karhunen
55.	MORI ATAS	Lolonggoio	good-fair	Out	16 Jun 1988	M. Karhunen
56.	MORI ATAS	Wulanderi	–	In	17 Jun 1988	M. Karhunen
57.	MORI ATAS	Doule	–	In	20 May 1988	M. Karhunen
58.	MORI ATAS	Molio'a	good	In	19 May 1988	M. Karhunen
* 59.	MORI ATAS	Molio'a	good	In	17 May 1988	M. Karhunen
* 60.	TOMADINO		very good	In	11 Jan 1989	D. Mead
* 61.	WARU	Waru	very good	In	30 Nov 1988	D. Mead
* 62.	WARU	Lalomerui	very good	In	30 Nov 1988	D. Mead
* 63.	TOLAKI	Wiwirano	very good	In	01 Dec 1988	D. Mead
* 64.	TOLAKI	Asera	very good	In	28 Nov 1988	D. Mead
65.	TOLAKI	Konawe	good	In	01 Dec 1988	D. Mead
66.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	29 Nov 1988	D. Mead
67.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	07 Jan 1989	D. Mead
68.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	31 Dec 1988	D. Mead
69.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	28 Nov 1988	D. Mead
70.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	30 Nov 1988	D. Mead
71.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	30 Nov 1988	D. Mead
72.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	30 Nov 1988	D. Mead
73.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	28 Nov 1988	D. Mead
74.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	27 Nov 1988	D. Mead
75.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	26 Nov 1988	D. Mead
76.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	26 Nov 1988	D. Mead
77.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	25 Nov 1988	D. Mead
78.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	02 Dec 1988	D. Mead

No.	Language	Dialect	Reliability	I/O	Date	Linguist
* 79.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	07 Sep 1988	D. Mead
80.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	05 Dec 1988	D. Mead
81.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	05 Dec 1988	D. Mead
82.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	06 Sep 1988	D. Mead
83.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	05 Dec 1988	D. Mead
84.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	05 Dec 1988	D. Mead
85.	TOLAKI	Konawe	good	In	06 Dec 1988	D. Mead
86.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	06 Dec 1988	D. Mead
87.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	24 Nov 1988	D. Mead
88.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	01 Sep 1988	D. Mead
89.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	02 Sep 1988	D. Mead
90.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	03 Sep 1988	D. Mead
91.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	03 Sep 1988	D. Mead
92.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	08 Dec 1988	D. Mead
93.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	07 Dec 1988	D. Mead
94.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	07 Dec 1988	D. Mead
95.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	07 Dec 1988	D. Mead
96.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	07 Dec 1988	D. Mead
97.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	28 Nov 1988	D. Mead
98.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	26 Aug 1988	D. Mead
99.	TOLAKI	Konawe	very good	In	28 Aug 1988	D. Mead
100.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	very good	In	30 Aug 1988	D. Mead
101.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	very good	In	25 Aug 1988	D. Mead
102.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	very good	In	30 Aug 1988	D. Mead
* 103.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	very good	In	18 Aug 1988	D. Mead
104.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	very good	In	19 Aug 1988	D. Mead
105.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	very good	In	17 Aug 1988	D. Mead
106.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	very good	In	20 Aug 1988	D. Mead
107.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	very good	In	21 Aug 1988	D. Mead
108.	TOLAKI	Mekongga	very good	In	21 Aug 1988	D. Mead
* 109.	TOLAKI	Laiwui	very good	In	28 Aug 1988	D. Mead
110.	RAHAMBUU		very good	In	23 Aug 1988	D. Mead
* 111.	RAHAMBUU		very good	In	23 Aug 1988	D. Mead
112.	KODEOHA		very good	In	24 Aug 1988	D. Mead
* 113.	KODEOHA		very good	In	22 Aug 1988	D. Mead



MAP 12: LOCATION OF WORD LIST ELICITATION

APPENDIX 3
SELECTED WORD LISTS

Of the 113 Bungku-Tolaki word lists which formed the basis of our lexicostatistic comparison, 27—representing each language and dialect—have been selected to appear in this appendix.

Compared to the original close-to-phonetic transcriptions, the data has been phonemicised in the following ways:

- (a) Vowel qualities have been reduced to one of the five phonemic vowels.
- (b) Alveolar trills [r] and flaps [ɾ] are not contrastive, and have been written throughout simply as /r/.
- (c) Imploded voiced stops [ɓ], [ɗ] and rarely [ɠ] do not contrast with their unimploded counterparts, and have not been separately indicated. At least in the Tolaki area, implosion is characteristic of rustic speech.
- (d) The retroflexed lateral [ɭ] in Moronene—one characteristic of Moronene is that the lateral is always pronounced with a retroflexed quality—has been written throughout simply as /l/.
- (e) Prothetic vowel [o], which occurs widely throughout the Bungku-Tolaki area preceding two-syllable nouns, has been summarily dropped.
- (f) Glottal stop [ʔ] has not been written word-initially, where it fails to contrast with null.
- (g) In the absence of any stress marking, one can assume penultimate stress occurring on the next to last written vowel.

Important exceptions to phonemicisation are the following:

- (a) Alveopalatal affricate [tʃ] occurring in the following word lists is an allophone of /k/ in Moronene, and an allophone of /t/ in all other isolects in which it occurs. The voiced alveopalatal affricate [dʒ] occurs in only the item *idʒo*, the response for the word 'green', where it represents a borrowing from Malay *hijau*. It is possible, that if these languages continue to borrow more words with palatal affricates (that is Bahasa Indonesia *c* and *j*), these sounds could attain phonemic status.
- (b) The palatal approximant [j] which occurs in a few Mori responses, is best considered a transition sound occurring between high vowel /i/ and another vowel of a different quality.
- (c) The labial fricatives [β], [v], [ɸ] and [f] have been maintained, but are likely not contrastive.
- (d) None of the Bungku-Tolaki languages have phonemically long vowels. Phonetically long vowels are nearly always a reflection of two vowels of the same quality, and

have been transcribed as such in the following data—for example, Moronene [ʔu:] ‘hair’ is given simply as *βuu*. However, there are two circumstances where long vowels have been maintained: (1) In languages where prenasalised stops have merged with corresponding voiced stops, a preceding vowel may be compensatorily lengthened. Compare for example Rahambuu *kombera* versus Kodeoha *ko:bera*, both meaning ‘machete’. (2) Prestress, a lengthened vowel may indicate a pronunciation midway between two vowels and a single vowel. For example, the following were all responses to the word list item ‘to sit’, recorded in the Tolaki area:

merehurehu mereurehu mere:rehu mererehu

No doubt these words represent a continuum of pronunciation for this one word, and even finer phonetic distinctions could have been made had we so chosen.

All of the Bungku-Tolaki languages may be considered open syllable languages, with the only syllable patterns being V and CV. The following is the phonemic inventory of a typical Bungku language, and represents the greatest number of phonemic contrasts to be found in any present-day Bungku-Tolaki language. Characteristic of all Bungku-Tolaki languages is the absence of palatals, affricates, and approximants (such as /v/ and /j/).

	bilabial	alveolar	velar	glottal
prenasalised voiceless stops	<i>mp</i>	<i>nt</i>	<i>ŋk</i>	
voiced stops	<i>mb</i>	<i>nd</i>	<i>ŋg</i>	
fricative		<i>ns</i>		
voiceless stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	?
voiced stops	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	
fricatives	<i>β</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
lateral		<i>l</i>		
trill/flap		<i>r</i>		
	front	central	back	
high	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>	
mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>	
low		<i>a</i>		

FIGURE 39: INVENTORY OF PHONEMES

Not all languages contrast seven prenasalised stops. The phoneme /ns/, rare in Bungku and Mori, merged with /s/ in Padoe and all the Tolaki Family languages.²² Voiceless prenasalised stops /mp/, /nt/ and /ŋk/ are also not to be found in any Tolaki Family language, having merged with corresponding voiced prenasalised stops. Through a process of merger with voiced oral stops, Kodeoha and the Laiwui dialect of Tolaki further lost voiced prenasalised stops /mb/, /nd/ and /ŋg/, and thus have the smallest inventory of consonants—fifteen—of any Bungku-Tolaki language.

Phonological descriptions of these languages have been written for Tolaki (Mead & Tambunan 1993), Padoe (Karhunen 1991), Mori (Esser 1927), and Moronene (Andersen 1995). Barsel also includes a phonological sketch in her description of Mori morphology (1994:11 ff.).

	1.	2.	3.
English	head	hair (head)	face
Indonesian	<i>kepala</i>	<i>rambut</i>	<i>muka, wajah</i>
MRN	rapa	βuu	raʔi
TOK	rapa	βuu	raʔi
TAL	rapa	βuu	rou
KUL	rapa	βuu	βoi
KOR	rapa	φuu	rou
WAW	ulu	βuu	βoi
MEN	ulu	φuu	φoi
LAN	ulu	βuu	raʔi
TUL	ulu	βuu	tapuraʔi
WAI	ulu	φuu	φoea
TOR	ulu	βuu	βoi
BNG	ulu	φuu	φoi
ROU	ulu	oβuu	raʔi
BAH	ulu	φuu	φoi
MRB	ulu	βuu	rupa
PAD	ulu	βuu	raʔi
MRA	ulu	βuu	laromata
TOM	ulu	βuu	aro
WAR	ulu	βuu	raʔi
LAL	ulu	βuu	rai
WIW	ulu	βuu	raʔi
ASE	ulu	βuu	raʔi
KON	ulu	βuu	raʔi
MEK	ulu	βuu	raʔi
LAI	ulu	βuu	rai
RAH	ulu	βuu	raʔi
KOD	ulu	βuu	rai

	4.	5.	6.
English	eye	nose	mouth
Indonesian	<i>mata</i>	<i>hidung</i>	<i>mulut</i>
MRN	mata	eŋe	ŋaŋa
TOK	mata	eŋe	ŋaŋa
TAL	mata	eŋe	ŋaŋa
KUL	mata	eŋe	ŋaŋa
KOR	mata	eŋe	ŋaŋa
WAW	mata	eŋe	ŋaŋa
MEN	mata	eŋe	ŋaŋa
LAN	mata	eŋe	ŋaŋa
TUL	mata	eŋe	ŋaŋa
WAI	mata	eŋe	ŋaŋa
TOR	mata	eŋe	ŋaŋa
BNG	mata	eŋe	ŋaŋa
ROU	mata	eŋe	ŋaŋa
BAH	mata	eŋe	ŋaŋa
MRB	mata	eŋe	ŋaŋa
PAD	mata	eŋe	pindu
MRA	mata	eŋe	pindu
TOM	mata	eŋe	ŋaŋa
WAR	mata	ŋusu	pondu
LAL	mata	ŋusu	pondu
WIW	mata	ŋusu	pondu
ASE	mata	ŋusu	pondu
KON	mata	eŋe	pondu
MEK	mata	ŋusu	pondu
LAI	mata	ŋusu	podu
RAH	mata	ŋusu	pondu
KOD	mata	ŋusu	podu

	7.	8.	9.
English	lip	tongue	tooth
Indonesian	<i>bibir</i>	<i>lidah</i>	<i>gigi</i>
MRN	βiβi	elo	ŋisi
TOK	βiβi	elo	ŋisi
TAL	vivihuu	elo	ŋisi
KUL	huu	elo	ŋisi
KOR	ϕiϕihuu	elo	ŋisi
WAW	βiβihuu	elo	ŋisi
MEN	ϕiϕihuu	elo	ŋisi
LAN	βiβihuu	elo	ŋisi
TUL	βiβihuu	elo	ŋisi
WAI	huu	elo	ŋisi
TOR	βiβihuu	elo	ŋisi
BNG	ϕiϕihuu	elo	ŋisi
ROU	βiβihuu	elo	ŋisi
BAH	ϕiϕi	elo	ŋisi
MRB	βiβi	elo	ŋisi
PAD	kulipindu	elo	ŋisi
MRA	βiβi	elo	ŋisi
TOM	ϕiϕimpindu	elo	ŋisi
WAR	βilaβe	elo	ŋisi
LAL	laβe	elo	ŋisi
WIW	βuli	elo	ŋisi
ASE	βuli	elo	ŋisi
KON	bibi	elo	ŋisi
MEK	βuli	elo	ŋisi
LAI	βuli	elo	ŋisi
RAH	βuli	elo	ŋisi
KOD	βuli	elo	ŋisi

	10.	11.	12.
English	ear	neck	hand, forearm
Indonesian	<i>telinga</i>	<i>leher</i>	<i>tangan</i>
MRN	biri	palasa	lima
TOK	biri	βeʔu	lima
TAL	biri	veʔu	lima
KUL	biri	βeʔu	lima
KOR	biri	feʔu	lima
WAW	biri	βeʔu	lima
MEN	biri	ϕeʔu	lima
LAN	biri	boroŋko	lima
TUL	biri	boroŋko	lima
WAI	biri	boroŋko	lima
TOR	biri	boroŋko	lima
BNG	biri	boroŋko	lima
ROU	biri	boroŋko	lima
BAH	biri	ϕeʔu	kae
MRB	biri	βeʔu	kae
PAD	biri	βeʔu	kae
MRA	biri	veʔu	kae
TOM	biri	buroko	kae
WAR	biri	βuroko	kae
LAL	biri	βuroko	kae
WIW	biri	βoroko	kae
ASE	biri	βoroko	kae
KON	biri	βoroko	kae
MEK	biri	βoroko	kae
LAI	biri	βoroko	kae
RAH	biri	βoroko	kae
KOD	tolinja	βoroko	kae

	13.	14.	15.
English	fingernail	breast	belly
Indonesian	<i>kuku jari</i>	<i>susu, buah dada</i>	<i>perut</i>
MRN	toβonkuku	susu	tia
TOK	kuku	susu	tia
TAL	konuku	susu	tia
KUL	konuku	dudu	tjia
KOR	kuku	susu	tia
WAW	kuku	susu	tia
MEN	kuku	susu	tia
LAN	kuku	susu	tjia
TUL	kuku	susu	tjia
WAI	kuku	susu	tia
TOR	kuku	susu	tia
BNG	kuku	susu	tia
ROU	kuku	susu	tia
BAH	kuku	uo	kompo
MRB	kuku	uo	kompo
PAD	kuku	uo	kompo
MRA	kuku	uo	kompo
TOM	kuku	uo	kompo
WAR	kuku	uhu	tia
LAL	kuku	uhu	tia
WIW	kuku	uhu	tia
ASE	kuku	uhu	tia
KON	kuku	uhu	tia
MEK	kubatu	uhu	tia
LAI	kuku	uhu	tia
RAH	kuku	uhu	tia
KOD	kuku	uhu	tia

	16.	17.	18.
English	leg, foot	knee	body hair
Indonesian	<i>kaki</i>	<i>lutut</i>	<i>bulu (badan)</i>
MRN	karu	tuu	βulu
TOK	karu	tuu	βuu
TAL	karu	tuu	vulumoluo
KUL	karu	tʃuu	rembe
KOR	karu	eŋentuu	ϕuluϕulu
WAW	karu	tuu	βulu
MEN	karu	tuu	ϕulu
LAN	karu	tʃuu	βulu
TUL	karu	tʃuu	βulu
WAI	karu	tuu	ϕulu
TOR	karu	olontuu	βulu
BNG	karu	olontuu	ϕulu
ROU	karu	lontuʔu	oβuu
BAH	karu	olontuu	ϕulu
MRB	karu	olontuu	βulu
PAD	kare	olutu	βulu
MRA	kare	olutu	vulu
TOM	kare	lutu	ϕulu
WAR	kare	lutu	βulu
LAL	kare	lutu	βulu
WIW	kare	lutu	βulu
ASE	kare	lutu	βuluβulu
KON	kare	lutu	βuluβulu
MEK	kare	lutu	βulu
LAI	kare	lutu	βulu
RAH	kare	lutu	βuluβulu
KOD	kare	lutu	βuluβulu

	19.	20.	21.
English	skin (person)	meat, flesh	fat
Indonesian	<i>kulit</i>	<i>(jaringan)daging</i>	<i>lemak</i>
MRN	baula	ihi	taba
TOK	kuli	ihi	taba
TAL	kuli	ihi	taba
KUL	kuli	ihi	taba
KOR	balula	ihi	taba
WAW	kuli	ihi	taba
MEN	kuli	ihi	taba
LAN	balulaa	ihi	taba
TUL	balula	ihi	taba
WAI	kuli	ihi	taba
TOR	kuli	ihi	taba
BNG	kuli	ihi	taba
ROU	balula	ihi	taba
BAH	balula	ihi	taba
MRB	kuli	ihi, bau	taba
PAD	kuli	ihi	taba, nunte
MRA	kuli	ihi	taba, lunte
TOM	kuli	bau	taba
WAR	kuli	ramo	taba
LAL	balula	ramo	taba
WIW	kuli	ramo	taba
ASE	kuli	ramo	taba
KON	ani	ramo	taba
MEK	ani	ramo	taba
LAI	kuli	ramo	taba
RAH	kuli	ramo	taba
KOD	kuli	ramo	seli

	22.	23.	24.
English	bone	heart	blood
Indonesian	<i>tulang</i>	<i>jantung</i>	<i>darah</i>
MRN	βuku	hule	rea
TOK	βuku	hule	rea
TAL	βuku	bake	rea
KUL	βuku	hule	rea
KOR	ϕuku	hule	rea
WAW	βuku	hule	rea
MEN	ϕuku	hule	rea
LAN	βuku	hule	rea
TUL	βuku	hule	rea
WAI	ϕuku	hule	rea
TOR	βuku	hule	rea
BNG	ϕuku	hule	rea
ROU	βuku	hule	rea
BAH	ϕuku	hule	rea
MRB	βuku	hule	rea
PAD	βuku	hule	rea
MRA	vuku	hule	rea
TOM	ϕuku	hule	rea
WAR	βuku	hule	raha
LAL	to?ola	hule	beli
WIW	βuku	hule	beli
ASE	βuku	hule	beli
KON	βuku	hule	beli
MEK	to?ola	hule	beli
LAI	βuku	hule	beli
RAH	βuku	hule	raha, beli
KOD	to?ola	hule	beli

	25.	26.	27.
English	liver	urine	excrement
Indonesian	<i>hati</i>	<i>airkencing</i>	<i>tahi</i>
MRN	ate	eme	ta?i
TOK	ate	eme	ta?i
TAL	ate	eme	ta?i
KUL	ate	eme	ta?i
KOR	ate	eme	ta?i
WAW	ate	eme	ta?i
MEN	ate	eme	ta?i
LAN	ate	eme	ta?i
TUL	ate	eme	ta?i
WAI	ate	eme	ta?i
TOR	ate	baho?eme	ta?i
BNG	ate	eme	ta?i
ROU	ate	eme	ta?i
BAH	laro	eme	ta?i
MRB	ate	eme	ta?i
PAD	ate	(uβoi)eme	ta?i
MRA	ate	eme	ta?i
TOM	ate	eme	ta?i
WAR	ate	eme	ta?i
LAL	ate	eme	ta?i
WIW	ate	eme	ta?i
ASE	ate	eme	tai
KON	ate	eme	tai
MEK	ate	eme	ta?i
LAI	ate	eme	tai
RAH	ate	eme	ta?i
KOD	ate	eme	tai

English Indonesian	28.	29.	30.
	person <i>orang</i>	male <i>laki-laki</i>	female <i>perempuan</i>
MRN	miano	tama	tina
TOK	miano	tama	tina
TAL	mia	tama	tina
KUL	mia	tama	tjina
KOR	mia	tama	tina
WAW	mia	tama	tina
MEN	mia	tama	tina
LAN	mia	tama	tjina
TUL	mia	tama	tjina
WAI	mia	tama	tina
TOR	mia	tama	tina
BNG	mia	tama	tina
ROU	mia	tama	tina
BAH	mia	tamatama	tinatina
MRB	mia	tama	beine
PAD	mia	tama	irovai
MRA	mia	tuama	iroβai
TOM	mia	tuama	beine
WAR	toono	analaki	ana?iroβai
LAL	toono	analaki	iroβai
WIW	toono	kinahule	iroβai
ASE	toono	laggai	more
KON	toono	laggai	tina
MEK	toono	laggai	more
LAI	toono	lagai ~ la:gai	more
RAH	toono	analaki	iroβai
KOD	toono	kinalohi	pinihupi

	31.	32.	33.
English	husband	wife	father
Indonesian	<i>suami</i>	<i>isteri</i>	<i>bapak, ayah</i>
MRN	rapi, sampora	rapi, sampora	tama
TOK	salako	tinamotu?a	tama
TAL	tamanoana	anahako	tama
KUL	tamanoana	tʃinanoana	tama
KOR	teba	teba	ua
WAW	βali	βali	tama
MEN	φali	φali	tama
LAN	tʃiβa	βali	tama
TUL	tʃiβa	tʃiβa	ama
WAI	tiφa	tiφa	apu, tama
TOR	βali	βali	tama
BNG	teba	teba	tu?a
ROU	teba	teba	o?ua
BAH	sombori	sombori	ama
MRB	kombia, tamano	kombia, beineno	ama
PAD	sombori	sombori	uma
MRA	tuama	iroβai	uma
TOM	inalo	inalo	uma
WAR	βali	βali	ama
LAL	βali	βali	ama
WIW	rapu	rapu	ama
ASE	pekombu	pekombu	ama
KON	βali	βali	ama
MEK	βali, langai, sangina	βali, more, sangina	ama
LAI	βali, lagai	more, iroβai	iama
RAH	pehoko	pehoko	ama
KOD	sagina	sagina	ama

	34.	35.	36.
English	mother	child	first-born child
Indonesian	<i>ibu</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>anak sulung</i>
MRN	tina	ana	datetukaka
TOK	tina	ana [?] ate	anamperiou
TAL	tina	ana	tumpe
KUL	tjina	ana	anaka [?] aka
KOR	indo	ana	anaŋkaaka
WAW	tina	ana	anantukaka
MEN	nina	ana	anantukaka
LAN	bae	ana	anantŋukaka
TUL	bai	ana	anantŋukaka
WAI	bae	ana	miantukaka
TOR	bae	ana	anantukaka
BNG	indo	ana	anantukaka
ROU	indo	ana	anantukaka
BAH	ina	ana	anasompe
MRB	ine	ana	anaaka
PAD	ine	ana	amba [?] ana
MRA	ine	ana	ana henu tekaka
TOM	ine	ana	anasompe
WAR	ina	ana	anambele [?] esu
LAL	ina	ana	anambelesu
WIW	ina	ana	anaŋgaka
ASE	ina	ana	anamomotuo
KON	ina	ana	anailiβua, anaŋgaaka
MEK	ina	ana	ana [?] iliβua
LAI	iina	ana	anaokaka
RAH	ina	ana	anasobe
KOD	ina	ana	anamotuo

	37.	38.	39.
English	last-born child	grandchild	grandmother
Indonesian	<i>anak bungsu</i>	<i>cucu</i>	<i>nenek perempuan</i>
MRN	datetuai	mbue	mbue
TOK	anantetuai	mbue	mbue
TAL	kaepu	vaova	vaova
KUL	anaŋkokopi	apua	apua
KOR	anaʔandi	uaua	ua
WAW	anantuai	uβa	uβa
MEN	anantuφai	uφa	uφa
LAN	anainsusu	ue	ue
TUL	anansusu	ue	ue
WAI	anantuai	ue	ue
TOR	anaisusu	ua	ua
BNG	anatompasusu	ua	ua
ROU	anatuai	ue	oʔua
BAH	anatompasusu	ue	ue
MRB	tompasusu	ue	ue
PAD	ana poʔohuo	(ana)ue	ue
MRA	tompasusu	anaʔue	ue
TOM	anaʔandi	ua	uekele
WAR	anamberitoŋa	ue	ue
LAL	anaiʔuhu	uβauβa	uβa
WIW	anahai	pue	pue
ASE	anaiuhu	pue	mbue
KON	anaiʔuhu	pue	pue
MEK	anamoheβu	mbue	mbue
LAI	anaiuhu	peepe	peepe
RAH	pokotabuhaʔana	peepe	peepe
KOD	anaiuhu	peepe	nene

	40.	41.	42.
English	grandfather	ancestor	older brother
Indonesian	<i>neneklaki-laki,</i>	<i>nenek moyang</i>	<i>kakaklaki-laki</i>
MRN	mbue	mbuembue, sorosoro	tukaka
TOK	mbue	mbuembue	tukaka
TAL	vaova	vaova alantapi	kaka
KUL	apua	apua?apua	kaka
KOR	ua	miamotu?adoru	kaaka
WAW	uβa	uβamperioo	tukaka
MEN	uφa	uφamperiou	tukaka
LAN	ue	uetoto	tʃukaka
TUL	ue	puetoko, uelupa	tʃukaka
WAI	ue	ue?ue	tukaka
TOR	ua	mata?ua	tukaka
BNG	ua	inua?uanto	tukaka
ROU	o?ua	miadou	tukaka
BAH	ue	uentuko	aka
MRB	ue	uendipu?a	aka
PAD	ue	ueraβu	kaka
MRA	ue	ue	kaka
TOM	uekai	ue?ue	kaka
WAR	ue	matembue	kaka
LAL	uβa	matembue	kaka
WIW	pue	matembue	kaka
ASE	pue	matembue	kaka
KON	pue	matembue	kaka
MEK	mbue	mbuepitulapi	kaka
LAI	peepe	peepetuko	kaaka
RAH	peepe	peeperiorio	kaka
KOD	nene	nenebitulapi	kaka

English Indonesian	43. older sister <i>kakak perempuan</i>	44. younger brother <i>adiklaki-laki</i>	45. mother's brother <i>saudaralaki-laki dari ibu</i>
MRN	tukaka	tuai	topisa
TOK	tukaka	tuai	tama?ate
TAL	kaka	andi	pinoli
KUL	kaka	andi	pinoli
KOR	kaaka	andi	laki?ama
WAW	tukaka	tuβai	maama
MEN	tukaka	tuφai	lakiama
LAN	tʃukaka	tʃuai	lakiama
TUL	tʃukaka	tʃuai	lakiama
WAI	tukaka	tuai	ki?ama
TOR	tukaka	tuai	lakiama
BNG	tukaka	tuai	laki?ama
ROU	tukaka	tuai	lakiama
BAH	aka	andi	maama
MRB	aka	uai	maama
PAD	kaka	hai	maama
MRA	kaka	andi	lakiama
TOM	kaka	andi	laki?ama
WAR	kaka	hai	maama
LAL	kaka	hai	maama
WIW	kaka	hai	maama
ASE	kaka	hai	maama
KON	kaka	hai	maama
MEK	kaka	hai	maama
LAI	kaaka	hai	imaama
RAH	kaka	hai	maama
KOD	kaka	hai	lakiama

	46.	47.	48.
English	father's brother	mother's sister	father's sister
Indonesian	<i>saudara laki-laki dari ayah</i>	<i>saudara perempuan dari ibu</i>	<i>saudara perempuan dari ayah</i>
MRN	topisa	topisa	topisa
TOK	tama?ate	tina?ate	tina?ate
TAL	pinoli	pinoli	pinoli
KUL	pinoli	pinoli	pinoli
KOR	laki?ama	laki?ina	laki?ina
WAW	maama	naina	naina
MEN	lakiama	inaate	inaate
LAN	lakiama	laki?ina	laki?ina
TUL	lakiama	lakiina	lakiina
WAI	ki?ama	ina	ina
TOR	lakiama	laki?ina	laki?ina
BNG	laki?ama	laki?ina	laki?ina
ROU	lakiama	lakiina	lakiina
BAH	maama	indo	indo
MRB	maama	naine	naine
PAD	maama	neine	neine
MRA	lakiama	lakine	lakine
TOM	laki?ama	afo	afo
WAR	maama	naina	naina
LAL	maama	naina	naina
WIW	maama	naina	naina
ASE	maama	naina	naina
KON	maama	naina	naina
MEK	maama	naina	naina
LAI	imaama	inaina	inaina
RAH	maama	naina	naina
KOD	lakiama	lakiina	lakiina

	49.	50.	51.
English	slave	guest	companion
Indonesian	<i>hamba, budak</i>	<i>tamu</i>	<i>kawan, teman</i>
MRN	ata, saŋkinaa	toka, tamu	peronja
TOK	sarapi	mianoleu	peronja
TAL	ata	miansaba	sabaŋka
KUL	ata	belano	βali
KOR	anu	toka	kunsi
WAW	ata	toka	peβali
MEN	ata	toka	peβali
LAN	ata	mialeu	baŋkona
TUL	ata	mialeu	baŋgona
WAI	ata	toka	petiφai
TOR	ata	mialeu	baŋkona
BNG	ata	toana	φali
ROU	ata	mialeu	βaliβali
BAH	ata	mialeu	φaliφali
MRB	ata	totoka	βali, sambe?e
PAD	ata	miahabe	βali
MRA	ata	totoko	bale, emba
TOM	ata	tamu, toana	tamu, toana
WAR	ata	toonoleu	baŋgona
LAL	ata	toonoleu	baŋgona
WIW	ata	toonoleu	βali
ASE	ata	totoko	βaliβali
KON	ata	totoko	baŋgona
MEK	ata	totoko, toonoleu	βaliβali
LAI	ata	totoko	bagona
RAH	ata	toonoleu	βali
KOD	ata	topole	βali

	52.	53.	54.
English	I	you (familiar)	he, she
Indonesian	<i>aku, saya</i>	<i>engkau, kamu</i>	<i>dia</i>
MRN	i?aku	tʃo'o	iaa
TOK	aku	tʃo'o	iaa
TAL	ɪŋkude	ɪŋko'o	inade
KUL	uŋkude	ɪŋko'o	inade
KOR	ɪŋkude	ɪŋko'o	inade
WAW	ŋkude	ko'o	nade
MEN	uŋkude ~ ɪŋkude	iko'o	onade
LAN	oŋkude	omunde	iaa
TUL	uŋkude	umunde	meude
WAI	oŋkude	omunde	ona'e
TOR	oŋkude	omude	onade
BNG	ŋkude	munde	nade
ROU	oŋkude	omude	onae
BAH	oŋkude	omude	onade
MRB	oŋkue	iko	onae
PAD	jaku	iko	umono
MRA	ijaku	iko	ivono
TOM	iaku	iko	iʔono
WAR	inaku	ɪŋgo'o	iee
LAL	inahu	ɪŋgo'o	ie'i
WIW	inahu	ɪŋgoo	ie'i
ASE	inahu	ɪŋgo'o	ihanu
KON	inaku	ɪŋgo'o	ie'i ~ iee
MEK	inaku	ɪŋgo'o	iʔono
LAI	inahu	igoo	iee
RAH	inaku	ɪŋgo'o	ine'e
KOD	inahu	igoo	iee

	55.	56.	57.
English	we (exclusive)	we (inclusive)	they
Indonesian	<i>kami</i>	<i>kita</i>	<i>mereka</i>
MRN	itʃami	ikita	iʔira
TOK	tʃami	kita	ira
TAL	iŋkai	iŋkita	iʔira
KUL	iŋkai	iŋkita	indade
KOR	iŋkami	iŋkita	indade
WAW	kami	ontade	ondade
MEN	ikami	intade	indade
LAN	omaide	ontade	ondade
TUL	maide	ontade	ondade
WAI	omaide	omaide	ondaʔe
TOR	mamide	ontade	ondade
BNG	mami	ntade	ndade
ROU	maide	ontade	ondae
BAH	omami	ontade	ondade
MRB	omami	ontae	ondae
PAD	ikami	ikito	umboro
MRA	ikami	ikito	ivoro
TOM	ikami	ikito	iʔoro
WAR	iŋgami	iŋgito	ihiro
LAL	iŋgami	iŋgito	ihiro
WIW	iŋgai	iŋgito	ihiro
ASE	iŋgai	inaluʃundo	ihiro
KON	iŋgami	iŋgito	ihiro
MEK	iŋgami	iŋgito	ihiro
LAI	igami	igito	ihiro
RAH	iŋgami	iŋgito	iroʔo
KOD	igo:mai	igito	ihiro

	58.	59.	60.
English	horn	tail	bird
Indonesian	<i>tanduk</i>	<i>ekor</i>	<i>burung</i>
MRN	tandu	itji	kamanumanu
TOK	tandu	iki	kadade
TAL	tandu	iku	manومانو
KUL	tandu	iki	manومانو
KOR	tindu	iki	manومانو
WAW	tandu	iki	manومانو
MEN	tandu	iki	manومانو
LAN	tandu	iki	manومانو
TUL	tandu	iki	manومانو
WAI	tandu	iki	manومانو
TOR	tandu	iki	manومانو
BNG	tindu	iki	manومانو
ROU	tandu	iki	manومانو
BAH	tindu	iki	manومانو
MRB	tandu	iki	manومانو
PAD	tandu	iki	manومانو
MRA	tandu	okui	sui
TOM	tandu	okui	manومانو
WAR	tanu	iku	manومانو
LAL	tanu	iku	manومانو
WIW	tanu	iku	manومانو
ASE	tanu	iku	manومانو
KON	tanu	iku	manومانو
MEK	tanu	iku	manومانو, suisui
LAI	tanu	iku	koβekoβe
RAH	tanu	iku	suisui
KOD	tanu	pale	suisui

	61.	62.	63.
English	egg	feather	louse (chicken)
Indonesian	<i>telur(ayam)</i>	<i>bulu(ayam)</i>	<i>kutu ayam</i>
MRN	bio	βulu	kutu
TOK	bio	βuu	kutu
TAL	bio	vulu	kutu
KUL	bio	βulu	kutʃu
KOR	bio	ϕulu	kutu
WAW	bio	βulu	kutu
MEN	bio	ϕulu	kutu
LAN	toli	βulu	kutʃu
TUL	toli	βulu	kutʃu
WAI	bio	ϕulu	kutu
TOR	toli	βulu	kutukutu
BNG	bio	ϕulu	kutu
ROU	burao	βulu	kutu
BAH	sului	ϕulu	kutu
MRB	suʔului	βulu	kutu
PAD	sului	βulu	kusu
MRA	sului	βulu	kusu
TOM	toli	ϕulu	kusu
WAR	tiʔolu	βulu	kutu
LAL	tiʔolu	βulu	kutu
WIW	tiolu	βulu	kutu
ASE	tiolu	βulu	kutu
KON	tiʔolu	βulu	kutu
MEK	tiʔolu	βulu	kutu, hilo
LAI	tiolu	βulu	kutu
RAH	tiʔolu	βulu	kutu
KOD	gorau	βulu	kutu

	64.	65.	66.
English	louse (head)	bat	mosquito
Indonesian	<i>kutu (kepala)</i>	<i>kelelawar</i>	<i>nyamuk</i>
MRN	kutu	koea	βontu
TOK	kutu	mori, koea	βontu
TAL	kutu	kalua	pepi
KUL	kutʃu	kalua	buroto
KOR	kutu	kalua, koea	ϕontu
WAW	kutu	poniki, kalua	βontu
MEN	kutu	koea	ϕontu
LAN	kutʃu	mori, koea	nini
TUL	kutʃu	poniki, koea	nini
WAI	kutu	mori, poniki	ϕontu
TOR	kutu	poniki	buroto
BNG	kutu	poniki, koea	ϕontu
ROU	kutu	morimori, poniki	βontu
BAH	kutu	poniki, koea	nini
MRB	kutu	wilalae, poniki	tiporo
PAD	kusu	morimori, poniki	siporo
MRA	kusu	poniki	tampoŋa
TOM	kusu	poniki, koea	nini
WAR	kutu	poniki, koea	βontu
LAL	kutu	poniki, koea	buroto
WIW	kutu	mori, koea	buroto
ASE	kutu	mori, koea	buroto
KON	kutu	mori, koea	buroto
MEK	kutu	koea	buroto
LAI	kutu	koea	anapio
RAH	kutu	paniki	nini
KOD	kutu	poniki	nini

English	67.	68.	69.
Indonesian	snake	fish	rat, mouse
	<i>ular</i>	<i>ikan</i>	<i>tikus</i>
MRN	ule	itʃa	βola
TOK	laŋedo	itʃa	nteβita
TAL	ule	ika	βola
KUL	ule	ika	βola
KOR	ule	ika	φola
WAW	ule	ika	βola
MEN	ule	ika	φola
LAN	ule	ika	βola
TUL	ule	ika	βola
WAI	ule	ika	φola
TOR	saa	ika	βola
BNG	ule	ika	φola
ROU	ule	ika	βola
BAH	ule	bou	tehu
MRB	ule	bou	tehu
PAD	ule	bou, mete	tehu
MRA	ule	bou	tehu
TOM	ule	ika	tehu
WAR	ule	ika	ombue
LAL	ule	ika	tadike
WIW	ule	ika	tadike
ASE	sao	ika ~ itʃa	tadike
KON	sao	ika	tehu
MEK	sao, ule	βete	peʔombua
LAI	sao	βete	tadike
RAH	sao	βete	βinio
KOD	sao	βete	tagelobu

	70.	71.	72.
English	dog	tree	leaf
Indonesian	<i>anjing</i>	<i>pohon</i>	<i>daun</i>
MRN	dahu	puʔu	riri
TOK	dahu	puʔuŋkeu	riri
TAL	dahu	puʔuno keu	leve
KUL	dahu	puʔu	leβe
KOR	dahu	puʔu	lefe
WAW	dahu	puʔu	leβe
MEN	dahu	puʔu	leϕe
LAN	dahu	puʔu	leβe
TUL	dahu	puʔu	leβe
WAI	dahu	puʔu	leϕe
TOR	dahu	puʔu	leβe
BNG	dahu	puʔu(ŋkeu)	leϕe
ROU	dahu	puu	leβe
BAH	dahu	puʔu	leϕe
MRB	dahu	puʔu	leβe
PAD	dahu	puʔu	leβe
MRA	dahu	puʔu	leve
TOM	dahu	puʔu	leϕe
WAR	dahu	puʔu	taβa
LAL	dahu	puʔu	taβa
WIW	dahu	puʔu	taβa
ASE	dahu	puu	taβa
KON	dahu	puʔu	taβa
MEK	dahu	puʔu	taβa
LAI	dahu	puu	taβa
RAH	ahu	puʔu	taβa
KOD	dahu	puu	taβa

	73.	74.	75.
English	root	bark	wood
Indonesian	<i>akar</i>	<i>kulit kayu</i>	<i>kayu</i>
MRN	haka	kulintjeu	keu
TOK	haka	kulijkeu	keu
TAL	haka	kulinokeu	keu
KUL	haka	kulijkeu	keu
KOR	haka	kulinokeu	keu
WAW	haka	kulijkeu	keu
MEN	haka	kuli	keu
LAN	haka	kulijkeu	keu
TUL	haka	kulijkeu	keu
WAI	haka	kulijkeu	keu, kasu
TOR	haka	kulijkeu	keu
BNG	haka	kulinokeu	keu
ROU	haka	kulikeu	keu
BAH	haka	kulino keu	keu
MRB	haka	kulijkeu	keu
PAD	haka	kulino kau	kau
MRA	haka	kulijkau	kau
TOM	haka	kulijkau	kau
WAR	haka	kulingasu	kasu
LAL	haka	kulingasu	kasu
WIW	haka	kulingasu	kasu
ASE	haka	kulingasu	kasu
KON	haka	kulingasu	kasu
MEK	haka	kulikasu	kasu
LAI	haka	kulikasu	kasu
RAH	hau	kulikasu	kasu
KOD	haka	kuligasu	kasu

	76.	77.	78.
English	fruit	flower	thorn
Indonesian	<i>buah</i>	<i>bunga</i>	<i>duri</i>
MRN	βua(ηkeu)	buηabuηa	riu
TOK	βua	buηabuηa	riu
TAL	bake	kamba	riu
KUL	bake	βulele	riu
KOR	bake	buηabuηa	riu
WAW	βua	kambakamba	riu
MEN	φua	buηa	riu
LAN	βua	buηa	riu
TUL	βua	buηa	riu
WAI	φua	buηabuηa	riu
TOR	βua	buηabuηa	riu
BNG	φua	buηa	riu
ROU	βua	buηabuηa, βulele	riu
BAH	φua	buηa	riu
MRB	βua	sisibuηa	riu
PAD	βue	buηa	riu
MRA	vua	buηa	riu
TOM	φua	buηa	riu
WAR	βua	buηa	riu, ko?uhu
LAL	βua	buηa	riu
WIW	βua	buηa	riu
ASE	βua	buηa	riu
KON	βua	buηabuηa	riu
MEK	βua	buηa	riu
LAI	βua	buηa	riu
RAH	βua	βuηa	riu
KOD	βua	buηa	riu

	79.	80.	81.
English	banana	coconut (ripe)	coconut (unripe)
Indonesian	<i>pisang</i>	<i>kelapatua</i>	<i>kelapamuda</i>
MRN	punti	ni?imotu?i	ni?imoŋura
TOK	punti	ni?imotu?i	ni?imoŋura
TAL	punti	ni?imotua	kalimbuŋo
KUL	puntŋi	ni?imotŋua	kalimbuŋo
KOR	punti	ni?imotu?a	ni?imoŋura
WAW	punti	ni?imotu?a	ni?imoŋura
MEN	punti	ni?imotu?a	ni?imoŋura
LAN	puntŋi	ni?imotŋua	ni?imoŋura
TUL	puntŋi	ni?imotŋua	ni?imoŋura
WAI	punti	ni?imotu?a	ni?imoŋura
TOR	punti	kalukumotu?o	kalukumonoŋura
BNG	punti	ni?imotu?a	ni?imoŋura
ROU	punti	benumotu?a	benumonoŋura
BAH	punti	benumotu?a	benumonoŋura
MRB	punti	benumotua	benumonoŋura
PAD	pusi	benumosuo	benumonoŋuro
MRA	punsi	kalukumosu?o	kalukumonoŋuro
TOM	punsi	kalukumosu?o	kalukumonoŋuro
WAR	tiβo	benumotu?o	benumokoβe
LAL	pundi	kalukumotu?o	kalukumokoβe
WIW	pundi	kalukumotuo	kalukundonia
ASE	pundi	kalukumotu?o	kalukundonia
KON	pundi	kalukumotu?o	kalukundonia
MEK	pundi	ni?imotu?o	ni?imoŋuro
LAI	pudi	kalukumotuo	kalukumoruŋo
RAH	pundi	kalukumotu?o	kalukumoruŋo
KOD	pudi	kalukumotu?o	kalukumonoŋuro

	82.		83.		84.
English	coconut shell		bamboo		sago palm
Indonesian	<i>tempurung</i>		<i>bambu</i>		<i>rumbia</i>
MRN	toβo		tari		rombia
TOK	so ^o βi		tari		rumbia
TAL	soŋkoβulu		pate		rumbia
KUL	soŋkoβulu		peri		rombia
KOR	osoŋko		tula		rombia
WAW	toβo		tula, βulu		rombia
MEN	toφo		tula		rombia
LAN	ulo		tŋula		rombia
TUL	toβo		tŋula		rumbia
WAI	toφo		tula		rombia
TOR	toβo ^o ondo		βulu		rombia
BNG	toφo		tula		rombia
ROU	baŋa		balo		rombia
BAH	baŋa		tula		rombia
MRB	baŋa		balo		rombia
PAD	baŋa		balo		rumbia
MRA	tabo		balo		rombia
TOM	toφo		balo		rombia
WAR	takulo ^o oha		koβuna		rombia
LAL	baŋa		koβuna		rumbia
WIW	aha		koβuna		taβaro
ASE	takulo ^o aha		koβuna		taβaro
KON	ulo		koβuna		taβaro
MEK	ulo		koβuna		taβaro
LAI	taluaaha		koβuna		taβaro
RAH	baŋa		koβuna		taβaro
KOD	tapulubeŋe, baŋa		koβuna		taβaro

	85.	86.	87.
English	rattan	betel	sword grass
Indonesian	<i>rotan</i>	<i>sirih</i>	<i>alang-alang</i>
MRN	ue	bite	lere
TOK	ue	ribite	lere
TAL	ue	komba, gili	dana
KUL	ue	komba	lee
KOR	ue	seua	dana
WAW	ue	leβenseua	lee
MEN	ue	leϕenseua	lee
LAN	ue	βoolu	lere
TUL	ue	βolulu	lere
WAI	ue	gili	lere
TOR	ue	bite	toŋa [?] una
BNG	ue	gili, suea	lee
ROU	ue	bite	lee
BAH	lauro	gili	lee
MRB	lauro	kotuo	lee
PAD	lauro	βolulu	ree
MRA	lauro	kotuo	le [?] e
TOM	lauro	kotuo	lee
WAR	ue	βolulu	toŋauna
LAL	ue	bite	toŋauna
WIW	ue	bite	toŋauna
ASE	ue	bite	toŋauna
KON	ue	bite	una
MEK	ue	bite	una
LAI	ue	bite	toŋauna
RAH	ue	βolulu	hee
KOD	ue	bitaho	kode

	88.	89.	90.
English	pandanus	seed	(rice) seedling
Indonesian	<i>pandan</i>	<i>biji</i>	<i>bibit (padi)</i>
MRN	tole	βuku	paŋo
TOK	enano	βuku	inii
TAL	tole	oliso	pombulo
KUL	tole	oliso	pombulo
KOR	tole	βuku	pombulo
WAW	tole	βuku	pombulo
MEN	tole	ϕuku	pombulo
LAN	tole	βuku	pahoro
TUL	tole	βuku	pombulo
WAI	tole	ϕuku	pombulo
TOR	tole	βuku	pombulo
BNG	tole	ϕuku	pombulo
ROU	tole	βuku	paŋa
BAH	tole	ϕuku	inii
MRB	tole	βuku	inii
PAD	leβemoahi	βuku	βukupahoa
MRA	tole, ponda	βuku	inii
TOM	tole	ϕuku	---
WAR	enajo	βuku	pahoro
LAL	onaha	βuku	pahoro
WIW	onaha	βuku	pahoro
ASE	onaha	βuku	pahoro
KON	onaha	βuku	pahoro
MEK	onaha	βatu	βine
LAI	sulaho, kolosua, lanu	βuku	pahoro
RAH	onaha	βatu	βine
KOD	panabau	βatu	pahoro

	91.	92.	93.
English	field rice	hulled rice	cooked rice
Indonesian	<i>padi</i>	<i>beras</i>	<i>nasi</i>
MRN	pae	inisa	kinaa
TOK	kinaa	inisa	ntakinaa
TAL	pae	paemopuro	nikaa
KUL	pae	pae	kinaa
KOR	pae	paemorina	paeninahu
WAW	pae	paepinembeu	kinaa
MEN	pae	pae	kinaa
LAN	pae	βea	kinaa
TUL	pae	βea	kinaa
WAI	pae	ϕea	kinaa
TOR	pae	βoha	kinaa
BNG	pae	ϕea	kinaa
ROU	pae	paepinembeu	kinaa
BAH	pae	inisa	okinaa
MRB	pae	inisa	kinaa
PAD	pae	ihikuro	kinaa
MRA	pae	βea	kinaʔa
TOM	pae	ϕea	kinaa
WAR	pae	βoha	kinaa
LAL	pae	βoha	kinaa
WIW	pae	βoha	kinaa
ASE	pae	βoha	kinaa
KON	pae	βoha	kinaa
MEK	pae	βoha	kinaa
LAI	pae	βoha	kinaa
RAH	pae	βoha	sinele
KOD	kinaa	βoha	kinaa

	94.	95.	96.
English	sun	moon	star
Indonesian	<i>matahari</i>	<i>bulan</i>	<i>bintang</i>
MRN	mataoleo	βula	olimpopo
TOK	oleo	lamoa	olimpopo
TAL	matano oleo	βula	kambeambea
KUL	oleo	βula	bitʃuʔo
KOR	mataoleo	φula	anambula
WAW	oleo	βula	bituʔo
MEN	mataoleo	φula	bituʔo
LAN	mataʔoleo	βula	anaβula
TUL	mataʔoleo	βula	anaβula
WAI	mataʔoleo	φula	anaφula
TOR	mataʔoleo	βula	anaβula
BNG	oleo	φula	anambula
ROU	mataoleo	βula	anaβula
BAH	mataʔoleo	φula	anaφula
MRB	mataoleo	βula	anano βula
PAD	mataʔolo	βule	toŋimo
MRA	oleo	βula	toŋkimo
TOM	mataʔoleo	φula	anambula
WAR	mataoleo	βula	anaβula
LAL	mataoleo	βula	anaβula
WIW	oleo	βula	βotiti
ASE	oleo	βula	anaβula
KON	oleo	βula	anaβula
MEK	mataʔoleo	βula	βotiti
LAI	mataʔoleo	βula	anaβotiti
RAH	matahina	βula	anaβula
KOD	matahina	βula	βotiti

	97.	98.	99.
English	sky	cloud	rain
Indonesian	<i>langit</i>	<i>awan</i>	<i>hujan</i>
MRN	laŋi	taʔilaŋi	usa
TOK	laŋi	seru	usa
TAL	laŋi	kaolu	vaho
KUL	laŋi	kundo	βaho
KOR	lahumoa	kundo	φaho
WAW	laŋi	kundo	usa
MEN	laŋi	kundo	usa
LAN	dunia	gaβu	usa
TUL	lahumoa	gaβu	usa
WAI	oleo	kundo	usa
TOR	lahuene	gaβu	usa
BNG	lahumoa	seru	usa
ROU	lahomoa	seru	usa
BAH	lahumoa	seru	usa
MRB	laŋi	seru	usa
PAD	laŋi	seru	use
MRA	laŋi	seru	use
TOM	lahumoa	seru	use
WAR	lahuene	gaβu	usa
LAL	lahuene	gaβu	usa
WIW	lahuene	seru	usa
ASE	lahuene	seru	usa
KON	lahuene	gaβu	usa
MEK	lahuene	taiopua	usa
LAI	lahuene	seru	usa
RAH	lahuene	seru	usa
KOD	la:hueni	seru	usa

English	100.	101.	102.
Indonesian	wind <i>angin</i>	sea, ocean <i>laut</i>	sand <i>pasir</i>
MRN	bara	tahi	hahi
TOK	bara	tahi	one
TAL	ŋalu	tahi	bone
KUL	ŋalu	tahi	bone
KOR	ŋalu	tahi	buraja
WAW	pue	tahi	one
MEN	pue	tahi	buraja
LAN	pue	tahi	one
TUL	pue	tahi	one
WAI	pue	tahi	one
TOR	pue	tahi	one
BNG	pue	tahi	buraja
ROU	opue	tahi	buraja
BAH	pue	tahi	buraja
MRB	umaŋi	tahi	one
PAD	aŋi	tahi	one
MRA	aŋi	tahi	buraja
TOM	pue	tahi	buraja
WAR	βuri	tahi	one
LAL	βuri	tahi	one
WIW	pua	tahi	one
ASE	opua	tahi	one
KON	opua	tahi	one
MEK	opua	tahi	one
LAI	opua	tahi	one
RAH	aŋi	tahi	one
KOD	aŋi	tahi	tabohahi

	103.	104.	105.
English	earth, ground	salt	sugar
Indonesian	<i>tanah</i>	<i>garam</i>	<i>gula</i>
MRN	β ita	tahi	gola
TOK	β ita	gara	gola
TAL	β ita	gara	gola
KUL	β ita	gara	gola
KOR	ϕ ita	ohia	gola
WAW	β ita	gara	gola
MEN	ϕ ita	gara	gola
LAN	β ita	gara	gola
TUL	β ita	gara	gola
WAI	ϕ ita	gara	gola
TOR	β ita	ohia	gola
BNG	ϕ ita	ohia	gola
ROU	β ita	ohia	gola
BAH	ϕ ita	ohia	gola
MRB	β ita	ohia	gola
PAD	β ute	ohio	gola
MRA	β ute	ohio	gola
TOM	ϕ ute	ohio	gola
WAR	β uta	ohio	gola
LAL	β uta	ohio	gola
WIW	β uta	hio	gola
ASE	β uta	ohio	gola
KON	β uta	pe'anihi	gola
MEK	β uta	ohio	gola
LAI	β uta	ohio	gola
RAH	β uta	ohio	gola
KOD	β uta	hio	gola

	106.	107.	108.
English	water	spring	mountain
Indonesian	<i>air</i>	<i>mata air</i>	<i>gunung</i>
MRN	eʔe	mataʔeʔe	taŋkeno, pusu
TOK	eʔe	mataʔeʔe	taŋkeno
TAL	eʔe	matano eʔe	toruku
KUL	eʔe	matano eʔe	taŋke
KOR	eʔe	mataʔeʔe	toruku
WAW	baho	matabaho	βaβono
MEN	baho	matabaho, bahobubu	βaβono
LAN	baho	matabaho	larino
TUL	baho	matabaho	torokuno
WAI	baho	matabaho	torukuno
TOR	baho	matabubu	βaβono
BNG	baho	matabaho	torukuno
ROU	baho	matabaho	torokuno
BAH	iφoi	matano iφoi	torukuno
MRB	uβoi	matauβoi	torukuno
PAD	uβoi	matauβoi	tamuŋku
MRA	uβoi	matauβoi	torukuno
TOM	uφoi	matauφoi	torukuno
WAR	baho	matabaho	torokuno
LAL	baho	matabaho	torokuno
WIW	iβoi	mataiβoi	pusu
ASE	iβoi	matabubu	taŋgeno
KON	iβoi	mataiβoi, matabubu	osu
MEK	iβoi	mataʔiβoi	osu
LAI	iβoi	mataiβoi	tageno
RAH	iβoi	matano iβoi	taŋgeno
KOD	iβoi	matʔiβoi	osu

	109.	110.	111.
English	woods, forest	river	lake
Indonesian	<i>hutan</i>	<i>sungai</i>	<i>danau</i>
MRN	inalahi	(la?)e?e	rano
TOK	raunkeu	la?e?e	rano
TAL	rorontalu	laa	rano
KUL	inalahi, laronkeu	laa	tebeu, talaga
KOR	laroφana	(e?e)laa	rano
WAW	laronkura?ea	larolaa	kulenkebu
MEN	laronkeu	laa	rano
LAN	a?anto?olo	alaa	loβu
TUL	to?olu	laa	rano
WAI	laronkeu	laa	danau
TOR	laronkeu	larola	rano
BNG	to?olo	(baho)laa	rano
ROU	laronkeu	baholaa	rano
BAH	laronkeu	korono	rano
MRB	tobu	korono	rano
PAD	teolo	korono	toβa
MRA	tobu	korono	rano
TOM	laronkau	uφoi	rano
WAR	lalongasu	alaa	loβu
LAL	lalongasu	alaa	rano
WIW	lalongasu	alaa	rano
ASE	andoolo	alaa	rano
KON	inalahi	alaa	a?epe
MEK	lalongkasu	iβoi	a?epe
LAI	lalogasu	iβoi	rano
RAH	lalogasu	iβoi	lura
KOD	lalogasu	iβoi	tahimoteβe

	112.	113.	114.
English	fire	smoke	ashes
Indonesian	<i>api</i>	<i>asap</i>	<i>abu</i>
MRN	api	ahu	aβu
TOK	api	ahu	aβu
TAL	api	ahu	aβu
KUL	api	ahu	aβu
KOR	api	ahu	aφu
WAW	api	ahu	aβu
MEN	api	ahu	aφu
LAN	api	ahu	aβu
TUL	api	ahu	aβu
WAI	api	ahu	aφu
TOR	api	ahu	aβu
BNG	api	ahu	aφu
ROU	api	ahu	aβu
BAH	api	ahu	aφu
MRB	api	ahu	aβu
PAD	apui	ahu	aβu
MRA	apui	bombo	aβu
TOM	apui	ahu	aφu
WAR	api	ahu	aβu
LAL	api	ahu	aβu
WIW	api	iβutu	solu
ASE	api	ahu	aβu
KON	api	ahu	aβu
MEK	api	ahu	aβu
LAI	api	ahu?api	solu
RAH	api	ahu	aβu
KOD	api	ahu	aβu

	115.	116.	117.
English	stone	canoe, boat	mortar
Indonesian	<i>batu</i>	<i>perahu</i>	<i>lesung</i>
MRN	βatu	baŋka	nohu
TOK	βatu	baŋka	nohu
TAL	βatu	baŋka	nohu
KUL	βat <u>ʃ</u> u	baŋka	nohu
KOR	φatu	baŋka	nohu
WAW	βatu	baŋka	nohu
MEN	φatu	baŋka	nohu
LAN	βat <u>ʃ</u> u	baŋka	nohu
TUL	βat <u>ʃ</u> u	baŋka	nohu
WAI	φatu	baŋka	nohu
TOR	βatu	baŋka	nohu
BNG	φatu	baŋka	nohu
ROU	βatu	baŋka	nohu
BAH	φatu	baŋka	nohu
MRB	βatu	baŋka	nohu
PAD	βasu	baŋka	nohu
MRA	βasu	duaja	nohu
TOM	φasu	baŋka	nohu
WAR	βatu	banġa	nohu
LAL	βatu	banġa	nohu
WIW	βatu	banġa	nohu
ASE	βatu	banġa	nuhu
KON	βatu	banġa	nohu
MEK	βatu	banġa	nohu
LAI	βatu	kolia	nuhu
RAH	βatu	kolia	nuhu
KOD	βatu	kolia	nohu

	118.	119.	120.
English	pestle (rice)	knife	machete
Indonesian	<i>penumbuk, alu</i>	<i>pisau</i>	<i>parang</i>
MRN	alu	ta [?] ate	ta [?] oβu
TOK	alu	pisu	ta [?] oβu
TAL	ananohu	pisu	tambali
KUL	alu	poda	ta [?] oβu
KOR	alu	pisu	ta [?] oφo
WAW	alu	pisu	ta [?] aβu
MEN	alu	pisu	badi
LAN	alu	poda	kombera
TUL	alu	pisu	badi
WAI	alu	pisu	badi
TOR	alu	pisu	badi
BNG	alu	pisu	badi
ROU	alu	pisu	pede
BAH	alu	pisu	aφu
MRB	po [?] isa	pisu	oβu
PAD	alu	pisu	oβu
MRA	po [?] use	pisu	labu
TOM	alu	pisu	labu
WAR	alu	pisu	pade
LAL	pousa	pisu	kombera
WIW	pousa	pisu	kombera
ASE	po [?] usa	pisu	pade
KON	alu	pisu	pade
MEK	alu	pisu	pade
LAI	po [?] usa	pisu	pahamoi
RAH	alu	pisu	kombera
KOD	alu	pisu	ko:bera

	121.	122.	123.
English	rope	bark cloth	trail, road
Indonesian	<i>tali (besar, pital)</i>	<i>jeluang</i>	<i>jalanan</i>
MRN	ula	nilan̄ku	tinutu
TOK	ko'eŋe	bida	bolonsala
TAL	roŋo, rabuta	huka	sala
KUL	koloro	pesilimbu	sala
KOR	koloro, ula	kinaɸo	sala
WAW	koloro	kaβo	salaha
MEN	ula	---	salaha
LAN	βinotʃi	kinaβo	sala
TUL	ula	rinoko	sala
WAI	ula	---	sala
TOR	koloro	---	sala
BNG	ula	kinaɸo	salaa
ROU	koloro	kinaβo	sala
BAH	ula	inike	sala
MRB	koloro	inike	sala
PAD	koloro	tali	sala, pesala?a
MRA	koloro, balara	inike	sala
TOM	koloro, ula	inike	ansala
WAR	koloro	kinaβo	sala
LAL	koloro	kinaβo	sala
WIW	koloro	kinaβo	sala
ASE	oloo	kinaβo	sala
KON	koloro, oloo	takinaβo	sala
MEK	koloro	kinaβo	sala
LAI	oloo	kinaβo	sala
RAH	kororo	kinaβo	sala
KOD	kororo	kinaβo	sala

	124.	125.	126.
English	big	small (object)	good
Indonesian	<i>besar</i>	<i>kecil</i>	<i>baik</i>
MRN	oβose	okidi	moitfo
TOK	oβose	okidi	moitfo
TAL	oβose	ikidi	moiko
KUL	oβose	ikidi	moiko
KOR	oφose	mohiφu	moiko
WAW	oβose	meheβu	moiko
MEN	oφose	okidi	moiko
LAN	oβose	moheβu	me'ambo
TUL	oβose	moheβu	moiko
WAI	oφose	oridi	me'ambo
TOR	oβose	moheβu	moiko
BNG	oφose	odidi	moiko
ROU	oβose	moheβu	mo'iko
BAH	laηkai	ontidi	moiko
MRB	laηkai	kodei	moiko
PAD	laηkai	dedeiki	moiko
MRA	laηkai	kodei	meambo, tekosi
TOM	laηkai	mohiφu	moiko
WAR	oβose	moheβu	me'ambo
LAL	oβose	moheβu	me'ambo
WIW	oβose	moheβu	me'ambo
ASE	oβose	moheβu	meambo
KON	oβose	moheβu	me'ambo
MEK	oβose	moheβu	me'ambo
LAI	oβose	mohiβu	meabo
RAH	mohola	korosi	meambo
KOD	mohola	moheβu	meabo

	127.	128.	129.
English	dry	far	near
Indonesian	<i>kering</i>	<i>jauh</i>	<i>dekat</i>
MRN	motu?i	mentala	okuda
TOK	motui	mentala	okuda
TAL	motu?i	olaio	okuda?o
KUL	motfui	olai	okuda
KOR	motui	olai	okuda
WAW	motu?i	olai	osanda
MEN	motu?i	olai	osanda
LAN	moβatfu	olai	meranġku
TUL	motfu?i	olai	meranġku
WAI	motu?i	olai	meranġku
TOR	motu?i	olai	oβoa
BNG	motu?i	olai	oφoa
ROU	motu?i	olai	oβoa
BAH	motu?i	olai	ompeda
MRB	motu?i, mokari	olai	umpeda
PAD	mosui	olai	umbeda, ranġku
MRA	mokari	olai	orambi
TOM	mosu?i	olai	orambi
WAR	moβatu	olai	merambi
LAL	moβatu	me?ilo	merambi
WIW	moβatu	me?ilo	merambi
ASE	moβatu	me?ilo	merambi
KON	moβatu	mondae	merambi
MEK	moβatu	me?ilo	merambi
LAI	moβatu	meilo	merabi
RAH	moβatu	me?ilo	merambi
KOD	moβatu	meilo	merabi

English Indonesian	130. new (objects) <i>baru</i>	131. old (objects) <i>lama</i>	132. old (persons) <i>tua</i>
MRN	tonia	menjkau	motu?a
TOK	tonia	menjkau	motua
TAL	tonia	lembahio	mansuana
KUL	tonia	lembahi	motfua
KOR	sarai	le:mbahi	motu?a
WAW	sarai	me?uu	motu?a
MEN	sarai, baru	me?uu	motu?a
LAN	sarai	menjkau	motfju?a
TUL	sarai	menjkau	motfjua
WAI	sarai	menjkau	motu?a
TOR	sarai	menjkao	motu?a
BNG	sarai	mo?unsa	motu?a
ROU	sarai	menjkau	motu?a
BAH	baru	mosae	motu?a
MRB	βo?ohu	la:no	mota?u
PAD	βo:u, baaru	epie	mosuo
MRA	βo?u	moinse	insanji
TOM	baru	ipie	insani
WAR	sarai	menggau	motu?o
LAL	βu?ohu	menggau	motu?o
WIW	βuohu	menggau	motu?o
ASE	βuohu	me?uu	motu?o
KON	βo?ohu	menggau	motu?o
MEK	βu?ohu	menggau	motu?o
LAI	βu?ohu	mega?u	motu?o
RAH	sarai	melai	motu?o
KOD	βuohu	meoŋa	motuo

	133.	134.	135.
English	fat	hot (water)	cold (water)
Indonesian	<i>gemuk</i>	<i>panas (air)</i>	<i>dingin (air)</i>
MRN	molompo, molombi	mokula	momapu
TOK	molompo	mokula	momapo
TAL	molompo	mokulao	mokoseo
KUL	molompo	mokula	momapu
KOR	molompo	mokula	momapu
WAW	meβalo	mokula	momapu
MEN	meφalo	mokula	momapu
LAN	meβalo	mokula	momapu
TUL	meβalo	mokula	momapu
WAI	tetulu	mokula	momapu
TOR	meβalo	mokula	momapu
BNG	melene	mokula	momapu
ROU	meβalo	mokula	morinji
BAH	mebalo	mokula	sumii
MRB	meβalo	mokula	morini
PAD	monuβo	mokule	morini
MRA	madoo	mokula	morini
TOM	melene	mokula	morini
WAR	meβalo	mokula	morini
LAL	meβalo	mokula	morini
WIW	meβalo	mokula	morini
ASE	meβalo	mokula	morini
KON	meβalo	mokula	morini
MEK	morome	mokula	morini
LAI	morome	mokula	morinji
RAH	mopola	mokula	morinji
KOD	mopola	mokula	monapa

	136.	137.	138.
English	(luke)warm (water)	short	long
Indonesian	<i>hangat</i> (air)	<i>pendek</i>	<i>panjang</i>
MRN	βoloβolo ^o oleo	okunda	mentaa
TOK	mokula	oβaβa	mentaa
TAL	mosodosodo	okunda ^o	undaβo
KUL	mopane	ompudu	ondau
KOR	mopane	okunda	ondau
WAW	mopane	ompudu	ondau
MEN	mopane	ompudu	obuntu
LAN	βoloβolo	poburu	mela
TUL	βoloβolo	oβoa	orota
WAI	φoloφolo	meburu	orota
TOR	moβolo	ompudu	orota
BNG	φolo ^o oleo	ompodo	orota
ROU	moβolo	oβoa	mela
BAH	mokulahala	ombofa	mondao
MRB	mokulakula	oβoβa	ongau
PAD	mokulekule, melaho	oβundu	mentaa
MRA	melaholaho	oβaa	mentaa
TOM	---	oηkuda	mentaa
WAR	βoloβolo	enguda	mendaa
LAL	moβolo	oηguda	mendaa
WIW	βoloβolo	oputu	mendaa
ASE	moβolo	oputu	mendaa
KON	moβolo	oputu	mendaa
MEK	moβolo	oputu	mendaa
LAI	moβolo	oputu	meda ^o a
RAH	moβolo	pokahu	medaa
KOD	moβolo	puhere	medaa

	139.	140.	141.
English	blind	deaf	thirsty
Indonesian	<i>buta</i>	<i>tuli</i>	<i>haus</i>
MRN	mopusu	motaro	mokokondo?u
TOK	mopusu	motaro	motu?ikuledo
TAL	mopusuo	mobonjo?o	motiue?uno
KUL	mopusu	booko	mokokondo?u
KOR	buli	bojo	mokokondo?u
WAW	bete	boko	mokondo?u
MEN	bete	bojobiri	mokondo?u
LAN	dole	mobonjo	kekoru?ua
TUL	dole	motaru	mokoro?u
WAI	buli	motaru	endu
TOR	bete	mobonjo	mokokoro?u
BNG	buli	bojo	mokoro?u
ROU	bilo	bojo	mokoro?u
BAH	buli	mobonjo	mokoro?u
MRB	bilo, moraβu	mobonjo	mokoraja
PAD	moraβu	mobonjo	ke?area
MRA	moraβu	mobonjo	mokoraja
TOM	bilo	bojo	mokoro?u
WAR	pedole	mobonjo	moko?uo
LAL	mopusu	bojo	mokoro?u
WIW	pedole	mobonjo	moko?uo
ASE	pedole	mobonjo	moko?uo
KON	pedole	mobonjo	moko?uo
MEK	pedole	mobonjo	moko?uo
LAI	pedole	molapa	mokouo
RAH	pesea	molapa	mokoko?uo
KOD	pedole	molapa	mokouo

	142.	143.	144.
English	hungry	all	many
Indonesian	<i>lapar</i>	<i>semua</i>	<i>banyak</i>
MRN	mokohulo, momuro	luβu	meʔalu
TOK	moleʔatia	luβuluβu	mealu
TAL	burura	saluvuluvuʔo	ompole
KUL	luhoo	saluβuo	ompole
KOR	burura	saluφuo	da:hi
WAW	mokoliβaso	teteho	mehina
MEN	liφaso	teteho	mehina
LAN	bulura	luβuako	medadi
TUL	bulura	luβuako	mendadi
WAI	bulura	luφuako	mendadi
TOR	bulura	luβuako	medadi
BNG	bulura	saluφuno	mendadi
ROU	meʔaro	luβu	medadi
BAH	moŋkoninŋko	luφu	hadio
MRB	mokoninŋgo	luvuno	hadio
PAD	mokoninŋko	loβono	orao
MRA	mokovoto	pihepihe	hadio
TOM	mokoφohi	mempiheno	hadio
WAR	meʔaro	luβuhako	meʔalu
LAL	mearo	luβuako	meʔalu
WIW	mearo	inaluβu	dadio
ASE	mearo	naluβu	dadio
KON	meʔaro	luβuako	dadio
MEK	meʔaro	luβuako	dadio
LAI	meʔaro	inaʔaso	dadio
RAH	meʔaro	naluβu	mosea
KOD	mearo	naliβuako	mosea

	145.	146.	147.
English	round (spherical)	full (container)	white
Indonesian	<i>bulat (seperti bola)</i>	<i>penuh</i>	<i>putih</i>
MRN	malimbu	pono	mopila
TOK	malimbu	pono	mopila
TAL	malimbuo	buke'o	mobula'o
KUL	malimbu	buke	mobula
KOR	boboto	buke	mobula
WAW	boboto	buke	mobula
MEN	boboto	buke	mobula
LAN	bobotoli	pondo	mopute
TUL	bobotoli	pondo	mopute
WAI	bobotoli	pondo	mopute
TOR	buboto	pono	mopute
BNG	bobotoli	pono	mopute
ROU	bobotoli	pono	mopute
BAH	bobotoli	pono	mopute
MRB	bongoli	bu:ke	mopute
PAD	bubungogo	bu'uke	mopute
MRA	bobotoli	buke	mopute
TOM	bobotoli	buke	mopute
WAR	bobotoli	pono	mopute
LAL	buboto	pono	mopute
WIW	buboto	pono	mopute
ASE	buboto	pono	mopute
KON	buboto	pono	moβila
MEK	buboto	pono	mopute
LAI	buboto	pono	mopute
RAH	megulo	pono	moβina
KOD	mebulobuloli	buke	mopute

	148.	149.	150.
English	black	yellow	red
Indonesian	<i>hitam</i>	<i>kuning</i>	<i>merah</i>
MRN	molori	mokuni	motaha
TOK	mo [?] ito	mokuni	motaha
TAL	moito ^o	mokunio	movea ^o
KUL	mohalo	mokuni	memea
KOR	mo [?] ito	mokuni	momea
WAW	mohalo	mokuni	memea
MEN	mohalo	mokuni	memea
LAN	mo [?] ito	mokuni	momea
TUL	mo [?] ito	mokohoni	momea
WAI	mo [?] ito	mokuhoni	momea
TOR	mo [?] ito	mokuni	momea
BNG	mohalo	mokohoni	momea
ROU	mo [?] ito	mojkuni	motaha
BAH	mo [?] ito	mojkuni	motaha
MRB	moito	mojkuni	motaha
PAD	me [?] eto	mojkuni	motaha
MRA	moeto	mojguni	motaha, modolo
TOM	mo [?] eto	mojguni	momea
WAR	me [?] eto	mojguni	motaha
LAL	me [?] eto	mojgondalo	motaha
WIW	me [?] eto	mokuni	motaha
ASE	me [?] eto	mokuni	motaha
KON	meeto	mokuni	momea
MEK	me [?] eto	mo [?] uso	momea
LAI	me [?] eto	mouso	motaha
RAH	me [?] eto	mo [?] uso	motaha
KOD	me [?] eto	mouso	motaha

	151.	152.	153.
English	green	not	this
Indonesian	<i>hijau</i>	<i>tidak</i>	<i>ini</i>
MRN	moʔuso	naidaʔa	diʔie
TOK	moʔuso	ndaʔa	adii
TAL	maidoʔo	nahina	aioʔo
KUL	moidzo	hiina	aʔai
KOR	mobiru	naida	ai
WAW	moʔuso	nahina	haʔai
MEN	moʔuso	nahina	ai
LAN	moʔuso	hileʔo	iaʔai
TUL	moʔuso	taleʔo	iaʔai
WAI	moʔuso	kuleʔo	kideo
TOR	moʔuso	hiina	hoʔai
BNG	idzo	hina	ai
ROU	moʔuso	nahina	iroʔo
BAH	moʔuso	ahina	ndia
MRB	moloβulu	nahi	(a)ndio
PAD	moloβulu	uhu	unie
MRA	moloβulu	aijo	nuʔo
TOM	idzo	akoa	numa
WAR	moʔuso	noʔie	neʔio
LAL	moloβulu	daio	neʔio
WIW	mololo	noʔohe	neʔe
ASE	mololo	kioki	inono
KON	moʔuso	oki	ino
MEK	matai	kiʔio	neʔeno
LAI	maido	---	nee
RAH	maʔido	noʔohe	ineʔe
KOD	maido	nohe	inei

	154.	155.	156.
English	that	here	there
Indonesian	<i>itu</i>	<i>di sini</i>	<i>di situ</i>
MRN	pe?itfo	ditjeena	kokeena
TOK	aitfo	aditjeena	aitfokaena
TAL	iko?o	kana?ai	kana?iko
KUL	aa?iso	ri?ai	ri?iso
KOR	aso	na?ai	na?aso
WAW	iiso	hi?ai	asooŋe
MEN	aso?u	iaha	aso?u
LAN	ikonoo	hi?ai	hiiko
TUL	kohoo	hi	hiiko
WAI	kiko?o	hiide	hiiso
TOR	ho?iso	hi?ai	hi?iso
BNG	no?u	ia?i	noo?i
ROU	iko?o	ri?i	ko?ai
BAH	tu?u	ndiinŋka	ituunŋko
MRB	atuu, arau	indiai	irai
PAD	ula?a	endea	lehea
MRA	su?o	ende	sii?a
TOM	roma	andea	raahe
WAR	tu?io	okendi	ikitu
LAL	otuio	okendi	okutu
WIW	ro?o	ikei	ikiro
ASE	giro?o	ikeni	ikitu
KON	ŋgiro?o	ikeni	ikitu
MEK	ŋgitu?o	ikeeni	ikitu
LAI	tuu	okeedi	okitu
RAH	itu?u	okendi?i	okitu?u
KOD	iroo	okeni	okiro, okito

	157.	158.	159.
English	way over there	one	two
Indonesian	<i>di sana</i>	<i>satu</i>	<i>dua</i>
MRN	korane	me'asa	orua
TOK	apekaena	me'asa	orua
TAL	kana'aso	asade	orua
KUL	ri'asoa	iisa	orua
KOR	asoane	asade	orua
WAW	arane	asade	orua
MEN	asoa	asa	orua
LAN	hiira	asao	orua
TUL	hiira	asao	orua
WAI	hiita	asa	orua
TOR	hisoane	asade	orua
BNG	soo'i	asa	orua
ROU	rairaji	asa	orua
BAH	itaahu	asa	orua
MRB	ndiraane	asa	orua
PAD	leheapado	aso	oruo
MRA	depano	aso	oruo
TOM	siia	aso	oruo
WAR	okiro	o'aso	oruo
LAL	okita	oaso	oruo
WIW	ikita	oaso	oruo
ASE	ikiro	oaso	ruo
KON	ikiro	oaso	oruo
MEK	ikiro	o'aso	oruo
LAI	o:kira	oaso	oruo
RAH	okira'a	o'aso	oruo
KOD	okiramune	oaso	oruo

English	160.	161.	162.
Indonesian	three	four	five
	<i>tiga</i>	<i>empat</i>	<i>lima</i>
MRN	otolu	opaa	olima
TOK	otolu	opaa	olima
TAL	otolu	opaa	olima
KUL	otolu	opaa	olima
KOR	otolu	opaa	olima
WAW	otolu	opaa	olima
MEN	otolu	opaa	olima
LAN	otolu	opaa	olima
TUL	otolu	opaa	olima
WAI	otolu	opaa	olima
TOR	otolu	opaa	olima
BNG	otolu	opaa	olima
ROU	otolu	opaa	olima
BAH	otolu	opaa	olima
MRB	otolu	opaa	olima
PAD	otolu	opaa	olimo
MRA	otolu	o:mpa	olimo
TOM	otolu	oompa	olimo
WAR	otolu	o'omba	olimo
LAL	tolu	omba	olimo
WIW	tolu	oomba	limo
ASE	tolu	omba	olimo
KON	otolu	o'omba	olimo
MEK	otolu	o'omba	olimo
LAI	otolu	ooba	olimo
RAH	otolu	o'oba	olimo
KOD	otolu	ooba	olimo

	163.	164.	165.
English	six	seven	eight
Indonesian	<i>enam</i>	<i>tujuh</i>	<i>delapan</i>
MRN	onoo	opitu	hoalu
TOK	onoo	opitu	hoalu
TAL	onoo	opitu	hoalu
KUL	onoo	opitʃu	hoalu
KOR	onoo	opitu	hoalu
WAW	onoo	opitu	hoalu
MEN	onoo	opitu	hoalu
LAN	onoo	opitʃu	hoalu
TUL	onoo	opitʃu	hoalu
WAI	onoo	opitu	hoalu
TOR	onoo	opitu	hoalu
BNG	onoo	opitu	hoalu
ROU	onoo	opitu	hoalu
BAH	onoo	opitu	hoalu
MRB	onoo	opitu	oalu
PAD	onoo	opitu	oalu
MRA	o:no	opisu	hoalu
TOM	oono	opisu	hoalu
WAR	oʔono	opitu	hoalu
LAL	oʔono	opitu	hoalu
WIW	ono	pitu	hoalu
ASE	oʔono	pitu	hoalu
KON	oono	opitu	hoalu
MEK	oʔono	opitu	hoalu
LAI	oono	opitu	hoalu
RAH	oʔono	opitu	hoalu
KOD	oono	opitu	hoalu

	166.	167.	168.
English	nine	ten	twenty
Indonesian	<i>sembilan</i>	<i>sepuluh</i>	<i>dua puluh</i>
MRN	osiu	hopulu	ruapulu
TOK	hosiu	hopulu	ruapulu
TAL	osio	hopulu	ruapulu
KUL	osiu	hopulu	ruapulu
KOR	osiu	hopulu	ruapulu
WAW	osio	hopulu	ruapulu
MEN	osio	hopulu	ruapulu
LAN	osio	hopulu	ruapulu
TUL	osio	hopulu	ruapulu
WAI	osio	hopulu	ruapulu
TOR	osio	hopulu	ruapulu
BNG	osio	hopulu	ruapulu
ROU	osio	hopulu	ruapulu
BAH	osio	hopulu	ruapulu
MRB	osio	hopulu	ruapulu
PAD	osio	hopulo	ruapulu
MRA	osio	hopulo	ruampulo
TOM	osio	hopulo	ruambulo
WAR	osio	hopulo	ruambulo
LAL	osio	hopulo	ruambulo
WIW	sio	hopulo	ruambulo
ASE	osio	hopulo	ruambulo
KON	osio	hopulo	ruambulo
MEK	osio	hopulo	ruambulo
LAI	osio	hopulo	ruabulo
RAH	osio	hopulo	ruabulo
KOD	osio	hopulo	ruabulo

	169.	170.	171.
English	hundred	thousand	west
Indonesian	<i>seratus</i>	<i>seribu</i>	<i>barat</i>
MRN	asa?ete	asasoβu, asareβu	bara
TOK	asa?etu	asansoβu	bara
TAL	sa?etu	sarivu	bara
KUL	sa?etβu	sariβu	bara
KOR	asaetu	asamadala	bara
WAW	asaetu	asariβu	bara
MEN	asa?etu	asamadala	bara
LAN	asa?etβu	asasoβu	bara
TUL	asa?etβu	asamadala	bara
WAI	asa?etu	asamadala	bara
TOR	asa?etu	asasoβu	bara
BNG	sa?etu	asamadala	barati
ROU	asa?etu	asasoβu	bara, tepuliano oleo
BAH	asa?etu	asamadala	bara
MRB	asa?etu	asansoβu	so:kano oleo
PAD	asoetu	asosoβu	soka
MRA	aso?etu	asonsoβu	sojano oleo
TOM	aso?etu	asomadala	bara
WAR	aso?etu	asosoβu	bara
LAL	aso?etu	asosoβu	bara
WIW	aso?etu	asosoβu	bara
ASE	aso?etu	asosoβu	tepuliano oleo
KON	asoetu	asosoβu	bara
MEK	aso?etu	asosoβu	bara
LAI	aso?itu	asosoβu	bara
RAH	aso?etu	asosoβu	---
KOD	asoetu	asosoβu	bara

	172.	173.	174.
English	east	under	on top of, above
Indonesian	<i>timur</i>	<i>di bawah</i>	<i>di atas</i>
MRN	timo	hai tonto	hai βαβο
TOK	timbu	tonto	βαβο
TAL	timbu	i pada	i vavo
KUL	tʃiu	i pada	i βαβο
KOR	timu	i tonto	i φαφο
WAW	timu	i pada	i βαβο
MEN	timu	i pada	i φαφο
LAN	timur	i tonto	i βαβο
TUL	timu	i pada	i βαβο
WAI	timu	i pada	i φαφο
TOR	timu	i tonto	i βαβο
BNG	talise	le pada	le φαφο
ROU	sabaʒano oleo	i tonto	i βαβο
BAH	timu	i pada	i φαφο
MRB	sabanoleo	i toto	i βαβο
PAD	sabahano olo	ai toto	ai βαβο
MRA	pedoloakono oleo	i toto	i vavo
TOM	timu	i pada	i φαφο
WAR	timu	i toto	i tado
LAL	timu	i kuaio	i tado
WIW	timu	i tondo	i βαβο
ASE	losoʔano oleo	i tondo	i βαβο
KON	timu	i lolu	i βαβο
MEK	timoro	i lolu	i βαβο
LAI	timo	to:do	i βαβο
RAH	---	i to:do	i βαβο
KOD	tumuru	i todo	i βαβο

	175.	176.	177.
English	behind	in front	outside
Indonesian	<i>di belakang</i>	<i>di depan</i>	<i>di luar</i>
MRN	hai buŋku	hai raʔi	hai buŋku
TOK	buŋku	tinotolai	luara
TAL	i buŋku	i aroa	i moa
KUL	i mbui	i βoi	i luara
KOR	i buŋku	i aro	i βunku
WAW	i buŋku	i βoi	i buŋku
MEN	i buŋku	i ϕoi	i moa
LAN	i buŋku	i raʔi	i luara
TUL	i buŋku	i noʔaro	i luara
WAI	i buŋku	i noʔaro	i buŋku
TOR	i buŋku	i βoi	i sambali
BNG	le buŋku	le aro	le buŋku
ROU	i buŋku	i raʔi	i buŋku
BAH	i buŋku	i aro	i buŋku, di sambale
MRB	i buŋku	i aro	i buŋku
PAD	ai buŋku	ai aro	ai saliβa
MRA	i buŋku	i aro	i buŋku
TOM	i buŋku	i aro	i buŋku
WAR	i buŋgu	i raʔi	i luara
LAL	i buŋgu	i raʔi	i luara
WIW	i buŋgu	i pamba	i luara
ASE	i buŋgu	i raʔi	i luara
KON	i buŋgu	i raʔi	i luara
MEK	i buŋgu	i raʔi	i luara
LAI	i bugu	i rai	i luara
RAH	i para	i aro	i saliβa
KOD	i soho	i raʔi	i saliβa

	178.	179.	180.
English	inside	edge	night
Indonesian	<i>di dalam</i>	<i>pinggir</i>	<i>malam</i>
MRN	hai laro	βiβi	malo
TOK	bolo	βiri	malo
TAL	i raro	vivi	malo
KUL	i laro	sisi	matamalo
KOR	i laro	fifi	malo
WAW	i laro	pampa	malo
MEN	i laro	pampa	malo
LAN	i laro	βiβi	malo
TUL	i laro	βiβi	malo
WAI	i laro	φiφi	malo
TOR	i laro	βiβi	malo
BNG	le laro	φiφi	malo
ROU	i laro	βiβi	malo
BAH	i laro	φiφi	malo
MRB	i laro	βiβi	βoŋi
PAD	ai laro	βiβi	βoŋi
MRA	i laro	vivi	voŋi
TOM	i laro	φiφi	φoŋi
WAR	i une	βiβi	βiŋi
LAL	i une	βiβi	βiŋi
WIW	i une	βiβi	βiŋi
ASE	i une	βiβi	βiŋi
KON	i une	βiβi	βiŋi
MEK	i une	βiβi	βiŋi
LAI	i une	βiβi	βiŋi
RAH	i nue	βiβi	βiŋi
KOD	i une	βiβi	βiŋi

	181.	182.	183.
English	to know (a thing)	to say, speak	to repeat
Indonesian	<i>tahu (sesuatu)</i>	<i>berkata</i>	<i>mengulangi</i>
MRN	to'orio	ko'aβa'aβa	hulerio, ulanjio
TOK	to'ori	ko'aβa'aβa	ulanjio
TAL	to'ori	tae	mompenduanji
KUL	to'orio	pogau	sulenjio
KOR	to'orio	ko'oni	penduanji
WAW	tumo'orio	kotaetae	humuletio
MEN	to'orio	motae	mohuleti
LAN	to'orio	mebitara	metarampu'u
TUL	to:rio	bitara	metarampu u
WAI	to'orio	bitara	---
TOR	to'orio	bitara	montulura
BNG	to'orio	molo'e	dampohona
ROU	tumo'orio	mebitara	metarampu'u
BAH	to'orio	bitara	inulanji
MRB	montoori	mepau	βalio
PAD	tumo'orio	mepau	mekuletio
MRA	to'orio	montulu, mojee	βalio
TOM	to'ori	metulura	mompombo'umbo'u, mopopo'ala'alai
WAR	to'orikee	mebitara	ulanjio
LAL	toorikee	metuura	metarambu'u
WIW	toorikee	metulura	moruruhi
ASE	to'orikee	bitara	mondarmbuu
KON	to'orikee	mebitara	monduura
MEK	toto'orikee	mombau	humule'i
LAI	toori	mobepe	moduduhi
RAH	tumo'orikee	mobitara	metarambu'u
KOD	torikee	mobitara	nohanubakuleo

	184.	185.	186.
English	to sing	to cry	to laugh
Indonesian	<i>menyanyi</i>	<i>menangis</i>	<i>tertawa</i>
MRN	melagu	meβoβo	mototaa
TOK	menani	bebera	keke
TAL	lagu	paŋka	heke
KUL	lumagu	maŋka	heera
KOR	menani	umau	heke
WAW	mekabia	gumara	mototaa
MEN	mekabia	umere	mototaa
LAN	mepe?elu	meŋere	meŋira
TUL	menani	meŋere	meŋira
WAI	mepe?elu	meŋere	meŋira
TOR	mekabia	mepaŋkai	mototaa
BNG	menani	maŋka	mototaha
ROU	menani	meŋere	mototaa
BAH	penani	meŋesi	mototaha
MRB	menani	meŋese, mebee	meŋiŋisi
PAD	menani	meiβi	moaβa
MRA	moŋaiju	meie	mototao
TOM	menani	me?iφi	mogele
WAR	menani	me?eβi	keranja
LAL	menani	meŋere	kesalia
WIW	menani	miiia	merorai
ASE	mosua	meŋere, miiia	merorai
KON	mosusua	umi?ia	mototao
MEK	mosusua	umi?ia	mototao
LAI	mosusua	miiia	merorai
RAH	mosejo	me?ia	merorai
KOD	mosusua	mi?ia	melama

	187.	188.	189.
English	to hear	to see	to eat
Indonesian	<i>mendengar</i>	<i>melihat</i>	<i>makan</i>
MRN	mompodea	mo'onto	moŋkaa
TOK	modeaho, roroŋee	ontoo	moŋkaa
TAL	poroŋe	po'onto	poŋkaa
KUL	mororŋe	mo'onto	moŋkaa
KOR	mororŋe	mo'onto, molihe	moŋkaa
WAW	mompodea	mo'onto	moŋkaa
MEN	mompodea	mo'onto	moŋkaa
LAN	mompodea	mo'unto	moŋkaa
TUL	mompodea	mo'unto	moŋkaa
WAI	mompodea	mo'unto	moŋkaa
TOR	mompodea	mo'unto	moŋkaa
BNG	mompodea	moŋkita	moŋkaa
ROU	mompodea	molihe	moŋkaa
BAH	mororŋe	moŋkita	moŋkaa
MRB	mororŋe	moŋkita	moŋkaa
PAD	mororŋoi	mosue	moŋgaa
MRA	mohori	moŋgito	moŋgaa
TOM	mororŋoi	moŋgito	moŋgaa
WAR	mororŋo	moŋgii	moŋgaa
LAL	mororŋo	moŋgii	moŋgaa
WIW	mororŋo	moŋgii	moŋgaa
ASE	mombodea	moŋgii	moŋgaa
KON	mombodea	moŋgii	moŋgaa
MEK	mombodea	moŋgii	moŋgaa
LAI	mororŋo	mogii	mogaa
RAH	mororŋo	mengikii	moŋgaa
KOD	mobodea	mekikii	mogaa

	190.	191.	192.
English	to drink	menggigit	to fall (as fruit)
Indonesian	<i>minum</i>	<i>to bite</i>	<i>jatuh</i>
MRN	mondo?u	moŋkea	tuuna
TOK	mondo?u	moŋkea	tuuna
TAL	mondo?u	poŋkikii	tuuna
KUL	mondou	moŋkikii	tʃuuna
KOR	mondo?u	moŋkiki	tuuna
WAW	mondo?u	moŋkiki	tuuna
MEN	mondo?u	moŋkiki	tuuna
LAN	mo?enu	mekea	metʃuha
TUL	mo?enu	mekea	medontani
WAI	mo?enu	moŋkekea	tanta
TOR	mo?enu	moŋkiki	medonta
BNG	mo?inu	moŋkiki	tedontani
ROU	mo?enu	moŋkiki	petuha
BAH	mo?inu	moŋkiki	tedonta
MRB	moinu	moŋkiki	tedonta
PAD	moinu	moŋkarasi, momamaki	modonta
MRA	moinu	mekarasi	tedonta
TOM	mo?inu	moŋkara	tedonta
WAR	mo?enu	moŋgara	motonda
LAL	mo?enu	mekara	metuha
WIW	mo?inu	moŋgara	motonda
ASE	moinu	mekara	montonda
KON	mo?enu	moŋgeketa	motonda, mo?isa
MEK	mo?inu	mebakati, mekiki	mo?isa
LAI	moinu	mogara	motoda
RAH	mo?inu	moŋgara	motonda
KOD	moinu	mogara	mosia

	193.	194.	195.
English	to drop s.th.	to burn (field)	to pound (rice)
Indonesian	<i>menjatuhkan</i>	<i>membakar(kebun)</i>	<i>menumbuk (padi)</i>
MRN	montuunani	montunu	mo [?] isa
TOK	montunani	mohoni	mo [?] isa
TAL	montunani [?] o	montunu	membeu
KUL	mont [?] unani	mont [?] unu	membeu
KOR	tu:nanio	sumoŋko	mombeu
WAW	modontani	montunu	membeu
MEN	modontani	montunu	mosoŋko
LAN	t [?] uhaomo	mont [?] unu	membeu
TUL	mondontani	mont [?] unu, sumoŋko	membeu
WAI	modontani	montunu	mombeu
TOR	modontani	montunu	mombeu
BNG	mondontani	montunu	mododo
ROU	montuhai	montunu	mo [?] isa
BAH	dontaio	mosoŋko	mo [?] isa
MRB	modontai	mosoŋko	moisa
PAD	modontai	mosoŋko	mouse
MRA	dumontai [?] io	monsoru	mouse
TOM	modontai	monsoru	mo [?] use
WAR	mombokomotonda	mosoru	umusa
LAL	monduhai	mondunu	umusa
WIW	monduha	sumoru	umusa
ASE	matumuhai	sumoru	umusa
KON	mombokomo [?] isa	humunu	umusa
MEK	mombokomo [?] isa	humunu	umusa
LAI	mobokotoda	mosoru	umusa
RAH	motondangee	mondunu ~ modunu	mo [?] usa
KOD	moduha	modunu	mobido

	196.	197.	198.
English	to die, dead	to dry in sun	to bathe
Indonesian	<i>mati</i>	<i>menjemur</i>	<i>mandi</i>
MRN	mate	mompuai	mebaho
TOK	mate	mompu?ai	mebaho
TAL	mate	mempu?ai	mebaho
KUL	mate	mompu?ai	mebaho
KOR	mate	mompu?ai	mebaho
WAW	mate	mompu?ai	mebaho
MEN	mate	mompu?ai	mebaho
LAN	mate	montando	rumiriu
TUL	mate	mompo?ai	mebaho
WAI	mate	mompuai	mebaho
TOR	mate	mompu?ai	mebaho
BNG	mate	mompuai	mebaho
ROU	mate	mompuai	mebaho
BAH	mate	mompuai	mandiu
MRB	mate	mompuai	medolo
PAD	mate	mompuei	medolo
MRA	mate	mompu?ai	meβaha
TOM	mate	mompuai	mandiu
WAR	mate	mombuai	rumiriu
LAL	mate	mombuai	mebaho
WIW	mate	mombuai	mebaho
ASE	mate	mombu?ai	mebaho
KON	mate	mombu?ai	mebaho
MEK	mate	mombuai	mebaho
LAI	mate	mobu?ai	mebaho
RAH	mate	mombuai	mebaho
KOD	mate	mobuai	mebaho

	199.	200.	201.
English	to give s.o. a bath	to swim	to fly
Indonesian	<i>memandikan</i>	<i>berenang</i>	<i>terbang</i>
MRN	mobaho	nonaŋi	lumaa
TOK	mobaho	nonaŋi	lumaa
TAL	mobaho	lunaŋi	lumaa
KUL	mobaho	numaŋi	lumola
KOR	mobaho	lumaŋi	lumaa
WAW	mompokompebaho	numaŋi	dumapa
MEN	mompobaho	numaŋi	dumapa
LAN	ririho	numaŋi	lumaa
TUL	mobaho	numaŋi	lumaa
WAI	mobaho	numaŋi	lumaa
TOR	mobaho	numaŋi	lumaa
BNG	bumahoo	numaŋi	lumaa
ROU	mobaho	numaŋi	lumaa
BAH	pandiuo	sumoŋe	lumaa
MRB	modolo	sumoŋe	menee
PAD	dumolo?o	numaŋoi	momba?ane
MRA	moŋaha	monaŋoi	menee
TOM	mompandiuu	lumeo	menee
WAR	moririu	numaŋo	lumaa
LAL	mobaho	numaŋo	lumaa
WIW	nibaho	numaŋo	limuu
ASE	bahoi	lumaŋo	limuu
KON	mobaho	lumaŋo	lumaa
MEK	baho?i	lumaŋo	lumaa
LAI	mobaho	lumaŋo	lumaa
RAH	baho?i	numonaŋo	lumuu
KOD	mobaho	numonaŋo	lumaa, melumuhako

	202.	203.	204.
English	to kill	to give	to cough
Indonesian	<i>membunuh (orang)</i>	<i>memberi</i>	<i>batuk</i>
MRN	mompepate	mompoβehi	memeke
TOK	mompopate	moβeehu	memeke
TAL	pepate	moveo	meke
KUL	mompepate	motʃia	memeke
KOR	mompepate	mombee	memeke
WAW	mompepate	mompombehi	memeke
MEN	mompepate	mompombehi	memeke
LAN	pepateo	umbeeho	memekeli
TUL	mompepate	mompoβehako	memeke
WAI	mompopate	mompombeehi	memeke
TOR	mompepate	mompoβehi	memeke
BNG	mompepate	mombehako	memeke
ROU	mompepate	mombeho	memeke
BAH	mompepate	mompombei	memeke
MRB	mompepate	mompoβee	mehengge
PAD	mompepate	mompoβea	mehengge
MRA	mompepate	mompoβei	memeke
TOM	mompepate	mompoβeei	memeke
WAR	mombepate	momboβeehi	humongo
LAL	mombepate	momboβeihi	humongo
WIW	mombepate	momboβeʔehi	humongo
ASE	mombeopate	momboβehi	humongo
KON	mombepate	momboβehi	humongo
MEK	mombepate	momboβehi	humongo
LAI	mobepate	moβee	humongo
RAH	mombepate	moβei	mohongoḥoḥo
KOD	mobepate	moboβehi	humongo

	205.	206.	207.
English	to spit	to vomit	to itch, be itchy
Indonesian	<i>berludah, meludah</i>	<i>muntah</i>	<i>gatal</i>
MRN	me?ilii	molua	mokato
TOK	me?oniu	komelumelu	mokato
TAL	me?ilii	memeluo	mokato
KUL	me?ili	memelu	mokato
KOR	me?unuhi	memelu	heora
WAW	me?oniu	memelu	mokato
MEN	me?oniu	memelu	mokato
LAN	me?ini	kolualua	mokato
TUL	me?eni	memelu	mokato
WAI	me?iniu	kolualua	mokato
TOR	me?iniu	komelumelu	mokato
BNG	me?unuhi	memelu	mokato
ROU	me?oniu	kolualua	mokato
BAH	me?iliki	pelua	mokokato
MRB	me?oniu	telua	mokokato
PAD	me?oniu	memelu	meduhu
MRA	me?oniu	melue	mokokato
TOM	me?ili	me?ue?ue	mokokato
WAR	me?ini	molua	mokato
LAL	me?eni	molua	mokato
WIW	meini	peua	mokato
ASE	me?ini	pe?ua	mokato
KON	me?eni	pe?ua	mokokato
MEK	me?eni	pe?ua	mokokato
LAI	me?ini	peua	mokokato
RAH	me?eni	pe?ua	moβia
KOD	me?ini	te?ua	mokokato

	208.	209.	210.
English	to walk	to stand	to sit
Indonesian	<i>berjalan</i>	<i>berdiri</i>	<i>duduk</i>
MRN	molako	mentade	totoro
TOK	lolako	mentade	totoro
TAL	lumiŋka	pentade	totoro
KUL	lumiŋka	tʃumade	totoro
KOR	lumiŋka	mentade	totoro
WAW	moliŋka	mentade	tumotoro
MEN	moliŋka	mentade	tumotoro
LAN	lumako	tʃumade	totoro
TUL	lumela	tʃumade	tʃumotoro
WAI	metalela	tumade	tumotoro
TOR	lumako	tumade	totoro
BNG	metalela	tumade	tumanda
ROU	lumolako	tumade	tumotoro
BAH	melempa	metade	totoro
MRB	melempa	mentade	mentoro
PAD	kolekoleko	menggoti	mentoro
MRA	lumolako	mentido	metunda
TOM	lumolako	metade	metunda
WAR	lumaho	mendede	mendotoro
LAL	molakolako	mepotade	mendotoro
WIW	lumaho	melilingoro	mere:rehu
ASE	lumako	melingoro	merehu
KON	lumako	menggokoro	mererehu
MEK	melimba	menggokoro	mendotoro
LAI	lumolako	megokoro	medotoro
RAH	lumolako	holiligoro	kototoro
KOD	numolako	mepotusa	medotoro

	211.	212.	213.
English	to lie down	to nod, be sleepy	to sleep
Indonesian	<i>berbaring</i>	<i>mengantuk</i>	<i>tidur</i>
MRN	leleha	mokokotundu	moturi
TOK	kolehaleha, kobalebale	mokotundu	moturi
TAL	kododole	mokotundu	moturi
KUL	kolelo	mokotfundu	motfuri
KOR	kodoledole	mokotundu	moturi
WAW	koleledo	mokotundu	moturi
MEN	koledoledo	mokotundu	moturi
LAN	kole:ledo	mokotfundu	motfuri
TUL	kolelolelo	mokotfundu	motfuri
WAI	kolelolelo	mokotundu	moturi
TOR	motuturi	mokotundu	moturi
BNG	meloloo	mokotundu	moturi
ROU	motuturi	mokotundu	moturi
BAH	molendolendo	mokoturi	moturi
MRB	mepombole	moŋkokoturi	moturi
PAD	meleroako	mokokoturi	moturi
MRA	mepombole	moŋkokoturi	moturi
TOM	meledo	mokoturi	moturi
WAR	motuturu	mokomboturu	moturu
LAL	monduturu	mokomboturu	moturu
WIW	moiiso	mokomboiso	moiso
ASE	moiiso	mokombo?iso	moiso
KON	monduturu	mokombo?iso	mo?iso
MEK	motuturu	mokomboturu	moturu
LAI	mo?iso?iso	moliiso	moiso
RAH	motuturu	mokokonduru	moturu
KOD	meguleloako	mokoliliso	mo?iso

	214.	215.	216.
English	to dream	to wake up	to awaken s.o.
Indonesian	(<i>ber</i>) <i>mimpi</i>	<i>bangun</i>	<i>membangunkan</i>
MRN	moʔipi	tepombula	tubaʔo, tisuo
TOK	moʔipi	tepeβaŋu	tinsuβo
TAL	moʔipi	podea	mosinsu
KUL	moʔipi	podea	monsinsu
KOR	moʔipi	mompekaani	mosinsu
WAW	moʔipi	mekaa	mosunsuŋi
MEN	moʔipi	mekaa	φumaŋu
LAN	moʔipi	tebiŋko	sunsuo
TUL	moʔipi	mompekaani	suminsuo
WAI	moʔipi	mompekamako	sunsuo
TOR	moʔipi	βaŋuomo	tibalio
BNG	moʔipi	mompekaani	motinsu
ROU	moʔipi	mompeliho	tumusuo
BAH	moʔipi	mompekaani	leluo
MRB	moipi	meβaŋu	moβaŋu
PAD	moipi	meβaŋu	βaŋuo
MRA	moipi	meβaŋu	moβaŋu
TOM	moʔipi	meφaŋu	φaŋuo
WAR	moʔepi	mombekahako	mondisu
LAL	moʔepi	mombekahako	tinisu
WIW	moipi	mombekahako	βeaʔi
ASE	moipi	mombekahako	tiniba
KON	moʔipi	mombekahako	mondibali
MEK	moʔipi	mombekahako	tumibaʔi
LAI	moipi	mobekaʔahako	medisu
RAH	moʔipi	mekanako	moβaŋu
KOD	moʔipi	mobekanako	meteβolu

	217.	218.	219.
English	to come, arrive	to be pregnant	name
Indonesian	<i>datang, tiba</i>	<i>mengandung, hamil</i>	<i>nama</i>
MRN	leu	mentia	nee
TOK	leu	mentia	nee
TAL	saba	movavavava	nee
KUL	teleu	moruŋkoko	ŋee
KOR	leu	mentia	nee
WAW	leu	mentia	ŋee
MEN	leu	mentia	ŋee
LAN	leu	mentŋia	ŋee
TUL	leu	mentŋia	ŋee
WAI	leu	mentia	ŋee
TOR	leu	mentia	ŋee
BNG	leu, tedundu	mentia	ŋee
ROU	leu	mentia	ŋee
BAH	leu	mentia	ŋee
MRB	haβe	mentia	nee
PAD	haβe	momeni	nee
MRA	haβe	moreŋko	ŋee
TOM	haφe	mentia	ŋee
WAR	leu	mendia	tamo
LAL	leu	mendia	tamo
WIW	leu	mendia	tamo
ASE	leu	mendia	tamo
KON	leu	mendia	tamo
MEK	leu	mendia	tamo
LAI	leu	media	tamo
RAH	leu	mendia	tamo
KOD	hake	media	tamo

	220.	221.	222.
English	bride price	what?	who?
Indonesian	<i>mas kawin</i>	<i>apa?</i>	<i>siapa?</i>
MRN	laŋa	hapa	inai
TOK	laŋa	hapa	inai
TAL	ihinokavi	hapa?ira	inaio
KUL	isikaβi, popolo	hapa	inai
KOR	ihinika	hapao	inaiko
WAW	tinensuka	hapao	naio
MEN	pepaŋa	hapao	naio
LAN	popolo	hapa	inae
TUL	ihinika	haβao	inae
WAI	ihinika	hapao	inei
TOR	pepaŋa	hapa	inai
BNG	ihinika	hapa	inai
ROU	ihinika	hapa	inae
BAH	ihinika	hapa	isema
MRB	kovei	hapa	isema
PAD	βulaa sombori	bio	ineiĵo
MRA	pontao	jopio	isia
TOM	ihinika	pio	inai
WAR	popolo	haβo	inae
LAL	popolo, surakaβi	haβo	inae
WIW	popolo	hapo	inae
ASE	popolo	hapo	inae
KON	popolo	hapo	inae
MEK	somba	hapo	inai
LAI	soba	hao	inai
RAH	soba	hao	inai
KOD	soba	hapo	inane

	223.	224.	225.
English	where?	how many?	how?
Indonesian	<i>dimana?</i>	<i>berapa?</i>	<i>bagaimana?</i>
MRN	haihapa	opia	kana?umpe
TOK	dahano	opia	kana?umpe
TAL	maina	sahapa	kania?umpe
KUL	maina	sahapa	ŋka?umpehano
KOR	maina	opia	kana?umpe
WAW	maina	opia	kana?ampe
MEN	imaina	opia	kanampe
LAN	hiβaa	opia	kana?ampe
TUL	hiβaa	'opia	kana?ampe
WAI	diapa	opia	kana?ampe
TOR	isua	opia	kana?umpe
BNG	le:sua	opia	kanansema
ROU	isua	opia	mohumpako
BAH	isua	opia	kanaampe
MRB	isua	opia	kanaumpe
PAD	inderio	popio	helindee
MRA	inderio	popio	ehende
TOM	isua	popio	ehende
WAR	nihafβo	opio	ndehaβo
LAL	mbee	opio	indohaβokaa
WIW	imbee	opio	tembekee
ASE	nihapo	opio	te?embe
KON	nehaβo	opio	te?embe
MEK	umbee, inehapo	opio	tete?embe
LAI	ubee	opio	tebekee
RAH	umbee	opio	te?embekee
KOD	ubee	opio	tebekeka

226.

English	why?
Indonesian	<i>mengapa?kenapa?</i>
MRN	mohapaa
TOK	mohapa
TAL	hapaio
KUL	hapai
KOR	mohompaiko
WAW	hapaio
MEN	hapaio
LAN	kana?ampeko
TUL	moβai
WAI	mohampai
TOR	mohapai?o
BNG	humpai
ROU	kana?ampe
BAH	tembio
MRB	tembio
PAD	akombio
MRA	tembio
TOM	mombio
WAR	moriaho
LAL	haβokaa
WIW	mba:ko?i
ASE	mba:koe
KON	mba:ko?i
MEK	mba:ko?i
LAI	bakoe
RAH	ha:te?e
KOD	humapoe

ENDNOTES

- 1 Adriani reports the eastern half of peninsular south-eastern Sulawesi acquired the appellation Laiwui in this way:

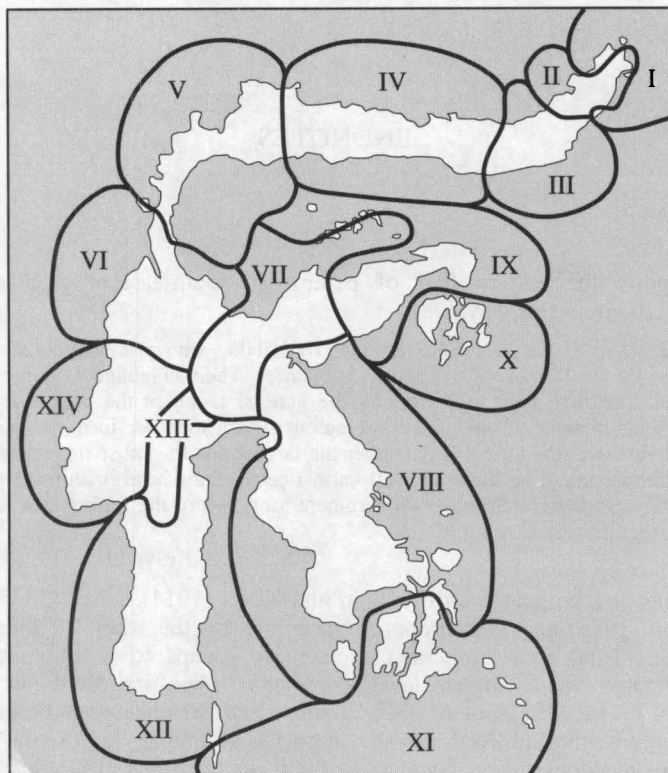
To the south of the Laa Solo lie the To Lalaki, who primarily inhabit the area drained by the Konawe River and its tributaries. Their language is named Lalaki or Laiwui. The first name is better, for the general name of the people is To Lalaki. Laiwui is the name of one of the subregions which together form the confederation of the Konawe region, but it is neither the largest nor the most important subregion. Laiwui happens to be the most well known because the head of this subregion had a contract with the Dutch Indies Government long before the entire land was brought under regular administration.

(Adriani & Kruyt 1914:219) (trans. D.M.)

- 2 The following is a comparison of Adriani and Kruyt (1914), Esser (1938), Salzner (1960) and Sneddon (1983) and their proposed groupings for the island of Sulawesi. They have variously postulated from eight to eleven major groups to account for a total of 14 distinct language areas. Higher level groupings, when indicated by the author, are indicated by brackets to right of each column, and are discussed below. The language areas, numbered I through XIV, are shown on the accompanying map. Only one of these, Muna-Buton, has consistently been recognised as a separate group by all four authors. Note that West-Toradja is more properly known today as Kaili, East-Toradja as Pamona, and Toradja—as used by Esser and Salzner—as Kaili-Pamona. The term Toradja (Toraja in the revised spelling) is still in use today, but properly refers only to a people group of northern South Sulawesi Province which is culturally and linguistically distinct from Kaili-Pamona.

	Adriani & Kruyt	Esser	Salzner	Sneddon
I			Sangihe-Talaud	Sangiric
II	Philippine	Philippine		Minahasan
III			Minahasa	Mongondow
IV	Gorontalo	Gorontalo	Gorontalo	Gorontalo
V	Tomini	Tomini	Tomini	
VII	West-Toradja			West-Central
VI	East-Toradja	Toradja	Toradja	
VIII	Bungku-Mori	Bungku-Laki	Bungku-Mori	
IX	Loinan	Loinang	Loinang	Eastern
X		Banggai	Banggai	Banggai
XI	Muna-Buton	Muna-Buton	Muna-Buton	Muna-Buton
XII	Bugis-Makassar			
XIII	Sadang	South Celebes	South Celebes	South Sulawesi
XIV	Mandar			

FIGURE: COMPARISON OF ADRIANI AND KRUYT, ESSER, SALZNER AND SNEDDON



MAP: LINGUISTIC REGIONS OF CELEBES

Adriani, preparing a map only of Sulawesi, did not propose any higher level groupings. Esser's eight proposed groups for Sulawesi all fell within his Malayo-Polynesian, which included all the languages of Indonesia except for the Papuan languages of Halmahera and New Guinea. Salzner, on the other hand, placed his Sangihe-Talaud and Minahasa groups within North-West Indonesian, in which he also included the languages of Taiwan and the Philippines. The remaining Sulawesi groups he placed under South-West Indonesian, which for him also included the languages of Sumatra, Borneo, Java, Bali and most of the Lesser Sunda Islands.

Sneddon proposed three supergroups for parts of Sulawesi: a Sangir-Minahasan Supergroup, a Mongondow-Gorontalo Supergroup, and a Central Sulawesi Supergroup. The last of these he based on lexicostatistic data found in Barr and Barr (1979), and included within it his West-Central and Eastern groups, as well as the Banggai language, which he considered to be a group-level isolate. Sneddon did not propose any higher level groupings other than these three supergroups.

- 3 Mutual intelligibility between languages should not be confused with bilingual ability. Two isolects are mutually intelligible if they are so closely related that knowing one isolect guarantees the ability to understand the second isolect. Bilingual ability, on the other hand, refers to the learning of a second and not necessarily related language through contact. Mutual intelligibility applies to a language community as a whole; bilingual ability may vary from person to person within a language community, depending on the amount of contact each individual has had with the second language and their motivation for learning it.

4 In fact, there is no one point at which we can say mutual intelligibility begins or ends. As J. Grimes notes (1995:23), it may be better to think of intelligibility in terms of the cost or effort a hearer must expend in order to understand the speech variety of another. High intelligibility implies little or no cost or effort; low intelligibility implies high cost or effort.

5 This rule of thumb reflects tables of significance provided by Simons (1977c:99–101). A portion of these tables is provided here. Percentages are presented in pairs, and should be read: “Considering two percentages of lexical similarity, if the lower percentage is (first number) and the higher percentage is (second number) or greater, then the two can be considered significantly different.” The table begins at 20%, since no percentage in the actual analysis falls below this value.

20 - 26	30 - 37	40 - 47	50 - 57	60 - 67	70 - 76	80 - 85	90 - 94
21 - 27	31 - 38	41 - 48	51 - 58	61 - 68	71 - 77	81 - 86	91 - 95
22 - 28	32 - 39	42 - 49	52 - 59	62 - 69	72 - 78	82 - 87	92 - 96
23 - 29	33 - 40	43 - 50	53 - 60	63 - 70	73 - 79	83 - 88	93 - 96
24 - 30	34 - 41	44 - 51	54 - 61	64 - 71	74 - 80	84 - 89	94 - 97
25 - 31	35 - 42	45 - 52	55 - 62	65 - 71	75 - 81	85 - 90	95 - 98
26 - 32	36 - 43	46 - 53	56 - 63	66 - 72	76 - 82	86 - 91	96 - 99
27 - 33	37 - 44	47 - 54	57 - 64	67 - 73	77 - 83	87 - 92	97 - 99
28 - 34	38 - 45	48 - 55	58 - 65	68 - 74	78 - 84	88 - 92	98 - 100
29 - 35	39 - 46	49 - 56	59 - 66	69 - 75	79 - 84	89 - 93	99 - 100

Simons himself outlines a procedure for reducing a matrix so that it shows only significant differences (1977c:83ff.). This procedure was not followed for two reasons: (a) in large matrices, it results in many apparent significant differences, but which are not underlying significant differences; and (b) it was felt that some differences smaller than those indicated in the table may also be significant.

6 The word list used by Chuck and Barbara Grimes contained 202 items; in follow-up surveys from 1983 to 1987, subsequent researchers with the Summer Institute of Linguistics used this word list but with various additions and deletions. In order to facilitate comparison between these older surveys and newer ones in progress, in 1987 Timothy Friberg compiled the standard Combined Sulawesi Survey Word list, which contains every item of the original 202-word list, plus 24 additional items found in subsequent revisions.

7 Originally I had included four languages from each group, but no significant information was lost by reducing this to two languages. The Muna and Wolio word lists were provided by René van den Berg and were the same used in his classification and historical reconstruction of Muna and Munaic languages (1991). The Pamona and Uma word lists were provided by Michael Martens and were the same used in his classification and historical reconstruction of Kaili-Pamona (1989). The Lemolang and Bugis Bone word lists were taken from Grimes and Grimes' *Languages of South Sulawesi* (1987:98–199).

8 Similar decisions were reached regarding the word sets *ue*, *mbue*, *pue*, *apua*, *ua*, *uβa*, and *awa* 'grandchild' and *alo*, *olo*, *oleo* and *eo* 'sun'. An extreme was reached in the words for 'coconut shell', where the word *takulo* 'aha' provided a bridge for all of the forms *taku*, *takulo*, *ulo*, *taluhaha*, *kuli* 'aha' and *aha*—but which among themselves exhibit considerable phonetic divergence.

9 The method of clique analysis was presented to me by Joseph Grimes in a sociolinguistic survey course at the University of Oklahoma in 1984. I am not aware of any published source which presents the methodology for clique analysis.

- 10 Adriani and Kruyt's (1914) designation for this group of languages—Bungku-Mori—reflected their greater familiarity with these two language families, and today this is the name by which it is better known (for example Salzner 1960; E. Uhlenbeck 1971; Sneddon 1983; Grimes & Grimes 1987; B. Grimes 1992). I believe, though, as did Esser (1938), that the term Bungku-Tolaki is more appropriate. These two language families are geographically the most widespread and in terms of population the most numerous. Furthermore, the terms Bungku and Mori are primarily associated with Central Sulawesi Province; including Tolaki identifies these languages as also spoken in South-East Sulawesi Province. Confer Bhurhanuddin (1979:8), who concurs, for the viewpoint of a South-East Sulawesi scholar on this matter.
- 11 The lexical similarity percentages presented by Barr and Barr (1979:23–26) in their analysis of Central Sulawesi languages became the basis for Sneddon's (1983) inclusion of Bungku-Mori within his West-Central Sulawesi Group, and the Grimes' inclusion of Bungku-Mori within their Central Sulawesi Stock—although the Grimes noted the provisional nature of this inclusion, stating it would “need to be substantiated by further studies in South-East Sulawesi” (1987:55). Their presentations constitute a claim that the closest linguistic neighbours of the Bungku-Tolaki languages are the Kaili-Pamona (and Tomini) languages to the north-west. In cases where the Barrs' and this analysis overlap, however, they are significantly different. The similarity values in the left matrix are taken from our Figure 18. The matrix on the right includes the same languages, but the similarity percentages are from Barr and Barr (1979:26).

Uma					Pipikoro (=Uma)						
59	Pamona				77	Pamona					
39	41	Mori Atas			62	62	Mori Atas				
38	39	74	Mori Bawah		62	58	86	Mori Bawah			
34	32	54	60	Bungku	56	53	66	76	Bungku		
37	35	51	57	78	Menui	56	57	70	72	85	Menui

FIGURE: LEXICAL SIMILARITY PERCENTAGES:
THIS STUDY VERSUS BARR AND BARR (1979)

On the other hand, where matrices overlap, our similarity scores compare favourably with those of Grimes and Grimes (1987:19) (our values on the left, theirs on the right):

Bugis Bone			Bugis Bone		
40	Lemolang		41	Lemolang	
30	36	Padoe	32	37	Padoe

FIGURE: LEXICAL SIMILARITY PERCENTAGES:
THIS STUDY VERSUS GRIMES AND GRIMES (1987)

as well as with other researchers including Van den Berg (1991:47), Martens (1989), and Karhunen and Vuorinen (1991:49). We have no explanation for the disparate values arrived at by the Barrs.

In defense of our analysis, we should note that this study included South Sulawesi and Muna-Buton languages—a consideration which fell outside the scope of the Barrs' survey. Even if we ignore absolute values and compare similarity scores relatively, we can still say in this study there is no lexicostatistic basis for considering any of these, Kaili-Pamona, Muna-Buton, or South Sulawesi, to be the closest relative to Bungku-Tolaki. All three are equally close—or equally distant, depending on one's viewpoint.

- 12 How long Kulisusu have been living at Laroue village is a matter of some debate, and our respondents' claim of 'hundreds of years' is too vague for accurate dating. But it should be noted that at another Kulisusu outpost in Central Sulawesi, at Padabaho—where their speech exhibits no significant divergence from standard Kulisusu—our respondent identified himself as a fifth-generation speaker living in that location. To their credit, respondents at Laroue village have carried in their tradition the name of the village from which their ancestors supposedly originated: Tomo'ahi. Although they only knew that it was located somewhere in the south-east, there still exists a village of this name in the Kulisusu area of north-eastern Buton.
- 13 Adriani's source of information about the Epe language consisted of a list of numerals and pronouns, along with 50 other words, provided him by Lieutenant Th. van Ardenne (Adriani & Kruyt 1914:231). Although the original word list has been lost, Adriani recorded for posterity four pronouns along with nine other words:

<i>ongkude</i>	1SG	<i>kadue</i>	anoa
<i>omude</i>	2SG	<i>e'e</i>	water
<i>omaide</i>	1PL	<i>burau</i>	egg
<i>omide</i>	2PL	<i>hada</i>	ape
<i>mombeo, moweo</i>	to give	<i>bou</i>	fish
<i>morini</i>	cold	<i>pinembeu</i>	hulled rice
<i>laika</i>	house		

- 14 However, it should be noted that the merger of *a* with *o* also occurs in all the languages of the Tolaki Family (see Mead 1996:184ff.). The *t/s* split, on the other hand, is reflected in two languages of the Bungku Family. In the same environment where *t* merged with *s* in Padoe and Mori Atas, we find that *t* has allophone *tf* both in Kulisusu and in the Landawe and Tulambatu dialects of Bungku (compare, for example, Mori Atas *punsi* and Kulisusu *puntfi* 'banana', or Mori Atas *pisu* and Kulisusu *pitfu* 'seven').
- 15 Confer, for example, Adriani who in 1900 designated the chief dialects of this area as Petasia and Mori (Adriani 1900:284ff.), but by 1914 had changed these to East Mori and West Mori respectively (Adriani & Kruyt 1914:218).
- 16 The *anak suku* divisions appear to be somewhat fluid. According to Tamalagi (1985, cited in Karhunen & Vuorinen 1991:43) they number 25. Karhunen and Vuorinen themselves uncovered 23 during their fieldwork, and thought there were "perhaps some others which we do not know of" (1991:44–45). Maengkom (1907:865–868) listed no less than 44, of which 23 he gave as principal; but even his full list leaves out names mentioned by other researchers.
- 17 The average percent of lexical similarity of Tolaki Family languages with Padoe is 55%; with Mori Atas, 53%; and with Mori Bawah, also 53%.
- 18 Here we encounter a discrepancy in Adriani's writing. Everything he said about his East Mori is consistent with thinking that by it he meant Lower Mori. First, he gives Petasia as an alternate name for East Mori (Adriani & Kruyt 1914:352); second, all the Petasia forms which he cites throughout this work are forms which are found in Lower Mori (and obviously stem from his earlier research; cf. Adriani 1900:284ff.). By all other accounts, however, the To Molongkuni and the To Impo are Upper Mori (A. Kruyt 1900:458; Esser 1927:5; Karhunen & Vuorinen 1991:41).

- 19 A sixth, the To Lamoare, was added by Gouweloos, who reported only that they lived a two day's walk from the To Wiau (1937:20).
- 20 Especially helpful were the *Kaart van het landschap Lawoei* (Map of the Lawui Region) compiled by Lieutenant F. Treffers and which accompanied his description of that area (1914:Map 2); the *Schetskaart van een Deel van Noord- en Midden-Celebes* (Sketchmap of a Portion of North and Central Celebes) included as Map 1a in Van Vuuren (1920); and various maps compiled by the Topografischen Dienst which appeared in their series, *Algemeene Schetskaart van Nederlandsch-Indië* (General Sketchmaps of the Dutch East Indies).
- 21 By common tradition, the Konawe Tolaki trace their origin to Andolaki, a site near the source of the Konawe River in the Laiwui region (see Treffers 1914:198–199 and Bhurhanuddin 1979:55). But they certainly did not originate from the Laiwui *people*. Either this tradition is inaccurate, or they left Andolaki before the arrival of the To Laiwui.

Albert Kruyt (1922:428) theorised that the Tolaki originally migrated into south-eastern Sulawesi by following the Solo River south from its source near lake Towuti, eventually reaching the Konawe River along which they sailed further to the south. However as even Van der Klift noted (1922a:469), given the great mountain range separating the two river basins, and the **known** recent migrations of Tolaki into the lower Lasolo (by following the seacoast **northward**), this assertion seems unlikely.

In my opinion an hypothesis which better fits the linguistic and geographic facts is that when the Tolaki left the lake region, they first settled on the western coast near Lelewawo (note the people living here call themselves the To Rahambuu, meaning 'people of the first house') and it was from here they gradually spread down the western coast. Some groups such as the Wiau and the Laiwui eventually followed small rivers upstream and crossing the divide settled on the east side of the mountains. In this way more Tolaki, perhaps driven by pressure when the southward migration encountered the To Moronene, entered the Mowewe valley upstream from Kolaka and from there east into the Konawe basin. In this account, the Solo and Lindu river basins were essentially bypassed; their settlement was by only a few small bands that crossed into the Solo valley **from the south to the north**, perhaps from the Latoma area (near present-day Sanggona village on the upper Konawe). Those who stayed just across the divide became the To Asera; while those who eventually reached the headwaters of the Solo, and from there the Lindu River, became the To Wiwirano and To Mopute.

Another (and as yet unexplored) source for tracing the migrations of the Tolaki people might be the various *me'akoi* 'sacrifice' places once prominent in Tolaki culture. According to Van der Klift (1922b:68ff.), every Tolaki village traced its origin back to one of several supposed original settlement sites throughout the Tolaki area—and to which the inhabitants returned yearly for the purpose of performing certain rituals.

- 22 In our word lists, we also have no evidence of /ns/ in the Routa and Torete dialects of Bungku, or in the mainland dialect of Moronene. /ŋg/ never occurs in any of our Bungku Family word lists, and is known only through other reports, that is, it is reportedly present in Wawonii (Manyambeang, et al. 1982/1983:22–24), but absent in Moronene (Muthalib, Pattiasina, et al. 1983:11–12). In the Bungku word list included in Stokhof (1985) the phoneme /ŋg/ occurs only six times in over 1000 items.
- 23 Journal abbreviations are listed on the first page of the bibliography in Appendix 1.

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