

3 *Tukang Besi dialectology*

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1 Previous studies

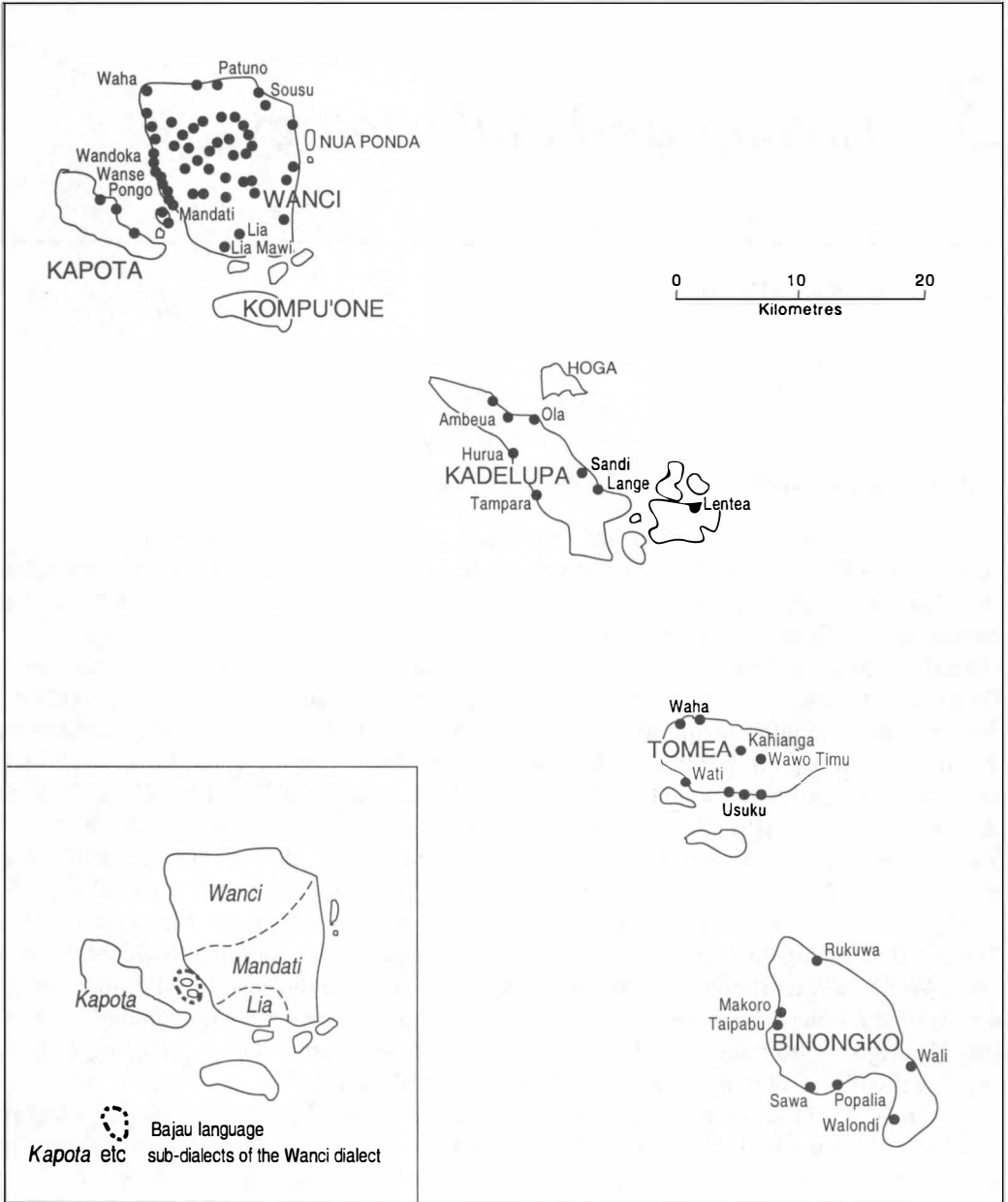
Very little linguistic attention has previously been paid to the *Tukang Besi* islands.¹ Anceaux (1978), in a short but generally accurate survey of south-east Sulawesi, concluded that there was only one language spoken on the *Tukang Besi* islands. In studies looking further afield, Esser (1938) and Salzner (1960) linked Bonerate, found on some of the islands south of Selayar in the Sea of Flores, with *Tukang Besi* in the *Tukang Besi-Bonerate* sub-group, a part of the *Muna-Buton* group. [The Bonerate islands are indicated on the map in the introduction to this volume, while the remaining islands are indicated on the map in this paper.] The exact relationship shared by *Tukang Besi* and Bonerate, which actually extends over the islands of Bonerate, Karompa and Madu (and not Kalao Toa, as claimed by Esser) (Broch 1981), has not previously been investigated. A short and idiosyncratic synchronic description of the Bonerate dialect, dealing mainly with some morphological features of the language, has been completed by Manyambeang et al. (1985).

The internal relationship of the isolects spoken on the four islands that make up the *Tukang Besi* archipelago in south-east Sulawesi is essentially unknown. Sneddon (1987) listed Wanji (=Wanci) and Binonko (=Binongko) as separate dialects, but did not provide details of the other islands or of how separate the dialects are. In Bhurhanuddin's (1979) and Kaseng's (1987) surveys of the languages of South-east Sulawesi, *Tukang Besi* is listed, but without internal variation (under the name *Wakatobi*).²

The precise nature of the language spoken in the many *Tukang Besi* communities in eastern Indonesia, usually known locally as *orang Buton* or *orang Binongko*, remains to be investigated; apart from their abundance, nothing is known about these communities.

¹ The *Tukang Besi* islands are located between the Sea of Flores and the Banda Sea, in Kabupaten (Regency) Buton, Sulawesi Tenggara province.

² This name is derived from the first two letters of the name of each of the islands. It is one of the names in current use by the *Tukang Besi* people.



The Tukang Besi language

2 Lexicostatistics

Cognate counts were computed from the comparison of 215-item word lists³; the lexical content is that of the word lists at the end of this paper, and was adapted from the SIL 226-item survey word list, with thirteen deletions and two additions: 'bark', 'chicken louse', 'feather' and 'warm' were deleted as being poly-morphemic compounds of morphemes occurring elsewhere in the corpus; 'grandfather', 'elder sister', 'husband', 'wife', 'uncle' (twice, FB and MB⁴) and 'aunt' (twice, FZ and MZ) were deleted as occurring elsewhere in the list, and 'lake' was rejected as culturally irrelevant (there are no lakes on the dry islands); 'roof' and 'paddle' were added as partial compensation. Pairs of words were examined for lexical similarity; no attempt was made to eliminate possible borrowings. Similarity was determined by inspection of the phonetic character of the words, with allowance being made for sound changes that regularly occurred between two isolects. The following figures for cognate percentages were calculated:

Wanci				
85	Kaledupa			
82	83	Binongko		
79	80	87	Tomea	
79	81	85	81	Bonerate

Figure 1: Lexicostatistic results

The figures for cognate percentages point to a primary division between Wanci-Kaledupa on the one hand (85% cognate) and a chain composed of Tomea-Binongko-Bonerate on the other. Within the second grouping, Tomea and Binongko are clearly closer in the chain than Binongko-Bonerate. Note that all dialects show a higher cognate percentage with Binongko, due to the considerable numbers of Binongko living away from their home island, mainly in Maluku, where their role in the production of cloves lends importance to their dialect. The central position of Binongko is reflected in the position of Binongko in Figure 1, where it appears out of its geographic position. The figures obtained when the other dialects were compared with Binongko are inflated due to the regular contact that the Binongko have with other Tukang Besi speakers.

The lexicostatistic figures establish that the communalects in question are closely related to each other. The question of whether we are dealing with one language that chains across the islands, or a language chain situation where there is actually more than one separate language without clear borders, cannot be answered from the lexicostatistic data alone. The

³ Word list sources were Friberg's (n.d.) Bonerate word list; C. Grimes and B. D. Grimes' (1987) language survey book; and the author's own field notes (n.d.)

⁴ Abbreviations used in this paper:

[-/]	rising intonation	MB	mother's brother
[-]	falling intonation	MZ	mother's sister
* ^N C	prenasalised consonant	PAn	Proto Austronesian
<Ind.	derived from Indonesian	pl.	plural
<MB	derived from Muna Buton	PTB	Proto Tukang Besi
ex.	exclusive	sg.	singular
FB	father's brother	s.o.	someone
FZ	father's sister	v.	verb
in.	inclusive		

lowest cognate percentages are on the borderline (80%) of the generally agreed-upon limit that is indicative of the existence of a separate language, rather than dialects of the one language (although it has been shown that thresholds do vary from case to case – see J. Grimes (1988)). It is helpful to look at some sound correspondences that can aid the division of the isolects.

3 Sound correspondences

There are several sound changes evident between the northern and southern isolects of the Tukang Besi language, both systematic and semi-systematic. These are both in the nature of sound changes that have occurred in a stage ancestral to the dialect groups, and differences in the major allophonic realisation of a phoneme, or phonemic interpretation of a particular phonetic segment. Both of these are discussed below with examples.⁵

*PAn/ *PTB	*p	*q	*S	*g
Wanci	p ⁶	ʔ	ʔ	g
Kaledupa	p	ʔ	ʔ, Ø	g
Tomea	h	Ø (?)	Ø	ŋŋ
Binongko	h	Ø (?)	Ø	ŋŋ
Bonerate	h	Ø (?)	Ø	ŋ

Figure 2: Sound changes

	C/V__σ#	l/a,o,u__	h/__u	*NC	Stress
Wanci	C	l, r	/h/ (~ [ϕ])	NC	[-]
Kaledupa	CC	l, r	/h/ (~ [ϕ])	NC	[\]
Tomea	CC	l	/w/ (~ [ϕ])	NN	[\]
Binongko	CC	l	/w/ (~ [ϕ])	NN	[\]
Bonerate	C	l	h	NC	[\]

Figure 3: Allophonic and phonemic differences

There is a strong division into two groups, with the first group comprising the northern islands of Wanci-Kaledupa, which show many instances of unlenited /p/s, glottal stops corresponding to PAn *q, /g/ in *baga* 'cheek' (= *banja* in Tomea, Binongko), and irregular *l > r (through **l). The southern isolects display /h/ for *p, Ø (and sometimes /ʔ/) for *q, a geminate nasal in place of the /g/, and show retroflexion as an allophone of /l/ before back vowels. Illustrations of the sound correspondences are:

⁵ Apart from the word lists, Tukang Besi is transcribed into an orthography for typographical convenience. /ng/ = [ŋ], /w/ = [β] or [ϕ], /ʔ/ = [ʔ], and /u/ = [u]. All other letters have their expected phonetic values. Sequences of N + C are prenasalised unit phonemes.

⁶ As is the case with many of these sound changes, they are not necessarily absolutes; there are cases of *p > /h/ in Wanci dialect, and of *q > /ʔ/ in Binongko as well. They do, however, represent a useful isogloss in many words.

English	'what'	'tree'	'man'	'wood'	'you'
PAn	(PTB: * <i>paira</i>)	* <i>puqun</i>	* <i>ma-Ruqanay</i>	* <i>kaSiw</i>	* <i>kaSu</i>
Wanci	<i>paira</i>	<i>hu'u</i>	<i>mo'ane</i>	<i>ka'u</i>	<i>iko'o</i>
Kaledupa	<i>paira</i>	<i>hu'u</i>	<i>mo'ane</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>iko'o</i>
Southern	<i>haira</i>	<i>hu'u</i>	<i>moane</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>ikoo</i>

English	'cheek'	'root'	'inside'	'body hair'	'leg'
PAn	(PTB: * <i>baga</i>)	* <i>akaR</i>	* <i>Dalem</i>	* <i>buluq</i>	* <i>qaqay</i>
Wanci	<i>baga</i>	<i>aka</i>	<i>laro</i>	<i>wulu</i>	<i>ae</i> [-_]
Kaledupa	<i>baga</i>	<i>akka</i>	<i>laro</i>	<i>wulu</i>	<i>ae</i> [_]
Southern	<i>banja</i>	<i>akka</i>	<i>laʃ</i>	<i>ʃuʃu</i>	<i>ae</i> [_]

Figure 4: Examples of the sound correspondences

Whilst the line is fuzzy, because not all of the isoglosses meeting to form one strong division, there is a clear difference between the southern isolects and Wanci and Kaledupa. The realisation of stressed syllables is interesting in the Wanci dialect. Rather than representing a prominence in the word manifested by pitch and loudness, stressed syllables seem to have acquired a consistently high, level pitch as their primary cue, rather than having a pitch change that is led by the intonation pattern of the sentence and co-occurs with increased loudness, as is the case in English and the other dialects.

The southern isolects have also reinterpreted /*hu*/ sequences as /*wu*/. This can be explained by reference to the usual allophonic realisations of /*w*/ and /*h*/. In Wanci and Kaledupa isolects, /*w*/ has the allophones [v], [β], and [ϕ], in decreasing order of frequency, and /*h*/ is always realised as [h] except before a /*u*/ ([u]), in which environment it is often realised as a [ϕ]. In Tomea and Binongko, however, the most frequent allophone of /*w*/ is [ϕ], leading to reinterpretation of the [ϕ] before a /*u*/ as being an underlying /*w*/, now showing allophonic variation with [v] and [β]. For example:

'give'	Northern	Southern
Phonemic:	/huʔu/	/wuʔu/
Phonetic:	[ϕuʔu] ~ [huʔu]	[ϕuʔu] ~ [βuʔu] ~ [vuʔu]

The many prenasalised stop phonemes that occur in *Tukang Besi* find themselves often realised as geminated nasals in the speech of Tomea and Binongko people. This occurs also in the northern islands, although less frequently; on Binongko, and especially Tomea, the most frequent allophone is a geminated nasal:

'frog'	Northern	Southern
Phonemic:	/tumbekeke/	/tumbekeke/
Phonetic:	[tumbe'kεkε]	[tum:ε'kεkε]

The examples above reveal dialectal divergences of development; with *hu'u* the phonetic realisations are the same but the phonological interpretations have diverged, however with *tumbekeke* the phonological representations have remained invariant but the phonetic realisations have changed. Positing a phonological representation of the form /*tum:εkeke*/ for the southern dialects would complicate the phonotactic statement with the addition of phonemically geminate sequences, which occur only where a prenasalised stop is the expected reflex.

4 Sociolinguistics

I have not had the opportunity to extensively examine language attitudes across all the communities mentioned here, nor to conduct intelligibility tests, but several impressionistic details can be presented.

Wanci people claim to be able to understand the speech of all the other islands, and indeed it seems that a set of the population can do this. Most adults who live on the coast or who have travelled (not necessarily to other *Tukang Besi* islands, but usually on trading trips to other communities of *Binongko* origin in eastern Indonesia) have an extensive passive knowledge of many of the words used in the dialects of the other islands. On Wanci, when mispronouncing *tee* 'tea' ([tɛ:] with some hesitation ([tɛʔɛ]), I have been told that I had asked for 'water'; the word for water on Wanci is *uwe*, but on neighbouring *Kaledupa* the word is *te'e*. Thus, whilst a word is not in active use, there is passive familiarity with it.

Children, however, and people from the mountain who have less experience with outsiders, seem unable to understand *Tomea* or *Binongko* speakers, and do not have this ready command of non-native words. This implies that knowledge of the lexicon not native to one's own island is learned through contact with outsiders, and not simply picked up in everyday life. *Binongko* speakers are unable, unless they have had previous experience with Wanci speakers, to understand the Wanci dialect, due to (I am told) the lack of gemination present in Wanci dialect, and the large number of different lexical items, which are not in common knowledge on *Binongko*. Indeed, in the markets on Wanci, people from *Binongko* or *Kaledupa* who have come to sell produce or handicrafts use Wanci dialect words, rather than using their own dialect forms, when speaking to the locals; they are also faster to point out the source of a word as being 'Wanci' or 'Kaledupa'. The acquisition of Wanci dialect forms by people from other islands is an active and conscious process, and not so much the casual approach evidenced in the case of the knowledge of non-Wanci words amongst the Wanci people.

5 Lexical innovations

Variance in vocabulary is one of the major features of *Tukang Besi* dialectology, grammatical differences being minimal and phonological differences mainly regular (as seen in §3). I list 215 diagnostic lexical items in the word lists in the appendix. The number of lexical isoglosses is as follows, arranged by island or group of islands that share them; the number beside the name of the island or islands shows how many words are peculiar to that group, as against all the other isolects, taken from 488-item word lists (the *SIL* Sulawesi umbrella word list). There are, for example, 22 lexical items unique to Wanci speech amongst the *Tukang Besi* isolects, and three that are found in *Kaledupa* or *Bonerate*, but not in other islands.

<u>Unique:</u>		<u>Shared:</u>	
Wanci	22	Wanci-Kaledupa	17
Kaledupa	5	Kaledupa-Tomea	1
Tomea	2	Tomea-Binongko	1
Binongko	0		
Bonerate	2		
Wanci-Bonerate	1	Kaledupa-Bonerate	3
Tomea-Bonerate	1	Binongko-Bonerate	1

It can be clearly seen that the greatest amount of lexical diversity is in the north, the southern isolects showing remarkably little in the way of unique lexical items. The diagnostic lexical items that are unique to each island or group of islands are as listed in the following tables (numbers refer to the word lists in the Appendix), listing the forms from the five isolects for each word.

5.1 Lexical items that are unique to Wanci

βɛŋka 'betel' 76;
likeʔe 'wake up' 205;
uβe 'water' 96;
iri/kaβea 'wind' 90;
ika 'fish' 59;
pod'a 'knife' 108;
metan̄ku 'near' 119;

morondo 'night' 169;
lagu 'sing' 173;
saʔasa 'one' 147;
βande 'rain' 89;
ulaŋiʔe 'repeat' 172;
henenasi 'vomit' 195.

Word 96 *uβe* < MB languages; 90 (*kawea*) < MB languages; *ika* 59 < Malay *ikan*; *morondo* 169 shows cognates with several MB languages, but could equally be an independent development; *lagu* 173 < Malay *lagu*; rain 89 *wande* means 'wind' in the other island dialects, and in the Lia sub-dialect spoken in the south of Wanci.

The following items also occur in Wanci but not in other dialects.

	'butterfly'	'day'	'finger'	'house'	'medicine'
Wanci	<i>mberombero</i>	<i>'oloo</i>	<i>wunga</i>	<i>wunua</i>	<i>ro'o</i>
Kaledupa	<i>loma</i>	<i>moina</i>	<i>ranga</i>	<i>sapo</i>	<i>kombi</i>
Tomea	<i>loma</i>	<i>moina</i>	<i>ranga</i>	<i>sapo</i>	<i>kombi</i>
Binongko	<i>loma</i>	<i>moina</i>	<i>ranga</i>	<i>sapo</i>	<i>kombi</i>
Bonerate	<i>loma</i>	<i>moina</i>	<i>ranga</i>	<i>sapo</i>	<i>kombi</i>

The word *'oloo* has the meaning of 'sun' in all dialects; *ro'o* has the meaning of 'leaves' in all dialects.

	'raincloud'	'remember'	'shy'	'thunder'
Wanci	<i>komo</i>	<i>rodo</i>	<i>ambanga</i>	<i>paha</i>
Kaledupa	<i>ruto</i>	<i>hetira'a</i>	<i>mo'ini</i>	<i>tondu</i>
Tomea	<i>ruto</i>	<i>hetira'a</i>	<i>mo'ini</i>	<i>tondu</i>
Binongko	<i>ruto</i>	<i>hetira'a</i>	<i>mo'ini</i>	<i>tondu</i>
Bonerate	<i>ruto</i>	<i>hetira'a</i>	<i>mo'ini</i>	<i>tondu</i>

5.2 Words that are unique to Kaledupa

d'i mburi 'behind' 164 *motind'ou* 'know' 170
kend'esa 'cough' 193 *ngolo* 'lie down' 200
tanta 'dry' (v.) 186

Tanta 186 means 'dry (with towel)' in Kaledupa, not 'dry (in the sun)', and thus probably represents an elicitation error rather than a real lexical difference; *motind'ou* 170 < Ciacia, Kumbewaha *motindou*; *b'o'o* nose 5 < Ciacia *bo'o*

5.3 Words that are unique to Tomea

ke'e 'cry' 174; *herihɸu* 'wash' 187

5.4 Words that are unique to Bonerate

kudara 'green' 140 < Kalao *kudarang*
paupau 'tired' 201

5.5 Lexical items shared by Wanci and Kaledupa

to'oge 'big' 114; *rod'ogo* 'hear' 176
talinga 'ear' 10 < Ind. *telinga* *ko'o* 'smoke' 102
ahu 'fire' 101 *leama* 'good' 116

gana and *ganna* 'four' 150 < Ind. *genap*
mo'aro 'hungry' 131 cognate with many MB languages
mafi 'sea' 91 cognate with Kaimbulawa (MB) *mawi*

The following items are also shared exclusively by Wanci and Kaledupa.

	'correct'	'firefly'	'learn'	'lightning'	'plant (v.)'
Wanci	<i>kobe</i>	<i>kalipopo</i>	<i>henehenai</i>	<i>kinda</i>	<i>hembula</i>
Kaledupa	<i>kobe</i>	<i>kalipopo</i>	<i>henehenai</i>	<i>kind'a</i>	<i>hembula</i>
Tomea	<i>mantotu</i>	<i>olo'onda</i>	<i>hisihisinga</i>	<i>lalo</i>	<i>amo</i>
Binongko	<i>mantotu</i>	<i>olo'onda</i>	<i>hisihisinga</i>	<i>lalo</i>	<i>amo</i>
Bonerate	<i>mantotu</i>	<i>olo'onda</i>	<i>hisihisinga</i>	<i>lalo</i>	<i>amo</i>

Note that 'firefly' < Buton languages.

	'play'	'sole': _nu ae	'sweet'
Wanci	<i>'aka'aka</i>	<i>randa</i>	<i>momeke</i>
Kaledupa	<i>'aka'aka</i>	<i>rand'a</i>	<i>momeke</i>
Tomea	<i>kolia</i>	<i>lalo</i>	<i>moni</i>
Binongko	<i>kolia</i>	<i>lalo</i>	<i>moni</i>
Bonerate	<i>kolia</i>	<i>lalo</i>	<i>moni</i>

5.6 Lexical items shared by Kaledupa and Tomea

kotu'a 'forest' 99

5.7 Lexical items shared by Tomea and Binongko

Both *b'ahɸuɸi* in Tomea and *b'aholi* in Binongko mean 'small' 115

5.8 Lexical items shared by Wanci and Bonerate

βungka 'mountain' 98

5.9 Lexical items shared by Kaledupa and Bonerate

Kaledupa *ɲusu* 'lip' 7; and Bonerate *βiβi ɲusu* 'lip' 7, but all other dialects have *ɲusu* meaning 'mouth' 5; thus lip < mouth

Kaledupa *d'i liku* and Bonerate *i liku* mean 'outside' 166

5.10 Lexical items shared by Tomea and Bonerate

keafa 'swim' 189

5.11 Lexical items shared by Binongko-Bonerate

Binongko *ha ia* and *ʔa* in Bonerate both mean 'this' 142

Many lexical forms that are divergent in Wanci have cognates in the languages of Buton, which is geographically closer to Wanci than to the other Tukang Besi islands. The Bonerate forms often have cognates in the Kalao language, spoken nearby on several of the islands in the Sea of Flores.

6 Conclusions and discussion

The cumulative effect of the phonological, lexical and social differences displayed by the different speech varieties is that there are two closely related but separate languages on the Tukang Besi islands. Inherent intelligibility between these two varieties is marginal, and inadequate for effective communication, requiring some degree of bilingualism in or prolonged contact with the target variety.

The fact that these two languages are often identified as one by the native speakers is probably a reflection of the much greater similarities that the two languages, North Tukang Besi and South Tukang Besi, share with each other when compared with the languages of the nearby Muna-Buton region. The languages of Buton form a separate subgroup, and the

only close similarity that *Tukang Besi* shares with this subgroup is with *Lasalimu*, and that only through extensive family and trade ties with the town from *Wanci*.

The strong cultural identity shared by the *Tukang Besi* people, and frequent contact between peoples of the different islands, are also powerful factors in the native speaker assessment that the languages are the same. Factors such as mono-directional intelligibility, non-intelligibility amongst speakers who have not learned the lexical items from other speech forms, and the need to learn a 'standard' for communication, whilst retaining awareness of the differences in one's own speech variety, tip the scales in favour of classifying the speech forms as two languages.

The language situation on each of the islands is much more complicated than this summary would indicate; in the *Wanci* area alone there are four commonly recognised speech varieties, that of the north, west and hill lands (*pogau Wanse*), that of the south-west, southern hill lands and east coast (*pogau Mandati*), that of the south (*pogau Lia*), and the divergent speech of *Kapota* island, which has been influenced by immigrants from *Binongko* (*pogau Kapota*). The differences are mainly lexical, but there are regular allophonic changes as well: north coast dialects, for instance, usually drop the final vowel in words, producing an impressionistically very different speech form. The intonation of *Kapota* island is markedly different from the rest, often rising on the final syllable, and the use of the phrase-final particle *sa* is a hallmark of *Kapota* speech. Doubtless such variation exists on the other islands as well, but the gross differences are, as may be expected, marked by the greater water boundaries.

A further complication is present in the sociolinguistic diversity of *Wanci* and, to a lesser extent, the other islands. In addition to the local *Tukang Besi* dialect, there is a great deal of fluency in *Moluccan Malay* (Collins 1983; B.D.Grimes 1991), and to a lesser extent *Standard Indonesian*; additionally, *Straits Malay* is sometimes used by those who have worked in *Singapore*. The *Wolio* language is known by many of the nobility, from the days when it was the *lingua franca* of the *Sultanate* (Anceaux 1952), and proximity and family bonds make a limited ability in *Cia-Cia* or *Lasalimu* commonplace amongst people on the west coast. Finally, both *Wanci* and *Kaledupa* have large (4,000 and 1,500 people) *Bajau* communities, who remain a distinct linguistic unit in both of the island communities. All of these factors lead to a greater sense of unity amongst the speakers of *Tukang Besi* isolects than simple intelligibility might indicate.

Appendix: Word lists from the *Tukang Besi* dialects

	1. head	2. hair	3. face	4. eye	5. nose
<i>Wanci</i>	<i>kapala</i>	<i>hotu</i>	<i>aropa / liau</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>ŋoʔo</i>
<i>Kaledupa</i>	<i>kapala</i>	<i>hotu</i>	<i>rou</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>b'oʔo</i>
<i>Tomea</i>	<i>kapaʔa</i>	<i>hotu</i>	<i>muka</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>ŋoʔo</i>
<i>Binongko</i>	<i>kapaʔa</i>	<i>hotu</i>	<i>liau</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>ŋoʔo</i>
<i>Bonerate</i>	<i>kapala</i>	<i>hotu</i>	<i>rou</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>ŋoʔo</i>

	6. mouth	7. lip	8. tongue	9. tooth	10. ear
Wanci	<i>ɲusu</i>	<i>βiβi</i>	<i>ela</i>	<i>koni</i>	<i>taliŋa</i>
Kaledupa	<i>ɲaro</i>	<i>ɲusu</i>	<i>ella</i>	<i>koni</i>	<i>taliŋa</i>
Tomea	<i>ɲusu</i>	<i>βiβi</i>	<i>ella</i>	<i>koni</i>	<i>tuʎi</i>
Binongko	<i>ɲusu</i>	<i>βiβi</i>	<i>ella</i>	<i>koni</i>	<i>tuʎi</i>
Bonerate	<i>ɲaro</i>	<i>βiβi ɲusu</i>	<i>ela</i>	<i>koni</i>	<i>tuli</i>
	11. neck	12. hand	13. nail	14. breast	15. stomach
Wanci	<i>kaβu ʎu</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>kuku</i>	<i>titi</i>	<i>kompo</i>
Kaledupa	<i>kaβu ʎu</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>kuku</i>	<i>titi</i>	<i>kompo</i>
Tomea	<i>φu ʎu</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>kuku</i>	<i>titi</i>	<i>kompo</i>
Binongko	<i>φu ʎu</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>kuku</i>	<i>titi</i>	<i>kompo</i>
Bonerate	<i>βu ʎu</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>kuku</i>	<i>titi</i>	<i>kompo</i>
	16. leg	17. knee	18. body hair	19. skin	20. flesh
Wanci	<i>ae</i>	<i>tu ʎu</i>	<i>βulu</i>	<i>kuli</i>	<i>ramo</i>
Kaledupa	<i>ae</i>	<i>tu ʎu</i>	<i>βulu</i>	<i>kuli</i>	<i>ramo</i>
Tomea	<i>ae</i>	<i>tu ʎu</i>	<i>φulu</i>	<i>kuʎi</i>	<i>ramo</i>
Binongko	<i>ae</i>	<i>tu ʎu</i>	<i>φulu</i>	<i>kuʎi</i>	<i>ramo</i>
Bonerate	<i>ae</i>	<i>tu ʎu</i>	<i>βulu</i>	<i>kuli</i>	<i>ramo</i>
	21. fat	22. bone	23. heart	24. blood	25. liver
Wanci	<i>moʎoβu</i>	<i>b'uku</i>	<i>b'ake</i>	<i>raha</i>	<i>ate</i>
Kaledupa	<i>moʎoβu</i>	<i>b'uku</i>	<i>b'ake</i>	<i>raha</i>	<i>ate</i>
Tomea	<i>monuφu</i>	<i>b'uku</i>	<i>b'ake</i>	<i>raha</i>	<i>ate</i>
Binongko	<i>mouβu</i>	<i>b'uku</i>	<i>b'ake</i>	<i>raha</i>	<i>ate</i>
Bonerate	<i>taba</i>	<i>buku</i>	<i>tijkula</i>	<i>raha</i>	<i>ate</i>
	26. urine	27. faeces	28. person	29. man	30. woman
Wanci	<i>leleʔe</i>	<i>taʔi</i>	<i>mia</i>	<i>moʎane</i>	<i>βoβine</i>
Kaledupa	<i>leleʔe</i>	<i>taʔi</i>	<i>mia</i>	<i>moʎane</i>	<i>βoβine</i>
Tomea	<i>meʔe</i>	<i>taʔi</i>	<i>mia</i>	<i>moane</i>	<i>βoβine</i>
Binongko	<i>meʔe</i>	<i>taʔi</i>	<i>mia</i>	<i>moane</i>	<i>φoφine</i>
Bonerate	<i>meʔe</i>	<i>taʔi</i>	<i>mia</i>	<i>moane</i>	<i>βoβine</i>
	31. father	32. mother	33. child	34. first born	35. last born
Wanci	<i>ama</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>tumpe</i>	<i>kaipu</i>
Kaledupa	<i>ama</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>tumpe</i>	-
Tomea	<i>ama</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>tumpe</i>	-
Binongko	<i>ama</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>tumpe</i>	<i>bonso</i>
Bonerate	<i>ama</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>ana ikaka</i>	<i>ana pusi</i>

	36. grand-child	37. grand-parent	38. ancestor	39. older sibling	40. younger sibling
Wanci	<i>ompu</i>	<i>ompu</i>	<i>ompu rambi</i>	<i>ikaka</i>	<i>iai</i>
Kaledupa	<i>ompu</i>	<i>ompu</i>	<i>ompu rambi</i>	<i>ikaka</i>	<i>iai</i>
Tomea	<i>ompu</i>	<i>ompu</i>	<i>ompu rambi</i>	<i>ikaka</i>	<i>iai</i>
Binongko	<i>ompu</i>	<i>ompu</i>	<i>ompu rambi</i>	<i>ikaka</i>	<i>iai</i>
Bonerate	<i>ompu</i>	<i>ompu</i>	<i>ompu rambi</i>	<i>ikaka</i>	<i>iai</i>
	41. slave	42. guest	43. friend	44. I	45. you (sg.)
Wanci	<i>tud'ua</i>	<i>tamu</i>	<i>kene</i>	<i>iaku</i>	<i>ikoʔo</i>
Kaledupa	<i>tud'ua</i>	<i>tamu</i>	<i>kene</i>	<i>iaku</i>	<i>ikoʔo</i>
Tomea	<i>tud'ua</i>	<i>tamu</i>	<i>pobaʃa</i>	<i>iaku</i>	<i>ikoo</i>
Binongko	<i>tud'ua</i>	<i>tamu</i>	<i>kene</i>	<i>iaku</i>	<i>ikoo</i>
Bonerate	<i>tudua</i>	<i>tamu</i>	<i>kene</i>	<i>iaku</i>	<i>ikoʔo</i>
	46. he/she	47. we (excl.)	48. we (incl.)	49. you (pl.)	50. they
Wanci	<i>ia</i>	<i>ikami</i>	<i>ikita</i>	<i>ikomiu</i>	<i>amai</i>
Kaledupa	<i>ia</i>	<i>ikami</i>	<i>ikita</i>	<i>ikomiu</i>	<i>ammai</i>
Tomea	<i>ia</i>	<i>ikami</i>	<i>ikita</i>	<i>ikomiu</i>	<i>ammai</i>
Binongko	<i>ia</i>	<i>ikami</i>	<i>ikita</i>	<i>ikomiu</i>	<i>ammai</i>
Bonerate	<i>ia</i>	<i>ikami</i>	<i>ikita</i>	<i>ikomiu</i>	<i>ammai</i>
	51. horn	52. tail	53. bird	54. egg	55. louse
Wanci	<i>tandu</i>	<i>iku</i>	<i>kad'ad'i</i>	<i>goraʔu</i>	<i>kutu</i>
Kaledupa	<i>tandʔu</i>	<i>iku</i>	<i>kad'ad'i</i>	<i>goraʔu</i>	<i>kutu</i>
Tomea	<i>tandu</i>	<i>iku</i>	<i>kad'ad'i</i>	<i>goraʔu</i>	<i>kutu</i>
Binongko	<i>tandu</i>	<i>iku</i>	<i>kad'ad'i</i>	<i>goraʔu</i>	<i>kutu</i>
Bonerate	<i>tandu</i>	<i>iku</i>	<i>kado-kadola</i>	<i>gorau</i>	<i>kutu</i>
	56. bat	57. mosquito	58. snake	59. fish	60. rat
Wanci	<i>honiki</i>	<i>ʃai</i>	<i>saʔa</i>	<i>ika</i>	<i>ʃoleke</i>
Kaledupa	<i>honiki</i>	<i>ʃai</i>	<i>saʔa</i>	<i>kenta</i>	<i>ʃoleke</i>
Tomea	<i>honiki</i>	<i>ʃai</i>	<i>saʔa</i>	<i>kenta</i>	<i>ʃuleke</i>
Binongko	<i>honiki</i>	<i>ʃai</i>	<i>saʔa</i>	<i>kenta</i>	<i>ʃuleke</i>
Bonerate	<i>honiki</i>	<i>ʃai</i>	<i>saʔa</i>	<i>kenta</i>	<i>ʃoleke</i>
	61. dog	62. tree	63. leaf	64. root	65. wood
Wanci	<i>ʔob'u</i>	<i>huʔu</i>	<i>roʔo</i>	<i>aka</i>	<i>kau ~ kaʔu</i>
Kaledupa	<i>ʔob'u</i>	<i>huʔu</i>	<i>roʔo</i>	<i>akka</i>	<i>kau</i>
Tomea	<i>ʔob'u</i>	<i>hʔuʔu</i>	<i>roʔo</i>	<i>akka</i>	<i>kau</i>
Binongko	<i>ʔob'u</i>	<i>hʔuʔu</i>	<i>roʔo</i>	<i>akka</i>	<i>kau</i>
Bonerate	<i>ʔobu</i>	<i>huʔu</i>	<i>roʔo</i>	<i>aka</i>	<i>kau</i>

	66. fruit	67. flower	68. thorn	69. banana	70. coconut (ripe)
Wanci	<i>b'aʔe</i>	<i>kamba</i>	<i>ruhi</i>	<i>loka</i>	<i>kaluku</i>
Kaledupa	<i>b'aʔe</i>	<i>kamba</i>	<i>ruhi</i>	<i>loka</i>	<i>kaluku</i>
Tomea	<i>b'aʔe</i>	<i>kamba</i>	<i>rihi</i>	<i>loka</i>	<i>kuʃou</i>
Binongko	<i>b'aʔe</i>	<i>kamba</i>	<i>ruhi</i>	<i>loka</i>	<i>kaʃuku</i>
Bonerate	<i>baʔe</i>	<i>kamba</i>	<i>rihu</i>	<i>loka</i>	<i>kaluku</i> <i>motika</i>
	71. coconut (unripe)	72. coconut shell	73. bamboo	74. sago palm	75. rattan
Wanci	<i>osimpu</i>	<i>b'enu</i>	<i>βemba</i>	<i>rumbia</i>	<i>ʔue</i>
Kaledupa	<i>simpu</i>	<i>b'enu</i>	<i>βemba</i>	<i>rumbia</i>	<i>ʔue</i>
Tomea	<i>niu</i>	<i>b'enu</i>	<i>φemba</i>	<i>rumbia</i>	<i>ue</i>
Binongko	<i>simpu</i>	<i>b'enu</i>	<i>φemba</i>	<i>rumbia</i>	<i>ue</i>
Bonerate	<i>kaluku</i> <i>moruʔaŋ</i>	<i>keʔua</i>	<i>βemba</i>	<i>rumbia</i>	<i>ue</i>
	76. betel	77. alang-alang	78. pandanus	79. seed	80. seedling
Wanci	<i>βeŋka</i>	<i>pad'a</i>	<i>pad'a</i>	<i>b'eni</i>	<i>βine</i>
Kaledupa	<i>βeŋka</i>	<i>pad'a</i>	<i>herommo</i>	<i>b'eni</i>	<i>pembulo</i>
Tomea	<i>βeŋka</i>	<i>heʔe</i>	<i>pad'a</i>	<i>b'eni</i>	-
Binongko	<i>φeŋka</i>	<i>pad'a</i>	-	<i>b'eni</i>	-
Bonerate	<i>βeŋka</i>	<i>pada</i>	<i>ponda</i>	<i>b'eni</i>	<i>amola</i>
	81. field rice	82. rice	83. cooked rice	84. sun	85. moon
Wanci	<i>b'ae</i>	<i>b'ae</i>	<i>b'ae</i>	<i>ʔoloo</i>	<i>komba</i>
Kaledupa	<i>b'ae</i>	<i>b'ae</i>	<i>b'ae</i>	<i>ʔoloo</i>	<i>komba</i>
Tomea	<i>b'ae</i>	<i>b'ae</i>	<i>b'ae</i>	<i>ʔoloo</i>	<i>komba</i>
Binongko	<i>b'ae</i>	<i>b'ae</i>	<i>b'ae</i>	<i>ʔoloo</i>	<i>komba</i>
Bonerate	<i>bae</i>	<i>bae</i>	<i>maŋa</i>	<i>ʔoloo</i>	<i>komba</i>
	86. star	87. sky	88. cloud	89. rain	90. wind
Wanci	<i>βetuʔo</i>	<i>laŋi</i>	<i>lono</i>	<i>βande</i>	<i>iri/kaβea</i>
Kaledupa	<i>βituʔo</i>	<i>laŋi</i>	<i>lono</i>	<i>mondʔa</i>	<i>βandʔe</i>
Tomea	<i>φituʔo</i>	<i>laŋi</i>	<i>lono</i>	<i>monda</i>	<i>βande</i>
Binongko	<i>φituʔo</i>	<i>laŋi</i>	<i>lono</i>	<i>monda</i>	<i>βande</i>
Bonerate	<i>βituʔo</i>	<i>laŋi</i>	<i>lono</i>	<i>monda</i>	<i>βande</i>
	91. sea	92. sand	93. earth	94. salt	95. sugar
Wanci	<i>maβi</i>	<i>ʔone</i>	<i>βuta</i>	<i>gara</i>	<i>gola</i>
Kaledupa	<i>maβi</i>	<i>ʔone</i>	<i>βuta</i>	<i>gara</i>	<i>gola</i>
Tomea	<i>tai</i>	<i>ʔone</i>	<i>φuta</i>	<i>gara</i>	<i>gola</i>
Binongko	<i>tai</i>	<i>ʔone</i>	<i>φuta</i>	<i>gara</i>	<i>gola</i>
Bonerate	<i>tai</i>	<i>ʔone</i>	<i>βuta</i>	<i>gara</i>	<i>gola</i>

	96. water	97. spring	98. mountain	99. forest	100. river
Wanci	<i>uβe</i>	<i>mata nu uβe</i>	<i>βuŋka</i>	<i>motoka ŋu</i>	<i>umala</i>
Kaledupa	<i>teʔe</i>	<i>mata nu teʔe</i>	<i>gunu</i>	<i>kotuʔa</i>	<i>umala</i>
Tomea	<i>teʔe</i>	<i>mata nu teʔe</i>	<i>gunu</i>	<i>kotuʔa</i>	<i>umaʎa</i>
Binongko	<i>teʔe</i>	<i>mata nu teʔe</i>	<i>gunu</i>	<i>laʎa aʎa</i>	<i>umaʎa</i>
Bonerate	<i>teʔe</i>	<i>mata nu teʔe</i>	<i>βuŋka</i>	<i>laro hobo</i>	<i>umala</i>
	101. fire	102. smoke	103. ashes	104. stone	105. canoe
Wanci	<i>ahu</i>	<i>koʔo</i>	<i>aβu</i>	<i>βatu</i>	<i>b'aŋka</i>
Kaledupa	<i>ahu</i>	<i>koʔo</i>	<i>koʔo</i>	<i>βatu</i>	<i>b'aŋka</i>
Tomea	<i>lukapi</i>	<i>gopo</i>	<i>gopo</i>	<i>ɸatu</i>	<i>b'oti</i>
Binongko	<i>lukapi</i>	<i>gopo</i>	<i>daʎika</i>	<i>ɸatu</i>	<i>b'aŋka</i>
Bonerate	<i>lukapi</i>	<i>gopo</i>	<i>βau</i>	<i>βatu</i>	<i>baŋka</i>
	106. mortar	107. pestle	108. knife	109. machete	110. rope
Wanci	<i>tumbuʔa</i>	<i>ana nu tumb.</i>	<i>pod'a</i>	<i>kab'ali</i>	<i>kalara</i>
Kaledupa	<i>tumbuʔa</i>	<i>ana nu tumb.</i>	<i>soka</i>	<i>kab'ali</i>	<i>kalara</i>
Tomea	<i>tumbuʔa</i>	<i>ana nu tumb.</i>	<i>soka</i>	<i>kab'aʎi</i>	<i>kaʎara</i>
Binongko	<i>ina nu tumb.</i>	<i>ana nu tumb.</i>	<i>soka</i>	<i>kab'aʎi</i>	<i>kaʎara</i>
Bonerate	<i>tumbua</i>	<i>ana nu tumb.</i>	<i>soka</i>	<i>kab'ali</i>	<i>hau</i>
	111. paddle	112. roof	113. road	114. big	115. small
Wanci	<i>b'ose</i>	<i>ato</i>	<i>sala</i>	<i>toʔoge</i>	<i>kiʔikiʔi</i>
Kaledupa	<i>b'ose</i>	<i>ato</i>	<i>sala</i>	<i>toʔoge</i>	<i>b'ahiti</i>
Tomea	<i>b'ose</i>	<i>ato</i>	<i>inteŋa</i>	<i>toʔoha</i>	<i>b'ah^ɸuʎi</i>
Binongko	<i>b'ose</i>	<i>ato</i>	<i>inteŋa</i>	<i>toʔoha</i>	<i>b'ahoʎi</i>
Bonerate	<i>bose</i>	<i>helombo</i>	<i>inteŋa</i>	<i>toʔoha</i>	<i>paipai</i>
	116. good	117. dry	118. far	119. near	120. new
Wanci	<i>leama</i>	<i>motiti</i>	<i>melai</i>	<i>metaŋku</i>	<i>βoʔou</i>
Kaledupa	<i>leama</i>	<i>motiti</i>	<i>mellai</i>	<i>med'ani</i>	<i>βoʔou</i>
Tomea	<i>ndeū</i>	<i>karii</i>	<i>mellai</i>	<i>med'ani</i>	<i>ɸoʔou</i>
Binongko	<i>ndeū</i>	<i>motiti</i>	<i>mellai</i>	<i>med'ani</i>	<i>ɸoʔou</i>
Bonerate	<i>ndeū</i>	<i>motiti</i>	<i>melai</i>	<i>medani</i>	<i>βoʔou</i>
	121. old	122. aged	123. fat	124. hot	125. cold
Wanci	<i>moleŋo</i>	<i>mansuana</i>	<i>moʔobu</i>	<i>mena</i>	<i>keŋku</i>
Kaledupa	<i>moleŋo</i>	<i>mansuana</i>	<i>moʔoβu</i>	<i>mena</i>	<i>keŋku</i>
Tomea	<i>moʎeŋo</i>	<i>mansuana</i>	<i>monuβu</i>	<i>morara</i>	<i>keŋku</i>
Binongko	<i>moʎeŋo</i>	<i>mansuana</i>	<i>moʔobu</i>	<i>mena</i>	<i>keŋku</i>
Bonerate	<i>moleŋo</i>	<i>mansuana</i>	<i>moʔobu</i>	<i>mena</i>	<i>keŋku</i>

	126. short	127. long	128. blind	129. deaf	130. thirsty
Wanci	<i>med'umpu</i>	<i>melaŋka</i>	<i>kandala</i>	<i>kab'oŋo</i>	<i>motindoŋu</i>
Kaledupa	<i>med'umpu</i>	<i>melaŋka</i>	<i>kand'ala</i>	<i>kab'oŋo</i>	<i>motind'oŋu</i>
Tomea	<i>med'umpu</i>	<i>melaŋka</i>	<i>kandaŋa</i>	<i>kab'oŋo</i>	<i>motindoŋu</i>
Binongko	<i>med'umpu</i>	<i>melaŋka</i>	<i>kandaŋa</i>	<i>kab'oŋo</i>	<i>motindoŋu</i>
Bonerate	<i>medumpu</i>	<i>melaŋka</i>	<i>kandala</i>	<i>kab'oŋo</i>	<i>motindoŋu</i>
	131. hungry	132. all	133. many	134. round	135. full
Wanci	<i>moŋaro</i>	<i>sab'aŋane</i>	<i>koruo</i>	<i>b'uloli</i>	<i>b'uke</i>
Kaledupa	<i>moŋaro</i>	<i>sab'aŋanne</i>	<i>koruo</i>	<i>b'uloli</i>	<i>b'uke</i>
Tomea	<i>moŋommuru</i>	<i>sab'aŋanne</i>	<i>koruo</i>	<i>b'uŋoŋi</i>	<i>b'uke</i>
Binongko	<i>moŋommuru</i>	<i>sab'aŋanne</i>	<i>koruo</i>	<i>b'uŋoŋi</i>	<i>b'uke</i>
Bonerate	<i>moŋomuru</i>	<i>b'aŋanu</i>	<i>koruo</i>	<i>bulili</i>	<i>buke</i>
	136. white	137. black	138. yellow	139. red	140. green
Wanci	<i>mohute</i>	<i>b'iru</i>	<i>mokuri</i>	<i>meha</i>	<i>ijo</i>
Kaledupa	<i>mohute</i>	<i>b'iru</i>	<i>mokuri</i>	<i>meha</i>	<i>ijo</i>
Tomea	<i>moh^ɸute</i>	<i>b'iru</i>	<i>mokuri</i>	<i>meha</i>	<i>iijo</i>
Binongko	<i>moh^ɸute</i>	<i>b'iru</i>	<i>mokuri</i>	<i>meha</i>	<i>iijo</i>
Bonerate	<i>mohute</i>	<i>biru</i>	<i>mokuri</i>	<i>meha</i>	<i>kudara</i>
	141. not	142. this	143. that	144. here	145. there
Wanci	<i>mbeaŋe</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>aso</i>	<i>i ana</i>	<i>i atu</i>
Kaledupa	<i>umbea</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>iso</i>	<i>ka ana</i>	<i>ka iso</i>
Tomea	<i>umea</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>iso</i>	<i>anaŋe</i>	<i>isoŋe</i>
Binongko	<i>ŋumbed'a</i>	<i>ha ia</i>	<i>iso</i>	<i>ha iaŋe</i>	<i>ha ŋiso</i>
Bonerate	<i>mbeŋa</i>	<i>ŋa</i>	<i>atu</i>	<i>ma ŋa</i>	<i>ma ŋatu</i>
	146. yonder	147. one	148. two	149. three	150. four
Wanci	<i>i aso</i>	<i>saŋasa</i>	<i>d'ua</i>	<i>tolu</i>	<i>gana</i>
Kaledupa	<i>ka isoo</i>	<i>assa</i>	<i>d'ua</i>	<i>tolu</i>	<i>ganna</i>
Tomea	<i>ia ŋe</i>	<i>assa</i>	<i>d'ua</i>	<i>toŋu</i>	<i>paŋa</i>
Binongko	<i>ha ŋisoo</i>	<i>assa</i>	<i>d'ua</i>	<i>toŋu</i>	<i>paŋa</i>
Bonerate	<i>ma iso</i>	<i>asa</i>	<i>kedua</i>	<i>ketolu</i>	<i>kehaŋa</i>
	151. five	152. six	153. seven	154. eight	155. nine
Wanci	<i>lima</i>	<i>noŋo</i>	<i>pitu</i>	<i>alu</i>	<i>sia</i>
Kaledupa	<i>lima</i>	<i>noŋo</i>	<i>popitu</i>	<i>alu</i>	<i>sosia</i>
Tomea	<i>lima</i>	<i>kenoŋo</i>	<i>kehitu</i>	<i>akkeaŋu</i>	<i>akkesia</i>
Binongko	<i>lima</i>	<i>noŋo</i>	<i>pitu</i>	<i>aŋu</i>	<i>sia</i>
Bonerate	<i>kelima</i>	<i>kenoŋo</i>	<i>kehitu</i>	<i>kealu</i>	<i>kesia</i>

	156. ten	157. twenty	158. hundred	159. thousand	160. west
Wanci	<i>ompulu</i>	<i>d'uahulu</i>	<i>sahatu</i>	<i>sariβu</i>	<i>βaha</i>
Kaledupa	<i>ompulu</i>	<i>d'uahulu</i>	<i>sahatu</i>	<i>sariβu</i>	<i>βaha</i>
Tomea	<i>ompuɬu</i>	<i>ruaɬuɬu</i>	<i>asahatu</i>	<i>asariβu</i>	<i>βaha</i>
Binongko	<i>ompuɬu</i>	<i>d'uaɬuɬu</i>	<i>assahatu</i>	<i>assariβu</i>	<i>ɸaha</i>
Bonerate	<i>ompulu</i>	<i>duahulu</i>	<i>sahatu</i>	<i>saribu</i>	<i>βaha</i>
	161. east	162. under	163. above	164. behind	165. front
Wanci	<i>timu</i>	<i>d'i βoru</i>	<i>d'i βaβo</i>	<i>d'i taliku</i>	<i>d'i aropa</i>
Kaledupa	<i>timu</i>	<i>d'i βoru</i>	<i>d'i βaβo</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d'i aro</i>
Tomea	<i>timu</i>	<i>d'i ɸoru</i>	<i>d'i ɸaɸo</i>	<i>d'i taɬiku</i>	<i>d'i muɬa</i>
Binongko	<i>timu</i>	<i>d'i ɸoru</i>	<i>d'i ɸaɸo</i>	<i>d'i taɬi</i>	<i>d'i aro</i>
Bonerate	<i>timu/ umbosa</i>	<i>i βoru</i>	<i>i βaβo</i>	<i>i taliku</i>	<i>i rope</i>
	166. outside	167. inside	168. edge	169. night	170. know
Wanci	<i>d'i luara</i>	<i>d'i laro</i>	<i>puria</i>	<i>morondo</i>	<i>d'ahani</i>
Kaledupa	<i>d'i liku</i>	<i>d'i laro</i>	<i>puria</i>	<i>uutu</i>	<i>motind'ou</i>
Tomea	<i>d'i luara</i>	<i>d'i laɬo</i>	<i>uju</i>	<i>uutu</i>	<i>d'ahani</i>
Binongko	<i>d'i luara</i>	<i>d'i laɬo</i>	<i>umbu</i>	<i>h^ɸuutu</i>	<i>d'ahani</i>
Bonerate	<i>i liku</i>	<i>i laro</i>	<i>sisi</i>	<i>utu</i>	<i>tahani</i>
	171. say	172. repeat	173. sing	174. cry	175. laugh
Wanci	<i>pogau</i>	<i>ulaɣiʔe</i>	<i>lagu</i>	<i>d'oito</i>	<i>koni</i>
Kaledupa	<i>bisara</i>	<i>heppuleʔe</i>	<i>hekad' aŋki</i>	<i>d'oito</i>	<i>koni</i>
Tomea	<i>bisara</i>	<i>heppuleʔe</i>	<i>hekad' aŋki</i>	<i>keʔe</i>	<i>koni</i>
Binongko	<i>bisara</i>	<i>heppuleʔe</i>	<i>hekad' aŋki</i>	<i>d'oito</i>	<i>koni</i>
Bonerate	<i>bisara</i>	<i>hempuleʔe</i>	<i>kad' aŋki</i>	<i>doito</i>	<i>koni</i>
	176. hear	177. see	178. eat	179. drink	180. bite
Wanci	<i>rod'oŋo</i>	<i>ŋita</i>	<i>maŋa</i>	<i>moroŋu</i>	<i>kaha</i>
Kaledupa	<i>rod'oŋo</i>	<i>ŋita</i>	<i>maŋa</i>	<i>moroŋu</i>	<i>kaha</i>
Tomea	<i>hikid'oŋo</i>	<i>ŋita</i>	<i>maŋa</i>	<i>moroŋu</i>	<i>kaha</i>
Binongko	<i>hikid'oŋo</i>	<i>ŋita</i>	<i>maŋa</i>	<i>moroŋu</i>	<i>kaha</i>
Bonerate	<i>hiŋkid'oŋo</i>	<i>ŋita</i>	<i>maŋa</i>	<i>moroŋu</i>	<i>kaha</i>
	181. fall	182. drop	183. burn	184. pound	185. die
Wanci	<i>b'uti</i>	<i>nab'u</i>	<i>henunu</i>	<i>tumbu</i>	<i>mate</i>
Kaledupa	<i>b'uti</i>	<i>pab'utiʔe</i>	<i>rampu</i>	<i>tumbu</i>	<i>mate</i>
Tomea	<i>monab'u</i>	<i>nab'uʔe</i>	<i>tunu</i>	<i>tumbu</i>	<i>mate</i>
Binongko	<i>b'uti</i>	<i>b'utiʔe</i>	<i>tunu</i>	<i>tumbu</i>	<i>mate</i>
Bonerate	<i>morunu</i>	<i>nabuʔe</i>	<i>tunu</i>	<i>tumbu</i>	<i>mate</i>

	186. dry in the sun	187. bath	188. bathe s.o.	189. swim	190. fly
Wanci	<i>puaiʔe</i>	<i>hesoβui</i>	<i>hesoβuiʔe</i>	<i>naŋu</i>	<i>lola</i>
Kaledupa	<i>tanta</i>	<i>soβui</i>	<i>hesoβuiʔe</i>	<i>naŋu</i>	<i>lolla</i>
Tomea	<i>homaine</i>	<i>herih^ɸu</i>	<i>herih^ɸuʔe</i>	<i>keaβa</i>	<i>loʔa</i>
Binongko	<i>homaine</i>	<i>hesoɸui</i>	<i>hesoh^ɸuiʔe</i>	<i>naŋu</i>	<i>loʔa</i>
Bonerate	<i>homaine</i>	<i>susui</i>	<i>hesuβuiʔe</i>	<i>keaβa</i>	<i>lola</i>
	191. kill	192. give	193. cough	194. spit	195. vomit
Wanci	<i>hokomate</i>	<i>h^ɸuʔu</i>	<i>more</i>	<i>hepaluti</i>	<i>henenasi</i>
Kaledupa	<i>hokomate</i>	<i>huʔu</i>	<i>kend^resa</i>	<i>hepaluti</i>	<i>tokkumbo</i>
Tomea	<i>hokomate</i>	<i>ɸuʔu</i>	<i>more</i>	<i>hepaʔuti</i>	<i>tokkumbo</i>
Binongko	<i>mateakone</i>	<i>ɸuʔu</i>	<i>more</i>	<i>hepaʔuti</i>	<i>tokkumbo</i>
Bonerate	<i>hokomate</i>	<i>houʔu</i>	<i>more</i>	<i>kapera</i>	<i>tokkumbo</i>
	196. itch	197. walk	198. stand	199. sit	200. lie down
Wanci	<i>mohaʔato</i>	<i>βila</i>	<i>tad'e</i>	<i>ked'e</i>	<i>mbale</i>
Kaledupa	<i>mohato</i>	<i>βila</i>	<i>tad'e</i>	<i>ked'e</i>	<i>ŋgolo</i>
Tomea	<i>mohato</i>	<i>ɸila</i>	<i>tad'e</i>	<i>ked'e</i>	<i>mbaʔe</i>
Binongko	<i>mohato</i>	<i>ɸila</i>	<i>tad'e</i>	<i>ked'e</i>	<i>mbaʔe</i>
Bonerate	<i>mohato</i>	<i>βila</i>	<i>tade</i>	<i>kede</i>	<i>mbale</i>
	201. tired	202. sleep	203. dream	204. wake up	205. awaken
Wanci	<i>motuturu</i>	<i>moturu</i>	<i>homonih</i>	<i>like</i>	<i>likeʔe</i>
Kaledupa	<i>motutturu</i>	<i>moturu</i>	<i>homonih</i>	<i>b'aŋu</i>	<i>b'aŋune</i>
Tomea	<i>motutturu</i>	<i>moturu</i>	<i>homonih</i>	<i>b'aŋu</i>	<i>b'aŋune</i>
Binongko	<i>motutturu</i>	<i>moturu</i>	<i>homonih</i>	<i>b'aŋu</i>	<i>b'aŋune</i>
Bonerate	<i>paupau</i>	<i>moturu</i>	<i>homonih</i>	<i>dahaniako</i>	<i>baŋune</i>
	206. come	207. pregnant	208. name	209. bride price	210. what
Wanci	<i>mai</i>	<i>hotokompo</i>	<i>ŋaa</i>	<i>kamondo</i>	<i>paira</i>
Kaledupa	<i>mai</i>	<i>hotokompo</i>	<i>ŋaa</i>	<i>kamond^ro</i>	<i>paira</i>
Tomea	<i>mai</i>	<i>hotokompo</i>	<i>ŋaa</i>	<i>kaʔasara</i>	<i>haira</i>
Binongko	<i>mai</i>	<i>hotokompo</i>	<i>ŋaa</i>	<i>masakaβi</i>	<i>haira</i>
Bonerate	-	<i>hotokompo</i>	<i>ŋaʔa</i>	<i>popolo</i>	<i>haira</i>
	211. who	212. where	213. how many	214. how	215. why
Wanci	<i>emai/ieʔe</i>	<i>d'i ʔumpa</i>	<i>popia</i>	<i>βana ʔumpa</i>	<i>nohaʔa</i>
Kaledupa	<i>ieʔe</i>	<i>d'i ʔumpa</i>	<i>popia</i>	<i>βana ʔumpa</i>	<i>nohaʔa</i>
Tomea	<i>ieʔe</i>	<i>ima ʔumpa</i>	<i>akkehia</i>	<i>ɸana ʔumpa</i>	<i>nohaʔa</i>
Binongko	<i>ieʔe</i>	<i>ha ʔumpa</i>	<i>akkehia</i>	<i>ɸana ʔumpa</i>	<i>nohaʔa</i>
Bonerate	<i>iemai</i>	<i>ima ʔumpa</i>	<i>popia</i>	<i>βana ʔumpa</i>	<i>nohaʔa</i>

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