THE BARITO ISOLECTS OF BORNEO

A Classification Based on Comparative Reconstruction and Lexicostatistics

by
Alfred B. Hudson

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FOREWORD

This study of Bornean languages by Alfred B. Hudson constitutes a major contribution to the linguistic history of this group and its place within the large Austronesian family. Of special interest to the field of general linguistics, as well as to specialists in other disciplines, who are studying this important part of the world, results of the study are greatly enhanced by the author's use, both of the methods of comparative reconstruction and those of lexicostatistics. Indeed, the data alone are no small contribution, for in this area, as in many others, linguistic history is hampered by the lack of reliable information.

Though Dr. Hudson wrote his dissertation, of which this study was a part, in the field of anthropology, he is demonstrably equally at home in the field of linguistics. His extensive study of the Ma'anjan on the one hand, and his linguistic studies on the other, virtually constitute two separate but integrated dissertations. Both fields may congratulate themselves on having a member who combines with such high competence the methods and techniques of each.

Dr. Hudson has already begun plans for expanding his linguistic studies of Borneo, both in depth and breadth, in the near future. It is with considerable anticipation that the results of his further research are awaited.

Robert B. Jones Jr.
Associate Professor of
Linguistics and Asian Studies

Ithaca, New York
August 1967

PREFACE

From December 1962 to May 1964, I was engaged in anthropological field research in three Ma'anjan Dajak communities in the Indonesian province of Central Kalimantan. In the course of my work, I collected traditional oral histories that indicated that the Ma'anjan had originated from an area somewhat to the east of their present territory, in an area called the Hulu Sungai district, that is now inhabited by speakers of Bandjar Malay. I began a search for historical corroboration of this tradition, but found little relevant data in the literature. In areas of the world where historical records plumb to no great depth, linguistic evidence often provides one of the few keys to the establishment of ethnic relationships and the interpretation of pre- and proto-historic events. I consulted published ethnic and linguistic classifications, but found much evident confusion, deriving primarily from a lack of accurate comparative data and from imprecision in the application of terminology in existing classifications. I thereupon began gathering my own linguistic data from various Dajak and Malay groups to provide the corpera for comparative analysis that was to provide a classification.

The bulk of my field time in Borneo was spent within the confines of a small Ma'anjan community which offered few opportunities for the accumulation of linguistic material from non-Ma'anjan sources. Consequently, when I travelled to the coastal city of Banjarmasin every six months, to renew my cholera immunization, I made it a practice to seek out young Dajaks who were enrolled at the various educational and technical institutions located in that city. There I was able to find bright young people, in their late teens and early twenties, fresh from remote inland villages. I found that these students made excellent informants. However, since my sojourns in Bandjarmasin never lasted more than a few days to a week, I was forced to choose between working intensively with one or two informants, to collect large corpera on a small number of languages, or of limiting myself to the collection of a limited lexical list from a large number of languages. I ultimately decided on the latter course as being more productive at this period, and eventually collected comparable lexical material, representing twenty-five languages, or, as I term them, isolects.

I employed both comparative reconstruction and lexicostatistical techniques in analyzing my materials, the two yielding essentially identical results in terms of the subgroupings that emerged. As the result of my analysis, I was able to assign fifteen of the isolects represented to a unit which I have labeled the Barito family. Three of the isolects turned out to be Malay; the rest of the lists represented isolects having affinities to languages beyond the domain of the Barito and Malay groups.

It is the primary aim of this paper to set forth my classification of the Barito isolects, and to support the classification by presenting the evidence upon which it is based. Since by nature linguists are skeptics, I have appended the complete set of word lists with which my analyses have operated in order to facilitate replicability of results or correction of my own errors by other interested scholars. The problems involved in identifying and scoring cognates in the lexicostatistical method make it especially important that the comparative lists used be published, not only to provide the opportunity for replicability by independent scholars, but to facilitate the comparison of newly gathered material with old.

The historical interpretation of my classification is not included in this work, but will appear in future publications. In a forthcoming article, to be published in the journal, INDONESIA, I will use the linguistic evidence of discontinuous distribution of the Southeast Barito isolects to substantiate my contention that early pepper cultivation in the Hulu Sungai area was in the hands of Dajaks practicing swidden cultivation, and only later taken over by Bandjar Malays when the Dutch monopoly in other areas of the Indonesian archipelago increased the demand for Bandjar pepper.

Another article will deal with a re-evaluation of the evidence bearing on the purported immediate genetic relationship of Malagasy and Ma'anjan. Here I merely point out that there are many Dajak languages not exhibiting similarities to Malagasy, thatare obviously more closely related to Ma'anjan than is the Madagascar isolect. It remains to be proven that Ma'anjan is the closest linguistic relative of Ma'anjan. A Malagasy list is appended for reference by interested scholars.

I wish to acknowledge my debt to the Ford Foundation Foreign Area Training Program for supporting my Bornean field research.

Alfred B. Hudson

August 1967

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INTRODUCTION

Southern Borneo, comprising the Indonesian provinces of South and Central Kalimantan, is an area exhibiting a fair amount of linguistic variation within the confines of the West Indonesian branch of the Austronesian family. There are two main groups of languages represented in this area: the Malay and the Barito. The speakers of Malay inhabit mainly the coastal regions of the area but their distribution continues far inland along the courses of the larger rivers. The speakers of the Barito languages fall under the indeterminate rubric of Dajak, and occupy the inland areas to the east and west of the Barito River (see Maps 1 and 2).

In this paper I will propose a more detailed, and I hope somewhat more consistent classification of the south Bornean languages than has been available heretofore. This classification is based on linguistic evidence derived from the phonological and lexicostatistical analysis of a set of comparable word lists collected in the field by the writer.

It will be good to begin my exposition with a consideration of the much used, but frequently misunderstood terms, "Dajak" and "Malay". "Dajak" is a general term that has been used to denote all non-Moslem indigenous peoples of Kalimantan.[1] In summarizing his discussion of

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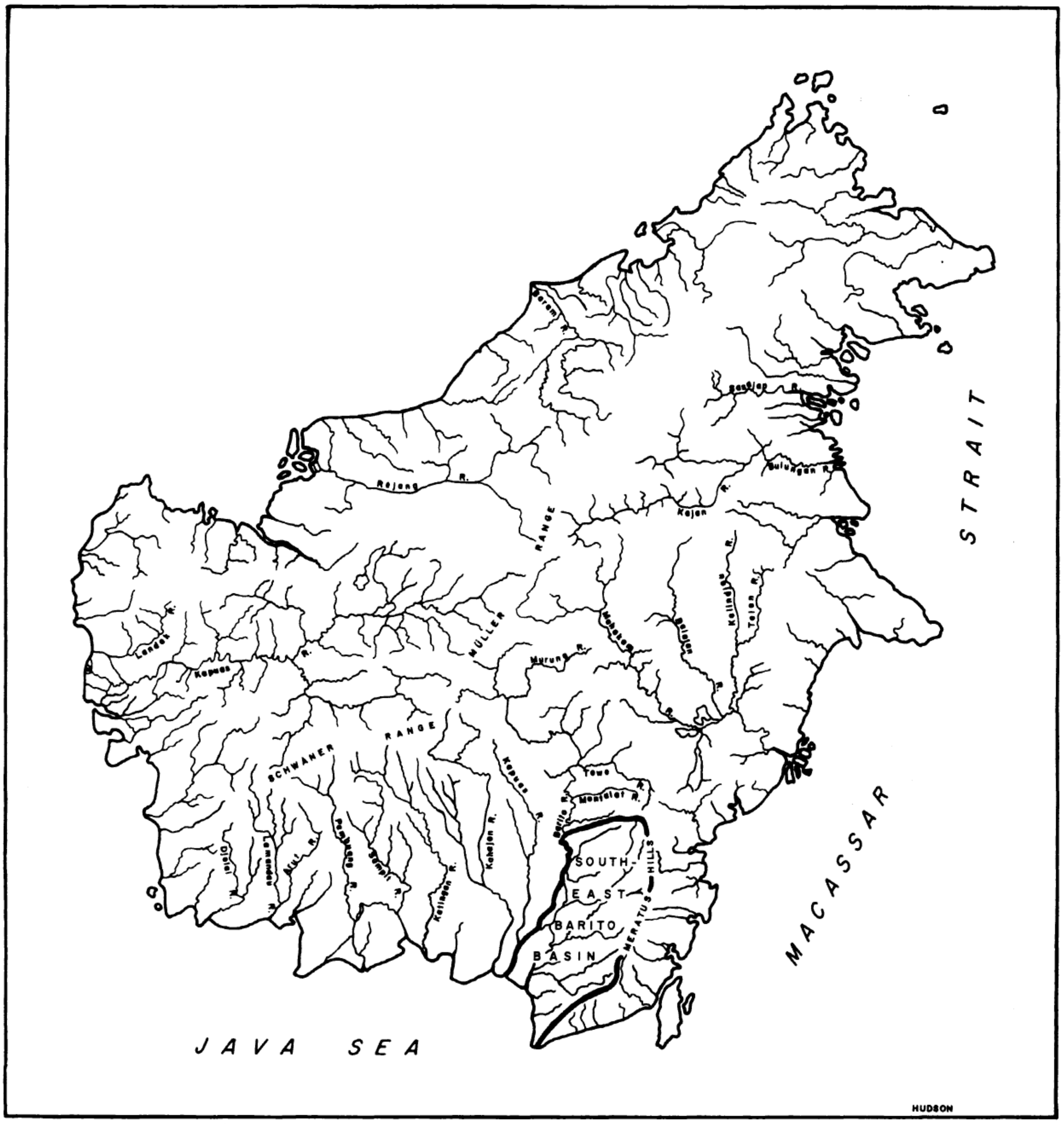
[1]This convention has been regularly followed by Dutch and German scholars,



MAP 1: BORNEO, SHOWING THE SOUTHEAST BARITO BASIN

"Dajak," Mallinckrodt, the principal authority on ethnic classification in southern Borneo, finds that the origin of the word is debatable, but goes on to say that:

> ...it is certain that the population, with the exception of the Sea Dajaks, does not use the term to refer to themselves. For the majority of the population it is taken as an abusive term similar in meaning to "hick," "yokel" and "hillbilly." However, in most recent times, since Nationalism has made an entrance into Borneo, the people consider it a suitable word with which to express the solidarity of the Bornean population. At least the word has been incorporated into the names of some associations, such as the Sarikat Dajak and the Cooperatie Dajak; the first pursues political ends with a nationalistic tendency while the second establishes the economic interests of the Dajak population in opposition to those of foreigners, especially Malays and Chinese. The lumping together of all the heathen tribes under the rubric "Dajak" has the disadvantage that the often very considerable mutual differences tend to be obscured, giving the impression that they all have the same origin, which is by no means proven. The converted heathens who have embraced Christianity also consider themselves to be Dajaks.[2]

Thus "Dajak" has about the same specificity of meaning as the term (American) "Indian," and both of these categories can be broken down into a number of more meaningful units consisting of tribes, or the Indonesian equivalent, suku.

In the Bornean context, the term "Malay" is the reciprocal of "Dajak," and in an equally general way is used as a cover for all Moslems of "Indonesian" origin.[3] Moslems of Dajak origin have usually been placed in

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and others dealing primarily with the Indonesian part of the island. Leach, under the influence of Harrisson, has suggested that this practice also be followed by investigators concerned with Sarawak and Sabah. See Leach 1950, 51.

[2] Mallinckrodt 1928: I, 10. Translated by the author.

[3] Mallinckrodt 1928: I, 9. The "Indonesian" qualification distinguishes Moslems indigenous to the Indonesian archipelago and vicinity from those of Arabic, Indian or other foreign origin.

the Malay category, but there are inconsistencies in this respect. For example, Mallinckrodt appends the Bakumpai, a Dajak tribe that was converted to Islam some centuries ago, to his Ngadju Dajak category, with the ambiguous note that, "strictly speaking, this tribe which consists of devout Moslems does not belong here. However, by descent they do."[4] The reason for this ambiguity becomes apparent in the light of the additional information that the Bakumpai "originally belonged to the Ngadju and their language is a dialect thereof."[5] In short, linguistic factors crosscut the purely religious definition of "Malay" and "Dajak," and Mallinckrodt could not quite bring himself to class the Bakumpai, whom he knew through personal contact to be ethnically closely related to known Dajak tribes, with the "real" Malay Bandjar, with whom they shared a common religion but from whom they otherwise remained quite distinct. In this case we have a strongly Islamicized group that retains its native Dajak language. In the case of the Iban, or Sea Dajaks of West Kalimantan and Sarawak, we have a non-Islamic group that speaks a language obviously derived from the Malay-South Sumatra homeland of the "Malay" language.[6]

As Mallinckrodt himself realizes, the classical Dajak-Malay distinction "has to do with differences of a religious nature, rather than with differences of origin."[7] However, it was not by choice that he based his ethnic classification of Bornean peoples on distinctions of religion and <u>adat</u>, or customary law.

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[4] Mallinckrodt 1928: I, 27.

[5] Mallinckrodt 1927, 578.

[6] Sandin 1956, 54-81.

[7] Mallinckrodt 1928: I, 9.

> ...One great defect pervades the entire literature on Borneo, virtually obstructing the investigation of the tribal relationships obtaining between the different subgroups of the population. This is the fact that no linguists have studied the most prominent languages of the island, with the result that almost nothing is known about them. Hardeland's Ngadju dictionary stands alone; the various other word lists that exist were all compiled by laymen and are of comparatively little use for the determination of language relationships...We must thus, on the whole, base a tribal classification on material derived from adat law...[8]

Along with Mallinckrodt, I feel that an ethnic classification based on linguistic relationships would be very useful at this stage in the development of Borneo research. Fortunately there is enough material available today to allow us to attempt one, at least for the part of southern Borneo with which we are concerned.

Linguistic Classification

Henceforth the term "Dajak" will be reserved for languages, and their speakers, indigenous to Borneo. A language will be considered indigenous to Borneo if it has not been shown to have closer affinities to languages indigenous to regions outside Borneo than it has to other Borneo languages. This definition is purposely put in the negative. Borneo languages will be considered to be indigenous, i.e., "Dajak," until shown to be otherwise.[9]

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[8] Mallinckrodt 1928: I, 5-6. Mallinckrodt apparently had no linguistic training and little respect for word lists. There is no denying the paucity of linguistic materials for Borneo and especially for what is now Indonesian Kalimantan, but the compilation of a few word lists for languages spoken in the Barito region, where Mallinckrodt lived for some years, might have clarified some aspects of the picture of ethnic relationships that he presents in his writings.

[9] It should be noted that this definition excludes the Ibans or Sea Dajaks, sometimes considered to represent the epitome of Dajakness. In reality, the Iban are fairly late-comers to the Bornean scene who became

Non-Dajak languages fall into several categories, of which "Malay" is one.

> ...It is to be observed at present that on Borneo, along the coasts and along the rivers up to deep into the interior, languages are spoken which, in spite of small differences between them, show a striking similarity with Malay as it is used, with many variations, over a large area on Sumatra and in the Malay Penninsula. This similarity is so striking that scholars have been fully justified in calling them Malay dialects. Other languages, which are occasionally indicated by a name of their own, like Banjarese and Sea Dayak will undoubtedly have to be counted among these dialects.[10]

The term "Malay" will be used to indicate languages more closely related to those of the Malaya-South Sumatra region than to other indigenous Bornean languages.[11] Other non-Dajak languages include Bugis, originating in south Celebes, various languages from the Philippines, and several Chinese languages.

So much for general terminology. Since we are primarily interested in the Southeast Barito Basin, it will be sufficient to discuss one Malay language, Bandjar, and a closely related group of Dajak languages that form what I call the Barito family. I will deal with the latter first.

<u>The Barito Family</u>

Languages of the Barito family are spoken in the area of southern

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hyperacculturated to Bornean ways. They came, apparently, from Sumatra and settled originally in the Kapuas basin of western Borneo. They did not move extensively into Sarawak until the end of the eighteenth century. See Richards 1949 and Sandin 1956. The Malay affiliation of the Iban language is supported by the quotation cited on p. 28.

10 Cense and Uhlenbeck 1958, 3-4.

11 For a summary of the Malay dialects of Borneo, see Cense and Uhlenbeck 1958, 7-13.

Kalimantan limited roughly by the Sampit (or Mentaja) River on the west;[12] the Schwaner and Müller ranges, the Busang, Murung and Mahakam rivers on the north; and, disregarding the Malay and Bugis coastal groups, by the Java Sea and Macassar Strait on the south and east (see Map 2). This is the area inhabited by the "Ngadju" ethnic group according to Kennedy,[13] the "Ot Danum" by Mallinckrodt,[14] and alternately "Ot Danum" and "Ngadju" by Esser.[15] Tjilik Riwut divides this area into two coordinate ethnic regions, the "Ot Danum" and the "Ngadju."[16]

Neither "Ot Danum" nor "Ngadju" has a precise ethnic referent. Like "Dajak," both had an original pejorative connotation of "hick" or "person of the interior," and neither is used by any group to refer to itself. Among scholars the terms have gained respectability through recurrent usage, but even here they remain ambiguous. While both Ngadju and Ot Danum are used on occasion to indicate the extended linguistic group I call the Barito family, they are also commonly used to refer to ethnic linguistic groups of more limited extent, Ngadju for my Southwest Barito group,[17] and Ot

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12 For a comment on the western limits of the Barito family, see pp. 29-30 below.

13 Kennedy 1962, 84.

14 Mallinckrodt 1928: I, 21-31.

15 Esser follows Mallinckrodt in using the term Ot Danum in his list of major Borneo language families. However, on his map he has the word "Ngadju" prominently displayed in the middle of the relavent area, and the term "Ot Danum" does not appear. Atlas 1938, Map 9b.

16 Tjilik Riwut 1958, 207.

17 E.g., see Mallinckrodt 1928: I, 26-27; Cense and Uhlenbeck 1958, 42-45; Hardeland, the author of the standard Ngadju grammar and dictionary, uses the term in this limited sense.

Danum both for my Northwest Barito group[18] or even more narrowly for the Dohoi language.[19]

Because of the denotative ambiguity and the underlying pejorative meaning of "Ngadju" and "Ot Danum," I propose to use the term Barito family to refer to the collective group of languages spoken in the southern Kalimantan region delimited in the preceding paragraph. I use "Barito" for several reasons: it is a term of some antiquity in the region, appearing in historical records as early as the fourteenth century;[20] it appears to be neutral in connotation; it has not been used before in an ethnic or linguistic sense and thus will not introduce any new ambiguities; it does not give "preference" to any constituent language or language group;[21] and finally, because the main bundle of isoglosses separating the two immediate subgroups of the southern Kalimantan region runs roughly along the Barito River.

I will now give an outline of my classification of the languages of the Barito family. This is not the place to give a complete analysis of all the data bearing on the problem, and I will present only enough examples to indicate the general line of reasoning upon which the classification is based.

The classification is based on two independent techniques of analysis, the establishment of contrastive sound correspondences, and lexico-

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18 See Mallinckrodt 1928: I, 21-25; Cense and Uhlenbeck 1958, 45-46.

19 See Lumholtz 1920: II, 327.

20 Pigeaud 1962: III, 16; IV, 32.

21 "Ngadju" and "Ot Danum" in their more restricted meanings apply only to languages of my West Barito group.

statistical subgrouping.[22] My data are taken from sixteen word lists collected in Kalimantan. The lists consist of some 350 terms divided among three sections. The first section contains the 215 items of the original Lees-Swadesh basic vocabulary list;[23] the second contains 107 items of basic Dajak vocabulary compiled by the author; the third consists of kinship terminology extending up and down three to five generations, outward to three to five degrees of collaterality and including affines.[24] Items from all three sections were used for establishing sound correspondences, and 196 of the items on the Lees-Swadesh list were used for the lexicostatistical analysis.[25]

Each informant from whom a list was obtained was a native speaker of the "language" represented by that list. That is, it was the language of orientation in his natal household. Most of the lists were obtained in Bandjarmasin on the few occasions that I visited the city,[26] for it was

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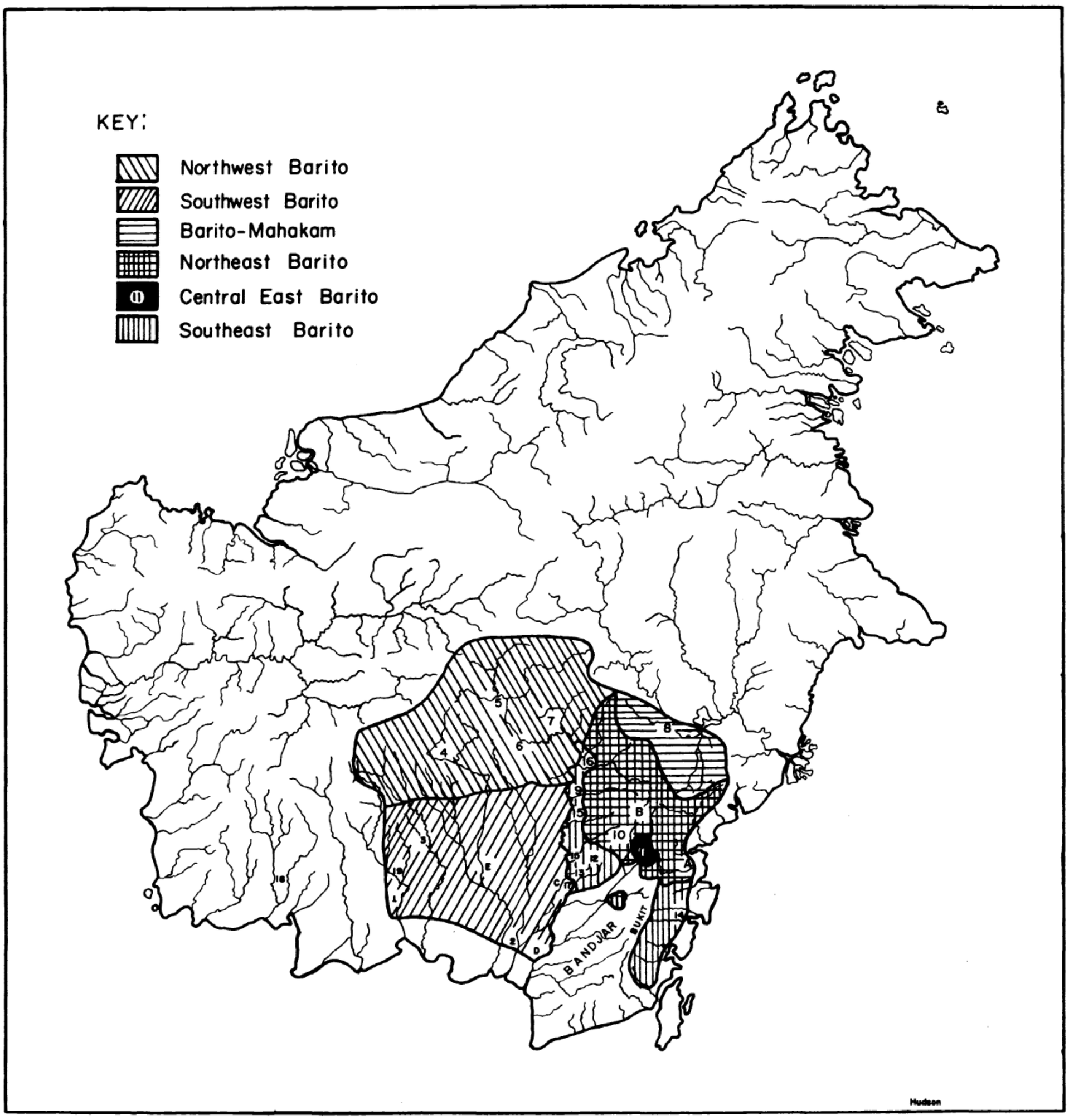
22 "Lexicostatistical subgrouping" is not to be confused with "glottochronology." See Hymes 1960, 4. For a discussion of the methodology of lexicostatistical subgrouping, see Dyen 1960, 1962, 1965; and Hymes 1960, 24-27.

23 See Lees 1953.

24 The completed word lists for the sixteen languages of the Barito family, plus a Bandjar list, appear in Appendix II.

25 It seemed reasonable to use the same 196 items already utilized by Dyen for his Austronesian classification. See Dyen 1965, 16-17.

26 With the exception of the one or two languages accessible to me in Telang, I was able to devote only about two to three weeks to collecting linguistic material when I was in Bandjarmasin. I decided that it would be best to use the limited amount of time available to collect a fairly extensive word list from as many languages as possible, for purposes of subgrouping, rather than concentrate on a more detailed description of one or two languages. (These remarks do not apply to Ma'anjan.) In all I collected some 22 lists representing not only the Barito family, but several other Malay and Dajak languages. I obtained two lists each for Paku, Dusun Dejah and Dusun Witu.



MAP 2: APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF SUBGROUPS OF THE BARITO LANGUAGE FAMILY

KEY TO MAP 2: LANGUAGE GROUPS OF THE BARITO FAMILY

Numbers indicate location of informants' home villages; letters indicate related dialects not represented by full word lists.

	ISOLECT	VILLAGE OF ORIGIN
Southwest Barito:		
1	Ba'amang	Ba'amang (Sampit)
2	Kapuas	Kuala Kapuas
3	Katingan	Pendahara
C	Mengkatip	
D	Bakumpai	
E	Kahajan	
Northwest Barito:		
4	Dohoi	Tumbang Sian
5	Murung-1	Muara Djuloy
6	Murung-2	Kelapi' Baru
7	Siang	Olung Apat
Barito-Mahakam:		
8	Tundjung	Muara Bunjut
Northeast Barito:		
9	Tabojan	Malungai
10	Lawangan	Ampah
A	Pasir	
B	Bawu	
Central East Barito:		
	Dusun Dejah	Mengkopong
Southeast Barito:		
12	Paku	Tampa
13	Ma'anjan	Siong
14	Samihim	Mangka'
15	Dusun Witu	Baruang, Marawan
16	Dusun Malang	Nihan
Coastal Malay:		
17	Bandjar	Kelanis
18	Delang	Delang
19	Tamuan	Luwuk Buntur

only there that I was able to find speakers of languages from the more remote parts of Kalimantan. Most of the informants were students at various educational institutions in Bandjarmasin, were young and had not been away from their natal region long enough to lose command of their native language. Numbers indicating the location of each informant's village of origin will be found on Map 2.

The language appellations applied to each list were supplied by the informants. Although each list is identified by a different name, they do not all necessarily represent independent languages. The distinction between language and dialect is often a difficult one to make, and this is particularly true in Kalimantan. The same language is known by different regional names in different places. I will use the term "isolect" for any language unit that is accorded a separate name by its speakers, regardless of whether it is, technically, a dialect or language.[27] Thus, the Southwest Barito group (see below), for example, may very well form a single dialect area,[28] but in each river drainage the language receives a separate name, e.g., Bahasa Mangkatip,[29] Bahasa Kapuas, Bahasa Katingan, Bahasa Bakumpai, Bahasa Kahajan, Bahasa Sampit, etc., leading to a seeming prolifera-

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27 The term "isolect," which I propose here, denotes a language isolate of undefined scope. It subsumes the traditional linguistic appellations of "dialect" and "language" in both their technical and non-technical meanings. The use of "isolect," which is connotationally neutral in regard to dialect-language identification, obviates the need for defining the precise status of a language isolate when such a definition is, for any reason, impracticable, and it eliminates any possibility of ambiguity that might arise from the misconstruction of the specificity of the terms "language" or "dialect" by the unwary reader.

28 Bloomfield 1933, 51.

29 Bahasa is the Indonesian term for 'language,' or rather, 'isolect.'

tion of languages in the area. This multiplicty of names should not be allowed to give the impression that this is necessarily an area of great linguistic diversity.

> Although a certain reserve is necessary in view of the great gaps in our knowledge, we still agree with Kern and Leach that the profusion of languages in Borneo has been overestimated by former observers and even to a certain extent by Ray. Slight differences, mostly of a lexical nature and occasionally in some parts of the phonemic system, have led the observers, who usually lacked linguistic training, to postulate the presence of separate languages on occasions when there hardly seems to exist a reason to speak of separate dialects.[30]

The sixteen lists represent the following isolects: Ba'amang, Dohoi, Dusun Dejah, Dusun Malang, Dusun Witu, Kapuas, Katingan, Lawangan, Ma'anjan, Murung-1, Murung-2, Paku, Samihim, Siang, Tabojan, and Tundjung. This set of lists by no means exhausts the roster of isolects belonging to the Barito family, but it does give representation to the principal subgroups of that family. Two languages, Tundjung and Murung-1, are represented by incomplete lists, although occasional forms are missing for some other languages as well.

The Barito family is divided into three major subgroups: the West Barito, the East Barito and the Barito-Mahakam groups. The Barito-Mahakam group is represented by only one list and is not further subdivided here.[31] The West Barito group is further divided into two minor subgroups: the Northwest and the Southwest Barito groups. Similarly, East Barito contains three minor subgroups: the Northeast, the Central East and the Southeast Barito groups. The constituents of minor subgroups are individual iso-

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[30] Cense and Uhlenbeck 1958, 6.

[31] When more language material is available from the Mahakam region, the Barito-Mahakam group may be found to have minor subgroup diversity similar to that of the East and West Barito groups.

lects. The general scheme of the classification is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1: GENERAL SCHEME OF LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF THE BARITO FAMILY

Family	Major Subgroup	Minor Subgroup	Isolect
Barito	Barito-Mahakam		Tundjung
	West Barito	Northwest Barito	Dohoi
			Murung-1
			Murung-2
			Siang
		Southwest Barito	Ba'amang
			Kapuas
			Katingan
	East Barito	Northeast Barito	Tabojan
			Lawangan
		Central East Barito	Dusun Dejah
		Southeast Barito	Dusun Malang
			Dusun Witu
			Paku
			Ma'anjan
			Samihim

The following summary will refer mainly to divergent sound correspondences isolating subgroups within the East and West Barito groups. Since the list of items representing Tundjung is not complete, there is not enough material available to allow any strong conclusions to be drawn regarding the precise status of the Barito-Mahakam group vis-a-vis the other major subgroups of the Barito family. It can only be mentioned that although Tundjung appears to show closer affinities with the West Barito

than with the East Barito group. [illegible]so contrasts with the West Barito languages in certain respects.[33] [illegible] also, since Tundjung shares some characteristics with the Northw[illegible]o group, some with the Southwest Barito group, and contrasts wit[illegible] the West Barito languages in others, for the present I prefer t[illegible]y Barito-Mahakam as a separate major subgroup within the Barito [illegible] coordinate with both East Barito and West Barito.

The main criteria disting[illegible] the East Barito from the West Barito isolects are based on thei[illegible]nt reflexes of the Proto-Barito phonemes */h/ and */tj/. Proto-[illegible]/h/ continued as */h/ in Proto-West Barito, but was replaced by [illegible] Proto-East Barito.[34] Proto-Barito */tj/ apparently had two pho[illegible]ly conditioned allophones.[35] Proto-Barito */tj/ continued as [illegible] Proto-West Barito, where it is reflected by /tj/ and/or /dj/ i[illegible] West Barito isolects. The allophones of */tj/ (P-B) split in [illegible]st Barito, with one allophone merging with */r/ (P-EB) and the oth[illegible]hone merging with */l/ (P-EB). This split and coalescence proc[illegible]ted in the loss of /tj/ from the inventory of Proto-East Barito p[illegible]. The shifts that led to the contrastive sound correspondences t[illegible]inguish from each other the isolects of the East Barito and West [illegible]ito groups are summarized below. The

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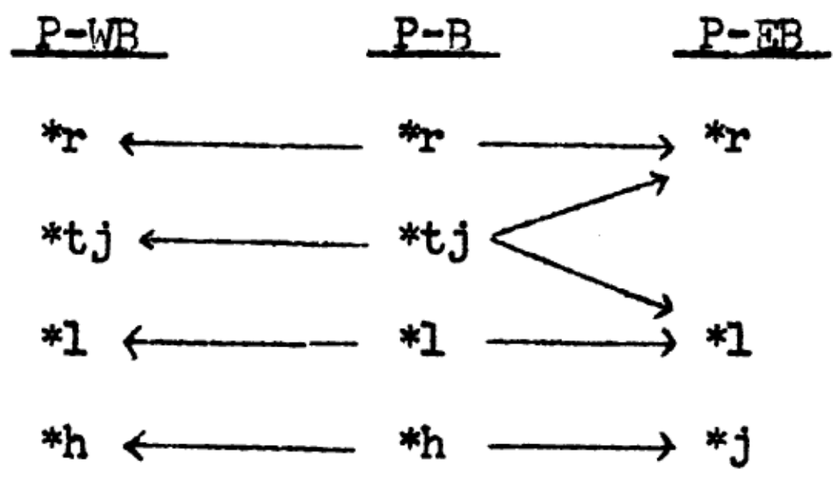
32 Tundjung, like the West Barito [illegible]nts, shows a /tj/ reflex of Proto-Barito */tj/, and an /h/ refl[illegible]roto-Barito */h/, both of which contrast with the East Barito [illegible]s of these protophonemes. See Appendix I, pp. 38-42.

33 See Appendix I, pp. 55-57.

34 /j/ represents a palatal semi[illegible].

35 See Appendix I, p. 39.

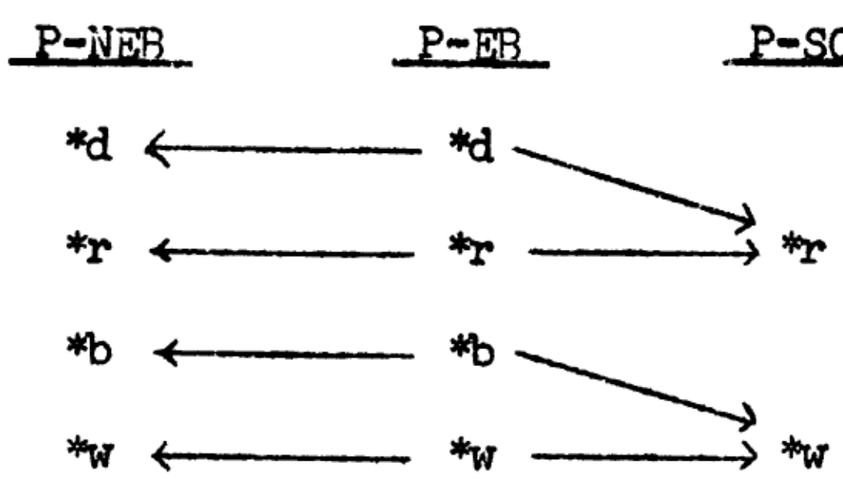
conditioning factors governing phonemic splits are indicated to the right of this and subsequent summary diagrams.



*tj(P-B)/__V(C)#/ > *r(P-EB)

*tj(P-B)/elsewhere/ > *l(P-EB)

Within the East Barito group, the criteria distinguishing the Northeast Barito isolects from the Central East and Southeast Barito isolects are based on their divergent reflexes of Proto-East Barito */b/, */d/, and */t/.[36] Proto-East Barito */b/ continues as */b/ in Proto-Northeast Barito (P-NEB), but merges with */w/ in Proto-Central East-Southeast Barito (P-CSB).[37] P-EB */d/ continues as */d/ in P-NEB, but merges with */r/ in P-CSB. The contrasting reflexes produced by these two shifts may be depicted as



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[36] */b/(P-EB)< */b/(P-B); */d/(P-EB)< */d/(P-B); *t/(P-EB)<*/t/(P-B).

[37] /w/ represents a voiced bilabial spirant.

CEB and SEB isolects also contrast with NEB isolects in terms of the divergent reflexes of */t/(P-EB) that appear in some environments, where isolects of the former two groups show an /s/ reflex and those of the latter group a /t/ reflex. This shift will be discussed in the following paragraph.

The Southeast Barito isolects diverge from the other CSB and East Barito isolects in their reflexes of the CSB proto-phonemes */s/, */l/, and */j/.[38] Proto-CSB */s/ continues as */s/ in P-CEB but is replaced by */h/ in P-SEB. Proto-CSB */t/ apparently had two phonologically conditioned allophones.[39] One allophone occurred immediately before */i/(P-CSB) (i.e., */__i/), and this allophone merged with /s/ in CEB and was replaced by */s/ in P-SEB after the shift */s/(P-CSB)> */h/(P-SEB) had taken place. The other allophone of */t/(P-CSB) continued as */t/ in P-CEB and P-SEB.

Proto-Southeast Barito */l/ also had two allophones, with one occurring immediately before */i/(P-SEB) (i.e., */__i/) and the other occurring elsewhere. Proto-SEB */l/ split, with the first allophone merging with */d/(P-SEB) and the second allophone continuing as */l/(P-SEB). Proto-SEB */j/ also split, with one allophone, occurring either finally or as the initial consonant in a final syllable terminated with a voiceless stop (i.e., */__#/ or */__VT^{vcl}#/), being replaced by */ʾ/(P-SEB),[40] and the other allophone, occurring elsewhere, continuing as */j/(P-SEB).

These shifts may be represented briefly as

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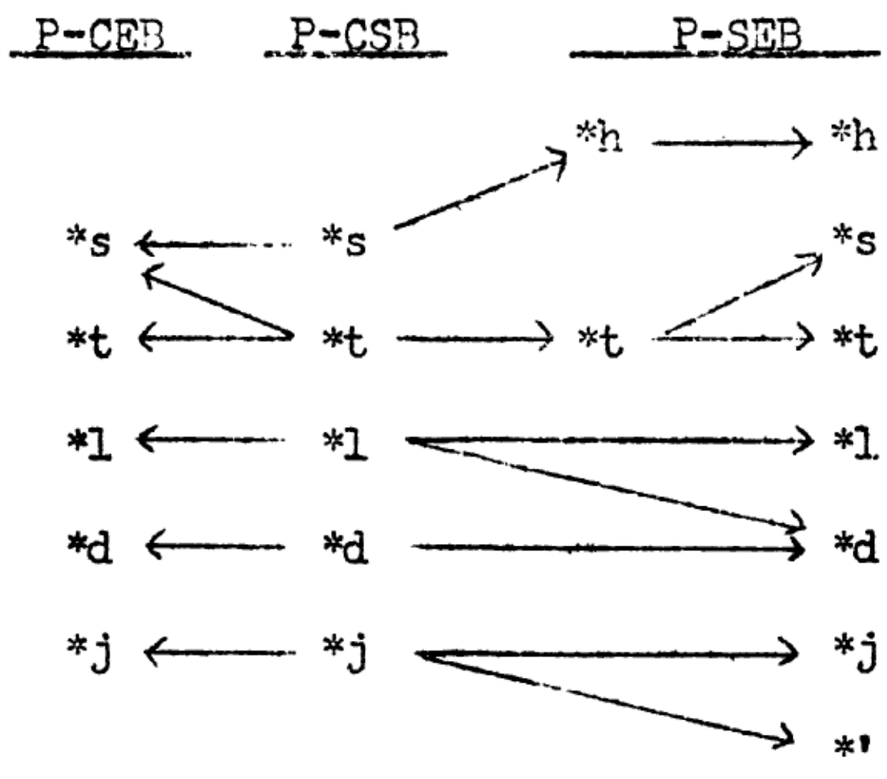
38 */s/(P-CSB)< */s/(P-B); */l/(P-CSB)< */l/(P-B) and< */tj/(P-B); */j/(P-CSB)< */h/(P-B).

39 See Appendix I, pp. 45-46.

40 /ʾ/ represents a glottal stop.

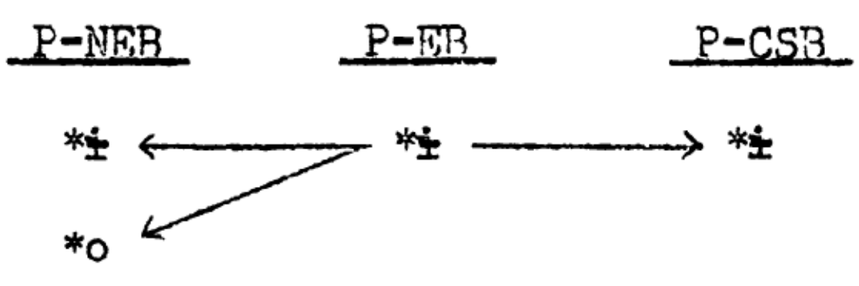


*t(P-CSB)/__i/> *s(P-SEB, P-CEB)

*l(P-CSB)/__i/> *d(P-SEB)

*j(P-CSB)/__#/, /__V(C)#/>
*'(P-SEB)

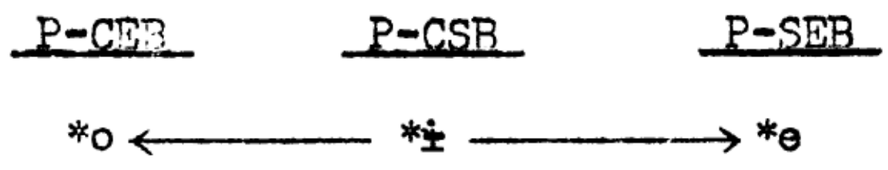
The three constituent subgroups of the East Barito group exhibit a three-way contrast in the reflexes of Proto-East Barito */ɨ/.[41] Proto-EB */ɨ/ split in P-NEB, with one allophone, occurring before final consonants (i.e., */__C#/), continuing as /ɨ/(P-NEB) and the other, occurring elsewhere, becoming established as an independent phoneme */o/(P-NEB). */ɨ/ (P-EB) continued as */ɨ/ in Proto-CSB. This shift may be depicted as



*ɨ(P-EB)/__C#/> *ɨ(P-NEB)

*ɨ(P-EB)/elsewhere/> *o(P-NEB)

Proto-CSB */ɨ/ became gradually backed in P-CEB and eventually became established as */o/(P-CEB). In contrast, */ɨ/(P-CSB) became fronted in P-SEB and became established as */e/(P-SEB).



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[41] /ɨ/ represents a high, central vowel. */ɨ/(P-EB)< */ɨ/(P-B).

Thus, */ɨ/(P-EB) is reflected by /e/ in SEB isolects, by /o/ in CEB, and by both /ɨ/ and /o/ in NEB isolects.

The reflexes of */ei/(P-EB)[42] offer a contrast between the SEB isolects on the one hand, and the CEB and NEB isolects on the other. It appears that */ei/(P-EB)> */e/(P-NEB), and that this shift spread to contiguous CEB by diffusion, since Dusun Dejah exhibits an /e/ reflex of */ei/(P-EB) that must have been acquired after the separation of P-NEB and P-CSB.

Within the West Barito group, the contrasting reflexes of Proto-West Barito (P-WB) */ɨ/, */ei/, */au/, and */s/[43] distinguish the isolects of the Northwest Barito group from those of the Southwest Barito group. The Proto-Southwest Barito (P-SWB) reflexes of P-WB */ɨ/, */ei/, and */au/ are, respectively, */e/, */ei/, and */au/, while the Proto-Northwest Barito (P-NWB) reflexes are */o/, */oi/, and */ou/. P-WB */s/ continues as */s/ in P-SWB, but splits in P-NWB, where one allophone, occurring in final position (i.e., */__#), merged with */h/(P-NWB), while the other allophone, occurring elsewhere, continued as */s/(P-NWB). These shifts may be represented in tabular form as

P-SWB		P-WB		P-NWB
*e	←	*ɨ	→	*o
*ei	←	*ei	→	*oi
*au	←	*au	→	*ou
*s	←	*s	→	*s
*h	←	*h	→	*h

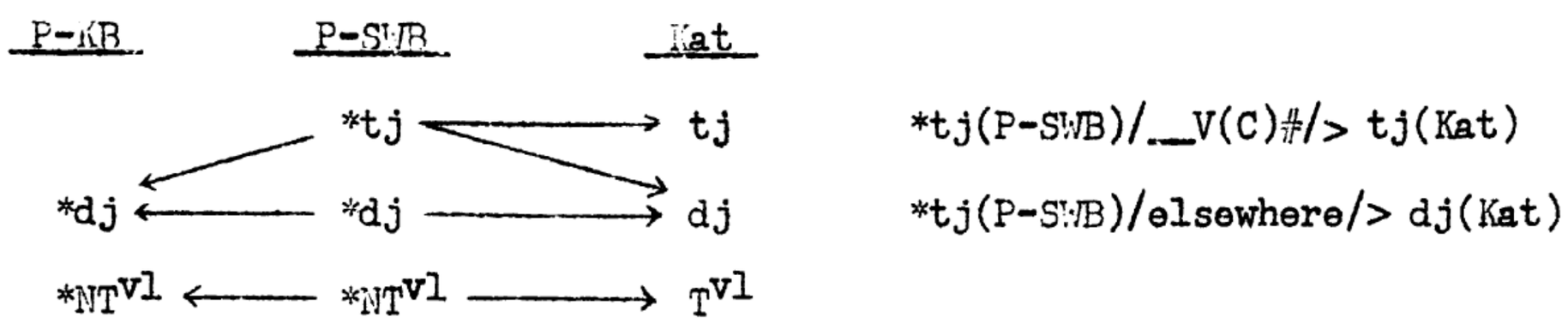
*s(P-WB)/__#/ > *h(P-NWB)

---

42 */ei/(P-EB) < */ei/(P-B).

43 */ɨ/(P-WB) < */ɨ/(P-B); */ei/(P-WB) < */ei/(P-B); */au/(P-WB) < */au/(P-B); */s/(P-WB) < */s/(P-B).

Further subgrouping within the Southwest Barito and Northwest Barito groups can be made on the basis of contrastive sound correspondences brought about by shifts involving the reflexes of Proto-Barito */tj/ and */NT^{vl}/ clusters (i.e., clusters composed of a voiceless stop immediately preceded by a homorganic nasal). In the Southwest Barito group, */tj/ (P-SWB)[44] merged with */dj/ in Proto-Kapuas-Ba'amang (P-KB), and split in Katingan (Kat), with one allophone, occurring as the initial consonant in a final syllable (i.e., */__V(C)#/), continuing as /tj/(Kat), and the other allophone, occurring elsewhere, merging with /dj/(Kat). Katingan has lost the nasal member in its reflexes of */NT^{vl}/(P-SWB) clusters, a feature that also contrasts with Kapuas-Ba'amang. These contrastive shifts may be tabulated as



In the Northwest Barito group, Dohoi and Murung-1 form a subgroup in opposition to Siang and Murung-2. In Proto-Siang-Murung-2 (P-SM2), */tj/(P-NWB)[45] continues as */tj/(P-SM2), while in Proto-Dohoi-Murung-1 (P-DM1) the protoallophones of */tj/(P-NWB) have split in the same manner as in Katingan, with one allophone continuing as */tj/(P-DM1), and the other merging with */dj/(P-DM1). Similarly, the */NT^{vl}/(P-NWB) cluster is reflected by */NT^{vl}/(P-SM2) and */T^{vl}/(P-DM1). These shifts may be sum-

---

[44] */tj/(P-SWB) < */tj/(P-B).

[45] */tj/(P-NWB) < */tj/(P-B).

marized by

P-DM1	P-NWB	P-SM2	
*tj ←	*tj →	*tj	*tj(P-NWB)/__V(C)#/> *tj(P-DM1)
*dj ←	*dj →	*dj	*tj(P-NWB)/elsewhere/> *dj(P-DM1)
$*T^{vl}$ ←	$*NT^{vl}$ →	$*NT^{vl}$	

Dohoi is distinctive among all the Barito isolects for its medial preaspirated stops and spirant. However, I have not yet been able to discover an environmental factor that would have conditioned the merger of */ϕ/(P-NWB) with /h/(Dohoi). It is possible that this medial preaspiration element reflects the vestige of a proto-phoneme that has been lost in that position in all other Barito groups, but, at the present time, there is too little evidence at hand to make possible any clear statement one way or the other on the subject.

A synopsis of examples illustrating the divergent sound correspondences used in subgrouping the Barito isolects appears in Table 2 below. A list of Proto-Barito phonemes and their reflexes in the various isolects of the Barito group will be found in Appendix I, Table 3. The approximate distribution of the subgroups of the Barito family is indicated on Map 2.

TABLE 2: SYNOPSIS OF DIVERGENT SOUND CORRESPONDENCES USED IN SUBGROUPING THE BARITO LANGUAGES

Barito-Mahakam and West Barito vs. East Barito:

1.	*/tj/	tj:r	utjan (Kat, NWB, BM), udjan (Kap, Ba); uran (NEB, CEB, SEB)	'rain'
2.	*/tj/	dj:l	djela' (SWB), djola' (Doh, Mu1), tjola' (Si, Mu2), tjela' (BM); lola' (NEB), lela' (CEB, SEB)	'tongue'
3.	*/h/	h:j	ahem (Kat), ahom (NWB); ajim (NEB), ajom (CEB), ajem (SEB)	'anteater'

Northeast vs. Central and Southeast Barito:

4.	*/b/	b:w	batu' (NEB), watu (CEB, SEB); also batu' (SWB, NWB, BM), bahtu' (Doh)	'stone'
5.	*/d/	d:r	dui (NEB), rueh (CEB, SEB); also due' (SWB), duo (NWB); r^ga' (BM)	'two'
6.	*/t/	t:s	bitik (NEB), wisik (CEB, SEB); also bitik (SWB, NWB), bihtik (Doh)	'ant'

Northeast and Central vs. Southeast Barito:

7.	*/s/	s:h	pasu' (NEB), pasu (CEB), pahu (SEB)	'cheek'
8.	*/ei/	e:ei	bawe (NEB), wawe (CEB), wawei (SEB)	'woman'
9.	*/l/	l:d	tali (NEB, CEB), tadi (SEB); also tali' (SWB, NWB, BM)	'rope'
10.	*/h/	j:'	daja (NEB), raja' (CEB), ira' (SEB); also daha' (SWB, NWB), raha' (BM)	'blood'
11.	*/h/	j:'	bojat (NEB), we'at (SEB); also bahat (NWB, BM), babehat (SWB)	'heavy'

Northeast vs. Central East vs. Southeast Barito:

12.	*/ɨ/	ɨ:o:e	utɨk (NEB), utok (CEB), utek (SEB)	'head'
			asɨk (NEB), asok (CEB), ehek (SEB)	'dibble stick'

Southwest vs. Northwest Barito:

13.	*/ɨ/	e:o	lewu' (SWB), lowu' (NWB)	'village'
			beruk (SWB), boruk (NWB)	'k.o. monkey'
14.	*/ei/	ei:oi	atei (SWB), atoi (NWB); also ate (NEB, CEB), atei (SEB)	'liver'
15.	*/au/	au:ou	balau (SWB), balou (NWB); also alau (BM), balo (NEB), walo (CEB), wulu (SEB)	'hair'
16.	*/s/	s:h	baras (SWB), barah (NWB)	'sand'
			banipis (Kap, Kat), mipih (Si, Mu2), mihpih (Doh)	'thin'

Kapuas-Ba'amang vs. Katingan:

17.	*/tj/	dj:tj	idje' (K-B), itje' (Kat); also itjo (Si, Mu2), ihtjo' (Doh), tja' (BM), erai (NEB, CEB)	'one'
18.	*/tj/	dj:dj	djalan (K-B), Kat); also tjalan (Si), lalan (CEB, SEB)	'path'
19.	*/NC^{vl}/	NC^{vl}:C^{vl}	sampit (Ba), sepit (Kat)	'narrow'
			buntal (Kap, Ba), butal (Kat)	'blowfish'
			tengkuk (Kap, Ba), tekuk (Kat)	'nape of neck'

Dohoi-Hurung[1] vs. Siang-Hurung[2]:

20.	*/tj/	tj:tj	-lutja' (Doh, Mu1, Mu2); also -lutja' (Kat), ludja' (Kap, Ba), njura' (NWB), irura' (Pak)	'to spit'
	*/tj/	dj:tj	See example 2 above.	
21.	*/NC^{vl}/	C^{vl}:NC^{vl}	lapang (Doh, Kat), lampung (Si, Mu2), lampang (Kap)	'to float'
			otu' (Doh), ontu' (Mu2), hantu' (Kap)	'corpse'
			lukung (Doh), lungkung (Si, Mu2), lukeng (Kat)	'worm'

Dohoi vs. Other Barito Languages:

22.	*/C^{vl}/	hC:C	ohpat (Doh), opat (Mu2, Si, NEB, CEB), epat (SEB), pat (BM)	'four'

A subgrouping of the Barito languages based on lexicostatistical analysis of cognate percentages generally corroborates the previously presented subgrouping based on the comparative method. Each of the subgroups identified appears to be a discrete unit, but there are varying degrees of statistical confidence: Southwest Barito and Siang-Murung-2 are significantly discrete at the 5 per cent confidence level; Northwest Barito and Southeast Barito, at the 10 per cent confidence level; Dohoi and Murung-1, 15 per cent; Northwest Barito, 25 per cent; West Barito, 40 per cent; Barito-Mahakam and East Barito, less than 60 per cent. See Appendix I, pp. 499-506 for an analysis of the lexicostatistical data. Figure 1 gives a diagram of Barito intra-family relationships showing a lexicostatistical classification superimposed on the classification derived by the comparative method; the vertical dashed lines represent isogloss bundles.

The Relation Between the Barito Linguistic Classification and Mallinckrodt's Ethnic Classification

The general relationship between the linguistic classification presented above, and Mallinckrodt's ethnic classification from Het Adatrecht van Borneo, is as follows: Mallinckrodt's "stammenras der Ot Danum"[46] has the same ethnic referent as the Barito family. The Ot Danum "stammenras" has five subgroups.

(1) "Ot Danum"[47] is equivalent to the Northwest Barito group. It might be noted here, that the term "Murung" is a general geographical term, referring to the region of the upper Barito River, that

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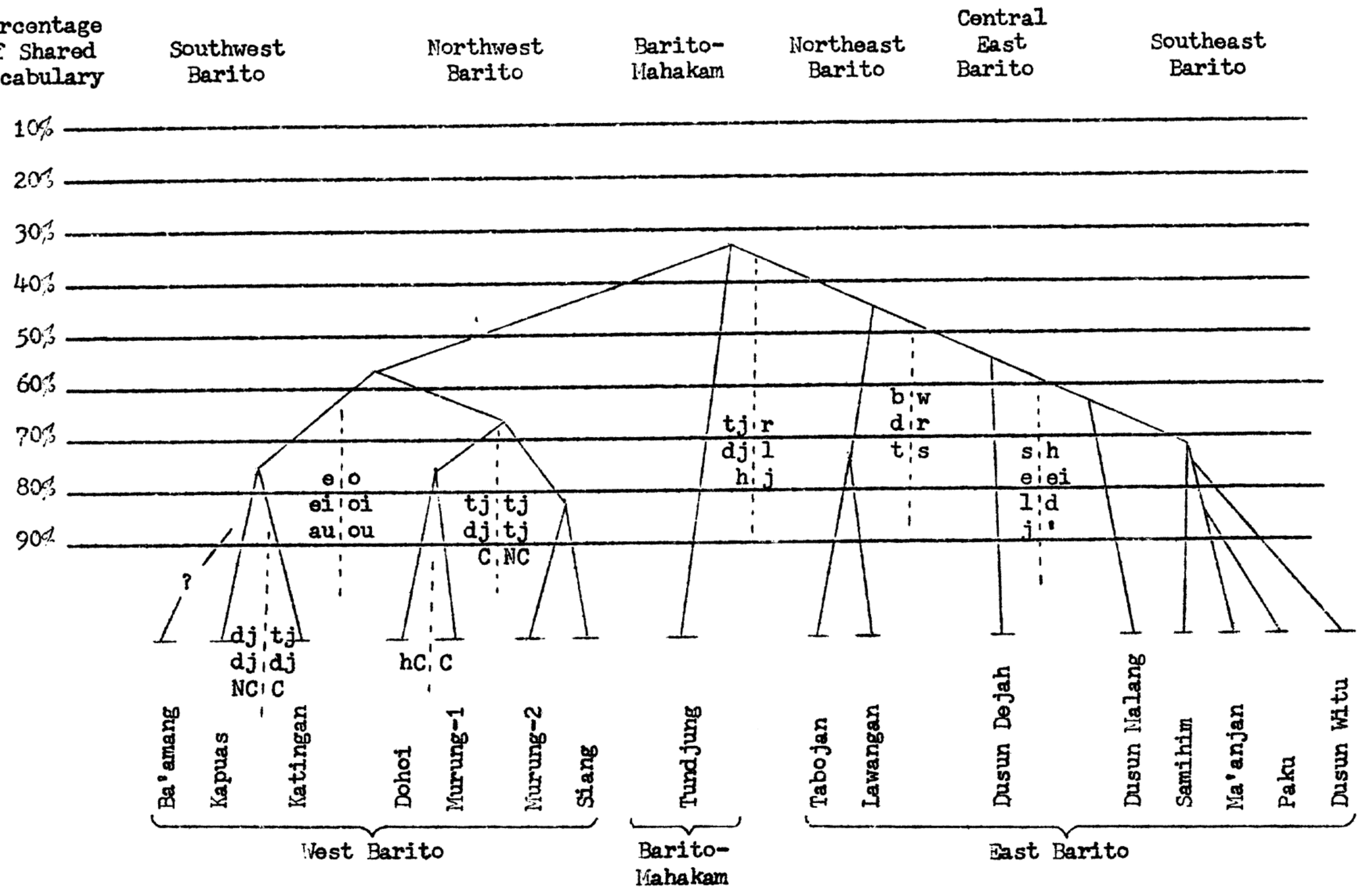
[46] Mallinckrodt 1928: I, 21-30.

[47] Ibid., pp. 21-25.

FIGURE 1: DIAGRAM SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PHONOLOGICAL AND LEXICOSTATISTICAL CLASSIFICATIONS OF BARITO FAMILY LANGUAGES



has little meaning in terms of indicating the immediate genetic relationship between languages to which it is applied. At least three varieties of "Murung" were identified by my Murung informants: Murung hulu or upriver Murung = my Murung-1; Murung tengah or middle Murung = Murung-2; Murung hilir or downriver Murung = Dusun Malang. Murung-1 and Murung-2 were shown to be more similar, in terms of shared sound correspondences, to other isolects, respectively to Dohoi and Siang, than they were to each other. This is corroborated by lexicostatistical evidence. Dohoi and Murung-1 share 75 per cent of the Swadesh word list items, while Siang and Murung-2 share 80 per cent. However, Murung-1 and Murung-2 share only 66 per cent. Murung hilir or Dusun Malang has been shown to be a member not of Northwest Barito but of Southeast Barito, although Dusun Malang has borrowed considerable vocabulary from the adjacent Northwest Barito languages. It is possible that other varieties of "Murung" will be found in future investigations even further up the Barito River.

(2) The "stammengroep der Ngadju"[48] is equivalent to the Southwest Barito group. However, future linguistic research may show that some of Mallinckrodt's ethnic groups should be assigned to other categories. For example, Mallinckrodt places Tamuan in the Ngadju group, but analysis of a Tamuan word list that I obtained in the field indicates clearly that Tamuan is a Malay language with close affinities to Bandjar (see Appendix II, Part III).

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[48] Mallinckrodt 1928: I, 26-27.

(3) The "stammengroep Maanjan"[49] is equivalent to only part of the Southeast Barito group. The languages of the various Ma'anjan ethnic groups identified by Mallinckrodt are practically identical, with only a few very slight dialectal variations to distinguish among them. The adat differences separating them are somewhat more significant, however.

(4) The "Doessoen stammengroep" makes up the remaining portion of the Southeast Barito group. Like "Murung," "Dusun" is more a geographical than a linguistic term, relating generally to the east bank of the middle section of the Barito River. Dusun appears as an alternate name for the Barito River on many Dutch maps.

(5) The "stammengroep der Lawangan"[50] is roughly equivalent to the Northeast Barito group. I know that Mallinckrodt's assignment of Bawu to the same category as Tabojan and Lawangan is correct.[51] However, Mallinckrodt includes Tundjung and Paku in his Lawangan group, where they obviously do not belong on linguistic grounds, the former being more properly allocated to the Barito-Mahakam category and the latter to the Southeast Barito group. Mallinckrodt also assigns Bukit, an ethnic group inhabiting the southern Meratus Mountains (see Map 1), to his Lawangan group, which may be open to question. There appears to be an approximate correlation between habitat and language distribution in the southern

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[49] Mallinckrodt 1928: I, 27-28.

[50] Ibid., pp. 28-30.

[51] For Bawu, I have collected a few diagnostic terms from a Lawangan speaker who also knew Bawu.

Kalimantan region. The speakers of Northwest Barito and Northeast Barito languages inhabit the extremely hilly and mountainous interior regions in the upper drainages of the major rivers, while the Southwest Barito, Central East Barito and Southeast Barito speakers live in the areas of low rolling hills and flat regions of the lower drainages. However, one question remains to be answered in regard to this apparent correlation: to which group does Bukit belong? The correlation would suggest its membership in Northeast Barito, but, if the correlation is spurious, it could equally well belong to Southeast Barito, since the Bukit region intersects segments of the Southeast Barito region, or to Central East Barito, which is contiguous to the Bukit area in the north. Mallinckrodt is probably correct in questioning Dewal's earlier statement that the Bukit ethnic group was of Bandjar origin.[52] but unfortunately he gives no evidence to support his inclusion of Bukit in the Lawangan (i.e., Northeast Barito) group. The allocation of the Bukit isolect will have to be held in abeyance pending the acquisiton of reliable linguistic data.

It is interesting to note that most maps purporting to delimit the ethnic groups of Borneo indicate that the territory occupied by speakers of Barito family languages extends as far west as the Pembuang (Mallinckrodt) or even the Lamandau (Kennedy, Tjilik Riwut) rivers. However, I have as yet found no evidence that Barito languages are spoken to the west of the Sampit drainage. There is no indication, other than Mallinckrodt's supposition, that many of the groups that inhabit the Sampit region

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[52] Mallinckrodt 1928: I, 30.

itself properly belong to his Ngadju group. Tamuan, at least, appears to be a Malay rather than a Dajak language, though it may perhaps represent an eastward extension of the "Land Dajak" languages of West Kalimantan.[53] Tamuan and Bandjar share 66 per cent of their Swadesh word list vocabulary, while Tamuan and contiguous Ba'amang share 57 per cent.

Mallinckrodt's map also indicates that the territory of his Ot Danum group extends northward as far as the Kapuas River of West Kalimantan.[54] Though speakers of Northwest Barito languages have probably traveled extensively in the Kapuas drainage, the existence of permanent Dohoi settlements on the Kapuas itself should be accepted with caution until it is verified by linguistic evidence.

Bandjar

Bandjar is the principal representative of the Malay language family found in the south Kalimantan region. It is spoken not only in the Bandjar region of the Southeast Barito Basin, where several dialects have been recognized, but in the coastal regions of Pulau Laut, Kutai and Pasir[55] in the east, and at least as far as the Sampit area in the west.[56] Although Bandjar is undoubtedly a Malay language, it appears to contain some elements borrowed from Javanese, probably during the seventeenth century when many Javanese refugees fled to Bandjarmasin to escape the Mata-

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53 See Cense and Uhlenbeck 1958, 13-17, for a discussion of the Land Dajak problem.

54 Not to be confused with the Kapuas River of southern Kalimantan.

55 Knappert 1905, 588-590; Nusselein 1905, 555-560; Hamer 1889, 456.

56 Hamer 1889, 456.

ram onslaught. Thus, for example, we find the following Javanese lexical items in Bandjar:[57]

Bandjar	Javanese	Malay	Gloss
kiwa'	kiwɔ(K,Ng)	kiri	'left'
rigʌt	rʌgʌt(K,Ng)	kotor	'dirty'
gulu'	gulu(K,Ng)	tengkuk	'nape'
ilat	ilat(Ng)	lidah	'tongue'

In discussing Javanese influences on Bandjar, Cense reports that:

> We already have evidence of this from the seventeenth century, for in 1633 we hear from Van den Kerkhoven that "the Malay language that is spoken here is not pure, but is mixed with the Javanese language." Somewhat later [1691] Jacob Jansz de Roy informs us that, as a result of the great intermixing of the popultion in this region, Bandjarese is made up of Malay, Javanese and native elements...All along the southeast coast, for that matter, the language, especially the court language, was influenced by Javanese. This was true in Kutei, Kotawaringin, and in Sukadana.[58]

Whatever the extent of Javanese influence on Bandjar, the latter retains its primary status as a Malay dialect. Bandjar shares a cognate percentage of 73 with Indonesian Malay (see the word lists of Bandjar and Malay in Appendix II). Bandjar shares much lower cognate percentages with representatives of the various Barito subgroups: e.g., 39 per cent (Kapuas), 38 per cent (Dusun Dejah, Tundjung), 32 per cent (Ma'anjan, Lawangan), 30 per cent (Siang).[59] These figures clearly reflect the linguistic

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[57] Ng = Ngoko; K = Kromo.

[58] Cense 1928, 117-118. See also Hamer 1889, 480, note 1.

[59] Ba'amang, which has borrowed heavily from Bandjar, shares a 60 per cent cognate percentage with it. See Appendix I, p. 60.

cleavage between the Barito family and Bandjar Malay. It is beyond the scope of this study to enter into a discussion of Bandjar-Barito sound correspondences.

APPENDIX I

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

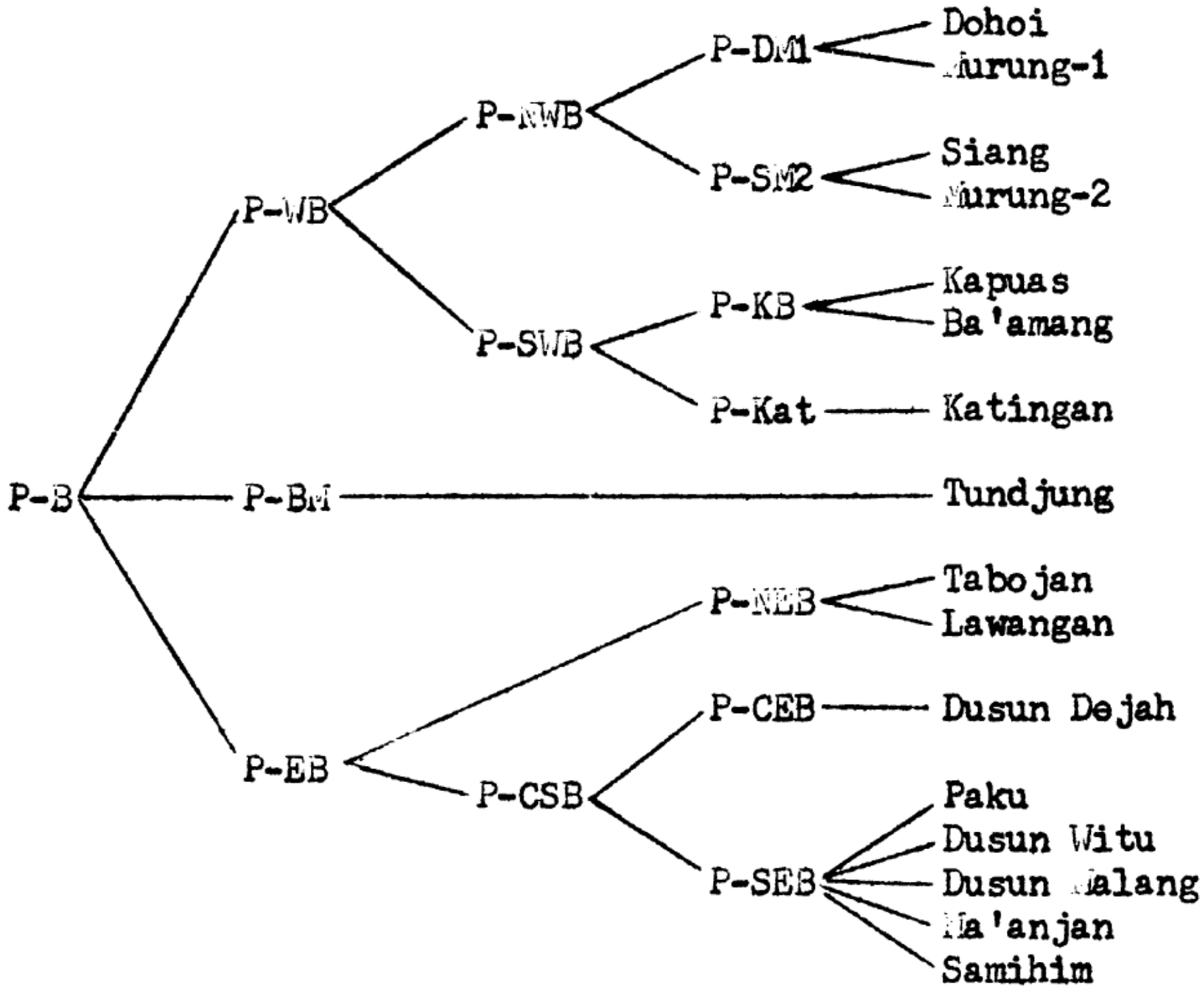
Introduction

This appendix contains a comparative analysis to support the subgrouping of the Barito languages outlined in the body of the text. The appendix contains two sections: Part I is comprised of an analysis of the major diagnostic sound correspondences obtaining among the various isolects that I have used in delimiting the various groups and subgroups within the Barito family; Part II presents the evidence for a lexicostatistical subgrouping of the Barito isolects. It will be shown that the lexicostatistical classification agrees on every major point with the classification based on the analysis of sound correspondences. The illustrative examples contained in Appendix I are rendered in phonemic transcription.

Appendix II contains all the raw word lists upon which the analyses in this appendix are based. The lexical items presented in Appendix II are rendered in phonetic transcription.

The genetic relationship and divergence order of the various Barito family subgroups is illustrated in Figure 2 below.

FIGURE 2: DIVERGENCE ORDER OF BARITO FAMILY SUBGROUPS



PART I: SOUND CORRESPONDENCES

In the following section I will present evidence, based on the establishment of contrastive sound correspondences in cognates drawn from the various languages of the Barito family, to support the classification outlined above. Because there is only one representative of the Barito-Mahakam group, I will limit my discussion of that group to a few summary comments at the end of this section. The main concentration will be on the East and West Barito groups, and even there the analysis is intended by no means to be exhaustive, but merely indicative.

Examples cited will be drawn from the word lists appearing in Appendix II. The citations will consist of a three letter prefix (to indicate one of the three special lists), a number (to indicate its position in the list) and a gloss.

The following symbols will be used in this section:

For proto-languages:

P- plus one of the language group abbreviations

For language groups:

B	Barito
EB	East Barito
WB	West Barito
BM	Barito-Mahakam
NEB	Northeast Barito
CSB	Central East-Southeast Barito
SEB	Southeast Barito
NWB	Northwest Barito
DM1	Dohoi-Murung-1
SM2	Siang-Murung-2
SWB	Southwest Barito
KB	Kapuas-Ba'amang
CEB	Central East Barito

For isolects:

Ba	Ba'amang
Dej	Dusun Dejah
Doh	Dohoi
Kap	Kapuas
Kat	Katingan
Law	Lawangan
Ma	Ma'anjan
Mal	Dusun Malang
Mu1	Murung-1
Mu2	Murung-2
Pak	Paku
Sam	Samihim
Si	Siang
Tab	Tabojan
Tun	Tundjung
Wit	Dusun Witu

For subsections of word lists in Appendix II used in citations:

SWL	Swadesh word list
SDL	Special Dajak list
KTL	Kinship term list

For phonemic environments:

V	Vowel
C	Consonant
T^{vl}	Voiceless stop and affricate
N	Nasal Consonant
#	Lexical boundary
( )	Optional element

Guide to special phonic values used in examples:

tj	voiceless palatal affricate
dj	voiced palatal affricate
j	palatal semivowel
w	bilabial semivowel in Kapuas and Lawangan; voiced bilabial spirant in other isolects
'	glottal stop
ɨ	lower high central vowel
L	voiced palatal lateral flap

Where proto-phonemes are reconstructed, they do not necessarily have the phonetic values that might be implied by the symbols representing them. Reconstructed phonemes are preceded by *.

The inventory of Proto-Barito phonemes that I have been able to reconstruct so far with a fair degree of certainty are:

Consonants:

*b	*d	*dj		
*p	*t	*tj	*k	*ʔ
*m	*n		*ng	
*w	*s		*h	
	*l			
	*r			

Vowels:

*i	*ɨ	*u
	*a	

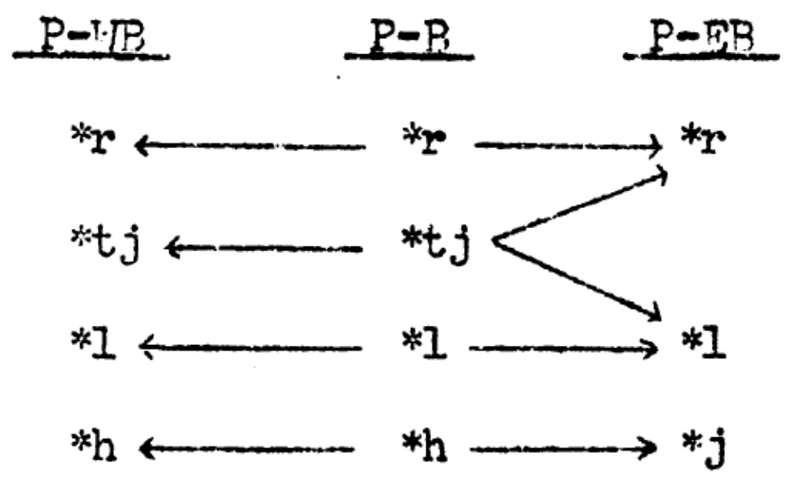
Diphthongs:

*ei	*au

However, it is quite possible that future analysis of a wider body of Barito linguistic material will reveal additional evidence for other proto-phonemes as well.

Correspondences Reflecting the East Barito : West Barito Split

The major evidence reflecting the divergence of P-EB and P-WB from P-B is derived from the reflexes of P-B *tj and *h exhibited in the various isolects of the two groups. *tj(P-B) continued as *tj in P-WB, but split to merge with *r and *l in P-EB. *h(P-B) continued as *h in P-WB, but was replaced by *j in P-EB.



Upon consideration of the history of the Proto-Barito phoneme that I have represented as *tj, it seems apparent that this proto-phoneme had two allophones whose conditioning environments may be deduced, but whose precise phonetic attributes remain indeterminate. The first allophone, which may be symbolized as *tj^{1}, occurred in the Proto-Barito environment */__V(C)#/ as the initial consonant in a final syllable. This may be termed *tj environment 1 (*tj/env-1/). The second allophone, symbolized as *tj^{2}, occurred elsewhere. This may be termed *tj environment 2 (*tj /env-2/). In Proto-East Barito, the phonetic qualities of each allophone altered and diverged to the point where each merged with a different P-EB phoneme, *tj(P-B)/env-1/ merging with *r(P-EB) and *tj(P-B)/env-2/ merging with *l(P-EB). In Proto-West Barito, however, both allophones retained a phonetic distinctiveness and distributional complementation that maintained their position as allophones of *tj(P-WB) in the Proto-West Barito phonemic system. Evidence will be given later in the appendix to demonstrate that the final developments in the history of the *tj^{1} and *tj^{2} allophones did not take place until after P-SWB and P-NWB had diverged from P-WB.

Examples of reflexes of *tj(P-B).

*tj(P-B)/env-1/ > *tj(P-WB), *r(P-EB):

1. utjan (Tun;Kat;Doh,Mu2,Si) SWL 138 'rain'
   udjan (Kap,Ba)
   uran (Tab,Law;Dej;Mal,Sam,Wit,Pak,Ma)

2.	matjuh	(Tun)	SWL 39	'to spit'
	-lutja'	(Kat;Doh,Mu1,Mu2)		
	maludja'	(Kap,Ba)		
	njura	(Tab)		
	ndura'	(Dej)		
	ndora'	(Sam)		
	njura'	(Mal)		
	irura	(Ma)		
	irura'	(Pak)		

*tj(P-B)/env-2/> *tj(P-WB), *l(P-EB):

3.	djela'	(Kap,Ba,Kat)	SWL 35	'tongue'
	djola'	(Doh,Mu1)		
	tjola'	(Mu2,Si)		
	tjela'	(Tun)		
	lola	(Tab,Law)		
	lela'	(Dej;Mal,Sam,Wit,Pak,Ma)		
4.	djalan	(Kap,Ba)	SWL 7	'path'
	tjalan	(Si)		
	lalan	(Dej;Sam,Wit,Ma)		
5.	-djatuh	(Kap,Ba)	SWL 95	'to fall'
	lotu	(Tab,Law;Pak)		
	latu'	(Dej;Sam)		

It will be noted that *tj^2 is reflected by /dj/ in all the contemporary WB isolects except Siang and Murung-2. However, the merging of *tj^2 with /dj/ in the West Barito isolects results from later developments in P-SWB and P-NWB that will be discussed below.

*tj(P-B) has been reconstructed for both tj:r and dj:l correspondences between West Barito and East Barito isolects. It has already been mentioned that the two correspondences are in complementary distribution, but this fact in itself would not preclude the reconstruction of *dj(P-B) for the dj:l(WB:EB) correspondence. However, several considerations preclude this. First, /tj/ is statistically extremely infrequent in the EB isolects, indicating that all reflexes of *tj(P-B) have merged with other sounds, notably /r/ and /l/, while at the same time /dj/ is a phoneme of fairly high frequency of occurrence in East Barito isolects. Secondly,

it can be shown that there is a dj:dj(WB:EB) correspondence between East Barito and West Barito isolects that is the logical reflex of a *dj(P-B) proto-phoneme.

Examples of reflexes of *dj(P-B).

*dj(P-B) > *dj(P-WB,P-EB):

6.	djantung	(Mal,Sam,Pak,Ma;Ba,Kat; Doh,Mu1)	SWL 22	'heart'
7.	djala'	(Dej;Sam;Doh,Mu2)	SDL 48	'fish net'
8.	pandjang	(Tab,Law;Kap,Ba,Kat)	SWL 160	'long'
9.	djukung	(Kap,Ba;Mu2;Tab,Law;Dej; Mal,Wit,Pak,Ma)	SDL 47	'canoe'

Thirdly, there is an r:r(WB:EB) correspondence that should logically be reconstructed as *r(P-B).

Examples of reflexes of *r(P-B).

*r(P-B) > *r(P-WB,P-EB):

10.	urung	(Tab,Law;Dej;Mal,Sam,Wit, Pak,Ma;Tun;Kap,Kat;Doh,Mu1, Mu2,Si)	SWL 30	'nose'
11.	rata'	(Tab,Law;Mal,Wit,Ma; Kap,Kat;Mu2)	SWL 146	'smooth'
	rata	(Dej;Pak;Ba)		
	ratat	(Tun)		
	lahta	(Doh)		
12.	aran	(Tab,Law;Mal,Sam,Wit;Doh, Mu2,Si)	SWL 63	'name'
	ngaran	(Dej;Pak,Ma;Kat)		
	aram	(Kap)		
	arai	(Mu1)		
13.	turui	(Tab,Law;Dej)	SWL 49	'sleep'
	surui	(Pak)		
	tirui	(Mu1,Mu2,Si)		
	-tiruh	(Kap,Ba,Kat)		
	tiro	(Tun)		

Note: See also Ex. 52.

Similarly, there is a regular 1:l(WB:EB) correspondence that should be reconstructed as *l(P-B).

Examples of reflexes of *l(P-B).

*l(P-B)> *l(P-WB,P-EB):

14.	u<u>l</u>un	(Tab,Law;Dej;Sam,Wit, Pak,Ma;Tun;Kat;Mu2)	SWL 53	'person'
	<u>l</u>un	(Mal)		
	du<u>l</u>un	(Si)		
	ko<u>l</u>unon	(Doh)		
	u<u>l</u>uh	(Kap,Ba)		
15.	to<u>l</u>u'	(Tab,Law;Kat;Doh,Mu2)	SWL 206	'three'
	to<u>l</u>u	(Dej)		
	to<u>L</u>u	(Si)		
	te<u>l</u>u	(Mal,Pak)		
	te<u>l</u>u'	(Ba,Kat)		
	te<u>l</u>o	(Sam,Wit,Ma)		
	te<u>l</u>o'	(Kap)		
	ta<u>l</u>u	(Tun)		
16.	bu<u>l</u>u'	(Tab;Tun;Kap,Ba,Kat)	SWL 99	'feather'
	bu<u>l</u>u	(Law;Mu2)		
	bu<u>L</u>ui	(Doh,Mu1)		
	bu<u>L</u>un	(Si)		
	wu<u>l</u>u	(Dej;Sam,Wit,Pak,Ma)		
	u<u>l</u>u	(Mal)		

<u>Note</u>: See also Exs. 3, 7, 40, 41, 43, 49, 57 and 77.

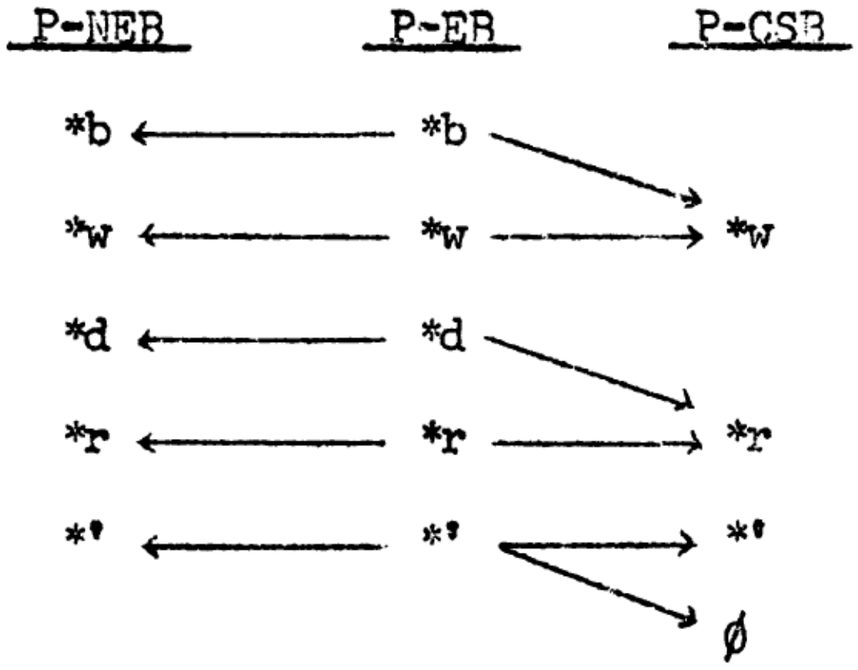
Examples of reflexes of *h(P-B).

*h(P-B)> *h(P-WB), *j(P-EB):

17.	a<u>h</u>em	(Kat)	SDL 82	'anteater'
	a<u>h</u>om	(Doh,Mu2,Si)		
	a<u>j</u>im	(Law)		
	a<u>j</u>om	(Dej)		
	a<u>j</u>em	(Wit,Ma)		
	a<u>j</u>um	(Pak)		
18.	ba<u>h</u>uang	(Kap,Kat)	SDL 58	'bear'
	bo<u>h</u>uang	(Doh,Mu2)		
	bi<u>j</u>ang	(Tab,Law)		
	wa<u>j</u>uang	(Ma)		
	wo<u>j</u>uang	(Sam)		

Correspondences Reflecting the Northeast Barito : Central East-Southeast Barito Split

The major evidence reflecting the divergence of P-NEB and P-CSB from P-EB is derived from the reflexes of P-EB *b, *d, and *'. *b(P-EB) < *b(P-B); *d(P-EB) < *d(P-B); *'(P-EB) < *'(P-B). The West Barito cognates included in the examples given below seem to indicate that the P-CSB reflexes are divergent, while P-NEB conserves the common Barito reflexes of P-B *b, *d, and *'. *b(P-EB) continued as *b in P-NEB but merged with *w in P-CSB. *d(P-EB) continued as *d in P-NEB but merged with *r in P-CSB. *'(P-EB) continued as *' in P-NEB but split in P-CSB, with one former allophone, occurring finally after *i(P-EB) (i.e., */i__#/) merging with zero in P-CSB, and the other allophone, occurring elsewhere, continuing as *'(P-CSB).



Examples of reflexes of *b(P-EB).

*b(P-B) > *w(P-CSB), *b(P-NEB):

19.	watu	(Dej;Mal,Sam,Wit,Pak,Ma)	SWL 120	'stone'
	batu'	(Tab,Law;Tun;Kap,Kat;Mu2)		
	batu	(Si)		
	bahtu	(Doh)		

20.	watang	(Dej;Mal,Sam,Wit,Pak,Ma)	SWL 79	'stick'
	batang	(Tab,La;Kap,Ba,Kat;Mu1,Mu2,Si)		
	bahtang	(Doh)		

Note: See also Exs. 18, 29, 35, 40 and 47.

There is a regular w:w:w(NEB:CSB:WB) correspondence that should be reconstructed as *w(P-EB)< *w(P-B).

Examples of reflexes of *w(P-EB).

*w(P-EB)> *w(P-NEB,P-CSB):

21.	biwi'	(Tab,Law)	SDL 3	'lip'
	biwih	(Kap,Kat;Doh		
	beweh	(Mu2,Si)		
	wiwi	(Dej,Sam,Wit,Pak)		
	wiwi'	(Ma)		
22.	bawui	(Law;Kap,Kat;Doh,Mu2,Si)	SDL 56	'wild pig'
	baui	(Tab)		
	wawui	(Dej;Mal,Sam,Wit,Pak,Ma)		

Note: See also Exs. 47 and 51.

Examples of reflexes of *d(P-EB).

*d(P-EB)> *r(P-CSB), *d(P-NEB):

23.	ranu'	(Dej;Mal,Sam,Wit,Pak,Ma)	SWL 122	'water'
	danum	(Tab,Law;Kap,Ba,Kat;Doh, Mu2,Si)		
24.	rueh	(Dej;Mal,Sam,Wit,Ma)	SWL 205	'two'
	ruo	(Pak)		
	dui'	(Tab,Law)		
	due'	(Kap,Ba,Kat)		
	duo'	(Doh,Mu2)		
	duo	(Si)		
	raga'	(Tun)		
25.	anrau	(Mal,Sam,Ma)	SWL 172	'day'
	kanrau	(Wit)		
	konrou	(Dej)		
	ka'unrou	(Pak)		
	andau	(Kap,Ba,Kat)		
	ondou	(Doh,Mu2,Si)		

Note: The NEB forms for 'day' are /olo/, which seem obviously related to but technically cognate with the other forms cited in Ex. 25. For reflexes of *r(P-B), see Exs. 10-13.

Examples of reflexes of *'(P-EB).

*'(P-EB)/#__/> Ø(P-CSB):

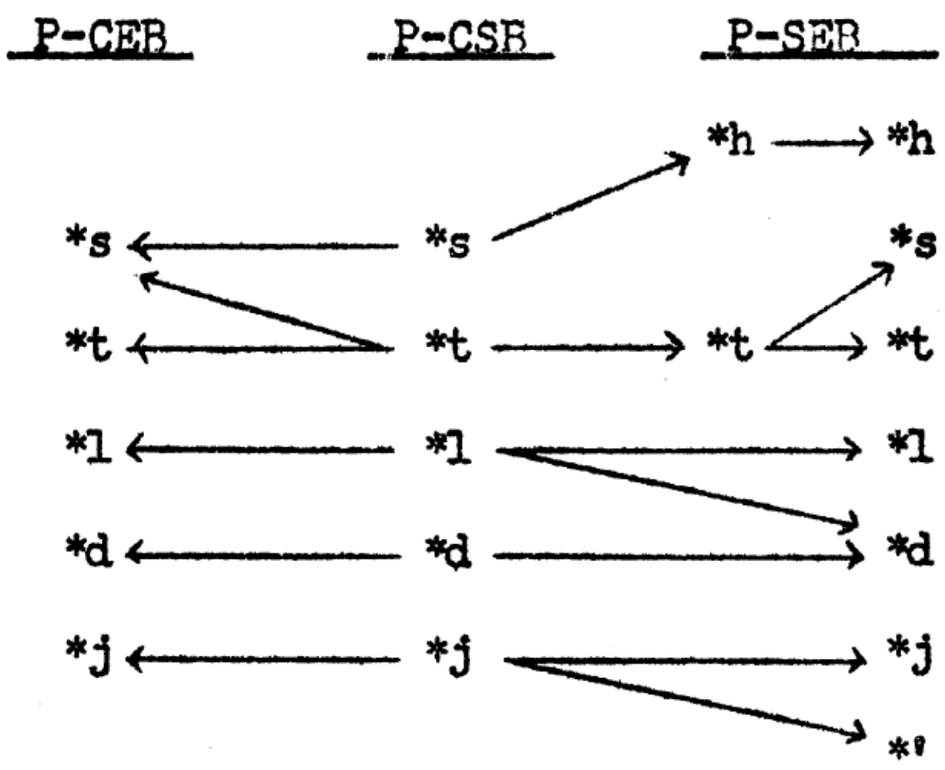
See Exs. 24, 39, 43, 75 and 76.

The CSB isolects also contrast with those of NEB in regard to their respective reflexes of *t(P-EB). *t(P-EB) < *t(P-B). *t(P-EB) continued as *t in P-NEB, but split in CEB and P-SEB. However, evidence from SEB indicates that this latter split took place independently in CEB and P-SEB after these two groups had diverged from P-CSB, so that I will treat this phenomenon in the following section.

Correspondences reflecting the Central East Barito:Southeast Barito split.

The evidence reflecting the divergence of P-SEB and CEB from P-CSB is derived from the reflexes of P-CSB *s, *t, *l, and *j. *s (P-CSB) continued as *s in CEB but was replaced by *h in P-SEB. After the latter shift took place in P-SEB, *t(P-CSB) split in P-SEB with one former allophone, occurring before *i (i.e. */__i/) being replaced by *s(P-SEB) in the phonemic slot vacated by the *s(P-CSB) > *h(P-SEB) shift, the other, occurring elsewhere, continuing as *t(P-SEB). CEB also exhibits the split of *t(P-CSB) to *t-*s(CEB) under the identical environmental conditions governing the parallel split in P-SEB. The parallel splits in CEB and P-SEB either took place independently, or took place first in P-SEB, where there was a temporary /s/ gap in the phonemic system, and then diffused to CEB. The fact that the *s(P-SEB) reflecting *t(P-CSB) was not affected by the *s(P-CSB) > *h(P-SEB) shift, indicates that this latter shift took place first, and, since CEB does not exhibit the effects of the *s(P-CSB) > *h(P-SEB) replacement, both shifts must have taken place after P-SEB and CEB had diverged from P-CSB, al-

though the allophonic conditions prerequisite to the *t(P-CSB) split were undoubtedly present in P-CSB. *l(P-CSB) continued as *l in CEB but split in P-SEB, with one former allophone, occurring before *i (i.e., */__i/), merging with *d(P-SEB) and the other, occurring elsewhere, continuing as *l(P-SEB). It will be noted that the allophonic conditioning factors governing this latter P-SEB split were identical with those governing the *t-*s split in P-SEB. *j(P-CSB) continued as *j in CEB but split in P-SEB, with one former allophone, occurring either finally, or as the initial consonant in a final syllable terminated with a voiceless stop (i.e., */__#/, */__VT^{vl}#/), being replaced by *'(P-SEB), and the other allophone, occurring elsewhere, continuing as *j(P-SEB). It may be seen that in most of these shifts that CEB retains conservative reflexes of the P-CSB protophonemes, while P-SEB is quite innovative.



Examples of reflexes of *s(P-CSB).

*s(P-CSB)> *h(P-SEB, *s(CEB):

26.	hungei	(Mal,Sam,Wit,Ma)	SWL 130 'river'
	sungei	(Dej;Kap,Kat)	
	sunge	(Tab,Law)	
	sungoi	(Doh,Mu2,Si)	
	sungai	(Tun)	

Note: The final diphthong in the Dej form is irregular. See the section below on the e/ei correspondence.

27.	tahu'	(Mal,Wit)	SWL 96	'dog'
	antahu'	(Ma)		
	antahu	(Pak)		
	agu	(Dej)		
	agu'	(Kap,Ba,Kat;Doh,Mu1,Mu2)		
	agut	(Si)		
28.	pahu	(Sam,Wit,Pak,Ma)	SDL 2	'cheek'
	pagu	(Dej)		
	pagu'	(Tab,Law)		

Note: See also Exs. 38 and 44.

Examples of reflexes of *t(P-CSB).

*t(CSB)/__i/ > *s(P-SEB, CEB):

29.	wigik	(Dej,Mal,Sam,Pak,Ma)	SDL 77	'ant'
	ugik	(Wit)		
	bitik	(Kap,Ba;Mu2,Si)		
	bihtik	(Doh)		
	betik	(Kat)		
30.	pungi	(Dej;Mal,Wit,Pak,Ma)	SDL 91	'banana'
	puti'	(Tab,Law;Doh)		
	punti'	(Mu2)		
	punti	(Si)		

*t(CSB)/elsewhere/ > *t(P-SEB,CEB):

See Exs. 5, 6, 11, 27, 35, 41, 46, 53, 54, 56, 60, 71 and 72.

Examples of reflexes of *l(P-CSB).

*l(P-CSB)/__i/ > *d(P-SEB), *l(CEB):

31.	tadi	(Sam,Wit,Pak,Ma)	SWL 65	'rope'
	tali	(Dej;Tab,Law;Ba,Kat;Mu1,Si)		
	tali'	(Kap;Doh,Mu2;Tun)		
32.	ngadi	(Mal,Sam,Wit,Pak,Ma)	SWL 90	'to dig'
	ngali	(Dej)		
	ngali'	(Tab,Law;Doh,Mu2,Si;Tun)		
	mangali'	(Kap,Kat)		
33.	kudit	(Sam,Ma)	SWL 16	'skin'
	kulit	(Ba;Tun)		

Note: The original conditioning environment for this correspondence was probably *l/__i/ > d(SEB), l(NEB,CEB). However, there are SEB forms that now show l in the environment /__i/, e.g., Ex. 43 below.

*l(P-CSB)/elsewhere/ > *l(P-SEB,CEB):

See Exs. 14-16.

Examples of reflexes of *j(P-CSB). *j(P-CSB) < *j(P-EB) < *h(P-B)

*j(P-CSB)/__#/ > *' (P-SEB), *j(CEB):

34.	ira'	(Sam,Wit,Pak,Ma)	SWL 26	'blood'
	raja'	(Dej)		
	daja	(Tab,Law)		
	daha'	(Kap,Ba,Kat;Doh,Mu1,Mu2,Si)		
	raha'	(Tun)		

*j(P-CSB)/__VT^{vl}#/ > *' (P-SEB), *j(CEB):

35.	we'at	(Sam,Wit,Ma)	SWL 147	'heavy'
	bojat	(Tab)		
	bahat	(Tun;Doh,Mu2,Si)		
	babehat	(Kap,Ba)		
36.	ri'et	(Sam,Pak,Ma)	SWL 181	'near'
	rijet	(Dej)		

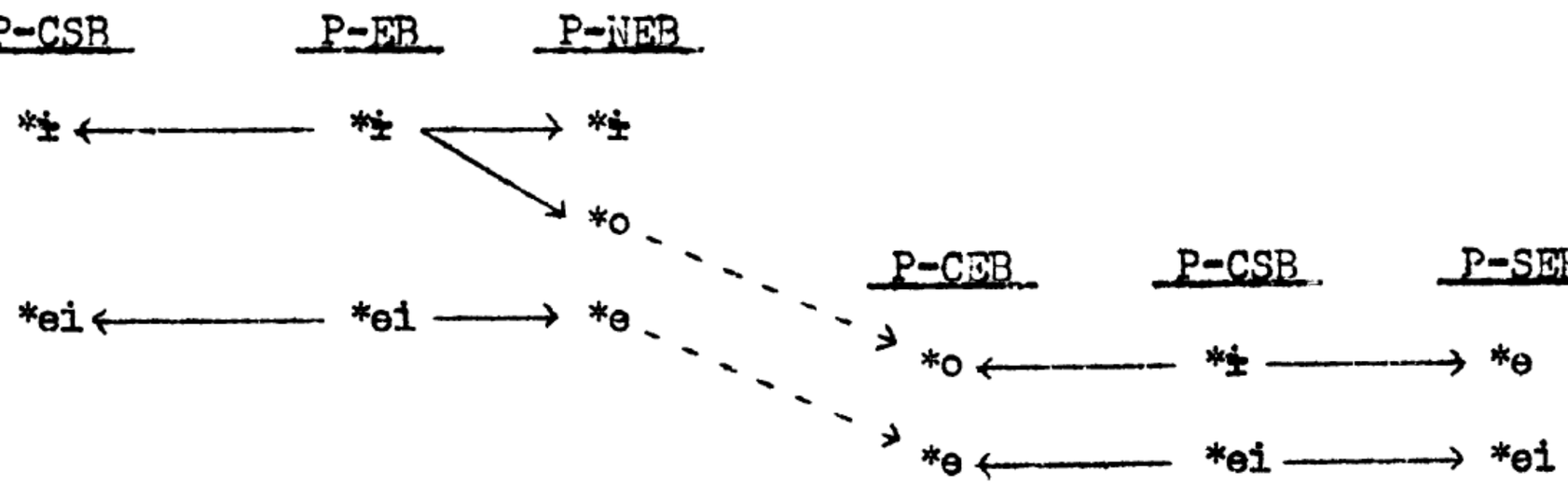
*j(P-CSB)/elsewhere/ > *j(P-SEB,CEB):

See Exs. 17 and 18.

Correspondences in which Northeast Barito : Central East Barito : Southeast Barito Contrast

NEB, CEB, and SEB isolects contrast, at least partially, in their reflexes of *ɨ and *ei. *ɨ(P-EB) continued as *ɨ in P-CSB but split in P-NEB, with one former allophone, occurring before final consonants (i.e., */__C#), continuing as *ɨ(P-NEB), and the other allophone, occurring elsewhere, being replaced by *o(P-NEB). Later, *ɨ(P-CSB) became backed in P-CEB to become established as *o(P-CEB), and became fronted in P-SEB, to become established as *e(P-SEB). The *ɨ(P-CSB) >*o(CEB) shift may have been influenced, through diffusion, by the earlier *ɨ-*o split in contiguous NEB isolects. *ɨ apparently had not split in P-CSB, since it furnished the condtioning environment for the *' (P-EB)/ɨ__#/ > ∅(P-CSB) shift

reflected in isolects of both CEB and SEB (cf. pp. 43-45 above). *ei(P-EB) seems to have followed a sort of parallel development. *ei(P-EB) shifted to *e in P-NEB but continued as *ei in P-CSB. Then, *ei(P-CSB) continued as *ei in P-SEB, but shifted to *e in CEB, this latter shift, again, perhaps being influenced by diffusion from contiguous NEB isolects.



Examples of reflexes of *ɨ(P-EB).

*ɨ(P-EB)/___C#/> *ɨ(P-NEB), *o(CEB), *e(P-SEB):

37.	utɨk	(Tab,Law)	SWL 27	'head'
	utok	(Dej)		
	utek	(Hal)		
38.	asɨk	(Tab,Law)	SDL 35	'dibble stick'
	asok	(Dej)		
	ehek	(Mal,Sam,Wit,Ma)		
39.	umɨ'	(Tab,Law)	SDL 29	'swidden field'
	umo	(Dej)		
	ume	(Mal,Sam,Ma)		

*ɨ(P-EB)/elsewhere/ >*o(P-NEB,CEB), *e(P-SEB):

40.	bolum	(Tab,Law)	SWL 76	'to live'
	wolum	(Dej;Pak)		
	welum	(Mal,Sam,Wit,Ma)		
41.	tolui	(Tab,Law;Dej)	SWL 98	'egg'
	telui	(Mal,Wit)		
	atelui	(Pak,Ma)		
	untelui	(Sam)		
42.	potan	(Tab,Law;Pak)	SDL 45	'blowgun'
	simpotan	(Dej)		
	petan	(Mal,Sam,Wit,Ma)		

Note: /ɨ/ has full phonemic status in current NEB languages, for in SWL 96 /kokɗ/ 'dog' we find /o/ in the environment /__C#/. /ɨ/ also enters into diphthongs as in SWL 17 /bangkɨi/ 'corpse' and SWL 38 /ngotɨu/ 'to cut padi.' It is possible that the NEB phoneme /ɨ/ represents the phonetic quality of PB *ɨ, becoming fronted in SEB, and backed in CEB and in some environments in NEB. NEB /ɨ/ also occurs as a reflex of PB proto-phonemes other than *ɨ, for generally in polysyllabic words, a vowel in any syllable preceding the penultimate syllable is represented by ɨ, as in the following examples:

43.	kɨlingɨ'	(Tab,Law)	SWL 45	'ear'
	telingo	(Dej)		
	kilinge	(Mal)		
44.	kɨsapang	(Tab,Law)	SDL 11	'thigh'
	kesapang	(Dej)		
	kahapang	(Mal,Pak,Ma)		
45.	tɨngkɨlaga'	(Tab)	SDL 72	'spider'
	tangkalaga'ang	(Mal)		

Examples of reflexes of *ei(P-EB).

*ei(P-EB) > *e(P-NEB,CEB), *ei(P-SEB):

46.	ate	(Tab,Law;Dej;Pak)	SWL 21	'liver'
	atei	(Sam,Wit,Ma)		
47.	bawe	(Tab,Law)	SWL 55	'woman'
	wawe	(Pak;Dej)		
	wawei	(Mal,Sam,Wit,Ma)		
48.	pare	(Tab,Law;Dej;Pak)	SDL 30	'padi'
	parei	(Mal,Sam,Wit,Ma)		

Note: In Exs. 40, 42, 46, 47, and 48, Paku (SEB) agrees with Dusun Dejah (CEB) rather than with the other SEB isolects in its reflexes of P-EB *ɨ and *ei. This is probably due to diffusion from contiguous NEB isolects or from CEB isolects into Paku after the latter had diverged from P-SEB.

Correspondences in which Northwest Barito and Southwest Barito Contrast

The evidence reflecting the divergence of P-NWB and P-SWB from P-WB is derived from the reflexes of P-WB *ɨ, *ei, *au, and *s. *ɨ(P-WB) became *o(P-NWB) and *e(P-SWB). *ei(P-WB) continued as *ei in P-SWB but

became *oi in P-NWB. *au(P-WB) continued as *au in P-SWB but became *ou in P-NWB. *s(P-WB) continued as *s in P-SWB but split in P-NWB, with one former allophone, occurring in final position (i.e., */__#/) merging with *h(P-NWB), and the other allophone, occurring elsewhere, continuing as *s (PNWB).

P-SWB	P-WB	P-NWB
*e	*ɨ	*o
*ei	*ei	*oi
*au	*au	*ou
*s	*s	*s
*h	*h	*h

Examples of reflexes of *ɨ(P-WB).

*ɨ(P-WB) > *o(P-NWB), *e(P-SWB):

49.	lowu'	(Doh,Mu2,Si)	SDL 24	'village'
	lewu'	(Kap,Kat)		

Note: These forms are obviously cognate with the CEB and SEB terms for SDL 18 'house': lowu' (Dej;Pak); lewu' (Wit, Ma).

50.	bonji'	(Doh,Mu2)	SDL 34	'padi seed'
	benji'	(Kat)		
51.	nuwo'	(Doh,Mu2)	SDL 51	'to fish-
	manuwe'	(Kap,Kat)		poison'
52.	boruk	(Doh,Mu2,Si)	SDL 60	'kind of mon-
	beruk	(Kap,Ba,Kat)		key'

Examples of reflexes of *ei(P-WB).

*ei(P-WB) > *oi(P-NWB), *ei(P-SWB):

53.	atoi	(Doh,Mu2,Si)	SWL 21	'liver'
	atei	(Kap,Ba,Kat)		
54.	matoi	(Mu1,Mu2,Si)	SWL 75	'to die'
	mahtoi	(Doh)		
	matei	(Kap,Kat)		

55.	u<u>oi</u>	(Doh,Mu2,Si)	SDL 87	'rattan'
	u<u>ei</u>	(Kap,Kat)		

Examples of reflexes of *au(P-WB).

*au(P-WB) >*ou(P-NWB), *au(P-SWB):

56.	kot<u>ou</u>'	(Doh)	SWL 3	'right'
	kat<u>ou</u>'	(Mu2)		
	kat<u>ou</u>	(Mu1)		
	kont<u>ou</u>	(Si)		
	gant<u>au</u>	(Kap,Kat)		
	t<u>au</u>'	(Tun)		
57.	bal<u>ou</u>	(Doh,Mu1,Mu2,Si)	SWL 29	'hair'
	bal<u>au</u>	(Kap,Ba,Kat)		
	al<u>au</u>	(Tun)		
58.	lingk<u>ou</u>	(Mu2,Si)	SDL 1	'forehead'
	lik<u>ou</u>	(Doh)		
	lik<u>au</u>	(Kat)		
	lingk<u>au</u>	(Kap)		

Examples of reflexes of *s(P-WB).

*s(P-WB)/__#/ >*h(P-NWB), *s(P-SWB):

59.	mipi<u>h</u>	(Mu2,Si)	SWL 161	'thin'
	mihpi<u>h</u>	(Doh)		
	banipi<u>s</u>	(Kap,Kat)		
	tipi<u>s</u>	(Ba)		
60.	-katui<u>h</u>	(Doh)	SWL 215	'hundred'
	-ratu<u>h</u>	(Mu2,Si)		
	-ratu<u>s</u>	(Kap,Ba,Kat)		
61.	bara<u>h</u>	(Mu2,Si)	SWL 121	'sand'
	bara<u>s</u>	(Kap,Kat)		

*s(P-WB)/elsewhere/ >*s(P-NWB,P-SWB):

See Ex. 26, SWL 31, SWL 145, SDL 7, SDL 49, SDL 69.

<u>Correspondences in which Katingan : Kapuas-Ba'amang Contrast, and in which Dohoi-Murung-1 : Siang-Murung-2 Contrast</u>

Further subgrouping within the SWB and NWB groups can be made on the basis of evidence derived from the contrastive sound correspondences reflecting P-WB *tj, and *NT^{vl} clusters (i.e., clusters composed of a

voiceless stop preceded by a homorganic nasal). *tj(P-WB)> *tj(P-NWB, P-SWB); *NT^{vl}(P-WB)> *NT^{vl}(P-NWB,P-SWB). In the SWB group, Kapuas and Ba'amang form a subgroup in opposition to Katingan; in the NWB group, Dohoi and Murung-1 form a subgroup in opposition to Siang and Murung-2. See p. 479 above for definitions of "env-1" and "env-2" in relation to *tj allophonic conditioning environments.

Examples of reflexes of *tj(P-SWB,P-NWB).

*tj(P-SWB)/env-1/> *dj(P-KB), tj(Kat); *tj(P-NWB)/env-1/> *tj (P-DM1,P-SM2):

62.	idje'	(Kap,Ba)	SWL 204	'one'
	itje'	(Kat)		
	ihtjo'	(Doh)		
	itjo'	(Mu2)		
	itjo	(Si)		
	tja'	(Tun)		
63.	kedjau	(Kap,Ba)	SWL 182	'far'
	ketjau	(Kat)		
	mahtju'	(Doh)		
	matjo'	(Mu2)		
	otju	(Si)		
	ntjo'	(Tun)		

Note: See also Exs. 1 and 2.

*tj(P-SWB)/env-2/ >*dj(P-KB,Kat); *tj(P-NWB)/env-2/ >*dj(P-DM1), *tj(P-SM2):

See Exs. 3 and 4.

Examples of reflexes of *NT^{vl}(P-SWB,P-NWB).

*N(P-SWB)/__T^{vl}/> ∅(Kat), *N(P-KB); *N(P-NWB)/__T^{vl}/> *∅(P-DM1), *N(P-SM2):

*m 64.	lampang	(Kap)	SWL 126	'to float'
	-lampung	(Mu2,Si)		
	lapang	(Kat;Doh)		
65.	sampit	(Ba;Tun)	SWL 163	'narrow'
	sepit	(Kat)		

*n	66.	hantu'	(Kap)	SDL 17	'corpse'
		ontu'	(Mu2)		
		hatu'	(Kat)		
		otu'	(Doh)		
	67.	buntal	(Kap,Ba)	SDL 54	'blowfish'
		butal	(Kat)		
	68.	lonting	(Mu2,Si)	SWL 87	'to swell'
		loting	(Doh)		
*ng	69.	tengkuk	(Kap,Ba)	SDL 6	'nape'
		tekuk	(Kat)		
	70.	lungkung	(Mu2,Si)	SWL 107	'worm'
		lukung	(Doh)		
		lukeng	(Kat)		

See Ex. 58 also.

*N(P-SWB,P-NWB)/elsewhere/ >*N(Kat,P-KB,P-DM1,P-SM2):

*m See Exs. 17, 54, 75, and 77.

*n See Exs. 1, 12, 14, 25, and 51.

*ng See Exs. 6, 8, 9, 10, 18, 20, 26, 32, and 73.

Correspondence in which Dohoi Contrasts with all other Barito Isolects

Dohoi is distinctive among all the Barito isolects for its medial preaspirated voiceless stops and affricate. Whether this is a Dohoi innovation or the vestige of a proto-phoneme that has been lost in that environment in all other Barito isolects is indeterminate at the present time. If it represents an innovation, it would appear that *T^{vl}(P-DM1) (i.e., voiceless stop and affricate proto-phonemes) became preaspirated in medial position (i.e., /V__V/) in Proto-Dohoi. This holds true for the vast majority of Dohoi forms that can be shown to represent P-B forms. However, Ex. 53 presents an exception to this. It is quite true that in contemporary Dohoi both preaspirated and non-preaspirated voiceless stops occur. The Dohoi forms atoi 'liver' (Ex. 53) and mahtoi 'to die' (Ex. 54)

provide sub-minimal pairs in this respect.

Examples illustrating the distinctive medial preaspirated voiceless stops of Dohoi.

*T^{vl}(P-MM1)/V__V/> *hT^{vl}(Dohoi):

71.	ohpat	(Doh)	SWL 207	'four'
	opat	(Mu2,Si;Tab,Law;Dej;Pak)		
	epat	(Kap,Ba,Kat;Mal,Sam,Wit,Ma)		
	pat	(Tun)		
72.	mahta'	(Doh)	SWL 47	'eye'
	mata'	(Kap;Mu2)		
	mate'	(Ba,Kat)		
	mata	(Si)		
	matam	(Mu1)		
	mat‡'	(Tab,Law)		
	mato	(Dej;Pak)		
	mate	(Mal,Sam,Wit,Ma)		
73.	uhtjang	(Doh)	SDL 65	'deer'
	utjang	(Mu2)		
	otjang	(Si)		
	batjang	(Kat)		
	badjang	(Kap)		
74.	ihkuh	(Doh)	SWL 105	'tail'
	ikuh	(Kap,Kat;Mu1)		
	ikui	(Tab,Law;Mal,Wit)		
	ukui	(Dej;Sam,Pak,Ma)		
	ukoi	(Mu2,Si)		

Note: See also Exs. 11, 19, 20, 29, 54, 59, 62 and 63.

Barito-Mahakam Correspondences

Barito-Mahakam is represented by only one isolect in my sample, Tundjung, and unfortunately the Tundjung list is not complete, being limited to the items of the Swadesh list only. Therefore, there is not as much BM material available for comparative purposes as we have for the other isolects of the Barito family. However, on the basis of the main diagnostic sound correspondences distinguishing EB isolects from WB isolects, it seems clear that Tundjung has closer affinities with the latter.

The Tun reflex of P-B *h is /h/ (Cf. Exs. 34 and 35). The Tun reflex of P-B *tj is reflected by /tj/ in both /env-1/ and /env-2/ (cf. Exs. 1, 2, 3, 62 and 63), a characteristic shared with the Siang and Murung-2 isolects of NWB. The Tun reflex of P-B *au is /au/, a characteristic shared with SWB isolects. Tun contrasts with both SWB and NWB, as well as the EB isolects, in the reflex of P-B *ɨ that occurs before a final consonant. This is the same environment where *ɨ(P-B) is reflected by *ɨ in P-NEB (cf. Exs. 37, 38 and 39).

Examples of reflexes of *ɨ(P-B)/__C#/.

*ɨ(P-B)/__C#/ >*a(B-M), *e(P-SEB,P-SWB), *o(P-NWB,CEB), *ɨ(P-NEB):

75.	lima'	(Tun)	SWL 208	'five'
	lime'	(Kap,Ba,Kat)		
	limo'	(Doh,Mu2,Si)		
	limɨ'	(Tab,Law)		
	limo	(Dej)		
	dime	(Mal,Sam,Wit,Ma)		
76.	nipa'	(Tun)	SWL 106	'snake'
	handipe'	(Kap,Kat)		
	njipo'	(Si)		
	nipɨ'	(Tab,Law)		
	nipo	(Dej)		
	nipe	(Mal,Wit)		

Note: Remember that *'(P-B)/ɨ__#/ > ∅(CEB,SEB).

77.	kalam	(Tun)	SWL 171	'night'
	hamalem	(Kap,Ba,Kat		
	mamalom	(Mu2,Si)		
	malɨm	(Law)		
	kamalem	(Sam,Ma)		
	nihimalem	(Wit)		

Tundjung appears to contrast with the WB isolects in other characteristics. For instance, the Tun reflex of P-B *d is /r/, a characteristic shared with the CSB isolects of the East Barito group (cf. Exs. 24, 34, and SWL 112). However, the evidence is still too sketchy to afford us a clear view of the details. More data are needed from Barito-Mahakam iso-

lects. In the meantime, since Tun shares some characteristics with NWB, some with SWB, and contrasts with WB in others, I prefer to classify Barito-Mahakam as a separate major subgroup within the Barito family, coordinate with EB and WB. The approximate distribution of the subgroups of the Barito family has been indicated above on Map 2, p. 12. See Table 3 below for a list of Proto-Barito phonemes and their reflexes in the various isolects of the Barito family.

TABLE 3 : REFLEXES OF PROTO-BARITO PHONEMES

Proto Barito	Barito Subgroups											
	P-EB	P-NEB	P-CSB	P-CEB	P-SEB	P-WB	P-SWB	Kat	P-KB	P-NWB	P-DM1	P-SM2
*b	b	b	w	w	w	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
*d	d	d	r	r	r	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
*dj	dj	dj	dj	dj	dj	dj	dj	dj	dj	dj	dj	dj
*p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
*t	t	t	t	t/s	t/s	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
*tj	r/l	r/l	r/l	r/l	r/l	tj	tj	tj/dj	dj	tj	tj/dj	tj
*k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k
*m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m/ø	m	m	m/ø	m
*n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n/ø	n	n	n/ø	n
*ng	ng	ng	ng	ng	ng	ng	ng	ng/ø	ng	ng	ng/ng	ng
*w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w
*s	s	s	s	s	h	s	s	s	s	s/h	s/h	s/h
*h	j	j	j	j	j/'	h	h	h	h	h	h	h
*l	l	l	l	l	l/d	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
*r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
*i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
*ɨ	ɨ	ɨ/o	ɨ	o	e	ɨ	e	e	e	o	o	o
*u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
*a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
*ei	ei	e	ei	e	ei	ei	ei	ei	ei	oi	oi	oi
*au	au	o	au	o	u	au	au	au	au	ou	ou	ou

PART II: LEXICOSTATISTICAL ANALYSIS

A subgrouping of the Barito isolects based on lexicostatistical analysis of cognate percentages generally corroborates the subgrouping based on the comparative method. However, in several instances, notably those involving Ba'amang in Southwest Barito and Dusun Malang in Southeast Barito, extensive lexical borrowing from languages of non-immediate relationship has tended to obscure the classification based on phonological comparison. Where the lexicostatistical and comparative methods yield conflicting results, my own classification gives stronger weight to the comparative method.[1]

I will omit Ba'amang and Dusun Malang from consideration in the following discussion because the former shows evidences of heavy borrowing from Bandjar Malay,[2] the latter from the contiguous Northeast Barito isolects.[3] In a strict lexicostatistical classification

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[1] My classification, thus, emphasizes older, "genetic", rather than more recent "diffusional" historical relationships. However, this is not to deny the important cultural implications to be drawn from cases where an isolect has borrowed heavily, even in its "basic" vocabulary, from another isolect not in immediate genetic relationship. For a critical discussion of the relative value of the lexicostatistical and comparative methods where the two give conflicting results, see Gudschinsky 1955 and 1958.

[2] Ba'amang shows 58 per cent homosemantic cognation with Kapuas and 54 per cent with Katingan, its coordinate Southwest Barito isolects, on the basis of sound correspondences. It shows 60 per cent with Bandjar and 57 per cent with Tamuan, two coastal Malay isolects spoken in the Ba'amang region.

[3] Dusun Malang's highest cognate percentage within the Southeast Barito group is 61 with Samihim, significantly, the Southeast Barito isolect farthest removed geographically from the Dusun Malang area. Dusun

disregarding considerations of comparative phonology, Ba'amang would have been grouped with Bandjar and the coastal Malay languages, and Dusun Malang would have been grouped with the Northeast Barito isolects. However, it must be borne in mind that lexicostatistical subgrouping techniques have been developed for use in situations where, for one reason or another, the operations required by the classical comparative method are deemed impracticable. Pure lexicostatistical classifications are not meant to be inflexible and should always be considered open to amendment when reliable, non-statistical evidence indicates the need for revision. In the present cases, the phonological data strongly suggest the inclusion of Ba'amang in the Southwest Barito group and Dusun Malang in the Northeast Barito group.

Keeping these two exceptions in mind, I will start from the smaller units of the classification and review the lexicostatistical relationships exhibited within each of the minor Barito subgroups. The cognate percentages linking members of the Southeast Barito group range from 83 (Ma-Pak) to 61 (Sam-Pak).[4] The highest percentage that a Southeast Barito member shares with a non-Southeast Barito isolect is 53 per cent. This gives a "critical difference"[5] of 8, so that the

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Malang shows 63 per cent cognation with Tabojan, the contiguous Northeast Barito isolect.

[4] Dusun Malang-Paku show only 54 per cent cognation.

[5] The "critical difference" of a language group is the amount of difference between the lowest cognate percentage within the group and the highest percentage of any member of the group with a non-member.

Southeast Barito forms a "genus"[6] whose statistically determined discreteness is significant at the 10 per cent level.[7] Cognate percentages within the Southeast Barito group are shown in Figure 3.

In Northeast Barito, Lawangan and Tabojan exhibit 70 per cent cognation, while the highest percentage with an outside isolect is 62 (Tab-Pak). This yields a critical difference of 8, and "genus" status for the Northeast Barito group.

On the basis of their reflexes of Proto-Barito *b, *d, and *t, Central East Barito and Southeast Barito form a subgroup in opposition to Northeast Barito. This subgrouping receives some support from the lexicostatistical data, but not at a significant level. The highest cognate percentage within the CSB group is 53 (Dej-Sam); the lowest is 45 (Dej-Pak). The highest percentages with outside isolects are 47 (Wit-Law) and 45 (Dej-Law), giving a critical difference equal to less than 0 and no statistical significance.

The cognate percentages linking pairs of Northwest Barito isolects range from 64 (Si-Mu1) to 81 (Si-Mu2). The highest cognate percentage with a non-Northwest Barito isolect is 58. Northwest Barito thus forms a "cluster". The lexicostatistical evidence pre-

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[6] See Dyen 1965, 6-7 for a discussion of the principles and terminology used by one school for lexicostatistical subgrouping. In Dyen's terminology, a critical difference of more than 9.5 is diagnostic of a "subfamily," between 8 and 9.5 of a "genus," between 5 and 7.9 of a "cluster," between 2.5 and 4.9 of a "hesion," and below 2.5 a "linkage." A group is called a "subgroup" if the size of critical difference is unknown or uncertain.

[7] Dyen uses the appellations "subfamily" (5%), "genus" (10%), "cluster" (10-30%), "hesion" (30-60%) to indicate the confidence levels at which the discreteness of the denoted language groups are statistically significant.

FIGURE 3: INTRAGROUP COGNATE PERCENTAGES AND CRITICAL DIFFERENCES OF BARITO FAMILY SUBGROUPS

Intragroup Cognate Percentages	Highest Outside Percentage	Critical Difference	Subgroup Appellation
Southeast Barito:			
Pak 83% / Wit 73% / Sam 70% / Mal 57% Pak 68% / Wit 61% / Sam 54% Wit 66% / Sam 59% Sam 61%	53%	8	genus
Central East Barito: Dusun Dejah	53%	--	subgroup
Northeast Barito: Tabojan-Lawangan 70%	62%	8	genus
Northwest Barito: Si: Mu2 81% / Doh 66% / Mu1 64% Mu2: Doh 68% / Mu1 66% Doh: Mu1 75%	58%	6	cluster
Southwest Barito: Kap: Kat 74% / Ba (59%) Kat: Ba (54%)	58%	16	subfamily
East Barito: Lowest cognate percentage 43%	43%	0	linkage
West Barito: Lowest cognate percentage 47%	43%	4	hesion
Barito-Mahakam: Tundjung	41%	--	subgroup

sented in Figure 3 also corroborates the Dohoi-Murung-1 and Siang-Murung-2 opposition within the Northwest Barito group. Siang-Murung-2 is rated as a "subfamily," and Dohoi-Murung-1 as a "cluster."

Cognate percentages within the Southwest Barito group are shown in Figure 3. Excluding Ba'amang from consideration (see above), the highest cognate percentage with an outside isolect is 58 (Kat-Doh), giving Southwest Barito the status of a "subfamily."

Having established the lexicostatistical status of the minor subgroups of the Barito family, I will now move on to a consideration of the major subgroups: West Barito, East Barito, and Barito-Mahakam. The lowest cognate percentage among pairs of West Barito isolects is 47 (Kap-Si), and the highest percentage with a non-West Barito isolect 43 (Kap-Dej). Thus, West Barito is rated as a "hesion." Among the East Barito isolects, the lowest cognate percentage is 43 (Ma-Law), while the highest with an outside isolect[8] is also 43 (Dej-Kap). East Barito, thus, forms a "linkage" with no statistical validity. The coordinate position, vis-a-vis East and West Barito, assigned to Barito-Mahakam on the basis of comparative phonology seems to be supported by the lexicostatistical evidence. The highest percentage shared by Barito-Mahakam with East Barito is 41 (Tun-Tab), with West Barito 40 (Tun-Mu2). Figure 4 gives the highest cognate percentages among coordinate major subgroups of the Barito family.

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8 Excluding Dusun Malang, which shows cognate percentages with West Barito isolects ranging from 45 (Kap, Kat) to 48 (Mu2).

FIGURE 4: HIGHEST COGNATE PERCENTAGES LINKING MAJOR BARITO SUBGROUPS

	WB	BM
EB	43%(48%)	41%
WB		40%

It is difficult to evaluate the statistical discreteness of the Barito family in relation to non-Barito isolects. I do not have enough comparative material at hand to carry this classification further at this time,[9] and such an extension would be beyond the scope of the present study. It might be pointed out, in passing, that the highest cognate percentage shared by Dyen's "Dayak Subfamily" with an outside group is 33.4 with the "Malayan Subfamily" of the "Javo-Sumatran Hesion."[10] Since the lowest cognate percentage obtaining within East-West Barito is 34.5 (Ma-Kat),[11] the critical difference between the "Malayan Subfamily"[12] should be reduced to 1.1. This, in effect, demotes the "Dayak Subfamily" to the status of a linkage.

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[9] Professor Dyen has not yet published the raw data on which his lexicostatistical classification of Austronesian languages is based.

[10] Dyen 1965, 17.

[11] If Barito-Mahakam is included, the lowest percentage is 28.7 (Ma-Tun).

[12] Katingan and "Ngadju" (the latter probably equal to Kapuas taken from Hardeland's Ngadju Dictionary) are members of Dyen's "Dayak Subfamily."

In considering the analysis just presented, I get a lexico-statistical subgrouping of the Barito group which, when translated into Dyen's terms, appears as:

I. Barito Linkage: 33% (Malayan Subfamily).

A. Barito-Mahakam Subgroup: Tundjung 41% (Northeast Barito Genus, Tabojan).

1. Tundjung 41% (Tabojan).

B. West Barito Hesion: Kapuas 43% (Central East Barito Subgroup, Dusun Dejah).

1. Northwest Barito Cluster: Dohoi 58% (Southwest Barito Subfamily, Katingan).

1. Dohoi-Murung Cluster: Dohoi 68% (Siang).

1. Dohoi 75% (Murung-1).

2. Murung-1 75% (Dohoi).

2. Siang-Murung-2 Subfamily: Murung-2 68% (Dohoi).

1. Siang 81% (Murung-2).

2. Murung-2 81% (Siang).

2. Southwest Barito Subfamily: Katingan 58% (Northwest Barito Cluster, Dohoi).

1. Katingan 74% (Kapuas).

2. Kapuas 74% (Katingan).

3. (Ba'amang 60% (Bandjar Malay), 59% (Kapuas).)

C. East Barito Linkage: Dusun Dejah 43% (Southwest Barito Subfamily, Kapuas).

1. Northeast Barito Genus: Tabojan 62% (Southeast Barito Genus, Paku).

1. Lawangan 70% (Tabojan).

2. Tabojan 70% (Lawangan).

2. Central East Barito Subgroup: Dusun Dejah 53% (Southeast Barito Genus, Samihim).

1. Dusun Dejah 53% (Samihim).

3. Southeast Barito Genus: Samihim 53% (Central East Barito Subgroup, Dusun Dejah).

1. (Dusun Malang 63% (Northeast Barito Group, Tabojan), 61% (Samihim).)

2. Samihim 70% (Ma'anjan).

3. Ma'anjan 82% (Paku).

4. Paku 82% (Ma'anjan).

5. Dusun Witu 73% (Ma'anjan).

Thus, this lexicostatistical classification agrees on every major point with the classification based on the analysis of sound correspondences.

APPENDIX II

COMPARATIVE WORD LISTS

Introduction

This appendix contains the comparative word lists upon which the analyses offered in Appendix I are based. The word lists are divided into three subsections: the first subsection (SWL) contains the 215 items of the earliest Lees-Swadesh list, among which are the 196 items used by Dyen. The second subsection (SDL) contains 104 items of Dajak terms not found in the SWL list. This is by no means a "basic" Dajak word list, although some of the individual forms on it may be considered basic. The third subsection (KTL) contains 52 kin term glosses. On this list, the entry "nst" indicates that there is no special term for the gloss in question.

Lists representing 16 Barito and 5 non-Barito isolects are presented in this appendix (see Map 2 for the locations of the respective isolects). Because of the large number of languages involved, they have been broken up for presentation into three parts. The East Barito isolects are given in Part I; Tundjung and the West Barito isolects in Part II. Of the non-Barito isolects presented in Part III, four (Indonesian, Bandjar, Delang and Tamuan) are Malay languages.

Since the Malagasy language of Madagascar has been hypothesized to have an extremely close connection with Ma'anjan (cf. Dahl 1951, Dyen 1953, Dyen 1965), I include a Swadesh list representing the Merina isolect of Malagasy for comparative purposes. My informant, a Princeton undergraduate named Rajaona Andriamanjara, was 21 years old and was born in Ambotomena, Madagascar. He and both his parents were native speakers of Merina. Using an incomplete Ma'anjan list, Dyen obtained a Ma'anjan-Malagasy cognate percentage of 43.5. However, Dyen indicated

that this percentage was probably inflated and anticipated that the true cognate percentage for these two isolects might turn out to be five to ten percentage points lower (cf. Dyen 1965, 43). This latter supposition seems to be borne out by my analysis using a complete Ma'anjan list. In a preliminary lexicostatistical comparison of Ma'anjan and Malagasy, I have obtained a minimum cognate percentage of 33 per cent with an outside maximum of 40 per cent, with even the latter figure lying somewhat below Dyen's score.

The approximate articulatory values of phonetic symbols used in the lists are given on the following page.

ARTICULATORY DEFINITIONS OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS USED IN WORD LISTS

Vowels:

	Front Unrounded	Central Unrounded	Back Rounded
High	i		u
		ɨ	
	ɪ		ʊ
Mid	e		o
	ɛ	ʌ	ɔ
Low	æ	a	

Consonants:

p	voiceless bilabial stop	z	voiced alveolar spirant
b	voiced bilabial stop	š	voiceless palatal spirant
t̪	voiceless interdental stop	ž	voiced palatal spirant
t	voiceless alveolar stop	h	voiceless glottal spirant
d	voiced alvelolar stop	m	voiced bilabial nasal
k	voiceless velar stop	n	voiced alveolar nasal
g	voiced velar stop	ñ	voiced palatal nasal
'	glottal stop	ŋ	voiced velar nasal
č	voiceless palatal affricate	l	voiced alveolar lateral
ǰ	voiced palatal affricate	ʎ	voiced palatal lateral flap
ß	voiced bilabial spirant	r	voiced alveolar flap
f	voiceless labiodental spirant	w	bilabial semivowel
s	voiceless alveolar spirant	y	palatal semivowel

Special Symbols:

C^y	palatalized consonant (e.g., k^y)
$\dot{C}$	vocalic consonant (i.e., $\dot{m}$, $\dot{n}$, $\dot{ŋ}$, $\dot{r}$)
$\dot{V}$	voiceless vowel (e.g., $\dot{i}$)
$\dot{\tilde{V}}$	nasalized vowel (e.g., $\dot{ɨ}$)

PART I: EAST BARITO ISOLECTS

Tabojan
Lawangan
Dusun Dejah
Dusun Malang
Samihim
Dusun Witu
Paku
Ma'anjan

S/L	Gloss	Tabojan	Lawangan	Dusun Dejah	Dusun Malang	Samihim	Dusun Witu	Paku	Ma'anjan
1.	hand	kamɨi	kami	kayaŋ	taŋan	taŋan	taŋan	lɔŋun	taŋan
2.	left	sɛi'	sɛi'	kɛi	sei'	kaßi'	kaßi'	kɛßi	kaßi'
3.	right	sanan	sanan	kanan	sanan	kaßan	kaßan	pakaßana	kaßan
4.	leg	pɔɔ'	pɔɔ'	pɔɔ	pɛɛ	pɛ'ɛ	pɛ'ɛ	pɔ'ɔ	pɛ'ɛ
5.	foot	pɔɔ'	pɔɔ'	pɔɔ	pɛɛ	pɛ'ɛ	pɛ'ɛ	pɔ'ɔ	pɛ'ɛ
6.	to walk	alantana	malan	malan	malan	nomalan	takia	baǰalan	takia
7.	road	alan	alan	lalan	alan	lalan	lalan	pasiar	lalan
8.	to come	sawi	sulɛt	aßi'	haßi'	haßi'	haßi'	haßi'	haßi'
9.	to turn	mɨñɪmpaŋ	kitar	lɪnsiaŋ	belɔk	suliah	kulɛ'	ikɔlɛ'	mɛlɔk
10.	to swim	sɨlaŋɨi	sɨlaŋui	sanraŋui	salaŋui	baranaŋ	katamah	katambah	katamah
11.	to wash	bɨpahuk	pahuk	sɨmpupuk	baǰɔǰɔh	itapas	sampupuk	ituhun	ituhun
12.	to wipe	- -	pɨǰawuh	ŋisu'	- -	ŋdusut	ñanawuh	muhut	muhut
13.	to rub	ŋɨrɨgɔsu	ŋusuk	gɔsɔk	maŋgɔsɔk	ŋgɔsɔk	ŋusuk	muhụt	isuhu
14.	dirty	awɛ' buɨn	daai	daat	daat	bɛrɛ'	ra'at	mɔrun	mɨrun
15.	dust	abu'	bɨlɔnur	habu'	abu'	ɛtɛ' tanɛ	habu'	dabu	ɛßuŋ
16.	skin	upak	upak	upak	upak	kudit	upak	upak	kudit
17.	back	rutuk	lutuk	lɔtɔk	likut	ßuku	lutuk	puŋuŋ	puŋuŋ
18.	belly	butuŋ	butuŋ	ßuntuŋ	sanai	ßuntuŋ	ßuntuŋ	ßuntuŋ	ßuntuŋ
19.	bone	tulaŋ	tulaŋ	tulaŋ	tulaŋ	tu'ulaŋ	tulaŋ	ta'ulaŋ	ta'ulaŋ
20.	guts	suaŋ butuŋ	atɨk butuŋ	sana'ɨ	ihi' sanai	isi ßuntuŋ	sana'ɨ	sana'ɨ	sana'ɨ
21.	liver	atɛ	atɛ	atɛ	hati'	atɛi	atɛi	atɛ	atɛi
22.	heart	lɨpusu	kɛsɔŋ	lumpusu'	ǰantuŋ	ǰantuŋ	dampuhu'	ǰantuŋ	ǰantuŋ
23.	to know	kɨtɔan	tɔɔan	tau	tanau	pandai	karasa	karasa'	karasa
24.	to think	mɨmikɪr	pikɪr	pikɪr	sɛhu	pikɪr	kɔnɔ'	pikɪr	bafikɪr
25.	to fear	awɛ' rɔnɔ'	takut	takut	takut	takut	takut	takut	aŋhɛ'ɛi
26.	blood	daya	daya	raya'	raha'	ira'	ira'	ira'	ira'
27.	head	utɨk	utɨk	utɔk	utɛk	ulu'	ulu'	ɔlu'	ulu'
28.	neck	diuŋ	biuŋ	diuŋ	diuŋ	diuŋ	tɛnru	papalɛ	diuŋ
29.	hair	balɔ	balo	ßalɔ	balo	ßulu	ßulu	ßulu	ßulu
30.	nose	uruŋ	uruŋ	uruŋ	uruŋ	uruŋ	uruŋ	uruŋ	uruŋ
31.	breathe	mɨsɨɛŋat	bɨsɛŋat	masɛŋɔ	basɛŋat	mihɛßuk	hahɛßuk	mahɛßuk	mihɛßuk

SWL	Gloss	Tabojan	Lawangan	Dusun Dejah	Dusun Malang	Samihim	Dusun Witu	Paku	Ma'anjan
32.	smell	ŋɛwɔ	ŋɛwɔ	ŋɛßɔ	tunuh	ka'ɛßau	ñiuk	ŋɛŋuh	ñiuk
33.	mouth	bɔwa	bɔɔwa	ßaßa'	ßaßa'	ßaßa'	mulut	mulut	arußaßa'
34.	tooth	kukut	kukut	kukut	dipɛn	dipɛn	dipɛn	dipɛn	dipɛn
35.	tongue	lɔla	lola	lɛla'	lɛla'	lɛla'	lɛla'	lɛla'	lɛla'
36.	laugh	kɔka	koka	kisi'	kimihi'	kakihi'	kamihi'	kakɪhɪ'	kakihi'
37.	cry	naŋɪs	ŋɨrɔdɔi	ñɔñar	naŋis	naŋis	naŋis	nuŋau	nuŋkau
38.	vomit	ŋuta	ŋuta	ndua'	nua'	ndoa'	nua'	nua'	nua'
39.	spit	ñura	muɒus	ndura'	ñura'	ndora'	nurak	irura'	irura
40.	eat	kuman	man	kuman	kuman	kuman	kuman	kuman	kuman
41.	cook	ŋɨsak	nsak	muluh	nihak	ŋanrɔ'	mihak	ŋanrɔ'	nandruk
42.	drink	isɨp	isɨp	minum	kinum	minum	ŋɔ'ɳt	ŋɔ'ɳt	ŋɔ'ɳt
43.	bite	ŋɨkɨt	kɨkɨt	ŋikɪt	maŋkɪt	ŋikɪt	ŋikɪt	ikikɪt	ŋikɪt
44.	suck	tɛtɛ'	tɛtɛ'	nɛtɛ'	pɔtɔmɔ'	ŋɔmɔ'	ɔmɔ'	umu'	umu'
45.	ear	kɨlɪŋɨ'	kɨlɪŋɨ'	tɛlɪŋɔ	kɪlɪŋɛ	silu'	silo'	silu'	silu'
46.	hear	ŋɨdɪŋɨ'	diŋa'	kɔrɔŋɔi	ŋirɪŋɔ'	karɛŋɛi	rɛŋɛi	karɛŋɛi	ñandrɛŋɛi
47.	eye	matɨ'	matɨ'	matɔ	matɛ	matɛ	matɛ	mato	matɛ
48.	see	nɛau	tɛau	kɔtau	nɛau	nantau	ini'	kitɛ'	ŋini'
49.	sleep	turui	turui	turui	manrɛ'	manrɛ'	manrɛ'	surui	manrɛ'
50.	lie	mɨi	lɔku'	umbis	kadɪŋ	uŋkadɪŋ	maŋkadɪŋ	tumbaŋ	mankadɪŋ
51.	sit	tuwɨt	tuwut	tuŋɔ'	maharuŋ	humaruŋ	maharuŋ	maharuŋ	maharuŋ
52.	stand	ǰakat	ǰakat	skɔnrɔŋ	mɪnri	huminri	mɪnri	minri	minri
53.	person	ulun	ulun	ulun	lun	ulun	ulun	ulun	ulun
54.	man	sɔŋ	upɔ	upɔ	laki	laki	laki	ɔpɔ	upu
55.	woman	baßɛ	bawɛ	ßaßɛ	ßaßɛi	ßaßɛi	ßaßɛi	ßaße	ßaßɛi
56.	child	ŋɨkiɨk	tia'	anak	anak	ia'	anakia	pɛa'	ia'
57.	husband	banɨ'	banɨ'	harau upɔ	ohɛ	daraŋan laki	ßanɛ	ßaßɛn	matucɨ upu
58.	wife	sau'	saau'	harau ßaße	ßanɛ	daraŋan ßaßɛi	harau	hoŋ	matucɨ ßaßɛi
59.	mother	inɛ'	nɛ'	inɛ'	inai	inɛ'	inɛ'	inɛ'	inɛh
60.	father	uma'	ma'	uma'	amai	ambah	amah	umba'	amah
61.	sibling+	tukɨn	tukɨn	tata	kaka'	tata'	tata'	tata	tata'

SWL	Gloss	Tabojan	Lawangan	Dusun Dejah	Dusun Malang	Samihim	Dusun Witu	Paku	Ma'anjan
62.	sibling-	ani'	ani'	andi'	ani'	andi'	ani'	adi'	ani'
63.	name	aran	aran	ŋaran	aran	aran	aran	ŋaran	ŋaran
64.	say	ŋulɛk	ulɛk	ɔntuh	uhui	ßara'	ŋiạu̯	ka'ɛau	ŋɛạu̯
65.	rope	tali	tali	tali	huŋɛi	tadi	tadi	tadi	tadi
66.	tie	ñuruk	ñuruk	ñirɛt	ñuru'	mɛtɛh	nuruk	ñuruk	nuruk
67.	sew	ŋɔsɔt	ŋɔsɔt	mɔlit	ŋɔsɔt	numpaŋ	ŋamit	ikamɪt	ikamɪt
68.	clothing	pakayan	karut ulap	pakayan	pakayan	pakayan	pakaian	pama'	pama'
69.	hunt	kasu'	mɨrɛsi	mamburu	kanup	mburu	muru'	ŋanup	muka'
70.	shoot	nɛmbak	nɛmbak	manɛmbak	nɛmak	nɛmbak	nemak	nɛmbak	nimak
71.	stab	nɔßut	tɔßuk	mañɔdɔk	nɛßɛk	nɛßɪk	ñuduk	ñuduk	ñuduk
72.	hit	matampar	sɔdɔr	babur	batampar	ŋɔntau	batampar	panampar	nampar
73.	fight	bulɔ	bulo	babur	bulo	bakalahi'	palakat	babur	babur
74.	kill	munu	munu	ŋampatɛ	munu'	munu'	munu'	munu'	munu'
75.	die	matɛ	matɛ	matɛ	matɛi	matɛi	matɛi	matɛ	matɛi
76.	live	bɔlum	bɔlum	ßolum	ßɛlum	ßɛlum	ßɛlum	ßɔlum	ßɛlum
77.	scratch	ŋakap	ŋakap	ŋakap	ŋukut	ŋakap	ŋɛɋk	ikukut	ikukut
78.	cut	mɔtɨk	mɔtɨk	nɔtɔk	nɛtɛk	mɔç'	ŋɛtɛk	itatas	nɛtɪk
79.	stick	bataŋ	bataŋ	ßataŋ	ßataŋ	ßataŋ	ßataŋ	ßataŋ	ßataŋ
80.	split	mɔka'	mɔka'	ŋika'	nuhị'	nuhị'	nuhị'	ŋußu'	nuhị'
81.	sharp	tarɨm	tarɨm	tarɔm	mɛɛt	kumat	makumat	makumat	kumat
82.	dull	kalɨr	kalɨr	bɔtul	kalɛt	butul	tumpul	lɛlau	palɛlɛp
83.	work	bɨgaßi'	mɨŋkɔɛ'	bagaßi	bagaßi'	bagaßi'	bagaßi	bagaßi	bagaßi
84.	play	bɨrick	gɨkɨh	pamusik	gaßi' ayam	imain	ma'usik	tɔli	tuli
85.	sing	mɨñañi	bɨtɪŋa	mañañi	mañañi'	ñañi'	batiŋa	nɔmɛt	numɛt
86.	dançe	nuyɨ'	nuyɨ'	nanrik	nanrik	nanrɪk	matanrɪk	nanrik	nanrɪk
87.	swell	buŋkak	buŋkak	bɔnsulɔt	buŋkak	baŋkak	buŋkak	baŋkak	bakah
88.	squeeze	miçk	miçk	marah	ŋahamɪs	mi'ạn	miçk	mick	- -
89.	hold	nɨkɨn	mɛgɛ'	nɛgɛr	ñaput	mɛgut	nɛgɛi	itɛgɛ	nɛgɛi
90.	dig	ŋali'	ŋali'	ŋali	ŋadi	ŋadi	ŋadi	ŋadi	ŋadi
91.	give	ŋɔkɔi	ŋɔkɔi	ŋumi	ŋɔkɔi	ŋami'	ŋami'	ŋañu'	ŋami'
92.	pull	ñuǰut	ñuǰut	ŋɔrɛt	narik	mbatak	ñuǰut	ñuǰut	ǰuǰut

SWL	Gloss	Tabojan	Lawangan	Dusun Dejah	Dusun Malang	Samihim	Dusun Witu	Paku	Ma'anjan
93.	push	nulak	ñɔlɔr	nurun	ŋuǰuǰu'	nɔnǰul	ñu'un	ñu'un	ñu'un
94.	throw	mantɪŋ	ŋɔbɨt	ŋumpɛ'	mantɪŋ	naßut	mantɪŋ	naßut	naßut
95.	fall	lɔtu	lɔtu	latu'	ratu'	latu'	laßu'	lotu	laßu'
96.	dog	kɔkɔ'	kɔkɔ'	asu	tahu'	duyu'	tahu'	antahu	antahu'
97.	bird	pɨpulu'	tɨmpulu'	pompulu	pupulu'	ßuruŋ	ßuruŋ	ßuruŋ	ßuruŋ
98.	egg	tɔlui	tɔlui	tɔlui	tɛlui	untɛlui	tɛlui	atɛlui	atelui
99.	feather	bulu'	bulu	ßulu	ulu	ßulu	ßulu	ßulu	ßulu
100.	wing	ɛkap	ilar	kalɛkɛp	ɛkap	kalɛkɛp	kalɛkɛp	ɛlat	ɛlat
101.	fly	mɨsilɪŋ	silɪŋ	sambiliŋ	mɪnsidɪŋ	sumidɪŋ	samidɪŋ	samilɪŋ	sumidɪŋ
102.	animal	sɨtua'	sɨtua'	kɔrik	ɛha'	ɛha'	satua'	satua'	satua
103.	meat	dagɪŋ	lunɨk	isi	ihi'	lunɛh	lunɛk	lunɛk	lunɛk
104.	fat	- -	dawun	lɔmpu	ßɔnɔk	taßɛ'	taßɛ'	mɔnuk	taßɛ'
105.	tail	ikui	ikui	ukui	ikui	ukui	ikui	ukui	ukui
106.	snake	nipɨ'	nipɨ'	nipɔ	nipɛ	undipɛ	nipɛ	adipɛ	anipɛ
107.	worm	čačɪŋ	lɔkuŋ	lɔkuŋ	luŋkuŋ	sasɪŋ	kaŋkaŋ	sasɪŋ	sa'asɪŋ
108.	louse	kutu'	kutu'	kutu	kutu	kutu	kutu	kutu	kutu
109.	fish	ɛsa'	ɛsa'	ɛsa	kɛnah	kɛnah	kɛnah	kɛnah	kɛnah
110.	tree	pɔɔn	tɔnar	kakau	ßataŋ	kakau	pa'uŋ	kakau	kakau
111.	rotten	mɛßɔ	daai	bɔntut	bɔtɔk	buruk	buruk	buruk	buruk
112.	leaf	daun	daaun	raßɛn	daun	daun	raßɛn	raun	raßɛn
113.	bark	upakayu	upa'kayu	upakayu	upakkayu	kudit kayu	upakayu	upa'	kudɪt kayu
114.	root	ßakat	wakai	ßakai	ßakat	purukat	ßakat	ßakat	ßakat
115.	seed	nčɔi	ɨnsɔi	bigi	ɪnsɔi	diki	ɪnsɔi	liki/diki	diki
116.	flower	buŋɨ'	buŋɨ'	ɔŋyɛ	uŋɛ	ßuŋɛ	uŋɛ	ßuŋɛ	ßuŋɛ
117.	fruit	bua	bua	ua'	bua'	ßua'	ua'	ua'	ßua'
118.	grass	rikut	ikut	rikut	rikut	rikut	rikut	rikut	rikut
119.	earth	tana	taana	tana'	tanɛ'	tanɛ'	tanɛ'	tanɛ'	tanɛ'
120.	stone	batu'	batu'	ßatu	ßatu	ßatu	ßatu	ßatu	ßatu
121.	sand	ǰɔnɛ	ǰɔnɛ	krɔsik	ǰɔnɛ	karasik	tarasɪk	karasɪk	karasɪk
122.	water	danum	danum	ranu'	ranu'	ranu'	ranu'	ranu'	ranu'
123.	freeze	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -

SWL	Gloss	Tabojan	Lawangan	Dusun Dejah	Dusun Malang	Samihim	Dusun Witu	Paku	Ma'anjan
124.	ice	ɛs	ɛs	ɛs	ɛs	ɛs	ɛs	ɛs	ɛs
125.	flow	mɛpɛs	mɛpɛs	mandɔr	tapɪŋ	marɛh	ma'arɛh	marɛh	marɛh
126.	float	gɨlampuŋ	gampɔŋ	kampuŋ	galampuŋ	ŋampuŋ	timul	kamampuŋ	gumapuŋ
127.	ocean	laut	laut	tasik	tahik	laut	tahɪk	tahik	tahɪk
128.	salt	sɨrau	sɨrau	sira'	hau'	daŋi	sira'	sira'	raŋi
129.	lake	dano	danɔ	baruh	danau	danau	danau	guntuŋ	danau
130.	river	suŋɛ	suŋɛ	suŋɛi	huŋɛi	huŋɛi	huŋɛi	kambataŋ	huŋɛi
131.	mountain	saiŋ	gunuŋ	gunuŋ	gunuŋ	gunuŋ	gunuŋ	gunuŋ	gunuŋ
132.	woods	pulau ǰɨwɨt	alas	ǰubut	alah	taun alah	hakɛt	ǰumpun	ǰumpun
133.	sky	laŋɪt	laŋɪt	laŋit	laŋit	laŋɪt	laŋit	laŋɪt	laŋɪt
134.	sun	matɛnɔlɔ	matɛ'ɔlɔ	matɔ'ɔnrɔ	matɛanrau	matɛanrau	matɛanrau	matɛanrau	matɛ'anrau
135.	star	bɪntaŋ	sɨntɔmɔi	bintaŋ	bintaŋ	bintaŋ	bintaŋ	ßißihiaŋ	ßaßahiaŋ
136.	cloud	m̥bun	ǰaaun	ǰaßun	aßan	aßan	rakun	rakun	rakun
137.	fog	m̥bun	ǰaaun	ambun	ǰaun	ambun	amun	ßɛßɛanrau	amun
138.	rain	uran	uran	uran	uran	uran	uran	uran	uran
139.	snow	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
140.	wind	rißut	ɛnus	rißut	rißut	rißut	rißut	barat	rißut
141.	blow	sɨniup	siuk	rißut	aŋin rißut	- -	malɛßus	isißui	ñißui
142.	warm	mɨlaiɨn	layɨŋ	layɔŋ	malayɔŋ	malaiŋ	malaiŋ	malayuŋ	malaiŋ
143.	cold	rɨŋɪn	riŋɪn	rɔŋɪn	mɪrɪŋɪn	mariŋɪn	marisak	marisak	marisak
144.	dry	mɛyaŋ	mɛyaŋ	mɛyaŋ	mɛyaŋ	ma'ɛaŋ	miaŋ	karɪŋ	karɪŋ
145.	wet	biso'	bɔsa'	bɔsa'	biso'	ßɛhu'	ßɛhu'	ßɛhu'	ßɛhu'
146.	smooth	rata'	rata'	rata	rata'	datar	rata'	rata	rata'
147.	heavy	bɔyat	dɔyat	bɔyat	ßɛyat	maße'at	ße'at	maßɛat	maße'at
148.	fire	apui	apui	apui	apui	ạpui	apui	apui	apui
149.	burn	ñuru	nuna'	nutuŋ	ñuru	n̥ǰuǰu	nutuŋ	nutuŋ	nutuŋ
150.	smoke	utut	ɔtut	atuk	atuk	atuk	atuk	atuk	atuk
151.	ashes	abu'	bɨlɔnur	lɔßɔnun	abu'	ßulɛnun	habu'	ɛßuŋ	ɛßuŋ
152.	black	mɛtɨm	mɛtɨm	ßuyuŋ	mɪntɛm	ma'intɛm	ma'intɛm	maintɛm	ma'ɪntɛm
153.	white	bura	bura	ßura'	bura	mahilak	mahilak	mahilak	mahilak
154.	red	mɛya'	mɛga'	mɛyạ'	mɛya'	mɛa'	mariaŋ	mariaŋ	mariaŋ

SWL	Gloss	Tabojan	Lawangan	Dusun Dejah	Dusun Malang	Samihim	Dusun Witu	Paku	Ma'anjan
155.	yellow	ǰɨrɨu	lɛmɪt	kunɪŋ	mɪlɪntaŋ	madɪntaŋ	madintaŋ	madɪntaŋ	madintaŋ
156.	green	- -	ǰɨrɨu	hiǰau	brɪnilu	hiǰau	karado	kakurɪŋ	kakurɪŋ
157.	small	kɨdit	idɪs	idɪk	kadɪk	ampi'	ɔdik	halus	halus
158.	big	gaya	sɔlai	ɔlai	gaya	hantɛ'	hantɛ'	hantɛ'	hantɛ'
159.	short	udɔk	udɔk	idɔk	udɔk	imbɛ'	imɛ'	imɛ'	imɛ'
160.	long	pañaŋ	panǰaŋ	atah	amau	ambau	amau	ambau	amau
161.	thin	lipɪs	lipɪs	lipis	lipis	marɪrɪs	mariris	marɪrɪs	mariris
162.	thick	kapar	kapar	tabal	kapan	makapan	makapan	makapan	makapan
163.	narrow	sɔlɨt	sɔlɨt	halus	hɛlɛt	kiput	hipɪt	hipɪt	hipɪt
164.	wide	gaya	lɛhɔi	luas	gaya	laga'	buka'	hantɛ'	hantɛ'
165.	straight	buǰur	mɨŋkɔrɨŋ	lɔnuh	buǰur	buǰur	maßitu'	maßitu'	maßitu'
166.	old	tuha'	tuha'	tuɔ	tuha'	matu'ɛh	matu'ɛh	matu'ɛh	matu'ɛh
167.	new	biyo	kadɔ'	ßau	ǰapɔ'	ßa'u	biɔ	ßayu	ßa'u
168.	good	buɨn	buwun	maşh	asuh	ma'şh	buŋas	ma'asus	ma'şh
169.	bad	awɛ' buɨn	daai	daat	daat	pa'ara	ra'at	murun	murun
170.	correct	buǰur	bɨnɛ'	tuu	buǰur	buǰur	tu'ul	ßua	kapinu'ų
171.	night	dɔyɨŋ	malɨm	malɔm	miyɛŋ	kamalɛm	nihimalɛm	kamalum	kamalɛm
172.	day	ɔlɔ	ɔlɔ	kɔnrɔ	anrau	anrau	kanrau	ka'unro	andrau
173.	year	ṭaun	taun	taun	taun	ta'un	ta'un	taun	ta'un
174.	when	ŋkarmɛ'	kɨdɛ'	lau'ɔnɛ	- -	humbian	hantɛkaßɛ	hatɛkui	hantɛkaßɛ
175.	at	ṇtai	taai	ba	tɛi	ha	ta	haŋ	haŋ
176.	in	ṣuaŋ	suaŋ	suaŋ	huaŋ	huaŋ	huaŋ	lalum	haßuaŋ
177.	here	ṇtai ɨhɨ'	taibɨhɨ'	baitu	tɛiti	ha'ina'	ta'iti	gi'itu	hayiti
178.	there	aṛuh	tayaruh	bayɔ	tɛi'aro	ha'ari	ta'aro	gi'aro'	haŋyaru'
179.	this	ɨhɨ'	ɨhɨ'	itu	ti	ina'	iti	itu	iti
180.	that	iro	aruh	iyɔ	hiyO	ari	iro	iru'	iru'
181.	near	dini'	danɪ'	riyɛt	dini'	ri'Et	ritɛ'	ri'ɛt	ri'ɛt
182.	far	ɔro'	ɔrɔ'	ɔrɔ'	orɔ'	laßɪt	laßit	ɔrɔ'	laßit
183.	where	ṇtaimɛ'	taitamɛ'	baɔnɛ	tɛi'aßɛ	ha'aßɛ	ta'aßɛ	gihaßɛ'	haŋaßɛ
184.	ɪ	aap	aap	aku	ku	aku	aku	uki'	aku
185.	thou	iko	kɔɔ	ikɔ	nu	hañu'	kayo'	ikɔ'	hañu'

SWL	Gloss	Tabojan	Lawangan	Dusun Dejah	Dusun Malang	Samihim	Dusun Witu	Paku	Ma'anjan
186.	he	iɨ'	da'	isɛ	nɛ	hayɛ	ayɛ	ikɔ'	hañɛ
187.	we(incl)	taka	taka'	ta'am	taka	takam	takam	takam	takam
	we(excl)	kain	kain	kain	kamin	kami	kami	kain	kita
188.	ye	takadɛo'	kam	ikɔm	kɔnkɔnorɛŋ	naun	kaun	- -	naun
189.	they	ali	dali	rɛɔ	irɛ	hirɛ	hirɛ	hɛrɛ	hɛrɛ
190.	what?	ọn	sɛ'	ñɔnɛ	hiɛ'	aße	inun	inun	inun
191.	who?	n̆čɛ'aran	dasɛ'	isɛ	hiɛ'	hi'aße	hiɛ'	hiɛ'	hiɛ'
192.	other	lain	lain	lain	lain	lain	lain	lain	lain
193.	some	pirɛ	sɛnu'sɛnu'	sɛsɛnu	sipirɛ	pipirɛ	papirɛ	papirɛ	pirɛpirɛ
194.	many	dɛo'	dɛɔ'	dɛɔ'	dɛyo'	hadi'	hadi'	ßahai	hɛnɛ'
195.	few	dɔhɔ	dɪs	didɪk	dɔhɔ	hi'unti'	dɔtik	butɪt	butɪt
196.	all	ulundɛo'	kaßus	ɔnɛŋ	huras	sigala'	kaluhan	katɔlɔh	katuluh
197.	and	lawan	ali'	ali'	lukun	andi	nɛlaŋ	dan	anri'
198.	with	sama'sama'	sɛnrɔ'	sinrah	dadayɔ	sasama'	papirɛ	sasambɛ	samɛ'samɛ'
199.	because	sabap	lɛka'	kɔɛ'	kunɔ'	sabap	ulah	daya'	inun ŋulah
200.	if	kalu'	aka'	amun	amun	amun	amun	amun	amun
201.	how?	ŋɨtɨmɛ'	ŋɨtmɛ'	sara'ɔnɛ	ŋunau'aße	kala'aßɛ	kala'aßɛ	kala'aßɛ	kala'aßɛ
202.	not	awɛ'	sa'	dɛyah	m̥ɔ'	puaŋ	bakɔi	kɔi	puaŋ
203.	count	ŋitun	ŋɨrɛkɛn	barɛkɛn	ŋitun	ŋitun	ŋarɛkɛn	barɛkɛn	nanrɛkɛn
204.	one	ɛrai	ɛrai	ɛrai	isa'	isa'	isa'	ɛrai	isa'
205.	two	duɨ'	duɨ'	ruɛh	ruɛh	ruɛh	ruɛh	ruɔ	ruɛh
206.	three	tɔlu'	tɔlu'	tɔlu	tɛlu	tɛlo	tɛlo	tɔlu	tɛlo
207.	four	opat	ɔpat	ɔpat	ɛpat	ɛpat	ɛpat	ɔpat	ɛpat
208.	five	limɨ'	limɨ'	dimɔ	dimɛ	dimɛ	dimɛ	limɔ	dimɛ
209.	six	ɔnɨm	ɔnum	ɔnɔm	ɛnɛm	ɛnɛm	ɛnɛm	ɔnum	ɛnɛm
210.	seven	turu	turu	tɔru'	pitu	pito	pitu	pitu	pitu
211.	eight	walɔ	walo	ßalu'	ßalu'	ßalu'	ßalu'	ßalu'	ßalu'
212.	nine	siɛ	siɛ	siɛ	suɛi	soɛi	suɛi	suɛi	suɛi
213.	ten	sɨpuluh	sɛpulu	spulu	pulu'	pulu'	sapuluh	spuluh	sapuluh
214.	twenty	duɨ'pulu	duɨpulu	duɔpulu	ruɛmpulu'	ruampulu'	ruampulu'	ruɔmpulu	ruampulu'
215.	hundred	ǰatus	ǰatus	ǰatus	ǰatuh	ǰatuh	saratus	ǰatuh	ǰatuh

SDL	Gloss	Tabojan	Lawangan	Dusun Dejah	Dusun Malang	Samihim	Dusun Witu	Paku	Ma'anjan
1.	forehead	konat	konat	rai	rai	ra'i	ra'i	rai	ra'i
2.	cheek	pasu'	pasu'	pasu	kilipihɪŋ	pahu	pahu	pahu	pahu
3.	lip	biβi'	biβi'	ßiβi	mulut	ßiβi	ßiβi	ßiβi	ßiβi'
4.	chin	dɛyam	bɛam	raŋ	bɛyam	ra'aŋ	ra'aŋ	raŋ	ra'aŋ
5.	face	ßaɛ	waai	ßaɛ	rai	ßa'ɛ	ra'i	ßaɛ	arußaßa'
6.	nape	lɔlɔk	lugɔ'	tɛnru	diuŋ	tɛnru'	tɛnru	lɛpuk	tɛnru
7.	chest	dada'	dada'	dada	dada'	dada'	dada'	dada'	dada'
8.	shoulder	pɨlukɨ'	pɨluku'	paluko	papalɛ	papalɛ	papalɛ	paluko	papalɛ
9.	armpit	kɨlopa	kɨlopa	kɛlɛk	kɛlɛk	kɛlɪk	kɛlɛk	kɛlɛk	kɛlɛk
10.	buttock	popoi	popoi	laβut	popoi	kaβaŋ	para'	kotut	para'
11.	thigh	kɨsaapaŋ	kɨsapaŋ	kɛsapaŋ	kahapaŋ	ßataŋ pɛ'ɛ	lurur	kahapaŋ	kahapaŋ
12.	knee	tɨkalu	tɨkalu	utɔkatuk	takalo	ulu'katuk	ulalɛp	ulɔk katɔk	ulu'alɛp
13.	calf	ǰakɨr	ǰakɨr	bɔntɛt	ǰakɔr	ßisih	pɛ'ɛ	sui	su'i
14.	ankle	maɨ'pɔɔ	- -	matɔmambiŋ	matɛpɛɛ	burakah	matɛpɛ'ɛ	bakulaliŋ	bakulaliŋ
15.	digit	kɨlɪŋkɪŋ	tɨmuru	garigi	ɪŋkɪŋ	kɪŋkɪŋ	kɪŋkɪŋ	kɪŋkɪŋ	kɪŋkɪŋ
16.	nail	šiwɛi	siβɨi	kuku	kuku	kuku	kuku'	kuku	kuku
17.	corpse	baŋkɨi	baŋkɨi	baŋkai	baŋkai	baŋkai	baŋkai	baŋkai	baŋkai
18.	house	bɨlai	blai	loßu'	blai	lampau	lɛßu'	loßu'	lɛßu'
19.	longhouse	bɨlai pañaŋ	blai bɛtaŋ	loßu'atah	bɛtaŋ	- -	lɛßu'amaŋ	bɛtaŋ	bɛtaŋ
20.	field hut	laladaŋ	blai	pɔndɔk	suruap	pɔndɔk	rampa'	daŋau	daŋau
21.	kitchen	bliku'	ataŋ	baliko	biliku'	dapur	dapur	dapur	suŋkɪŋ
22.	post	bɛñɛm	ɔri	ɔri	tiaŋ	ari'	ari'	ɔri	ari'
23.	steps	tukar	tukar	tukar	tukat	taŋkilaŋ	tukat	tukar	tukat
24.	village	ǰaa	ǰaa	ǰaa	lɛu'	kampuŋ	tumpuk	tumpuk	tumpuk
25.	betel	sambai	laur	sambai	luat	lu'at	sambai	samai	luat
26.	lime	kapur	apoi	kapui	kapoi	kapui	kapoi	kapui	kapui
27.	gambir	gambɛr	amɪs	gambɛr	amis	gambir	gambɪr	amɪs	amɪs
28.	areca nut	sɨpon	sɨpon	pinaŋ	pinaŋ	pinaŋ	pinaŋ	pinaŋ	pinaŋ
29.	swidden	umɨ'	umɨ'	umɔ	umɛ	umɛ	alah	umu	umɛ
30.	padi	parɛ	parɛ	parɛ	parɛi	parɛi	parɛi	parɔ	parɛi
31.	rice	biyas	bɔyas	ßiyah	ßɛyah	ßɛah	ßɛah	ßiah	ßeah

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32.	cooked rice	nahį'	nahį'	nahį'	nahį'	nahį'	nahį'	nahį'	nahį'
33.	rice (glut.)	pulut	pulut	ditɛ'	pulut	ditɛ'	ditɛ'	ditɛ'	ditɛ'
34.	padi seed	bini parɛ	bini	ßini'	umaŋ parɛi	ßini'	usi parɛi	ßini'	ßini'
35.	dibble stick	asɨk	asɨk	asɔk	ɛhɛk	ɛhɛk	ɛhɛk	ahuk	ɛhɛk
36.	to dibble	ŋasɨk	ŋasɨk	ŋasɔk	ŋɛhɛk	ŋɛhɛk	ñɛhɛk	ma'ahuk	mi'ɛhɛk
37.	to sow	ñaßɪs	mɔyas	miyąh	mias	mu'au	mu'ąų	miah	mu'ąų
38.	to cut padi	ŋɔtɨu	ŋɔtɨu	ŋani	masi'	masi'	masi'	masi'	masi'
39.	palas	- -	palas	pilah	saki'	palas	sakipilah	pilah	pilah
40.	shaman	bɨlian	bɨlian	balian	bidian	ßɔdian	ßadian	ßalian	ßadian
41.	knife	ladɪŋ	isau	ladiŋ	ladɪŋ	turi'	turi'	ladɪŋ	ladɪŋ
42.	machete	ɔdak	ɔdak	anra	ɛkɛ'	tarɔh	pisau	ɔtak	taruh
43.	war sword	ɔdak mandau	mandau	mandau	manau	mandau	mandau	ama'ŋ	amaŋ
44.	spear	doha'	bɨlɔkɔŋ	bunǰok	lamɪn	lambɛŋ	lamɪn	duha'	duha'
45.	blowpipe	pɔtan	pɔtan	sɪmpɔtan	pɛtan	pɛtan	pɛtan	pɔtan	pɛtan
46.	ax-blade	ßasɛ	wasɛ	bliuŋ	ɔhai	ßadiuŋ	ßadiuŋ	ßadiuŋ	ßadiuŋ
46a.	ax	pɛrawasɛ	pɛra	pɛra'	pɛra	rayan	pɛra'	pɛra'	rayan
47.	canoe	ǰukuŋ	ǰukuŋ	ǰukuŋ	ǰukuŋ	biduk	ǰukuŋ	ǰukuŋ	ǰukuŋ
48.	fish net	lunta'	ǰala	ǰala'	ǰala	ǰala'	lunta	tabɪŋ	tabɪŋ
49.	fish hook	bɔßɪt	bɔßɪt	ßißɪt	bɔßit	pamuhą'	ßɪntan	ßɪntan	ßɪntan
50.	to fish	mɔßɪt	mɔßɪt	mißɪt	mɔßit	ŋutuŋ	mintan	mɪntan	mɪntan
51.	to fish-poison	ŋuɨ'	ŋuwɣ'	nuǫ	nuße	nußę	noę	nuǫ	nußę
52.	pike	tɨwɛlɛn	bɨlɨkawak	pɔra'	- -	luŋu	taßɛlɛn	taßɛlɛn	taßɛlɛn
53.	catfish	bauŋ	tɨnikɨn	sɪndikun	bauŋ	pasi	ßa'uŋ	ßauŋ	ßa'uŋ
54.	blowfish	bɨtana'	bɨrɨntana'	buntal	bantana'	buntal	buntana	buntana	buntana
55.	to fight cocks	ñauŋ	ñauŋ	ñaßuŋ	sauŋ	ñaßuŋ	ñauŋ	ñaßuŋ	ñaßuŋ
56.	wild pig	baui	baßui	ßaßui	ßaßui	ßaßui	ßaßui	ßaßui	ßaßui
57.	pig (domes.)	unɛk	upɛ	unɛk	ißɛk	ßaßui	ißɛk	ɔnɪk	ißɛk
58.	bear	biyaŋ	biyaŋ	bißaŋ	biyaŋ	ßɔyuaŋ	biyaŋ	biyaŋ	ßayuaŋ
59.	monkey	bɔdau	uyar	ßarɪk	ßarik	ßarɨk	ßarɪk	ßarik	ßarɪk
60.	monkey(beruk)	bɔruk	bɔruk	ßɔruk	ßɛruk	ßeruk	ßɛruk	ßɔruk	ßɛruk
61.	gibbon	kɨlaßɨt	kɨlaßut	klaßɔt	kalaßɔt	u'ua'	- -	kalaßut	tulumpiau

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62.	porcupine	tɛtuŋ	tɛtuŋ	tɛtuŋ	aŋkis	tɛtuŋ	tɛtuŋ	tɛtuŋ	tɛtuŋ
63.	deer(kantjil)	pɨlanu'	pɨlanuk	planduk	palanuk	palanuk	palanuk	palanuk	palanuk
64.	deer(kidjang)	tɨlaus	tɨlaßus	talauh	- -	tula'uh	paraŋ	talauh	paraŋ
65.	deer (rusa)	tɨkayu	tɨkayɔ	takayɔ	paraŋ	kuaßɛ'	kaßaßɛ'	kaßaßɛ'	kaßaßɛ'
66.	water buffalo	kɨrɛwau	kɨrɛßau	karɛßau	karɛßau	karɛßau	karɛßau	karɛßau	karɛßau
67.	crocodile	buah	buah	bahaya'	buah	buhaya'	u'a'	bahaya'	ßu'ah
68.	chicken	piyak	piak	piak	piak	manu'	manu'	manu'	manu'
69.	cat	ušɪŋ	usɪŋ	usiŋ	usɪŋ	usɪŋ	usɪŋ	usɪŋ	usɪŋ
70.	caterpillar	iyɨi	iyɨi	ulɔr	ulɛt	ulɛt	ulɛt	ulɛt	ulɛt
71.	centipede	lɨlipan	lɨlipan	lalipan	lilipan	didipan	lalipan	lipan	anilipan
72.	spider	tɨŋkɨlaga'	ayutlaa	laßa'	taŋkala-ga'aŋ	ganraŋ-laßa'	ganraŋ-laßa'	ganraŋ-raßa'	ganraŋ-laßa'
73.	bumblebee	tɛntɨhuyuŋ	sɨntuyuŋ	sɔlɔßɔyuŋ	tuntuhuyuŋ	kansißuyuŋ	sansahuyuŋ	sunsuyuŋ	duyun
74.	mosquito	piyɔŋɔ	kɨyɔŋɔ	kiɔŋɔ	ñamuk	mamu'	mamu'	payuŋu	mamu'
75.	fly	sɔrau	sɨwakaŋ	sɔßakaŋ	lalɛt	lalɛt	lalɛt	saßakaŋ	lalɛt
76.	butterfly	bɨlɛmaŋ	blɨmaŋ	kɔlɔmbaŋ	kalabamaŋ	kukupu	kakupu'	taßirip	laluŋ
77.	ant	bitɪk	bɪtɪk	ßisɪk	ßisik	ßisik	usɪk	ßisik	ßisik
78.	tjitjak	sasak	sasak	sasak	taŋkalasak	sasak	čačak	sasak	sasak
79.	rat/mouse	lɛsɔ'	lɛsɔ'	ɓlɛsɔ'	lɛsɔ'	balɛsu'	lɛsɔ'	alɛŋkɛt	alɪŋɛkɛt
80.	toke	tɔk'ɋk	miyɋ	ᵐpɔk'ɋk	tɔkɋ	tɛkɛ'	mañua	tɔk'ɋk	tɔk'ɋk
81.	locust	bɨlɨlawɨr	aŋɔ	aŋɔ	lampaŋau	biraru'	lampaŋau	alaŋanrɛ	halaŋanrɛi
82.	anteater	aŋkɪs	ayɨm	ayɔm	ayɛn	muŋkun	ayɛm	ayum	ayɛm
83.	leopard	timaŋ	kuli	simaŋ	harimau	rima'uŋ	rama'ų	harimauŋ	harimauŋ
84.	buffalo	bantɛŋ	lɨmui	lɛmbu'	- -	lambu'	bantɛŋ	lamu'	lamu'
85.	primary forest	- -	alas	ǰubut	alah	katu'an	lasi'	katuan	katu'an
86.	rattan	uɛ	uɛ	uɛi	ußɛi	uɛi	uɛi	uɛ	uɛi
87.	bamboo	pɔrɪŋ	tɔlaŋ	ßanɛ	tɛlaŋ	simbuluh	tɛlaŋ	ßulu'	ßulu'
88.	coconut	niɣi̯	niɣi̯	niɣi̯	niɣi̯	niɣi̯	niɣi̯	niɣi̯	niɣi̯
89.	durian	duyan	duyan	ruyan	rɔyan	ruyan	ruyan	rɔyan	ruyan
90.	banana	puti'	puti'	punsi	punsi	pisaŋ	punsi	punši	punsi
91.	pineapple	tɨrɪnčɪŋ	tɨrɪŋsɪŋ	kanas	lamaka'	nanas	kanas	tarɪŋšɪŋ	mɛlaka'

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92.	sahu	sau'	sau'	sau'	sau'	sau'	sau'	sau'	sau'
93.	tjempedak	lɨnakan	lɛnakan	nakan	lanakan	nanakan	lanakan	nakan	nanakan
94.	rambutan	rambutan	mɨliti'	rambutan	ramutan	rambutan	rambutan	maliti'	maliti'
95.	cassava	ayakayu'	dampukayu'	dɔmpukayu	ǰaußau	tambun kayu	aya kayu	dɛŋkut	dɛŋkut
96.	eggplant	tɔyuŋ	tɔyuŋ	tɔyuŋ	tɛuŋ	tɛuŋ	tɛuŋ	tɔyuŋ	tɛyuŋ
97.	kaladi	tɨnayan	burɛt	buran	tadis	kaladi'	tadɨs	ɔpi'	upi'
98.	honey	ßani'	lioßani'	rioßani	riu'ßani	pananu'	riu'ßani	riußani	riußani
99.	tuak	tua'	tuak	tuak	tuak	tuak	tuak	tuak	anɪŋ
100.	river mouth	olɨŋ	olɨŋ	naŋɔ	naŋɛ	naŋɛ	naŋɛ	naŋu	naŋɛ
101.	rapids	kiham	dɔyam	rɔyam	riam	ranu'mitun	karɛh	riam	kiham
102.	river bank	taŋkɪŋ	tɨŋkißaŋ	pɔmpaŋ	tɛbɪŋ	pampaŋ	hirɪŋ huŋɛi	pɔmpaŋ	pampaŋ
103.	afternoon	ŋɨrɨrɔyɨŋ	dɔyɨŋ	nayąp	ǰɛǰɛkißa	kariße'	sañа	nañap	kariße
104.	orangutan	kɛu'	kɛu'	ɔraŋutan	lunhutan	ulun taun alah	kɛo'	kɛɔ'	kahiu'

KTL	Gloss	Tabojan	Lawangan	Dusun Dejah	Dusun Malang	Samihim	Dusun Witu	Paku	Ma'anjan
1.	Sb	ɛrai butuŋ	ɛrai butuŋ	ɛraißuntuŋ	pluksanaį	pɛhuna'į	pulakna'į	pulutsana'į	pulaksana'į
2.	Sb+	tukɨn	tukɨn	tata	kaka'	tata'	tata'	tata'	tata'
3.	Sb-	ani'	anni'	andi'	ani'	andi'	andi'	adi'	andi'
4.	Co	nst	nst	ɛraißuntuŋ	pluksanaį	nst	pulakna'į	pulutsana'į	pulaksana'į
5.	Co 1	pɨsindai	ñinnai	ñinrai	sahinra'	sihinra'an	sahinra'	sinra'an	sahinra'an
6.	Co 2	pɨduɨ'	ñɛnduɨ'	ñanruɛh	sunruɛh	sinrɔɛhan	sanruɛh	sunruɔ	sanruɛhan
7.	Co 3	pɨtɔlu'	ñɛntɔlu'	ñantɔlu	sutɛlu	sintɛluan	santɛlu	santɔluan	santɛluan
8.	Co 4	pɨ'ɔpat	nst	ñaŋkɔpat	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
9.	Co 5	(pɨlimɨ')	nst	ñandimɔ	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
10.	Fa	uma'	ma'	uma'	amai	ambah	ambah	uma'	ambah
11.	Mo	inɛ'	nɛ'	inɛ'	inai	inɛ'	inɛ'	inɛ'	inɛh
12.	PaBr	tamu	tamɔ	nst	tamɔ	mama'	tamu	mama'	mama'
13.	PaBr+	nst	tuɔ	matuɔ	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
14.	PaBr-	nst	tamɔ	mama'	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
15.	PaSiHu	tamu	burɔk	nst	tamɔ	mama'	tamu	mama'	mama'
16.	PaSi+Hu	nst	nst	matuɔ	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
17.	PaSi-Hu	nst	nst	mama'	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
18.	PaSi	buǰaŋ	burɔk	nst	inɛ'	tutu'	buǰaŋ	mɛna'	tutu'
19.	PaSi+	nst	tuɔbawɛ	inɛ'tuɔ	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
20.	PaSi-	nst	burɔk	mɛna'	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
21.	PaBrWi	buǰaŋ	tamɔ	nst	inɛ'	tutu'	buǰaŋ	mɛna'	tutu'
22.	PaBr+Wi	nst	nst	inɛ'tuɔ	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
23.	PaBr-Wi	nst	nst	mɛna'	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
24.	Ch	ŋɨkiɨk	tia'	anak	anak	ia'	anak	pɛa'	ia'
25.	So	anakiasɔŋ	tia'upɔ	anakupɔ	anak laki	ia'laki	anak laki	pɛa'upɔ	ia'upu
26.	Da	anakiabaßɛ	tia'bawɛ	anakßaßɛ	anakßaßɛi	ia'ßaßɛi	anakßaßɛi	pɛa'ßaßɛ	iaßaßɛi
27.	SbCh/CoCh	akɛn	akɛn	akɛn	akɛn	akɛn	akɛn	akɛn	akɛn
28.	PaPa	nst	takkakah	nst	nst	nini'	nst	nst	nst
29.	PaFa	kakah	kakah	kakah	kakah	nst	kakah	kakah	kakah
30.	PaMo	itak	tak	itak	itak	nst	itak	itak	nini'

KTL	Gloss	Tabojan	Lawangan	Dusun Dejah	Dusun Malang	Samihim	Dusun Witu	Paku	Ma'anjan
31.	ChCh	čuču'	ɔpɔ'	ɔmpu	ɔpɔ'	umpu	ɔpɔ'	ɔpɔ'	umpu
32.	SbChCh&	čuču'	ɔpɔ'	čuču	ɔpɔ'	umpu	ɔpɔ'	ɔpɔ'	umpu
33.	PaPaPa	mɔyaŋ	datu'	datu	datu'	datu	datu'	datu'	datu'
34.	ChChCh	buyut	piyut	piyut	piyut	piyut	buyut	buyut	buyut
35.	SbChChCh&	buyut	piyut	buɛ'	piyut	piyut	buyut	buyut	buyut
36.	PaiaPara	nst	mɔyaŋ	nst	mɔyaŋ	alau	nini'	muñaŋ	muñaŋ
37.	ChChChCh&	nst	alɛp	nst	alEp	buyut	ɛntah	- -	ɛntah
38.	Sp	nst	nst	harau	nst	daraŋan	nst	nst	daraŋan
39.	Hu	bani'	bani'	harau upɔ	ɔhɛ	daraŋan laki	ßanɛi	hɔɔŋ	matuɛ'upu
40.	Wi	sau'	sau	harau ßaßɛ	ßanɛ	daraŋan ßaßɛi	harau	ßaßɛn	matuɛßa-ßɛi
41.	SpSb/SbSp	ayu	nst	ißan (*F)	nst	nst	nst	nst	ißan (*F)
42.	SpBr/Si Hu	nst	ayu	daup (*M)	ayu	daup	ayu	daup	daup (*M)
43.	SpSi/BrWi	nst	ɔŋan	ißan (*M)	ißan	ißan	ißan	ißan	ißan (*M)
44.	ChSpPa	saŋɛt	- -	bulau	nst	bulau	saŋɪt	bulau	bulau
45.	SpSbSp	anrui	sanrui	sanrui	anrui	sanrui	anrui	sanrui	sanrui
46.	SpPa	umpu'	nst	ampu'	umpu'	kasian	umpu'	kasian	kasian
47.	SpFa	nst	tuhamama'	uma'	tamɔ	nst	umpu'laki	kasian upɔ	kasian'upu
48.	SpMo	nst	nɛmɛnɛ'	inɛ'	inɛ'	nst	umpu'ßaßɛi	kasian ßaßɛ	kasian ßaßɛi
49.	SpPaSb	nst	nst	ampu'lam-buŋ	umpu'	kasian lambuŋ	umpu'lam-buŋ	kasian lambuŋ	kasian lambuŋ
50.	SpPaBr	nst	mamalambuŋ	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
51.	SpPaSi	nst	mɛna'lam-buŋ	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
52.	ChSp	akɛn	dɔkɔŋ	nantu	nantu	ßinantu	nantu	nantu	nantu

*F = female speaker

*M = male speaker

PART II BARITO-MAHAKAM AND WEST BARITO ISOLECTS

Barito-Mahakam

Tundjung

West Barito

Kapuas
Ba'amang
Katingan
Dohoi
Murung-1
Murung-2
Siang

The Tundjung list includes only SWL. Murung-1 is represented by an incomplete SWL and KTL and does not include SDL. For Siang, SDL and KTL are incomplete.

SWL	Gloss	Tundjung	Kapuas	Ba'amang	Katingan	Dohoi	Murung[1]	Murung[2]	Siang
1.	hand	aŋa'	lɛnɛ'	lɛŋɛ	lɛŋɛ'	λɔŋɔ'	λɔŋɔm	silu'	silu'
2.	left	ulai	sambɪl	kiri	sambɪl	kɔmuλɔi	kambuλoi	kamuləi	kɔmuλoi
3.	right	tau'	gantau	kanan	gantau	kɔtɔu'	katou	kʌtou'	kɔntou
4.	leg	unɛŋ	pai'	pai'	pai'	paa'	ba'am	paa'	paa
5.	foot	unɛŋ	pai'	pai'	pai'	paa'	ba'am	paa'	paa
6.	to walk	čalan	mananǰuŋ	manaǰu	mananǰuŋ	ñaλan	ñalan	ñalan	ñaλan
7.	road	lɔrɔŋ	ǰalan	ǰalan	karatak	karatak	- -	timbuk	čaλan
8.	to come	mɔɔt	dumah	duma	dumbah	λɔmbut	λɔmbut	lɔmbut	dɔmbut
9.	to turn	nɛnčaŋ	mambelɔk	bɛlɔk	mɛñipaŋ	ŋɛlɔk	- -	ñimpaŋ	mɔlisaŋ
10.	to swim	kʌraŋoi	hanaŋoi	hanaŋui	hanaŋɔi	naŋui	hanaŋɔi	naŋui	naŋɔi
11.	to wash	mupuk	mampukan	bahampu'	mupuk	mupu'	mopuk	mupuk	mupuk
12.	to wipe	musaas	mampuas	- -	- -	- -	ŋindi	- -	ŋusu
13.	to rub	ŋɔsɔɔk	misut	maŋgɔsɔk	maŋɔsɔk	ŋisut	mɛŋgɔsɔk	ŋisut	ŋusu
14.	dirty	mʌrɔta'	papa'	harisɛ'	halikɛ'	ǰaat	- -	lusɛ'	λusɛ'
15.	dust	dʌbu	habu'	dɛbu	kaßu'	karaßu'	- -	abu'	aßu
16.	skin	kuliit	upak	kulit	upak	upak	upa'	upak	upak
17.	back	puŋuŋ	likut	balikat	likur	likut	pupuh	likut	λikut
18.	belly	nai'	kanai'	tanai'	ɛlɛm	butui	butui	ɔlɔm	ɔλɔm
19.	bone	lah	tulaŋ	tulaŋ	tulaŋ	tulaŋ	tulaŋ	tulaŋ	tuλaŋ
20.	guts	usi' nai'	huaŋ kanai	isi tanai'	suaŋ ɛlɛm	tanɔi'	isi butui	tʌnɔi'	tanɔi
21.	liver	limpa	atɛi	atɛk	atɛi	atɔi	- -	atɔi	atɔi
22.	heart	asaŋ	bua'	ǰantuŋ	ǰatuŋ	ǰatuŋ	ǰantuŋ	sɔŋa'	sɔŋa
23.	to know	toga'	katawan	katauan	taßaŋ	taa'	ta'am	karaui'	bɔraui
24.	to think	pikir	bapikɪr	pikir	niruk	tiruk	tiru'	tiruk	tiruk
25.	to fear	bihɪn	mikɛh	takut	mikɛh	mihkuh	mikɔh	mikɔh	takut
26.	blood	rahaa'	daha'	daha'	daha'	daha'	daha'	daha'	daha'
27.	head	kuhuŋ	takuluk	tɔkɔlɔ'	takuluk	kuhuŋ	kuhuŋ	kuhuŋ	kuhuŋ
28.	neck	lɔhɔŋ	uyat	buŋu'	uyat	učat	uǰat	kɔra'	kɔra
29.	hair	alau	balau	balau	balau	baλou	baλou	balou	baλou
30.	nose	uruŋ	uruŋ	hiduŋ	uruŋ	uruŋ	uruŋ	uruŋ	uruŋ
31.	to breathe	ŋasaŋ	nahasɛŋ	manahansɛŋ	nahasɛŋ	nahasɔŋ	nahasɔŋ	mɔsɔŋan	busɔŋan

SWL	Gloss	Tundjung	Kapuas	Ba''amang	Katingan	Dohoi	Murung[1]	Murung[2]	Siang
32.	to smell	karak	mañium	mančium	mañimak	ŋarɔk	buan	marɔk	marɔk
33.	mouth	ɔnčɔŋ	ñama'	ñamɛ'	ñaßç'	bau'	baum	bau'	bau
34.	tooth	kʌsiŋ	kasɪŋa'	gigi	kasɪŋa'	ñipʊ'	ñipɔm	kɔsɪŋ	kɔsɪŋ
35.	tongue	čɛla'	ǰela'	ǰɛla'	ǰɛla'	ǰɔλa'	ǰoλa'	čɔla'	čɔλa'
36.	to laugh	taga'	tatawɛ'	tatawɛ'	tatawɛ'	ŋatau	katau	kɔtau'	kɔtau
37.	to cry	naŋi	manaŋɪs	manaŋis	manaŋɪs	naŋih	naŋis	naŋis	naŋɪh
38.	to vomit	notaa'	muta'	muta'	ŋuta'	ŋuhta'	ŋuta'	ŋuta'	ŋuta'
39.	to spit	mʌčuh	maluǰa'	maluǰa'	maluča'	ŋɔluča'	ŋaλuča'	ŋɔlučʌ'	ŋißuh
40.	to eat	ḵumaan	kuman	kuman	kuman	kuman	kuman	kuman	kuman
41.	to cook	n̤čak	barapi'	barapi'	masak	mʊλɣh	ŋumʊh	ŋu'an	ŋuan
42.	to drink	muru'	mihɣp	mihup	ŋihɣp	ŋɔrih	ŋɔrɪh	ŋɔrih	ŋɔrɪh
43.	to bite	ŋɛkɛt	mamaŋkɪt	maŋgigit	mamɛpɛt	maßak	ŋɔta'	ŋɔtak	ŋɔtak
44.	to suck	mɔsɔ'	manusu'	mañusu	manusu	mɔsu'	- -	pɔkɔsʊ'	mɔsu
45.	ear	nɛnɛŋ	pɪndɪŋ	tʌlɪŋa'	pɪndɪŋ	taliŋa'	talɪŋam	tɔlɪŋa	tɔλɪŋa
46.	to hear	kʌhɛnɛŋ	mahɪnɪŋ	mahindiŋ	hɛnɪŋ	ŋɔnɪh	ŋɔnɛh	ŋɔnɛh	ŋɔnɛh
47.	eye	uɛɛ	mata'	matɛ'	matɛ'	mahta'	matam	mata'	mata
48.	to see	nɛau	nampayah	maŋgitɛ'	ñitɛ'	ŋɔhtɔ'	nɔtɔ'	nɔtɔ'	nɔtɔ
49.	to sleep	tiroo	batirʊh	mantirʊh	tirʊh	- -	tirui	tirui	tirui
50.	to lie	tɛmpoŋ	mɛntɛr	barabah	galɪŋ	kalɪŋ	baluŋkaŋ	kalɪŋ	kaλɪŋ
51.	to sit	dačuŋ	muduk	munduk	mʊnduk	tuɔt	tuɔt	tuɔt	tußɔt
52.	to stand	tɛgɛɛ	mɛndɛŋ	mɛndɛŋ	mɛndɛŋ	tɔmbɔk	tɔmbɔ'	tɔnǰɔk	tɔnǰɔk
53.	person	ulun	ulʊh	uluh	ulʊn	kɔlunɔn	- -	ulʊn	dulʌn
54.	man	liha'	hatuɛ'	hatuɛ'	hatuɛ'	bahkæh	bakah	bakah	bakʌh
55.	woman	wawɛ'	bawi'	baui'	baßi'	baßi'	baße'	baßɛ'	baße'
56.	child	tuhi'	anak	anak	ñanak	naiŋñam	ana'	daǰa'	daǰa
57.	husband	wana'	banam	banɛ'	banai	bɔsai	bɔsai	bɔsai	bana
58.	wife	sagan	sawam	istri	sawai	ɔrʊh	ɔrʊh	ɔrʊh	ɔrʊh
59.	mother	mɛ'	indu'	uma'	ɪndaŋ	inai	inai	inɛ'	tinai
60.	father	ma'	bapa'	bapa'	ñapaŋ	amai	amai	amai	tamai
61.	sibling +	tʊŋkan	aka'	kaka'	kakak	ɔka' (br)	ɔŋka	ɔŋka'	ɔŋka

SWL	Gloss	Tundjung	Kapuas	Ba'amang	Katingan	Dohoi	Murung[1]	Murung[2]	Siang
62.	sibling -	garin	andi'	adi'	arɪŋ	bɔhtou(Si)	are'	arɛ'	tari
63.	name	nama	aram	nama'	ŋaran	aran	arai	aran	aran
64.	to say	bagaha'	kuan	basaruman	kuan	nuhtui	- -	mantun	nisi
65.	rope	talii'	tali'	tali	tali	tali'	tali	tali'	talɪ
66.	to tie	mʌčat	manǰarat	ma'ikat	mɛtɛŋ	ñuhkau	mɔtɔŋ	mɛtɛŋ	mɔßut
67.	to sew	ŋabɛt	mitur	manǰahit	manǰahɪt	nusuk	ŋusu'	nusuk	nusu'
68.	clothing	pakaian	pakayan	pakayan	talun	pakačan	balun	pakayan	lembɔn
69.	to hunt	mahau	maharak	bagarṭ	maŋandup	ŋandup	- -	ŋanup	ŋanup
70.	to shoot	nɛmak	manɛmbak	manɛmbak	manɛmbak	nɛmbak	mɛnɛmba'	manɛmbak	nɛmba'
71.	to stab	mančak	mañuduk	mañɔdɔk	mañuduk	mɔŋɔh	tañudu'	nɛßɛk	nečɪp
72.	to hit	baǰagur	manampar	batampar	hakalahi'	hatapar	- -	nampar	hotampar
73.	to fight	kʌlahi'	kalahi'	bakalahi'	hakalahi'	hatapar	hira'	kɔhɔǰat	kohoǰat
74.	to kill	pakatɛ'	mampatɛi	mambunuh	mapatɛi	munu'	taŋan patɔi	ŋɔmpatɔi	ŋompatoi
75.	to die	matɛɛ'	matɛi	matɛ'	matɛi	mahtɔi	matɔi	matɔi	matoi
76.	to live	blum	lɛlum	bɛlum	bɛlum	bɔlum	bɔlum	bɔlum	bɔlum
77.	to scratch	ŋʌrɔgɔt	maŋgaǰau	maŋgaru'	maŋgayu'	nakačo	tanuusu'	ŋaŋkaǰou	ŋɔŋkaǰou
78.	to cut	mɔtɔk	manɛtɛk	mamaŋgal	manɛtɛk	nɔhtɔk	nɔtɔ'	nɔtɔk	ŋɒtɔk
79.	stick	lɛŋan	bataŋ	bataŋ	bataŋ	bahtaŋ	bataŋ	bataŋ	bataŋ
80.	to split	mʌka'	mañila'	mañila'	mamɛta'	mɔlah	ñilʌa'	ñina'	ñilʌa
81.	sharp	masuk	batajɪm	taǰam	bañɛhi'	mañɔɔt	mańa'ɔt	ñɔ'ɛt	ñɔ'ɛt
82.	dull	kačar	dia'batajim	tumpul	bakačil	nahčɪn	ñatɪn	tampak	ñatɔn
83.	to work	bʌkṛǰaa'	bagawi'	bagawi'	bagaßi'	bagaßi'	bagaßi'	bagaßi'	bogaßi
84.	to play	kilau	horɛh	barusik	ŋuanusik	barasa'	ŋuananakusi'	bɔčuri	bočuri
85.	to sing	bṛñañi	mañañi'	mañañi	mañañi'	mañañi'	- -	mañañi	mɔñañi
86.	to dance	ŋančar	manari'	manari	manasai	ŋiñah	- -	manari	ŋaraŋ
87.	to swell	bʌŋkak	kembaŋ	baŋgak	kɛmbaŋ	lɔtɪŋ	- -	lɔntɪŋ	lɔntɪŋ
88.	to squeeze	pras	ihamɪs	mamarah	hamɛs	nahɛmuk	- -	ñarɪŋ	- -
89.	to hold	nɛŋkat	mɪmbɪŋ	ma'imbiŋ	manatu'	namɪt	nambit	nantɔt	nantɔt
90.	to dig	ŋali'	maŋali'	manabuk	maŋali'	ŋali'	ŋuan lubaŋ	ŋali'	ŋalɪ'
91.	to give	načoo	manɛŋa'	manɛŋa'	manɛŋa'	nɔŋa'	nɔŋa'	mihi'	mihi'
92.	to pull	nɛpook	manǰiǰit	manarik	manunda'	ŋuhut	ŋuhut	ŋɔčɛt	muhut

SWL	Gloss	Tundjung	Kapuas	Ba'amang	Katingan	Dohoi	Murung[1]	Murung[2]	Siang
93.	to push	nulak	maŋgian	manǰuhul	manula'	nuhčur	nantuču'	nulak	ŋɔñuhuŋ
94.	to throw	noak	mamantɪŋ	manawak	mañakah	muhkah	ñakah	mantɪŋ	mantɪŋ
95.	to fall	tatui	manǰatuh	ǰatuh	balaßu'	ŋañahtuh	batahak	takak	tahak
96.	dog	ʞokɔɔ'	asu'	asu'	asu'	asu'	asu'	asu'	asut
97.	bird	ṃpulu'	burun	burun	burun	ɔčinaŋ	burun	bɛlɛi	bɛλei
98.	egg	taloo	tanteluh	hantɛlɔh	katɛ'	kɔtɔluh	katɔrluh	kɔtɔlɔh	tɔlɔh
99.	feather	bulu'	bulu'	bulu'	bulu'	bului	bului	bulu	bulun
100.	wing	ɛkaap	palapas	halar	yaku'	ilat	palapas	ilat	ilat
101.	to fly	tṛbaŋ	tarawaŋ	tarabaŋ	tarawaŋ	naaŋ	naaŋ	ñilɪŋ	ñilɪŋ
102.	animal	binataŋ	mɛtu'	binataŋ	mɛtu'	ɔčɪn	dɔlaŋ ɔčɪn	ɔčɪn	ɔčɪn
103.	meat	usii'	isi	dagiŋ	ɛsi'	usi'	dagiŋ	usɔk	usɔk
104.	fat	loa'	eñak	lama'	ɛñak	ɔñak	ɔñak	ɔñak	ɔñak
105.	tail	ɪŋkɔɔt	ikuh	buntut	ikuh	ihkuh	ikuh	ukɔi	ukɔi
106.	snake	nipa'	handipɛ'	ular	handipɛ'	λohi'	- -	kakɔ'	ñipɔ'
107.	worm	halaŋ	handalai	handalai	lukɛŋ	λukuŋ	čačiŋ	luŋkuŋ	λuŋkuŋ
108.	louse	kutuu'	guti'	kutu'	guti'	kuhtu'		kutu'	kutu
109.	fish	mʌtuu'	lauk	lau'	lauk	ɔčɪn		ɔčɪn	ɔčɪn
110.	tree	lʌŋan kaǰu	opun	pɔhɔn	bataŋ kayu'	pɔɔn		pɔ'ɔn	puun
111.	rotten	buruk	maram	buruk	maram	maram		karam	karam
112.	leaf	rɔun	dawɛn	daun	dawɛn	daun		daun	doun
113.	bark	kulit kayu	opak kayu	kulit kayu	upak kayu'	upak kaču'		upak kayu	upa' kaǰu
114.	root	akar	uhat	akar	uhat	uhat		uhat	akat
115.	seed	ular	bawak	bawak	bawak	λuaŋ		luaŋ	λuaŋ
116.	flower	uŋan	kambaŋ	kambaŋ	kambaŋ	kambaŋ		kambaŋ	dolλak
117.	fruit	ugan	bua'	buah	bua'	bua'		bua'	bua
118.	grass	uruu'	uru'	rumput	ruput	uru'		uru'	uru'
119.	earth	tanaa'	petak	pɛtak	pɛtak	tana'		tana'	tana'
120.	stone	batuu'	batu'	batu'	batu'	bahtu'		batu'	batu
121.	sand	pasiir	baras	pasir	baras	baras		barah	barʌh
122.	water	anum	danum	danum	danum	danum		danum	danum
123.	to freeze	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -		- -	- -

SWL	Gloss	Tundjung	Kapuas	Ba'amang	Katingan	Dohoi	Murung[2]	Siang
124.	ice	ɛs	ɛs	ɛs	ɛs	ɛs	ɛs	ɛs
125.	to flow	- -	mahasur	maŋalir	mahasur	nalʊt	ŋalɛ̨t	nalɛ̨t
126.	to float	gʌlɛmput	lampaŋ	timbul	lapaŋ	λapaŋ	balampuŋ	λampuŋ
127.	ocean	laut	tasɪk	laut	laut	λaut	tasik	tasɪk
128.	salt	čɛha'	uyah	uyah	kahɪŋ	tɔñu'	kahɪŋ	kahɪŋ
129.	lake	kʌnohan	danau	danau	danau	danau	luou	λaßaŋ
130.	river	suŋai	suŋɛi	suŋai	suŋɛi	suŋɔi	suŋɔi	suŋɔi
131.	mountain	gunuŋ	gunuŋ	gunuŋ	kɛrɛŋ	kɔrɔŋ	puruk	puruk
132.	woods	talun	parakayu	hutan	himba'	himba'	himba'	dolan kayu
133.	sky	laŋiit	laŋit	laŋit	laŋit	λaŋit	laŋit	λaŋɪt
134.	sun	uɛnau	matanandau	matanandau	matanandau	mahta ɔndou	matànondou	matanɔndou
135.	star	bintaŋ	bintaŋ	bintaŋ	bitaŋ	patiɔn	bintaŋ	pɔtandu
136.	cloud	awan	rakun	awan	baunandau	indou ɔndou	haßun	haßun
137.	fog	mun	ambun	ambun	haßun	haßun	ambun	haßun nukat
138.	to rain	učan	uǰan	uǰan	učan	učan	učan	učan
139.	snow	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
140.	wind	wahɛo	riwut	aŋin	rißut	bahiu'	bahiu	bahɛi
141.	to blow	bɪtiup	mahimum	batiup	harißut	ɔndou bahiu'	bahiu napi'	bahinapi
142.	warm	pɪaŋ	balasu'	mandaŋ	balasut	barasut	dohɔraŋ	panai
143.	cold	pɪʌŋɪn	sadɪŋɛn	diŋin	saŋɛŋɛm	sɔrɔŋɪn	sɔrɔŋɪn	srɔŋɪn
144.	dry	kɛhɛŋ	keaŋ	tɛyah	tɛyah	točah	tɔǰah	toǰah
145.	wet	bisaa'	bisa'	babisa'	bisa'	bisa'	bisa'	bisa'
146.	smooth	rataat	rata'	rata	rata'	λahta'	rata'	hɛña
147.	heavy	bahaat	babɛhat	babɛhat	baßɛhat	bahat	bahat	bahat
148.	fire	apuui	apui	apui	apui	ahpui	apui	apui
149.	to burn	nutuŋ	manusul	maŋabuk	mapui	ñaha'	ñahą'	ñahą'
150.	smoke	ncun	asɪp	asap	asɛp	ɔsun	asun	ɔsun
151.	ashes	ahuu'	kawu'	abu'	kaßu'	kraßu'	aßu'	aßu
152.	black	pɨrɨma'	babilɛm	babilɛm	baßilɛm	mitɔm	mintɔm	ŋahyn
153.	white	bohɔŋ	baputi'	baputi'	baputi'	puhti'	puti'	bura
154.	red	putii'	bahandaŋ	bahandaŋ	bahandaŋ	bahandaŋ	bahandaŋ	bohandaŋ

SWL	Gloss	Tundjung	Kapuas	Ba'amang	Katingan	Dohoi	Murung[2]	Siang
155.	yellow	kunɪŋ	bahena'	kuniŋ	bahɛnda'	bahɛnda'	bahɛnda'	bohenda
156.	green	nahuum	bahiǰau	hiǰau	hiǰau	bahiǰau	bahiǰau	bohiǰa
157.	small	itiit	kurik	kurik	kɔik	kɔik	kɔlik	kɔλi'
158.	big	haǰa'	hai'	datuh	haɛ'	haǰɔ'	haǰu'	bahai
159.	short	idɔk	pandak	pandak	pandak	ißak	ißɛk	dißɪk
160.	long	mɔ'	panǰaŋ	panǰaŋ	panǰaŋ	ɔmbu'	mahaŋka'	ombu
161.	thin	tipii	banipɪs	tipis	banipɪs	mihpih	mipih	mipih
162.	thick	kapaar	bakapal	tabal	bakapal	kahpan	kapan	kapan
163.	narrow	sʌmpit	sɛkɛ'	sampit	sɛpɪt	sihki'	sikɔŋ	sikɔŋ
164.	wide	lạǰah	lumbah	luas	lumbah	haǰɔ'	blauh	bɔλamba'
165.	straight	tṛih	buǰur	lurus	bučur	buǰur	buǰur	tɔŋkɔλɔŋ
166.	old	pi̇lɛga'	bakas	tuɛ'	bakas	ɔkɔ'	batuɔ'	popa
167.	new	isaai	tahɛta'	baharu	tahɛta'	bahua'	bɔǰu'	baa
168.	good	paǰɪk	bahalap	baik	lamus	piɔs	piyɔ'	piyo
169.	bad	kahɛ' paǰɪk	papatutu'	buruk	karam	ǰaa'	ǰɛ'ɛt	čɛɛt
170.	correct	kʌnaai	tutu'	buǰur	buah	mɔrɔŋ	buǰur	buǰur
171.	night	kalam	hamalɛm	hamalɛm	hamalɛm	ŋɔλomi'	mamalɔm	mamaλɔm
172.	day	nau	andau	andau	andau	ɔndou	ɔndou	ondou
173.	year	taaun	ñɛlu'	ñilu'	ñɛlu'	toun	toun	toun
174.	when?	pinaan	hamparea'	parɛa'	ḫamanɛn	mira'	siran	mindaiomah
175.	at	dɛ'	ɪntu'	di	ṇǰuŋ	aŋ	ñan	ñʌn
176.	in	dɛ'lam	huaŋ	dalam	ṣuaŋ	aaŋ	pɔnah	pɔnah
177.	here	ditih	intuhɛtuh	sihɛtun	ṇǰuŋ situh	aŋɔhtɔi	ñantɔi	ñʌntɔi
178.	there	ditɔ	intukanih	sikanih	ṇǰuŋ siɛ'	aŋanai	ñan'intɪn	ñʌntɪn
179.	this	itih	tu'ieh	ɛtun	ǰituh	ihtu'	tuh	tuh
180.	that	anɛh	tɛkanih	itu	ǰiɛ'	ahtu'	di'	nɔn
181.	near	ṭotɔ'	tokɛp	gapi'	dani'	dɔni'	dɔni'	dokɪn
182.	far	ṇčɔ'	kɛǰau	kɛǰau	kɛčau	mahču'	mačɔ'	ɔču
183.	where?	diña	huaŋkuɛh	sikuɛh	ṇǰuŋsußɛi	aŋamuh	ñanmɔh	ñamuh
184.	ɪ	ap	aku'	yaku'	iyaku'	ahku'	aku'	akuh
185.	thou	kɔ'	ikau	ikau	ikau	ihku'	ikɔ'	ikɔ'

SWI	Gloss	Tundjung	Kapuas	Ba'amang	Katingan	Dohoi	Murung[2]	Siang
186.	he	isa'	iyɛ	iya	iyɛ'	iyɔ'	arɔp	aree
187.	we (incl.)	taai	itah	kita	ita'	ihtɔh	ikai	kaih
	we (excl.)	kami'	ikei	ikɛi	ikɛi	ihkai	itɔ'	kitan
188.	ye	kaam	kɛtun	ikɛi	ikam	irɔ'	ikam	ikʌm
189.	they	ara'anɛh	ewɛn	sida'	lusɛ'	irɔ'	irɔh	iruh
190.	what?	ñamaa	narai	narai	narai	inɔn	ɔmɛ'	ome'
191.	who?	uñaa	ɛwɛh	yauɛh	ɛßɛi	iai	ɔmɛ'	ome'
192.	other	laain	bɛkɛn	lain	bɛkɛn	buhkɔn	bɔkun	bɔkɔn
193.	some	bʌbrapa	papirɛ'	bararapa'	pirɛpirɛ	pirapira'	pirapira	pirapira
194.	many	adi'	arɛ'	arɛ'	arɛ'	arɔ'	ɔrɔŋ	ɔrɔŋ
195.	few	kʌliit	isut	gisut	isut	ñahiyut	isut	diit
196.	all	sʌmua	uras	samua	uras	uræh	uras	kɔkɔi
197.	and	dạn	tuntaŋ	dan	tutaŋ	tutaŋ	taŋ	hɪntaŋ
198.	with	bṛsamaa'	hayak	hayak	hayak	hɔmbɔh	hɔmbɔh	hɔmbɔh
199.	because	sʌbap	buhɛn	karana	sabap	kabain	buah	tuʌui
200.	if	kalau	amun	kalau	amun	amun	amun	amun
201.	how?	ŋʌmɛñaa	mačamkuɛh	pɛdakuɛh	ɛnaraka	inunkɔʌau	kɔßɛdɛɔi	mainisai
202.	not	kahɛ'	dia'	barɛ'	dia'	ɛyam	dɔkɔ'	arɔh
203.	to count	milaŋ	barɛkɛn	ma'isɛ	maniŋgap	ñiyạp	nitun	ŋitun
204.	one	ča'	iǰɛ'	iǰɛ'	ičɛ'	ihčɔ'	ičɔ'	ičo
205.	two	rʌga'	duɛ'	duɛ'	duɛ'	duɔ'	duɔ'	duɔ
206.	three	tʌlu	tɛlɔ'	tɛlu'	tɛlu'	tɔlu'	tɔlu'	tɔlu
207.	four	paat	epat	ɛpat	ɛpat	ɔhpat	ɔpat	opat
208.	five	lima'	limɛ'	limɛ'	limɛ'	limɔ'	limɔ'	ʌimɔ'
209.	six	hagan	ǰahawɛn	ǰahawɛn	ǰahawɛn	ɔnɔm	ɔnɔm	onɔm
210.	seven	tuǰuu'	oǰu'	uǰu'	uču'	pihtu'	pitu'	pɪtu
211.	eight	kaluuŋ	hañ̃a'	hañ̃a	hañ̃a'	ǰaʌu'	ǰalu'	ǰaʌu
212.	nine	sʌtian	ǰalatiɛn	ǰalatiɛn	ǰalatiɛn	siɔi	suɔi	suoi
213.	ten	sawaŋ	sapuluh	spuluh	sapuluh	pulu'	spuluh	sɔpuʌuh
214.	twenty	rɛga'pulu'	duɛpuluh	duɛpulu	duɛ'pulu	duɔpulu'	duɔpulu	duanpuʌu
215.	hundred	čahatuu	saratus	saratus	saratus	sakatuih	sratuh	sɔratuh

SDL	Gloss	Kapuas	Ba'amang	Katingan	Dohoi	Murung[2]	Siang
1.	forehead	lɪŋkau	dahi'	lɪkau	likou	liŋkou	liŋkou
2.	cheek	pipɪ'	pipi	pipi	tapa'	sobia	sobia
3.	lip	biwɪh	bibir	biβih	biβih	bɛβɛh	bɛβɛh
4.	chin	iǰaŋ	dagu	ǰaŋ	ǰaaŋ	čaa'	čaa
5.	face	bau'	muhą'	bau'	paun baui	matabau	matam bau
6.	nape	tɛŋkuk	tɛŋkuk	tɛkuk	puhkut	pukut	pukɔt
7.	chest	usuk	dada	usuk	husuk	usuk	husuk
8.	shoulder	bahu'	bahu'	bahu	bahai	bahai	bahai
9.	armpit	katiak	kalaṭia'	kalakap	kalɛhpa'	kɔlɛpa'	kɔλipa
10.	buttock	para'	buriṭ	para'	pulus	para'	para
11.	thigh	sapak	paha	sapak	sahpak	sapak	sapak
12.	knee	ɔtɔt	lantuhut	tuut	karɔp	kalɔp	kaλʌp
13.	calf	- -	batis	bɛtɪs	bɔtih	bɔtih	bɔtɪh
14.	ankle	bukulalɪŋ	matɛpai'	kalalɪŋ	tadaλɪŋ	tɔlɔpɔhɔk	tɔlɔh pɔhɔk
15.	digit	tunǰuk	ǰari'	tɪnǰuk	ikɪŋ	braβai	nst
16.	nail	siluk	silu'	silu'	λuhkap	lukɛp	λukɛp
17.	corpse	hantu'	baŋkai	hatu'	ɔtu'	ɔntu'	- -
18.	house	huma'	huma'	pasah	λɔhpɔ	lɔpɔ	λopou
19.	longhouse	bɛtaŋ	huma' panǰaŋ	bɛtaŋ	bɛhtaŋ	bɛtaŋ	betaŋ
20.	field hut	pundɔk	pɔndɔk	puduk	tikap	tiŋkap	- -
21.	kitchen	dampuhan	dapur	tikah	aβu'	dapur	- -
22.	post	tihaŋ	ǰihi'	ǰɛhɪ'	ǰohi'	ǰɔhi'	ǰɔhi
23.	steps	taŋga'	taŋga	hɛčan	hɔnǰan	hučaŋ	kučan
24.	village	lewu'	kampuŋ	lɛβu'	λɔβu'	lɔβu'	λɔβu
25.	betel	sirih	sirih	daβɛi	λout	luat	λuat
26.	lime	kapur	kapur	tuβar	ɛhtuk	apuh	apuh
27.	gambir	gambɪr	gambir	gambɪr	kambɪn	kambin	ambɪn
28.	areca nut	pinaŋ	pinaŋ	gɛhat	kahat	pinaŋ	pinaŋ
29.	swidden	tana'	sahaŋ	tana'	umɔ'	umɔ'	umo
30.	padi	parɛi	parɛi	parɛi	parɔi	parɔi	parɔi
31.	rice	bɛhas	bɛhas	bɛhas	bɔčah	bɔǰah	bɔǰɔh

SDL	Gloss	Kapuas	Ba'amang	Katingan	Dohoi	Murung[2]	Siang
32.	cooked rice	barɪ'	nasi'	bari'	bari'	bari'	- -
33.	rice (glut.)	pulut	puluṭ	pulut	pulut	pulut	- -
34.	padi seed	pauŋ	tampaŋ	bɛñi'	bəñi'	bəñi'	- -
35.	dibble stick	- -	tugalan	tuhal	tuhkan	tukan	- -
36.	to dibble	manugal	manugal	manuhal	nuhkan	nukan	- -
37.	to sow	manugal	mahambur	mañaßar	məñi'	nimun	- -
38.	to cut padi	maŋgɛtɛm	maŋgɛtɛm	maŋgɛtɛm	ŋəhtəm	marəi	maroi
39.	palas	mamalas	mañala	mañaki	məhpas	mañaki	- -
40.	shaman	balian	nst	ǰaya'	balian	balian	- -
41.	knife	ladɪŋ	ladɪŋ	ladɪŋ	ladɪŋ	ladɪŋ	λadɪŋ
42.	machete	pisau	paraŋ	pisau	pisou	turik	uŋkɔk
43.	war sword	mandau	mandau	pisau apaŋ	ahpaŋ	apaŋ	apaŋ
44.	spear	tumbak	tombak	luǰu'	λunǰu'	lunǰu'	λuñu'
45.	blowgun	sumpɪt	sumpitan	sipɛt	səhput	səpət	- -
46.	ax-blade	baliuŋ	balayuŋ	baliuŋ	ɔtak	bliuŋ	ɔntak
46a.	ax	pahɛra'	taŋkai balayuŋ	ɔtak	ɔtak	ɔntak	- -
47.	canoe	ǰukuŋ	ǰukuŋ	rakan	aλut	ǰukuŋ	- -
48.	fish net	tabɪŋ	lunta'	ǰala	ǰala'	ǰala'	ǰala
49.	fish hook	pisi'	pisi	pɛsi'	pəsi'	pəsi'	posi
50.	to fish	mamisi'	mamisi	mamɛsi'	məsi'	məsi'	- -
51.	to fish-poison	manuwɛ'	manuba	manuße'	nuße'	nuße'	- -
52.	pike	bɛhau	bɛhau	bɛhau	ɔra'	kəsuŋ	- -
53.	catfish	bauŋ	bauŋ	bauŋ	bauŋ	bəit	bəit
54.	blowfish	buntal	buntal	butal	manana'	məntana'	məntana
55.	to fight cocks	- -	mañauŋ	mamarap	marap	hərarap	- -
56.	wild pig	bawui himba'	babui hutan	baßui	baßui	baßui	baßui
57.	domestic pig	bawui	babui huma'	urak	urak	bulə'	bulə
58.	bear	bahuaŋ	baruaŋ	bahuaŋ	bəhuaŋ	bəhuaŋ	- -
59.	monkey	bakɛi	bakɛi	bakɛi	bahkai	bakai	bakai
60.	monkey (beruk)	bɛruk	bɛruk	bɛruk	bəruk	bəruk	bəruk
61.	gibbon	kəlawɛt	uaua'	kalaßɛt	kaλaßət	kalaßət	kəlaßət

SDL	Gloss	Kapuas	Ba'amang	Katingan	Dohoi	Murung[2]	Siang
62.	porcupine	landak	landak	tahatuŋ	təhətuŋ	təhətuŋ	tahituŋ
63.	mouse deer	palanduk	palanduk	palanduk	paλanuk	palanuk	pəλanuə
64.	deer (kidjang)	kiǰaŋ	kiǰaŋ	karahau	təλəus	təlouh	təλouh
65.	deer (rusa)	baǰaŋ	manǰaŋan	bačaŋ	uhčaŋ	učaŋ	əčaŋ
66.	water buffalo	hadaŋan	hadaŋan	haraŋan	hadaŋan	krəßə	kərəßə
67.	crocodile	biǰai'	buaya'	bac'	paču'	baǰə'	baǰo
68.	chicken	manuk	manuk	manək	manuk	piyak	piyak
69.	cat	pusa'	kučiŋ	pusa'	pusa'	pusa'	pusa
70.	caterpillar	urɛt	ulat	ulɛr	uλat	ulət	uλət
71.	centipede	halalipan	lipan	ǰalipan	ǰəλipan	ǰalipan	ñəλipan
72.	spider	gandalawa'	labalaba	bakaŋ	kəλəbumbuŋ	untɛk	- -
73.	bumblebee	kakumbaŋ	kumbaŋ	kamaßəŋ	maßuŋ	laßəŋ	maßəŋ
74.	mosquito	ñamuk	ñamuk	ñamuk	ñamuk	ñamuk	ñamuk
75.	fly	laŋau	lalat	laŋau	daλət	dalut	mənaλət
76.	butterfly	kupu'kupu'	kupukupu	kabambaŋ	kəλəbambaŋ	təlubambaŋ	təλəbambaŋ
77.	ant	bitɪk	bitik	bɛtɪk	bɪhtɪk	bitik	bitɪk
78.	tjitjak	čačak	čačak	tasak	taλasak	talasak	təλəboßak
79.	rat/mouse	balawau	tikus	balawau	baλaßou	blaßə	bəlaßou
80.	toke	tʌkɛt	tokɛ'	tasak	kaßukŋəək	- -	- -
81.	locust	hampaŋau	balalaŋ	lapaŋau	mahɪŋou	- -	- -
82.	anteater	taŋgilɪŋ	taŋgiliŋ	ahɛm	ahəm	ahəm	ahəm
83.	leopard	harimau	harimau	haramauŋ	haramauŋ	hərəmauŋ	hərəmauŋ
84.	buffalo	bantɛŋ	bantɛŋ	batɪŋ	batɛŋ	mačan	- -
85.	primary forest	hɪmba'	rimba'	himba'	himba'	himba'	himba'
86.	rattan	uɛi	pɛkat	uɛi	uəi	uəi	uoi
87.	bamboo	humbaŋ	bambu	laßas	pərɪŋ	təluŋ	təluŋ
88.	coconut	eñuh	ɛñuh	ɛñuh	əñu'	əñuh	əñuh
89.	durian	duhian	durian	dahuyan	dəhuǰan	kalaŋ	kalaŋ
90.	banana	pisaŋ	pisaŋ	pisaŋ	puti'	punti'	punti
91.	pineapple	kanas	kanas	kanas	ǰaki'	pampaŋ	- -

SDL	Gloss	Kapuas	Ba'amang	Katingan	Dohoi	Murung[2]	Siang
92.	sahu	sau'	sau'	sau'	- -	sau'	- -
93.	tjempedak	maŋkahai	tiwadak	makahai	makahai	tɔkɔrik	- -
94.	rambutan	rambutan	rambutan	rambutan	baliti'	rambutan	- -
95.	cassava	ǰauwau	kunǰui	kuǰui	ǰaßau	ǰaußau	ǰaßa
96.	eggplant	tɛruŋ	taruŋ	tɛruŋ	ñɔrɔhuŋ	tɛruŋ	- -
97.	kaladi	kuǰaŋ	kaladi	talɪs	talih	kalih	- -
98.	honey	madu'	madu'	maru'	ɔlɪŋ	madu'	- -
99.	tuak	andɪŋ	tuak	baram	pɔhpa'	pɔpa'	pɔpa
100.	river mouth	tumbaŋ	muara	tumbaŋ	tumbaŋ	ɔluŋ	ɔluŋ
101.	rapids	riam	riam	kiham	kiham	kiham	kiham
102.	riverbank	pantai	tabiŋ	tɛßaŋ	kɔßaŋ	kɔßaŋ	- -
103.	afternoon	halɛmɛ	kamarian	ißa'andau	sɔhit	čɔhit	- -
104.	orangutan	tahiuk	uluh hutan	kahiu'	kahiu'	- -	- -

KTL	Gloss	Kapuas	Ba'amang	Katingan	Dohoi	Murung[1]	Murung[2]	Siang
1.	Sb	iǰekalam-butan	dansana'	pahari'	halɨ'	- -	konduaŋ	- -
2.	Sb+	kaka'	kaka'	kakak	nst	oŋka	oŋka'	oŋka
2a.	Br	ñahą'	nst	ñahai (* F)	oka'	nst	nst	nst
3.	Sb-	andi'	adi'	arɪŋ	ari'	are'	arɛ'	tari
3a.	Si	bɛtau	nst	bɛtau	bohtou	nst	nst	nst
4.	Co	pahari'	sapupu	nst	halɨ'	nst	konduaŋ	nst
5.	Co1	ǰetatu'	sapupu skali	ǰatatu'	ihčɔtahtu'	kanduaŋ ǰɔtatu	ičutatu'	ičotatu
6.	Co2	hanǰenan	sapupu duakali	hanǰɛnan	hañɛnan	- -	hanǰɛnan	- -
7.	Co3	tɛlutatu'	sapupu tigakali	hararuɛ'	hañɛnan tahtu'	- -	hararuɛ'	- -
8.	Co4	nst	nst	nst	halaruɛ'	- -	nst	- -
9.	Co5	nst	nst	nst	nst	- -	nst	- -
10.	Fa	apaŋ	bapa'	ñapaŋ	amai	amai	amai	tamai
11.	Mo	umai	uma'	indaŋ	inai	inai	inɛ'	tinai
12.	PaBr	mama'	paman	mama'	mama'	mama'	mama'	amaŋ
13.	PaBr+	akas hatuɛ'	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
14.	Pa^{n}r-	mama' busu	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
15.	PaSiHu	mama'	paman	mama'	mama'	- -	mama'	- -
16.	PaSi+Hu	- -	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
17.	PaSi-Hu	- -	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
18.	PaSi	mina'	ačil	mina'	mina'	mina'	mina'	inaŋ
19.	PaSi+	akas bawi'	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
20.	PaSi-	mina' busu	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
21.	PaBrWi	mina'	ačil	mina'	mina'	- -	mina'	- -
22.	PaBr+Wi	- -	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
23.	PaBr-Wi	- -	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
24.	Ch	anak	anak	ñanak	naiŋñam	anɛ'	daǰa'	anak
25.	So	anakhatuɛ'	- -	ñanakhatuɛ'	anak bahkæh	anɛ' bakah	daǰa'bakah	anak bakah

(* F) = female speaker

KTL	Gloss	Kapuas	Ba'amang	Katingan	Dohoi	Murung[1]	Murung[2]	Siang
26.	Da	anakbawi'	- -	ñanakbaßi'	anakbaßi'	anɛ'baße'	daǰa baße'	anakbaße'
27.	SbCh/CoCh	akɛn	kamanakan	ñakɛn	akun	akɔm	akun	- -
28.	PaPa	nst	nst	hiaŋ	tahtu'	nst	nst	nst
29.	PaFa	buɛ'	kai'	nst	nst	tatu'	tatu'	tatu
30.	PaMo	tambi'	nɛnɛk	nst	nst	aǰuh	aǰuh	aǰuh
31.	ChCh	ɛsu'	čuču'	ɛsu'	ɔsu'	osum	ɔsu'	ɔsu
32.	SbChCh&	ɛsu'	čuču'	ɛsu'	ɔsu'	osum	ɔsu'	ɔsu
33.	PaPaPa	datu'	datu'	umbuh	ahču'	- -	datu'	- -
34.	ChChCh	buyut	buyuṭ	buyut	ɔsu'	- -	buyut	- -
35.	SbChChCh&	buyut	buyuṭ	buyut	ɔsu'	- -	buyut	- -
36.	PaPaPaPa	mɔyaŋ	mɔyaŋ	nst	hiyaŋ	- -	nst	- -
37.	ChChChCh&	ɛntah	nst	nst	ɔsu'	- -	nst	- -
38.	Sp	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst
39.	Hu	bana	banɛ'	banai	bɔsai	bɔsai	bɔsai	bana
40.	Wi	sawa	istri	sawai	ɔruh	ɔruh	ɔruh	ɔruh
41.	SpSb/SbSp	nst	ipar	sindah	sindah (*M)	- -	nst	- -
42.	SpBr/SiHu	ayup	nst	nst	sindah (*F)	- -	sindah	- -
43.	SpSi/BrWi	iwan	nst	nst	hɪŋat (*F)	- -	iŋat	- -
44.	ChSpPa	saŋɛr	saŋɛr	saŋɛr	hasaŋiau'	- -	saŋɛr	- -
45.	SpSbSp	duɛi	- -	nst	haduɔi	- -	haduɔi	- -
46.	SpPa	ɛmpu'	mantuha'	ɛpu'	upu'	ɔmpu'	umpu'	- -
47.	SpPa	ɛmpu'hatuɛ'	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	- -
48.	SpMo	ɛmpu'bawi'	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	- -
49.	SpPaSb	ɛmpulambuŋ	mantuha' lambuŋ	duɛi	upu'	nst	nst	- -
50.	SpPaBr	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	- -
51.	SpPaSi	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	nst	- -
52.	ChSp	manantu'	manantu	manantu'	manatu'	manantuŋ	manantu'	- -

(*M) = male speaker

(*F) = female speaker

PART III NON-BARITO ISOLECTS

Indonesian
Bandjar
Delang
Tamuan
Malagasy (Merina)

Standard Indonesian orthography has been used in the Indonesian list, except that "y" has been substituted for the semivowel "j". The Indonesian list does not include KTL. The Malagasy list includes only SWL.

SWL	Gloss	Indonesian	Bandjar	Delang	Tamuan	Malagasy
1.	hand	tangan	taŋan	loŋan	loŋan	tanan
2.	left	kiri	kiwa'	kipa'	kiwa	haßi
3.	right	kanan	kanan	kanan	kanan	haßana
4.	leg	kaki	batis	kaki	kaki	ranžụ
5.	foot	kaki	batis	kaki	kaki	tuŋgutrạ
6.	to walk	berdjalan	baǰalan	boǰalan	baǰalan	mandɛhạ
7.	road	djalan	ǰalan	ǰalan	ǰalan	lalaŋ
8.	to come	datang	dataŋ	dataŋ	dataŋ	tuŋgạ
9.	to turn	belok	bɛlɔk	bɛlɔk	balɪŋkou	mißilẏị
10.	to swim	berenang	bakuñuŋ	bɔnunaŋ	mañulam	milumạnụ
11.	to wash	tjutji	basuh	mɔntɔpas	bahɔmpu'	manasẹ
12.	to wipe	menghapuskan	maŋhapuskan	- -	- -	mamafạ
13.	to rub	menggosok	maŋgɔsɔk	mɔŋgɔsɔk	maŋgɔsɔk	mikuskạ
14.	dirty	kotor	rigat	kɔtɔr	diabrasih	malutụ
15.	dust	debu	dabu	dɔbu	dabu	ßußkạ
16.	skin	kulit	kulɪt	kulit	kulit	hudịtrạ
17.	back	punggung	puŋguŋ	bɔlikat	puŋguŋ	lamusnạ
18.	belly	perut	parut	pɔrut	pɔrut	kibụ
19.	bone	tulang	tulaŋ	tulaŋ	tulaŋ	tɔlan
20.	guts	isi perut	isi parut	isi pɔrut	isi pɔrut	tsnai
21.	liver	hati	hati	hati	hati	atị
22.	heart	djantung	ǰantuŋ	ǰantuŋ	ǰantuŋ	fu
23.	to know	tahu	tahu'	tɔhu	tahai	mahalalạ
24.	to think	pikir	pikir	pikir	pikɪr	mɪrtɪrtrạ
25.	to fear	takut	takutan	gɔla'	takut	matautrạ
26.	blood	darah	darah	darah	darah	ra
27.	head	kepala	kapala	kɔpalɔ	kapala	luhʌ
28.	neck	leher	gulu'	lihi'	lihɪr	tɛnda
29.	hair	rambut	rambut	rambut	rambut	ßulụ
30.	nose	hidung	hiduŋ	hiduŋ	hirɔŋ	urunạ
31.	to breathe	bernapas	bahinak	mɔŋɔsih	banofas	mihaina / mifuk

SWL	Gloss	Indonesian	Bandjar	Delang	Tamuan	Malagasy
32.	to smell	membaui	mančium	mɔnčium	mančium	mahaɹrɛ / mandrɛ
33.	mouth	mulut	muntuŋ	ñau	mulut	faßʌ
34.	tooth	gigi	gigi	gigi	gigi	nifi
35.	tongue	lidah	ilat	lidah	lirah	lɛlʌ
36.	to laugh	tertawa	tatawa'	tɔtau	katawa	miumɛh
37.	to cry	menangis	manaŋis	mɔnaŋis	manaŋis	mituman
38.	to vomit	muntah	muak	mutah	mumtah	mandu / mihɔk
39.	to spit	meludah	baludah	mɔigah	maluǰah	manžuraɹ
40.	to eat	makan	makan	makan	musɛh	mihinanʌ
41.	to cook	masak	masak	bɔrapi	bamasa'	mahandrʌ
42.	to drink	minum	minum	minum	marai	misutrʌ
43.	to bite	menggigit	maigut	mɔŋɔtap	manɔlan	manaiktrʌ
44.	to suck	menetek	mañusu	mɔñusu	mañusu'	mitsɛtstrʌ
45.	ear	telinga	talɪŋa'	kɔlɪŋakan	tiliŋa	sufʌnʌ
46.	to hear	dengar	daŋar	mɔndɪŋa'	buŋi	manɹdrɪ
47.	eye	mata	mata	matɔ	mata	masɻ
48.	to see	lihat	malihat	niɹt	mila	maitʌ
49.	to sleep	tidur	gurɪŋ	tidu'	guriŋ	maturi
50.	to lie	rebah	bagalɪŋ	bɔrɔbah	tɔlɔŋtaŋ	mitslan / mandri
51.	to sit	duduk	duduk	duduk	duru'	mipɛtak
52.	to stand	berdiri	badiri	bɔdirɪn	badiri	mžur
53.	person	orang	ɔraŋ	uyaŋ	uraŋ	ulunʌ
54.	man	laki-laki	lakilaki	lɔlaki	kalaki	lɛlahi
55.	woman	perempuan	binibini'	bɔtina'	labini	ßɛißaßɛ
56.	child	anak	anak	bɔbia'	babia'	aŋkizi / zatuß
57.	husband	suami	laki'	laki	swami	ßadi
58.	wife	isteri	bini'	bini	istri	ßadi / ampɛla
59.	mother	ibu	uma'	indai	indai	rɛn
60.	father	ayah	bapa'	bɔpai	ɔmpai	rai
61.	sibling+	kakak	kakak	anči'	ǰula'	zukilahi (Br+) zukißaßi (Si+)

SWL	Gloss	Indonesian	Bandjar	Delang	Tamuan	Malagasy
62.	sibling-	adik	andrŋ	adiŋ	ʊnsu'	zandrilahi (Br-) zandriβaβi (Si-)
63.	name	nama	ŋaran	namɔ	nama	ʌnaran
64.	to say	bilang	sambat	bɔpadah	uǰa'	milaz / mitɛn
65.	rope	tali	tali	tali	tali	tadi
66.	to tie	mengikat	manǰarat	mɔŋɔbat	maǰɔrat	mamatutrʌ
67.	to sew	mendjahit	manǰahɪt	mɔnǰɔhit	manǰahɪt	manžaitrʌ
68.	clothing	pakaian	pakaian	pakayan	pakayan	akandzu
69.	to hunt	memburu	mamburu	mɔŋgɔyau	baburu	mihazʌ
70.	to shoot	menembak	manɛmbak	mɔnɛmbak	manɛmbak	mitiftrʌ
71.	to stab	menikaman	mañuduk	mɔnikam	manikam	manatsatukʌ
72.	to hit	bertindju	batampar	bɔtinǰu	batampar	mikʸapkʌ
73.	fight	berkelahi	bakalahi	bɔkɔlɔhi	ba'klahi	mʸadti
74.	to kill	membunuh	mambunuh	mɔmbunuh	mambunuh	mamunu
75.	to die	mati	mati	mati	mati	mati
76.	to live	hidup	hidʊp	hidup	hirup	ßɛlna
77.	to scratch	menggaruk	maŋgaru'	mɔŋgayu	bɔgarou	ɔkɔrnʌ / ɔtrɔrnʌ
78.	to cut	memotong	manatak	mɔnɔta'	mɛnota'	manapak
79.	stick	batang	bataŋ	bataŋ	bataŋ	kupili
80.	to split	membelah	mambalah	mɔmbɔlah	mambolah	mamakʸi
81.	sharp	tadjam	landap	taǰam	taǰam	marantrʌ
82.	dull	tumpul	tumpʊl	tumpul	tʊmpʊl	dumbu
83.	to work	bekerdja	bagawi'	bɔkɔrɔǰɔ	bagawi	mʸasʌ
84.	to play	bermain	brmain	mɔŋgasɔ	bakoča'	milalau
85.	to sing	menjanji	bañañi	mɔñañi	bañani	mihirʌ / mikʸalu
86.	to dance	menari	ba'ɛgal	mɔnari	manari'	mandih
87.	to swell	bengkak	baŋkak	bɔŋka'	bɔŋka'	mßʊtu
88.	to squeeze	memeras	mamarah	mɔmɔyah	mamɔras	manaputstrʌ
89.	to hold	memegang	mamɪŋkʊt	mɔnǰuǰut	mamʌgaŋ	mitazuna
90.	to dig	menggali	manabʊk	mɔŋgali	maŋali	mihadi
91.	to give	beri	bari'	mɔ'ɔǰi'i	mambɔri	manumɛ
92.	to pull	menarik	manarɪk	mɔnari'	mɔmbita'	mitarkʸɛ

SWL	Gloss	Indonesian	Bandjar	Delang	Tamuan	Malagasy
93.	to push	mendorong	manunǰul	mɔñurun	mañurun	manusiḳʸᴧ
94.	to throw	melempar	manawak	mɔnikam	mɛnǰakah	miturᴧk
95.	to fall	djatuh	gugur	ǰatu'	ǰatu	mʸɛnzɛrᴧ
96.	dog	andjing	hidupan	kudu'	asu	alikʸᴧ
97.	bird	burung	burun	burun	burun	ßurunᴧ
98.	egg	telor	hɪntalu'	runti	tɔlur	atundi
99.	feather	bulu	bulu'	bulu	bulu	ßulnburunᴧ
100.	wing	sayap	halar	sayap	sayap	ɛlatrᴧ
101.	to fly	terbang	tarabaŋ	tɔrɔbaŋ	tɔrɔbaŋ	manin
102.	animal	binatang	binataŋ	bɔnataŋ	lau'	bibɪ
103.	meat	daging	dagɪŋ	isi	dagɪŋ	hɛnᴧ
104.	fat	lemak	lamak	lɔma'	lɔma'	taßi
105.	tail	ekor	buntut	iku'	butut	rambu
106.	snake	ular	ular	ular	ular	biblaß
107.	worm	tjatjing	čačɪŋ	čačiŋ	buhun	kaŋkanᴧ
108.	louse	kutu	kutu'	kutu	kutu	parasi
109.	fish	ikan	iwak	ikan	lau'	trundru
110.	tree	pohon	pohon	kayu	puhun	hazu
111.	rotten	busuk	buruk	buru'	buru'	lu
112.	leaf	daun	daun	doon	daun	raßn
113.	bark	kulit kayu	kulit kayu	kulit kayu	kulit kayu	hudikʸazu
114.	root	akar	akar	akar	akar	fak
115.	seed	bidji	bigi'	biǰi'	bigi	ßuᴧ
116.	flower	bunga	kambaŋ	kɔmbaŋ	buŋa	ßunkʸazu
117.	fruit	buah	buah	buah	buah	ßokʸazu
118.	grass	rumput	rumput	rumput	rumput	buzakᴧ
119.	earth	tanah	tanah	tanah	tanah	tani
120.	stone	batu	batu	batu	batu	ßatu
121.	sand	pasir	karaŋan	kɔkɔrakan	pasir	faskʸᴧ
122.	water	air	bañu'	arai'	arai	ranu
123.	to freeze	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -

SWL	Gloss	Indonesian	Bandjar	Delang	Tamuan	Malagasy
124.	ice	es	ɛs	ɛs	ɛs	ranu mandrị
125.	to flow	mengalir	maŋalir	mɔŋalir	maŋalɪr	mikrinạ
126.	to float	terapung	tarkapuŋ	tɔ'apuŋ	tɛrapuŋ	msaßɔn
127.	ocean	laut	laut	loot	laut	ranu masɪn
128.	salt	garam	uyah	garam	garam	sirạ
129.	lake	danau	danau	danau	danau	farih
130.	river	sungai	suŋai	suŋai	suŋai	uni / rɛniranụ
131.	mountain	gunung	gunuŋ	gunuŋ	gunuŋ	tɛndrumbuitrạ
132.	woods	hutan	hutan	hutan	hutan	alạ
133.	sky	langit	laŋit	laŋit	laŋit	laniṭrạ
134.	sun	matahari	matahari	matɔhari	mata'ari	masuandrạ
135.	star	bintang	bintaŋ	bintaŋ	bɪntaŋ	kintanạ
136.	cloud	awan	awan	awan	awan	raun
137.	fog	embun	ambun	ɔmbun	ɛmbun	zaßunạ
138.	to rain	hudjan	huǰan	huǰan	huǰan	aßuranạ
139.	snow	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
140.	wind	angin	aŋɪn	aŋin	aŋɪn	rißtrạ
141.	to blow	bertiup	batiup	bɔtiup	bahumbus	mitsukạ
142.	warm	panas	panas	haŋat	panas	mafanạ
143.	cold	dingin	dɪŋɪn	diŋin	dɪŋɪn	maŋgatsikʸạ
144.	dry	kering	karɪŋ	kɔriŋ	kɔrɪŋ	mainạ
145.	wet	basah	basah	bansah	basah	mandụ / pɛtsạ
146.	smooth	rata	rata'	ratɔ	rata	malamạ
147.	heavy	berat	barat	bɔrat	bɔrat	maßɛsatrạ
148.	fire	api	api'	api	api	afụ
149.	to burn	membakar	mañalukut	mɔnčučul	mañusul	mirɛatrạ
150.	smoke	asap	kukus	ansap	asap	sɛtrụkạ
151.	ashes	abu	habu'	habu	habu	laßɛnụnạ
152.	black	hitam	hiran	hitam	titam	maintị
153.	white	putih	putih	putih	putɪh	futsị
154.	red	merah	habaŋ	mirah	mɛrah	mɛnạ

SWL	Gloss	Indonesian	Bandjar	Delang	Tamuan	Malagasy
155.	yellow	kuning	kunɪŋ	kunɪŋ	kunɪŋ	maßụ
156.	green	hidjau	hiǰau	hiǰau	hiǰau	maiṇtsụ
157.	small	ketjil	kačil	kɔčik	kɔni'	kɛliˌ
158.	big	besar	ganal	bɔsar	bakah	lɛhibɛ
159.	short	pendek	handap	panda'	pɔnda'	fui
160.	long	pandjang	panǰaŋ	panǰaŋ	panǰaŋ	laßʌ
161.	thin	tipis	nipɪs	nipis	tipis	manifiˌ
162.	thick	tebal	kandal	tɔbal	tɔbal	matɛßṇʌ
163.	narrow	sempit	kipit	sɔmpɪt	sɔmpit	tɛriˌ
164.	wide	luas	luas	luar	luas	malalʌkʌ
165.	straight	lurus	buǰur	buǰur	lurus	maitsiˌ
166.	old	tua	tuha'	tuhɔ	tuha	antʌtrʌ
167.	new	baru	hañar	bɔharu	baharu	ßau
168.	good	baik	baik	bɔi'	bai'	tsaraˌ
169.	bad	djelek	ǰɛlɛk	ǰahai'	hɔntabai'	ratsiˌ
170.	right	betul	banar	bɔndar	bɔnar	marnʌ
171.	night	malam	malam	malam	malam	alna
172.	day	hari	hari	hari	ari	andrụ
173.	year	tahun	tahun	tɔhun	tahun	taun
174.	when?	kapan	babila'	sɔmbilo	papan	rɔßɪnʌ
175.	at	di-	di	di	kɔ	eo
176.	in	dalam	dalam	dalam	dalam	au
177.	here	disini	disini	disi'in	kɔti	ɛtụ / ati
178.	there	disitu	disitu	disumbɔ	diti	ɛri / ari / ɛniˌ / aniˌ
179.	this	ini	ini	ni'in	iti	itikatrʌ
180.	that	itu	itu	numbɔ	iyah	irikatrʌ / irukatrʌ
181.	near	dekat	rupak	dampiŋ	dɔkat	akaikʸiˌ
182.	far	djauh	ǰauh	ǰooh	ǰauh	laßtrʌ
183.	where?	dimana	dimana	dimɔnɔ	manih	aizʌ
184.	ɪ	saya / aku	aku	saya / aku	aku	izahụ
185.	thou	kau	ikam	hulɔ	kɔlai	ianau

SWL	Gloss	Indonesian	Bandjar	Delang	Tamuan	Malagasy
186.	he	dia	iña'	iyɔ	ia	iz
187.	we (incl.)	kita	kita	kitɔ	diri	isikʲʌ
	we (excl.)	kami	kami	kɔi	ikam	izahai
188.	ye		ketuh	kain	ikam	ianarɛo
189.	they	mereka	ketuh	sia'	marɛka	iz
190.	what?	apa	apa	apɔ	apa	inunạ
191.	who?	siapa	siapa	sɔpɔ	siapa	iza
192.	other	lain	lain	bukan	lain	af
193.	some	beberapa	babrapa	bɔbrɔpɔ	bɨbrapa	sasanị
194.	many	banjak	bañak	bańa'	bańa'	bɛtsakʌ / marubɛ
195.	few	sedikit	sadikɪt	sɔdikit	kɔči'	ßitsị
196.	all	semua	samua'	sɔmuɔ	uras	rɛhɛtrʌ / dahulụ
197.	and	dan	dan	dan	dạn	si / arị
198.	with	bersama	barsama	bɔsamɔ	bṛsama	mʲarakʌ amnị
199.	because	sebab	sabap	kɔrɔnɔ	sɔbap	satri
200.	if	kalau	kalu'	aman	amun	raha
201.	how?	bagaimana	mačamapa	mačamapɔ	mačamia	aɔnʌ
202.	not	tidak	kada'	čadɔ	hɔnta	tsi
203.	to count	menghitung	marɛkɛn	mɔhitun	mahitun	manisʌ
204.	one	satu	satu	ɔsɔ	sa	isʌ / irai
205.	two	dua	dua	duɔ	dua	ru
206.	three	tiga	tiga	tigɔ	tɔlu	tɛlụ
207.	four	empat	ampat	ɔmpat	ɔmpat	ɛfatrʌ
208.	five	lima	lima	lima'	lima	dimị
209.	six	enam	anam	ɔnam	ɔnam	ɛninạ
210.	seven	tudjuh	tuǰuh	tuǰuh	tuǰu	fitụ
211.	eight	delapan	dalapan	dɔlapan	dlapan	ßalụ
212.	nine	sembilan	sambilan	sɔmbilan	sm̩bilan	sißị
213.	ten	sepuluh	sapulu	sɔpuluh	spuluh	fulụ
214.	twenty	duapuluh	duapulu	duɔpulu	duapulu	ruʌfulu
215.	hundred	seratus	saratus	sɔratus	sratus	zatu

SDL	Gloss	Indonesian	Bandjar	Delang	Tamuan
1.	forehead	dahi	dahi	kɔniŋ	dahi
2.	cheek	pipi	pipi	pipi	pipi
3.	lip	bibir	bibir	iŋam	bibir
4.	chin	dagu	dagu	kaŋkam	dagu
5.	face	muka	muhą'	muhǫ'	muha
6.	nape	tengkuk	buritundun	tundun	tɔŋku'
7.	chest	dada	dada	dadɔ	dara
8.	shoulder	bahu	bahu	bɔhu	bahu
9.	armpit	ketiak	kalatiak	kɔlipa'an	kɛtia'
10.	buttock	pantat	burit	butat	pupuh
11.	thigh	paha	bataŋ paha	pahɔ	paha
12.	knee	lutut	lɪntuhut	kɔputut	tuwut
13.	calf	betis	batis	bɔtis	bɔtis
14.	ankle	matakaki	mukulali'	bukuali	matakaki
15.	digit	djari	ǰari	ǰari	ǰari
16.	nail	kuku	kuku	silu	silo
17.	corpse	mayat	baŋkai	mayąt	mayat
18.	house	rumah	rumah	rumah	daŋau
19.	longhouse	rumahpandjang	rumah panǰaŋ	- -	bɛtaŋ
20.	field hut	pondok	pundɔk	mɔntiruŋ	pɔndɔk
21.	kitchen	dapur	dapur	dɔpur	dapur
22.	pole	tiang	tihaŋ	tihaŋ	tihaŋ
23.	steps	tangga	taŋga	taŋgɔ	taŋa
24.	village	kampung	banua	kampuŋ	kampuŋ
25.	betel	sirih	sirih	sirih	sɪrɪh
26.	lime	kapur	kapur	kapur	kapur
27.	gambir	gambir	gambɪr	ganǰi'	gambɪr
28.	areca nut	pinang	pinaŋ	pinaŋ	pinaŋ
29.	swidden	ladang	pahu'ma'an	lakau	huma
30.	padi	padi	banɪh	padi	pari
31.	rice	beras	baras	bɔras	bɔras

SDL	Gloss	Indonesian	Bandjar	Delang	Tamuan
32.	cooked rice	nasi	nasi	ñasi'	nasi
33.	rice (glut.)	ketan	lakatan	pulut	pulut
34.	padi seed	benih	bigibanɪh	bənih	- -
35.	dibble stick	asak	panundaŋ	tugal	tugal
36.	to dibble	menugal	manugal	mənugal	minugal
37.	sow padi seed	menabur	manabur	məhampur	minabur
38.	to cut padi	menuai	maŋatam	məhañi	minuai
39.	palas	- -	palas	məñəŋkələn	hapalas
40.	shaman	belian	balian	bəbəlin	bilian
41.	knife	pisau	pisau	ladiŋ	larɪŋ
42.	machete	parang	paraŋ	iŋgap	pisau
43.	war sword	mandau	mandau	mandau	mandau
44.	spear	tombak	tumbak	tumba'	tumba'
45.	blowgun	petan	sumpitan	sumpitan	sumpɪt
46.	ax-blade	beliung	balayuŋ	bəliuŋ	bliuŋ
46a.	ax	- -	paradah	pərədah	pahɛra'
47.	canoe	perahu	ǰukuŋ	pərəhu'	ǰukuŋ
48.	fish net	djala	lunta'	ǰalə	ǰala
49.	fish hook	kail	unǰun	kəil	kail
50.	to fish	memantjing	maŋunǰun	məŋəil	miŋail
51.	to fish-poison	menuba	manuba'	mənubə	minuwa
52.	pike	gabus	ikan haruan	haruan	bɛhau'
53.	catfish	baung	bauŋ	ikan duri	bauŋ
54.	blowfish	buntal	buntal	buntal	buntal
55.	to fight cocks	menjabung	basauŋ	məñabuŋ	mamarap
56.	wild pig	babi hutan	babi	təlimpai	bawi hutan
57.	domes. pig	babi rumah	babi	babi laman	bawi bnua
58.	bear	beruang	baruaŋ	bəruaŋ	bruaŋ
59.	monkey	kera	warik	kərə	kəra
60.	monkey(beruk)	beruk	bakantan	bəru'	bəru'
61.	gibbon	wawa	uaua	pəŋua'	kalawɛt

SDL	Gloss	Indonesian	Bandjar	Delang	Tamuan
62.	porcupine	landak	landak	landa'	landa'
63.	mouse deer	kantjil	palanduk	pɔlandu'	palanduk
64.	deer(kidjang)	kidjang	kiǰaŋ	kiǰaŋ	kiǰaŋ
65.	deer (rusa)	rusa	mɪǰaŋan	rusɔ	baǰaŋ
66.	water buffalo	kerbau	hadaŋan	kɔrɔbau	haraŋan
67.	crocodile	buaya	buhaya	bɔhayɔ	bahaya
68.	chicken	ayam	hayam	manu'	manu'
69.	cat	kutjing	kučɪŋ	kučiŋ	unčaŋ
70.	caterpillar	ulat	hulat	hulat	hulat
71.	centipede	lipan	halilipan	sɔŋgilipan	lalipan
72.	spider	laba-laba	gandaŋ lawa'	laau	labalaba
73.	bumblebee	kumbang	kumbaŋ	kumbaŋ	kumbaŋ
74.	mosquito	njamuk	ñamuk	rɔŋih	ñamu'
75.	fly	lalat	baraŋa'	laŋau	laŋau
76.	butterfly	kupu-kupu	kupukupu	ramɔramɔ	kakupu
77.	ant	semut	samut	sɔmut	sɔmut
78.	tjitjak	tjitjak	čačak	čača'	čača'
79.	rat/mouse	tikus	tikus	tikus	blawau
80.	toke	toke	tɔkɔk	čɔki	- -
81.	locust	walang sanggit	bilahuh	bunta'	hampaŋau
82.	anteater	tenggiling	taŋgilɪŋ	tɔŋgiliŋ	tɛŋgilɪŋ
83.	leopard	harimau	harimau	harimau	haramauŋ
84.	buffalo	banteng	bantɛŋ	bantiŋ	bantɛŋ
85.	primary forest	rimba	rimba	rimbɔ	rimba
86.	rattan	rotan	pa'ikat	hui	hui
87.	bamboo	buluh	buluh	buluh	buluh
88.	coconut	kelapa	ñiur	kalapɔ	niɣr
89.	durian	durian	durian	duriŋ	duhuyan
90.	banana	pisang	pisaŋ	pisaŋ	pisaŋ
91.	pineapple	nanas	kanas	kɔnas	kanas

SDL	Gloss	Indonesian	Bandjar	Delang	Tamuan
92.	sahu	sahu	sau'	sau	sawu'
93.	tjempedak	tjempedak	tiwadak	tɔbɔda'	maŋkahai
94.	rambutan	rambutan	rambutan	rambutan	rambutan
95.	cassava	ubi kayu	gumbili kayu	hubi	kunǰui
96.	eggplant	terung	taruŋ	tɔruŋ	tɛruŋ
97.	kaladi	kaladi	kaladi	kɔladi	kalari
98.	honey	madu	madu	madu	madu
99.	tuak	tuak	tuak	tua'	baram
100.	river mouth	muara	muhara'	muarɔ	muara
101.	rapids	riam	riam	riam	riam
102.	river bank	tebing	piŋgir	kɔnambiŋ	tɛwaŋ
103.	afternoon	sore	kamarian	babahari	halɛmɛi
104.	orangutan	orang utan	oraŋhutan	uyaŋhutan	kahiu'

KTL	Gloss	Bandjar	Delang	Tamuan
1.	Sb	daŋsanak	sɔmadikan	dɔŋan
2.	Sb+	kaka'	anči'	ǰula'
2a.	Br	nst	nst	nst
3.	Sb-	adɪŋ	adiŋ	unsu'
3a.	Si	nst	nst	nst
4.	Co	sapupu	sana'tuhɔ	spupu
5.	Co1	sapupuskali	sana'tuhɔ skali	spupuskali
6.	Co2	sapupuduakali	sana'tuhɔ duɔkali	spupuduakali
7.	Co3	sapuputigakali	sana'tuhɔ tigɔkali	spuputigakali
8.	Co4	nst	nst	nst
9.	Co5	nst	nst	nst
10.	Fa	bapa'	bɔpai	ɔmpai
11.	Mo	uma'	indai	indai
12.	PaBr	nst	bɔpai	mama'
13a.	PaBr+(eldest)	ǰulak	bɔpai tuhɔ	nst
13b.	PaBr+(2nd)	gulu'	nst	nst
13c.	PaBr+(3rd)	aŋah	bɔpai tɔŋah	nst
14a.	PaBr-	pakačil	nst	nst
14b.	PaBr-(last)	busu	bɔpai buŋsu	nst
15.	PaSiHu	nst	bɔpai	mama'
16.	PaSi+Hu	13a-c	13a/13c	nst
17.	PaSi-Hu	14a-b	14a-b	nst
18.	PaSi	nst	indɛ	mina
19a.	PaSi+(eldest)	ǰulak	indɛ tuhɔ	nst
19b.	PaSi+(2nd)	gulu'	nst	nst
19c.	PaSi+(3rd)	aŋah	indɛ tɔŋah	nst
20a.	PaSi-	makačil	nst	nst
20b.	PaSi-(last)	busu	indɛ buŋsu	nst
21.	PaBrWi	nst	indɛ	mina
22.	PaBr+Wi	19a-c	19a/19c	nst
23.	PaBr-Wi	20a-b	20a-b	nst

KTL	Gloss	Bandjar	Delang	Tamuan
24.	Ch	anak	bɔbia'	babia'
25.	So	anaklakilaki	bia'lɔlaki	nst
26.	Da	anakbinibini	bia'bɔtina'	nst
27.	SbCh/CoCh	kamanakan	anak sɔmadikan	akɛn
	CoCh		anak sanatuhɔ	
28.	PaPa	nini	nst	nst
29.	PaFa	nst	abu'	buɛ'
30.	PaMo	nst	nini'	tambi'
31.	ChCh	čuču'	čuču	čuču
32.	SbChCh&	čuču'	čuču	čuču
33.	PaPaPa	datu'	aŋki (M)/bayan(F)	umbuh
34.	ChChCh	buyut	iyut	buyut
35.	SbChChCh&	buyut	iyut	buyut
36.	PaPaPaPa	muñaŋ	nst	nst
37.	ChChChCh&	entah	nst	nst
38.	Sp	nst	pasakan	nst
39.	Hu	laki	laki	swami
40.	Wi	bini	bɔtina'	istri
41.	SpSb/SbSp	nst	ipar	ipar
42.	SpSb+/Sb+Sp	kaka'	nst	nst
43.	SpSb-/Sb-Sp	adɪŋ	nst	nst
44.	ChSpPa	pawaraŋan	bisan	saŋɛr
45.	SpSbSp	miruai	ipar	ipar
46.	SpPa	mɪntuha	mɔntuhɔ	nst
47.	SpFa	bapa'	nst	mama'
48.	SpMo	uma'	nst	mina
49.	SpPaSb	mɪntuha lambuŋ	mɔntuhɔ lambuŋ	nst
50.	SpPaBr	nst	nst	mama'
51.	SpPaSi	nst	nst	mina
52.	ChSp	mɪnantu	mɔnantu	manantu'

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