

# 5 *The languages of Wetar: recent survey results and word lists, with notes on Tugun grammar*

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BRYAN HINTON

## 1 Introduction

To date, very little information has been available on the languages of Wetar. This study presents a current overview of the language situation on this eastern Indonesian island, using a lexicostatistical study to calibrate other information. The perspective offered here is quite different from what was previously known about the island. Also included is a brief sketch of Tugun phonology and grammar, as well as representative word lists from each of the five language groups, in order to provide data that otherwise are unavailable on these Austronesian languages.

The majority of the data for this study were collected on the island of Wetar, with additional data collected on nearby Kisar island, for two weeks in April of 1989 by the author, and colleague Lee Steven. Subsequent visits of three weeks each in June of 1989 and January 1990 by the author were spent living in a village in the Tugun language group collecting texts and data on morphology and syntax, as well as checking previous survey data. [These islands are identified on the map in the introduction to this volume.]

Wetar is located 60 km north of East Timor, in the south-west corner of the province of Maluku. It is a mountainous island roughly 95 km long by 30 km wide, with peaks rising to 1,430 meters. The total population of the island is just under 4,000, according to official government statistics (Kantor Statistic Propinsi Maluku 1987).

An attempt was made to visit every village that has a Wetar-speaking native population, and to elicit a 210-word list from the local dialects. Two of the twenty-three villages on Wetar are comprised entirely of recent migrants from Kisar Island that still use the Kisar language, and therefore were not included in this study.<sup>1</sup> The survey was carried out under a

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<sup>1</sup> The Kisar-speaking villages of Neumatang and Arnau were not included in this study. Lurang village was completely deserted when we arrived, except one old woman who was either too sick or too afraid to come out of her house. The attempt to take a word list through the window failed. However, on a subsequent

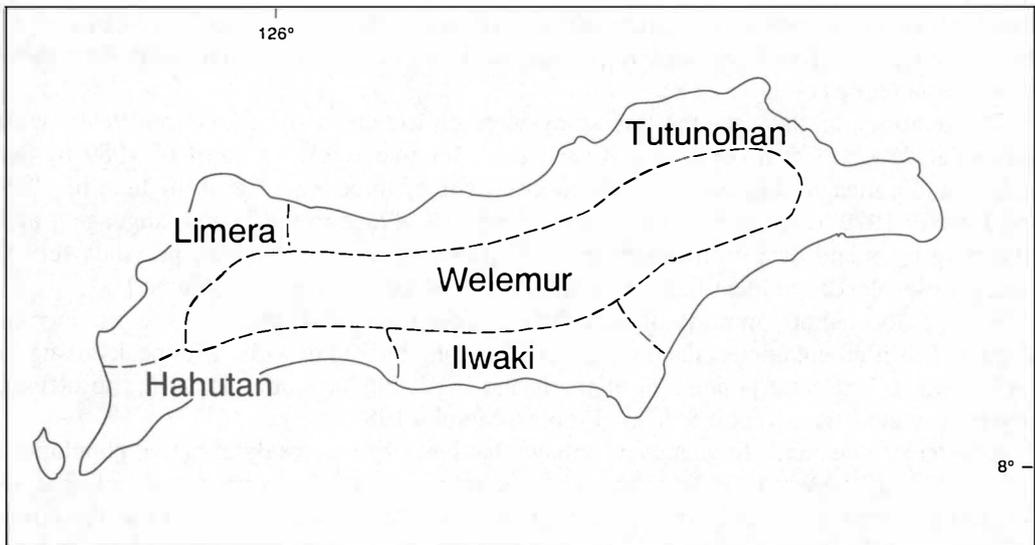
co-operative agreement between the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Pattimura University in Ambon, Maluku.

## 2 Previous studies

Previous works that have attempted to delineate the speech groups of Wetar or contribute to knowledge about them are discussed below. Wetar has been considered an Austronesian language with several dialects, classified into a larger 'Ambon-Timor Group' of languages (Esser 1938, Salzner 1960, Dyen 1965, Voegelin and Voegelin 1977). More recently, Blust (1977) places the languages of southern Maluku (including Wetar) within the Central Malayo-Polynesian subdivision of Austronesian.

### 2.1 Riedel

Riedel (1886) identifies five speech communities on Wetar: Iliwaki, Tutunohan, Hahutau, Limera, and Welemur. Included throughout his chapter on Wetar are numerous examples from the Iliwaki language. The following map shows the location of Wetar dialects according to Riedel:



**Map 1:** The dialects of Wetar Island, from Riedel (1886)

On the map above, a dialect called Welemur is shown to be located in the interior region of the island. During the recent survey, however, it became apparent that this group no longer exists as a separate dialect or language. Local officials and the local inhabitants report that no-one lives in the interior anymore. Finally, the head of Lurang village reports

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visit in Jan. 1990, a word list was successfully taken, and it was explained that the woman was not sick as had been previously assumed, but had already passed away.

that the Welemur people have all been absorbed into the villages of Lurang, Ilwaki, and Iputih, and no longer speak a distinct dialect.

## 2.2 Holle lists

“The Holle lists”, published in 1980 (W.A.L. Stokhof, ed.) included a 1,400-word list from Wetar, plus some brief notes on the grammar. The list was taken in 1895 by W. Heldt, from the “Lir Talo dialect”. Based on a comparison with the current survey results, this list came from what is presently called the Talur language group.

(1)	Gloss	Holle list	Talur	All other Wetar languages
	‘house’	<i>uma</i>	<i>umah</i>	<i>raha</i>
	‘we’ (incl)	<i>gita</i>	<i>gita</i>	<i>ita</i>
	‘yellow’	<i>mara</i>	<i>mara</i>	<i>pola</i>

## 2.3 J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong

The most significant work on a language of Wetar to date is de Josselin de Jong’s *Studies in Indonesian culture II: the community of Erai (Wetar)* (1947), based on texts gathered during an eighteen day stay in a village on the west coast of Wetar. The book includes ethnographic notes, a brief sketch on some aspects of the grammar of the language found there, a 1,200 word dictionary, and transcripts of the texts with English translation.

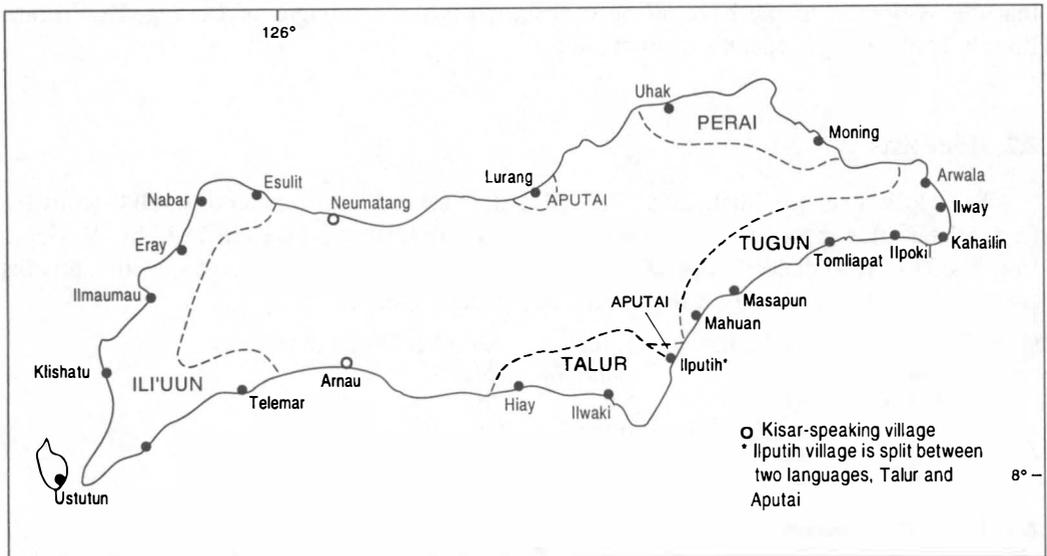
## 2.4 Salzner

In R. Salzner’s 1960 *Sprachenatlas des Indopazifischen Raumes* (Language Atlas of the Indo-Pacific Region), Wetar is considered to be one language, and is divided into six dialects: Ilwaki, Hahutan, Limeria, Tutunohan, and Welemur on Wetar island, and Galoli on E. Timor. He includes Wetar in the Ambon-Timor group. The significance of Salzner’s map is the inclusion of a dialect of Wetar located in E. Timor, not found in any other work (see discussion under §5.1 below).

## 2.5 Voegelin and Voegelin

Voegelin and Voegelin’s 1977 *Classification and index of the world’s languages* includes Wetar in the Ambon-Timor group, following Esser (1938) and others. This work differs from Salzner (1960) in that Erai is included as one of the speech groups of Wetar, while Galoli is not.

During the recent survey, it became apparent that Erai refers to a village on Wetar in the Ili’uun language group (see Map 2), rather than a separate language or dialect.



**Map 2:** The languages of Wetar Island, 1989 survey

**2.6 Wurm and Hattori (eds)**

The Wurm and Hattori, eds (1981) map on the region that includes Wetar presents all the linguistic groups on the island as dialects of the same language, although they note “The differences between the dialects of Wetar are considerable, and there are numerous subdialects”.

Wurm and Hattori’s classification of these languages is as follows:

Timor Area Group
Timor and Islands Subgroup
Wetar (dialects)
Ilwaki
Tutunohan
Limera
Hahutan
Welemur

**Figure 1:** Classification of Wetar dialects, from Wurm and Hattori, eds

The dialect names above are the same as those used by Riedel (1886), except for a slight spelling difference (Hahutan vs Hahutau). The location of the dialects on both maps are also practically identical.

**2.7 Taber**

Taber (1990), in an overview survey of south-western Maluku languages, has tabulated the percentage of lexical similarity between word lists from the entire area, including one from each of the languages on Wetar. Taber places the languages of Wetar in what he calls

the South-West Islands Stock, which includes the Wetar Family, the Kisar-Roma Family, the Luang Family, the South Damar Family, and the Teun-Nila-Serua Family.<sup>2</sup>

The data for Taber's study originally included a word list from only four of the five language groups on Wetar. The data therefore was not sufficient to obtain a clear perspective on where the present day speech community boundaries on Wetar are, or the range of variation between the dialects. In addition, the existence of a speech community living in the interior of the island was not confirmed (see discussion under Riedel above).

The present survey was proposed to obtain detailed information on the number, location, and range of variation of present day speech communities on Wetar, which was beyond the scope of Taber's study. The procedures and results of the present study are discussed in the following sections.

### **3 Procedures**

#### **3.1 Word list**

A 210-word list was used in this survey, which includes most of the Swadesh 100 and 200-word lists. The list was translated into Indonesian and elicited in Indonesian/Ambonese Malay. Some of the items were excluded from the analysis after the survey was completed. Due to the confusion and hesitation encountered during elicitation, six words were considered unreliable for analysis.<sup>3</sup> A seventh word 'bark' was excluded since it always appears as a polymorphemic lexical item consisting of the words for 'tree' and 'skin', both of which were elicited separately. The remaining 203 items were used for comparison.

#### **3.2 Data collection**

Care was taken to be sure all the word lists were elicited from native speakers of the languages who were also offspring of native speakers. Where possible, all the lists were taken in the villages on Wetar, although three were elicited nearby at the government district center.<sup>4</sup> For most of the villages two word lists were taken as a check on the reliability of the data. Of the 38 word lists collected, 21 (one from each village) were chosen for comparison.

The opinions of the native population of Wetar concerning the language situation were taken into account, with a high degree of correlation between their reported information and the results of this study.

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<sup>2</sup> In July of 1987, colleagues Mark Taber and David Coward of the Summer Institute of Linguistics conducted a language survey of the south-west part of Maluku, under a cooperative agreement with Pattimura University. Included among the word lists they elicited was one from Wetar (Ilwaki village). In addition, John Christensen, working on nearby Kisar island, elicited three of the Wetar word lists that were included in Taber's study. The final word list, as well as information on the location of the Wetar languages, was contributed by the author.

<sup>3</sup> The words *bangunkan* 'wake up', *jatuhkan* 'drop', *bulat* 'round', *bagaimana* 'how', *berbaring* 'lie down', and *mandikan* 'bathe s.o.' were excluded. Their morphological and semantic complexity regularly caused confusion.

<sup>4</sup> Word lists for the villages of Hiay, Mahuan, and Masapun were taken on Kisar.

### 3.3 Data analysis

In the analysis of the word list, words considered to be phonetically the same or similar were grouped together into the same cognate set,<sup>5</sup> using the inspection method (Gudschinsky 1956), providing they also had the same or similar meaning. The computer program WORDSURV<sup>6</sup> was used to compile the percentages of lexical similarity. The computer tabulated the choices made by the linguist to arrive at the percentage of lexical similarity for each pair of word lists.

## 4 A lexicostatistical perspective

Figure 2 below presents the percentages of lexical similarity between the word lists from Wetar. Two word lists are included from Ilputih village since there are two language groups living together there. Names in lower case on the chart are villages which the word lists represent.

### 4.1 Discussion of chart

In using the term 'language' I am referring to the distinct groupings in the chart. I have used the range of 75 to 80 per cent to determine the division between languages and dialects of the same language. Consequently, word lists grouping above the 80 per cent level were considered dialects of the same language.

The language division choices were also influenced by the opinions and reports of the native speakers of these languages, who consistently reported little or no intelligibility between the languages. Intelligibility testing (Casad 1974) needs to be done to verify the degree of intelligibility between groups that fall close to the language/dialect threshold, such as Perai and Aputai.

The figures in the chart in Figure 2 are all relative to each other. A researcher using a shorter or a longer word list would most likely come up with different percentages. What the chart demonstrates is the internal cohesion of what I call the Wetar Cluster (Perai, Aputai, Ili'uun and Tugun) as opposed to the Talur language. The figures from Taber (1993) also support these divisions. The split between the Talur language and the languages of the Wetar Cluster is graphically illustrated in the figure below, which is based on the percentages of lexical similarity:

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<sup>5</sup> 'Cognate' is not an entirely accurate term for this study, since it implies a rigorous study of sound correspondences to determine genetic relationships and weed out borrowings.

<sup>6</sup> John Wimbish's WORDSURV program (1989) greatly reduced the time and difficulty of comparing 21 lists. After the lists were entered and words grouped by the linguist into sets, it took under 60 seconds to finish the tabulations.

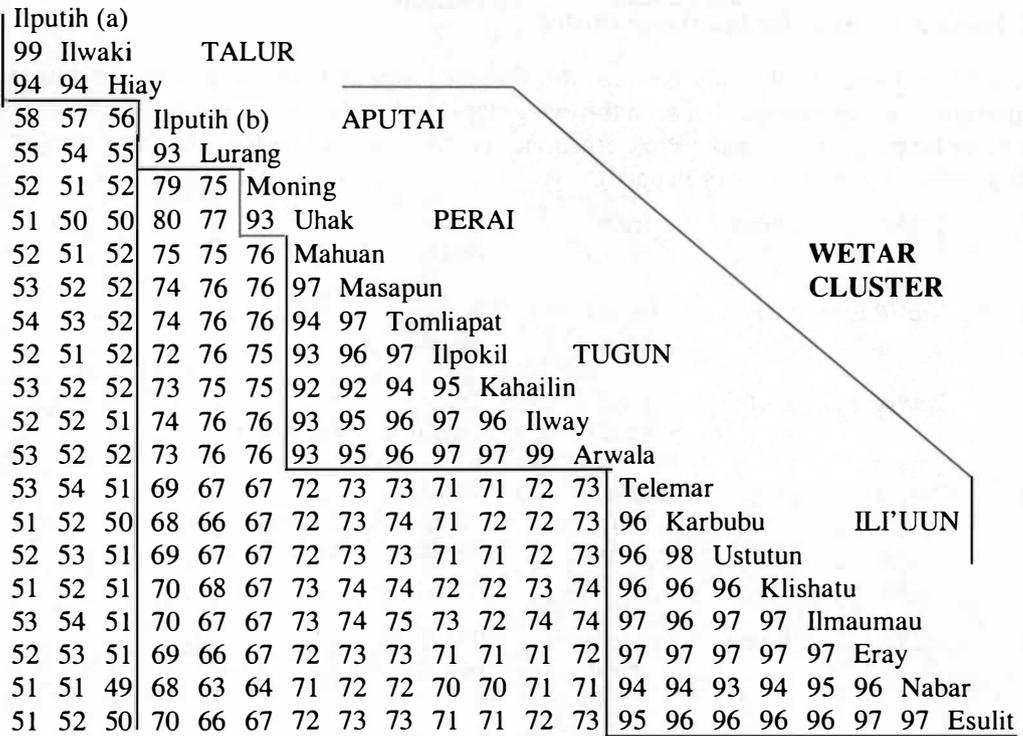


Figure 2: Lexical similarity of Wetar word lists

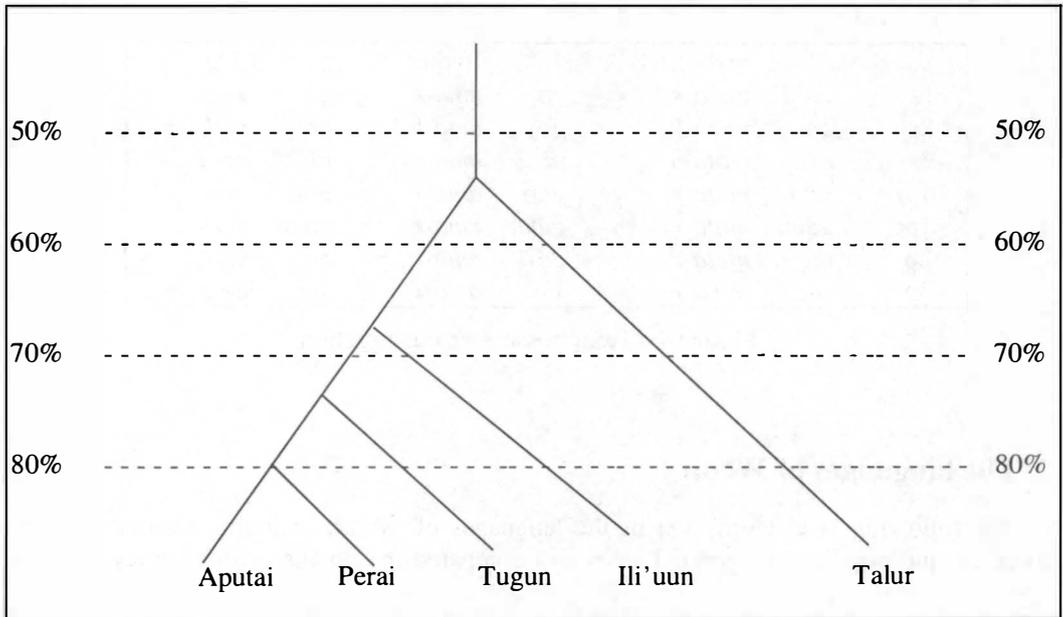


Figure 3: Tree diagram of Wetar languages

**4.2 Further evidence for the Wetar cluster**

Further evidence of the split between the Wetar Cluster and the Talur language comes from sound correspondences between the two groups, and in the possessive construction. In the Talur language, intervocalic Proto Austronesian \**R* is lost, while the other languages of Wetar reflect it as [r] (trilled or flapped):

(2)	<i>*DuRi</i>	‘thorn’	[ruin] [rurin]	Talur others
(3)	<i>*ma-iRaq</i>	‘red’	[mea] [mera]	Talur others
(4)	<i>*daRəq</i>	‘earth’	[rea] [rare]	Talur Tugun, Ili’uun, Aputai
(5)	<i>*baqəRu</i>	‘new’	[heu] [feru] [heruŋ] [herun]	Talur Perai, Tugun, Aputai Ili’uun
(6)	<i>*daRaq</i>	‘blood’	[raan] [rara] [raran]	Talur others

The possessive construction for the two groups is also very different. Talur, like Galoli in East Timor, has a full set of possessive suffixes for certain body parts and terms of relationships. The other four languages of Wetar do not use possessive suffixes.<sup>7</sup> Talur possessive suffixes are given below with the forms *mata-* ‘eye’, *ama-* ‘father’, and *ee-* ‘leg’:

		‘eye’		‘father’		‘leg’
1s	<i>ga</i>	<i>mata-k</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ama-k</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ee-k</i>
2s	<i>go</i>	<i>mata-k</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>ama-k</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>ee-k</i>
3s	<i>ni</i>	<i>mata-n</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ama-n</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ee-n</i>
1pi	<i>gita</i>	<i>mata-r</i>	<i>gita</i>	<i>ama-r</i>	<i>gita</i>	<i>ee-r</i>
1pe	<i>gami</i>	<i>mata-r</i>	<i>gami</i>	<i>ama-r</i>	<i>gami</i>	<i>ee-r</i>
2p	<i>mi</i>	<i>mata-r</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>ama-r</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>ee-r</i>
3p	<i>sia</i>	<i>mata-r</i>	<i>sia</i>	<i>ama-r</i>	<i>sia</i>	<i>ee-r</i>

**Figure 4:** Talur possessive construction

**5 The languages of Wetar**

The following is a description of the languages of Wetar, including alternate names, location, and population figures. I have also compared the results of this survey with the

<sup>7</sup> In Wetar languages, the final *n* of certain part-whole relationships like *ai-funan* ‘flower’ (lit. tree-flower), from PAn *\*buŋa*, may be a frozen 3s possessive suffix.

previous works mentioned above. The language names used reflect the current usage based on responses from the majority of the inhabitants I spoke with. As discussed above, the languages of Wetar fall into two major divisions, the Wetar Cluster (Perai, Ili'uun, Aputai, and Tugun languages), and the Talur language group.

All of the villages of Wetar are located on the coast, with garden plots scattered over miles of rugged mountainous terrain. The people practice swidden agriculture, with maize being the main crop. All of the villages on the island have accepted the Christian religion. In addition to the local languages, most of the people are also bilingual to some extent in the regional variety of Malay.

## **5.1 The Talur language**

Talur is spoken in three villages on the south-central coast of Wetar (Hiay, Ilwaki, and Ilputih). Several alternate names are used for the language: Galoleng, Ilwaki, Lir Talo, and Ilmedu (Ilputih village). The total population is 675 (on Wetar, see discussion below). Hiay village is reported to be comprised mainly of immigrants to the area from Kisar who have learned the local language, and is therefore included in this population figure.

While in the Talur language area, I was told that the language was the same as the language spoken in East Timor in the region around Manatuto. This roughly corresponds to the Galoli language area shown in the Wurm and Hattori (1981) map of Timor. Salzner (1960) even includes Galoli as a dialect of Wetar located in E. Timor. An alternate name for the Talur language is Galoleng, giving further indication of a connection. Capell (1944) notes "...the language of Wetar is almost identical with that of the Galoli country in Timor..." (he assumed data from Ilwaki was representative of the whole island). Comparing data from Capell (1944) with data from this study, the two languages are 86% lexically similar. This Timor connection for the Talur language could explain why it is divergent from the language groups of the Wetar Cluster. Further data from East Timor is needed to clarify the relationship.

## **5.2 The Wetar cluster languages**

### **5.2.1 Perai**

Perai is spoken on the north-east coast of Wetar in the villages of Uhak and Moning. The total population is 278. Kisar speakers have intermarried with the people of Moning to the point where they comprise nearly 50% of the population. It is claimed that outsiders who marry into the group learn the local language. The people living today claim to be descendants of people who originally lived in the interior.

Perai does not appear in the maps of Riedel (1886), Salzner (1960), or Wurm and Hattori (1981). However, during the recent survey people all around the island identified Perai as a separate language. Elbert (1912) also was familiar with a group called Perai, living in the same area that Perai speakers occupy today.

Perai is most closely related to the Aputai language (79–80%), right at the threshold between language and dialect. Since the speakers consider them separate languages, I have classified them separately pending further research on intelligibility.

### 5.2.2 *Aputai*

Aputai is spoken in Iputih village on the south-central coast of Wetar, and in the village of Lurang, on the north-central coast of the island. An alternate name given in Iputih was Opotai. In the previous works, Aputai appears only in Elbert (1912). The population for this group is approximately 150, split between the two villages.

A trail connects the two villages, though it is more than a two day hike. Some of the residents of Iputih were born in Lurang. In the last few years a gold mining operation has begun near Lurang, which may potentially cause significant changes in the area.

Originally the speakers of this language lived in two villages in the interior of the island. Prior to World War II they were moved to the coast, one group to the north, and one to the south. The people that moved to the south coast were placed with a village of Talur speakers. Consequently, many (if not all) Aputai speakers living in Iputih village also speak Talur. This contact between the languages may explain why the Aputai dialect from Iputih has a higher percentage of lexical similarity with Talur (average 57%) than the other languages of the Wetar Cluster (average 52%). The pattern in the figures of lexical similarity for Talur and Aputai suggests what Simons (1977) calls a 'pattern of convergence'. Talur being the dominant language of the area may explain why Iputih Aputai shows a pattern of convergence with Talur in the matrix.

### 5.2.3 *Ili'uun*

Ili'uun is spoken in the villages of Telemar, Karbubu, Klishatu, Ilmaumau, Eray, Nabar, and Esulit on the western end of Wetar, and in Ustutun village on Lirang, a small island off the south-west tip of Wetar. The total population is 1400+. Ustutun is the most influential village in the area and the most progressive. Because of the extreme tidal range, the beach is used for boat repair by people from around the region.

In Riedel (1886), Salzner (1960) and Wurm and Hattori (1981), the present day Ili'uun language area was divided into the Hahutan and Limera dialects. On the lexicostatistic data alone, there is no basis for dividing the Ili'uun language into dialects today, though there may be other linguistic or social factors that would. Also, no-one I talked to was familiar with the names Hahutan and Limera. The village head of Telemar reports that there used to be three dialects in this area, Jeh, Ili'uun and Juru, but now all use the Ili'uun dialect. Ustutun is in the old Ili'uun dialect area, and being the most influential village on the west end of the island, it seems that the other dialects have converged with it or died out.

### 5.2.4 *Tugun*

The Tugun language is spoken in the villages of Mahuan, Masapun, Tomliapat, Ipokil, Kahailin, Ilway, and Arwala on the south-east end of Wetar. The people report little or no variation between the villages, except for Arwala, which is claimed to have different intonation. Hunters use a special speech register, consisting of a limited set of unique vocabulary items which are only used in the interior regions of the island while hunting game. The total population for this group is 1200+.

The only alternate name, Tutunohan, comes from the earlier works of Riedel (1886), Salzner (1960) and Wurm and Hattori (1981). The Tutunohan dialect area included the present day Tugun language area, covering the region between Iputih on the south coast,

the villages on the east end of the island, and the villages on the north coast to Neumatang. The results of this survey, however, show a completely different picture. Now there are three distinct language groups living in what was previously called the Tutunohan area. As for the name Tutunohan, I could find no-one who recognised it.

## 6 Notes on Tugun phonology and grammar

In June of 1989 and January of 1990, I was able to return to the Tugun area, and collected data each time for three weeks in several villages. The following is a brief summary of some aspects of Tugun phonology and grammar.

### 6.1 Phonology

Vowels: Tugun has five vowels: /i e a o u/. The vowel /e/ has allophones [e] and [ɛ]. The details of the distribution of [ɛ] are still unclear, though it always occurs before /r/ in a closed syllable: *ɛɛr* ‘water’, *tɛɛr* ‘ask’. The vowel u has allophones [u] and [ʊ]. Following /m/, [ʊ] is the allophone of /u/: *muʊ* ‘banana’, *mumu* ‘machete’ though only in a few examples have been observed at this point in the analysis.

Consonants: The consonant phonemes are given below. (See Appendix B for phonetic values)

		labial	apical	laminal	dorsal	glottal
Stops	vl	p	t	c	k	ʔ
	vd			j	g	
Fricative	vl	f	s			h
	vd	v				
Nasal		m	n		ŋ	
Trill			r			
Lateral			l			

Figure 5: Tugun consonants

The consonant phoneme /v/ has two allophones [v] and [w] which alternate with each other. Examples: *vatin* ~ *watin* ‘place’; *vina* ~ *wina* ‘my mother’; *vai* ~ *wai* ‘big’. During elicitation, my main informant, a 45-year old male, gave the v-form first, and if questioned on the pronunciation, gave the w-form. A 15-year old informant gave only the w-form.

The phoneme /r/ tends to be trilled if it occurs word-final or in slow speech, and elsewhere is flapped. Glottal /ʔ/ is of questionable phonemic status as it occurs: medially in only a few words, e.g. *namʔi* ‘good’ (but *namii* ‘he dreams’), and *-iʔai* ‘cook’; in verb morphology (Ipe *amʔ*, see §6.3 below); and before word-initial vowels, where it is non-contrastive.

### 6.2 Stress placement

In general stress falls on the penultimate syllable of words. In the following examples the stressed syllable is underlined: *nalun* ‘food’, *juun* ‘find’, *kaliran* ‘spouse’. There are a few

exceptions, where often the aspectual clitics *-e* and *-me* shift the stress to the ultimate syllable of the root, e.g. *mu-falik* 'I will-return' but *mu-falik-me* 'I will-return-ASP'.

### 6.3 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns are classified by number (singular or plural), by person (first, second, or third), and by inclusive versus exclusive reference in the first person plural. The free pronouns do not change form for different syntactic functions.<sup>8</sup>

Tugun has four sets of subject agreement affixes on verbs, determined by phonotactics and mood. The relevant phonotactics are whether the verb stem is consonant-initial or vowel-initial. The mood distinction is between irrealis and realis. The various sets are given below:

	Free pronouns	C-Initial Irrealis	Realis	V-Initial Irrealis	Realis
1s	<i>au</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>v-</i>
2s	<i>oo</i>	<i>om-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>om-</i>	<i>m-</i>
3s	<i>nii</i>	<i>ma-</i>	$\emptyset$ -	<i>man-</i>	<i>n-</i>
1pe	<i>ami</i>	<i>am-</i>	<i>am-</i>	<i>am?</i>	<i>am?</i>
1pi	<i>ita</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>it-</i>	<i>kat-</i>	<i>it-</i>
2p	<i>mii</i>	<i>mar-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>mar-</i>	<i>mir-</i>
3p	<i>hira</i>	<i>mar-</i>	<i>ra-</i>	<i>mar-</i>	<i>r-</i>

**Figure 6:** Tugun pronouns and subject agreement forms

Duals with the free pronouns are formed by combining them with the numeral root for two *rua*: *ita rua* 'we (incl) two'; *mi-rua* 'you two'; *hira rua*, *hi-rua* 'the two of them'.

Duals in the subject agreement system are derived from the root for 'two' *rua*: *ka-ru* '1du', *ru-* '3du'.

- (7) *ka-ru-falik*                      'Let's us two return'  
*ru-kefe*                                'two-carried'

### 6.4 Possessives

Possession is expressed by placing the personal pronouns (full or cliticised form) before the possessed object.

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<sup>8</sup>

1du	first person dual	3s	third person singular
1pe	first person exclusive	ASP	aspectual clitic
1pi	first person inclusive	incl	inclusive
1s	first person singular	lgs	languages
2p	second person plural	vd	voiced
2s	second person singular	vl	voiceless
3p	third person plural		

- |     |                   |                    |
|-----|-------------------|--------------------|
| (8) | <i>au mumu</i>    | 'my machete'       |
|     | <i>o-raha</i>     | 'your house'       |
|     | <i>ni-ama</i>     | 'his father'       |
|     | <i>ita ana</i>    | 'our (incl) child' |
|     | <i>ami raha</i>   | 'our (excl) house' |
|     | <i>hira vatin</i> | 'their place'      |

The first-person singular bound pronoun has two forms, /u-/ and /v-/. For nouns beginning with a consonant, /u-/ is used. For vowel-initial nouns, /v-/ is used.

- |     |               |              |
|-----|---------------|--------------|
| (9) | <i>u-mumu</i> | 'my machete' |
|     | <i>u-raha</i> | 'my house'   |
|     | <i>v-ama</i>  | 'my father'  |
|     | <i>v-ina</i>  | 'my mother'  |

Possession is also expressed by using the verbal *ene* 'to own'. This follows the patterns described above for verbal inflection.

- |      |                       |                      |
|------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| (10) | <i>ni-ene mumu ge</i> | 'that's his machete' |
|      | <i>au v-ene</i>       | '[it's] mine'        |

## 7 Summary

Wetar has been a relatively little studied island in the past, and though the present study brings to light some significant advances on what was previously understood, much research remains to be done. The significance of this study is that it not only provides data that can not be found elsewhere, but it also provides a comprehensive survey of Wetar, covering every community on the island. Past literature concerning Wetar has given a much different picture on the languages of this island. Some of the differences may be explained in terms of migration or convergence, but most probably resulted from a lack of data originally. Five distinct groups are apparent from the survey data, and have been tentatively considered separate languages. Dialect intelligibility testing, as well as sociolinguistic research, would greatly enhance the understanding of the languages of this island.

**Appendix A: Information on word lists**

<b>Word list number</b>	<b>Village name and (language)</b>	<b>Name of primary informant(s) (age)</b>
1.	Moning (Perai)	Sakius (54)
2.	Uhak (Perai)	Iace Makesso (25); Y.S. Makesso (47)
3.	Iputih(b) (Aputai)	Joseph Manuka (37)
4.	Iputih(a) (Talur)	village head (60+)
5.	Hiay (Talur)	Otis Maunari (22)
6.	Ilwaki (Talur)	Octovianus Naharuik (62)
7.	Mahuan (Tugun)	Solemar Lutpuru (46)
8.	Masapun (Tugun)	Ismael Malali (46)
9.	Tomliapat (Tugun)	Soleman Lainjais (57); Karel Panrati (14)
10.	Ilpokil (Tugun)	Gerson Pakolay (33)
11.	Kahailin (Tugun)	Andanas Maumaja (22)
12.	Ilway (Tugun)	Samuel Samat (30); Thomas Unukoly (45)
13.	Arwala (Tugun)	Zekarias Sindjadje (30); Oktupianus Maukaut (38)
14.	Telemar (Ili'uun)	Pietar Maray (45); Jehudas Maehen (41)
15.	Karbubu (Ili'uun)	Moses Maia (46); Ingalina Maia (29)
16.	Ustutun (Ili'uun)	Lazarus Malau (40); Edward Maika (47)
17.	Klishatu (Ili'uun)	Abraham Mamonu (34); Set Makima (47)
18.	Ilmaumau (Ili'uun)	Domingus Malikang (18)
19.	Eray (Ili'uun)	Agustinus Debanse (34); Yesayaw Heruk (37)
20.	Nabar (Ili'uun)	Yan Mara (27); Benjamin Mamaga (47)
21.	Esulit (Ili'uun)	Samuel Magareng (15); Paulos Magumi (46)

## Appendix B: Comparative word lists

Word lists elicited during this survey are reproduced below, with a description of the symbols used. Representative word lists were chosen from each language group as follows: Uhak (Perai); Iputih(b) (Aputai); Ilwaki (Talur); Ilway (Tugun); Ilmaumau (Ili'uun).

[Editor's note: Since writing this paper the author has spent ten months living in the Tugun speaking area doing research on that language. He writes, "I know that there are no monosyllabic words in Tugun, and I suspect the same is true for the others. When I took the word lists, I was not in tune to vowel length, and didn't record it. Only after spending more time in the Tugun language did I analyse it as a sequence of like vowels." Since this is also true for languages in the wider region, monosyllabic lexical words (i.e. non-functors) in the following lists should be reinterpreted as having sequences of like vowels. E.g. /un/ should be assumed to be /uun/, /ron/ to be /roon/, and so forth. Word stress remains penultimate. --CEG]

### Symbols

- VV** Long vowels are marked by a double symbol.  
 $\tilde{v}$  Vocoid with tilde [~] diacritic is nasalised.  
 ' Stress in Wetar languages is generally penultimate. It is marked with an apostrophe preceding the stressed syllable where different.

### Contoids

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>p</i> Voiceless bilabial stop                  | <i>j</i> Voiced alveopalatal grooved affricate |
| <i>f</i> Voiceless labiodental fricative          | <i>k</i> Voiceless velar stop                  |
| <i>v</i> Voiced labiodental fricative             | <i>g</i> Voiced velar stop                     |
| <i>t</i> Voiceless alveolar stop                  | <i>ʔ</i> glottal stop                          |
| <i>d</i> Voiced alveolar stop                     | <i>h</i> Voiceless glottal fricative           |
| <i>r</i> Alveolar trill or flap                   | <i>m</i> Voiced bilabial nasal                 |
| <i>l</i> Lateral                                  | <i>n</i> Voiced alveolar nasal                 |
| <i>s</i> Voiceless alveolar grooved fricative     | <i>ŋ</i> Voiced velar nasal                    |
| <i>c</i> Voiceless alveopalatal grooved affricate | <i>w</i> Non-syllabic /u/                      |

### Vocoids

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>i</i> High tense front unrounded vocoid | <i>a</i> Low central unrounded vocoid   |
| <i>e</i> Mid tense front unrounded vocoid  | <i>u</i> High tense back rounded vocoid |
| <i>ɛ</i> Mid lax front unrounded vocoid    | <i>o</i> Mid tense back rounded vocoid  |

English	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Indonesian	root	tree	leaf	thorn	coconut shell
PAn <sup>9</sup>	akar *(w)akaR	pohon *kaSiw/*puqun	daun *DaSun	duri *DuRi	tempurung
Perai	<i>akar</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ron</i>	<i>ruriŋ</i>	<i>kanuruŋ</i>
Aputai	<i>ramuk</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>ron</i>	<i>rurin</i>	<i>suaŋ</i>
Tugun	<i>akar</i>	<i>ahan</i>	<i>roon</i>	<i>rurin</i>	<i>iau</i>
Ili'uun	<i>aka</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>ron</i>	<i>rurin</i>	<i>taknuru</i>
Talur	<i>amut</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>ron</i>	<i>ruin</i>	<i>kanurak</i>
English	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
Indonesian	coconut	banana	betelnut	rattan	bamboo
PAn	kelapa *niuR	pisang	sirih	rotan *quay	bambu
Perai	<i>nor</i>	<i>mũ</i>	<i>malu</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>ulak</i>
Aputai	<i>nor</i>	<i>mũ</i>	<i>malu</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>ulak</i>
Tugun	<i>noor</i>	<i>mũũ</i>	<i>malu</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>ulak</i>
Ili'uun	<i>no</i>	<i>mũ</i>	<i>malu</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>o</i>
Talur	<i>nō</i>	<i>muʔu</i>	<i>huru ron</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>petun</i>
English	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.
Indonesian	flower	fruit	kind of grass	sago	hulled rice
PAn	bunga *buŋa	buah *buaŋ	kusu-kusu	sagu	beras *bəRas/*pajəy
Perai	<i>funəŋ</i>	<i>fuaŋ</i>	<i>leteŋ</i>	<i>kamariu</i>	<i>reha</i>
Aputai	<i>funan</i>	<i>fuaŋ</i>	<i>nau</i>	<i>kamariu</i>	<i>rehar</i>
Tugun	<i>funan</i>	<i>fuaŋ</i>	<i>nau</i>	<i>kambriu</i>	<i>paci</i>
Ili'uun	<i>hunā</i>	<i>huā</i>	<i>nau</i>	<i>kamariu</i>	<i>hala</i>
Talur	<i>hunan</i>	<i>huan</i>	<i>kli</i>	<i>kamdiu</i>	<i>papreas</i>
English	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.
Indonesian	I	you	we(excl)	we(incl)	sun
PAn	aku *i-aku	engkau	kami *i-kami	kita *i-kita	matahari *qaləjaw
Perai	<i>au</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>leo</i>
Aputai	<i>au</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>leo</i>
Tugun	<i>au</i>	<i>oo</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>leo</i>
Ili'uun	<i>au</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>leo</i>
Talur	<i>gaʔu</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>gami</i>	<i>gita</i>	<i>lelo</i>

<sup>9</sup> [EDITOR'S NOTE: The comparative and historical notes found in this appendix are editorial additions. The reconstructions are variously at the level of PAn, PMP, or PCEMP, and are found in the general Austronesian literature.]

English Indonesian PAn	21. moon bulan *bulan	22. star bintang *bituqən	23 water air *waSiR	24. rain hujan *quZaN	25. stone batu *batu
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>fulaŋ</i> <i>fulan</i> <i>fulan</i> <i>hulā</i> <i>hulan</i>	<i>tu</i> <i>asa</i> <i>tu</i> <i>tu</i> <i>ada</i>	<i>er</i> <i>er</i> <i>eer</i> <i>e</i> <i>we</i>	<i>usa</i> <i>usa</i> <i>usa</i> <i>husā</i> <i>usan</i>	<i>fatu</i> <i>fatu</i> <i>fatu</i> <i>hatu</i> <i>hatu</i>
English Indonesian PAn	26. sand pasir *qənay	27. island pulau *nusa	28. land tanah *DaRəq	29. cloud awan	30. wind angin *aŋin
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>moeŋ</i> <i>moeŋ</i> <i>moen</i> <i>moē</i> <i>dadean</i>	<i>nusa</i> <i>nusa</i> <i>nusa</i> <i>nusa</i> <i>nusa</i>	<i>rere</i> <i>rare</i> <i>rare</i> <i>rare</i> <i>rea</i>	<i>kakaŋ</i> <i>natas</i> <i>natas</i> <i>nata</i> <i>natas</i>	<i>aniŋ</i> <i>anin</i> <i>anin</i> <i>ani</i> <i>anin</i>
English Indonesian PAn	31. sea laut *laSud	32. forest hutan *alas	33. mountain gunung	34. fire api *apuy	35. smoke asap *abu 'dust'
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>lor</i> <i>lor</i> <i>loor</i> <i>lo</i> <i>lor</i>	<i>alas</i> <i>ala</i> <i>ala</i> <i>letē</i> <i>alas</i>	<i>uluŋ</i> <i>huhun</i> <i>utur</i> <i>otu</i> <i>huhun</i>	<i>aimoriŋ</i> <i>aimoriŋ</i> <i>aimoriŋ</i> <i>aimorin</i> <i>aimorin</i>	<i>mahun</i> <i>mahun</i> <i>mahun</i> <i>mahun</i> <i>masun</i>
English Indonesian PAn	36. ashes abu *abu	37. hot panas *ma-panas	38. burn/roast bakar *tunu	39. cold dingin *ma-dinŋin	40. night malam *bəŋi
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>karono</i> <i>alaman</i> <i>afun</i> <i>krahu</i> <i>ahun</i>	<i>pana</i> <i>panas</i> <i>pana</i> <i>pana</i> <i>panas</i>	<i>tunu</i> <i>tunu</i> <i>tunu</i> <i>tunu</i> <i>tunu</i>	<i>mohoŋ</i> <i>mohon</i> <i>mohon</i> <i>ciri</i> <i>nadin</i>	<i>sema</i> <i>sema</i> <i>cema</i> <i>heni</i> <i>henin</i>
English Indonesian PAn	41. fish ikan *Sikaʔən	42. bird burung *manuk	43. egg telur *qatəluR	44. dog anjing *asu	45. flying fox kalong *paniki
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>meti</i> <i>meti</i> <i>ika</i> <i>meti</i> <i>iʔan</i>	<i>manu</i> <i>manu</i> <i>manu</i> <i>manu</i> <i>manu</i>	<i>telur</i> <i>telun</i> <i>telur</i> <i>telu</i> <i>telun</i>	<i>ahu</i> <i>ahu</i> <i>ahu</i> <i>asu</i> <i>asu</i>	<i>faniki</i> <i>rego</i> <i>faniki</i> <i>hiki</i> <i>kni ʔ</i>

English	46.	47.	48.	49.	50.
Indonesian	louse	mosquito	rat	snake	tail
PAn	kutu *kutu	nyamuk *n̄amuk	tikus *ka-labaw	ular *sawa	ekor *ikuR
Perai	<i>utu</i>	<i>karhoik</i>	<i>palaho</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>ikur</i>
Aputai	<i>utu</i>	<i>utung</i>	<i>palaho</i>	<i>sao</i>	<i>ikur</i>
Tugun	<i>utu</i>	<i>namu</i>	<i>laso</i>	<i>sao</i>	<i>ikur</i>
Ili'uun	<i>utu</i>	<i>sisi</i>	<i>laso</i>	<i>sao</i>	<i>iku</i>
Talur	<i>utu</i>	<i>namu</i>	<i>plaho</i>	<i>sau</i>	<i>iʔun</i>
English	51.	52.	53.	54.	55.
Indonesian	black	white	red	yellow	green
PAn	hitam *ma-qitəm	putih *ma-putiq	merah *ma-iRaq	kuning	hijau
Perai	<i>metaŋ</i>	<i>puti</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>pola</i>	<i>mosoŋ</i> <sup>10</sup>
Aputai	<i>metaŋ</i>	<i>puti</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>pola</i>	<i>moso</i>
Tugun	<i>metan</i>	<i>puti</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>pola</i>	<i>moso</i>
Ili'uun	<i>metā</i>	<i>puti</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>pola</i>	<i>mosō</i>
Talur	<i>metan</i>	<i>puti</i>	<i>mea</i>	<i>mara</i>	<i>moso</i>
English	56.	57.	58.	59.	60.
Indonesian	one	two	three	four	five
PAn	satu *asa / *əsa	dua *DuSa	tiga *təlu	empat *Səpat	lima *lima
Perai	<i>hasa</i>	<i>rua</i>	<i>telu</i>	<i>aak</i>	<i>lima</i>
Aputai	<i>hasa</i>	<i>rua</i>	<i>telu</i>	<i>aak</i>	<i>lima</i>
Tugun	<i>hasa</i>	<i>farua</i>	<i>fatelu</i>	<i>faʔaat</i>	<i>falima</i>
Ili'uun	<i>eha</i>	<i>harua</i>	<i>hatelu</i>	<i>haʔaa</i>	<i>halima</i>
Talur	<i>nehe</i>	<i>irua</i>	<i>itelu</i>	<i>inhat</i>	<i>ilima</i>
English	61.	62.	63.	64.	65.
Indonesian	six	seven	eight	nine	ten
PAn	enam *ənəm	tujuh *pitu	delapan	sembilan *siwa	sepuluh *puluq
Perai	<i>neŋ</i>	<i>itu</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>sia</i>	<i>sanulu</i>
Aputai	<i>neŋ</i>	<i>itu</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>sia</i>	<i>sanuluŋ</i>
Tugun	<i>fanəŋ</i>	<i>faʔitu</i>	<i>fakau</i>	<i>fasia</i>	<i>sanulu</i>
Ili'uun	<i>hane</i>	<i>haʔitu</i>	<i>hakau</i>	<i>hasia</i>	<i>sanulu</i>
Talur	<i>inen</i>	<i>ihiitu</i>	<i>ihau</i>	<i>isia</i>	<i>sanulu</i>

<sup>10</sup> Compare Makassar *moncoŋ* 'green'.

English Indonesian PAn	<b>66.</b> twenty dua puluh	<b>67.</b> one hundred seratus *Ratus	<b>68.</b> one thousand seribu *Ribu	<b>69.</b> all semua	<b>70.</b> many banyak
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>felerua</i> <i>felerua</i> <i>felrua</i> <i>helerua</i> <i>ruanulu</i>	<i>para</i> <i>atus</i> <i>ratu</i> <i>atu</i> <i>atus</i>	<i>riuj</i> <i>rihun</i> <i>rihun</i> <i>rihuj</i> <i>rihun</i>	<i>tema</i> <i>tatema</i> <i>tatema</i> <i>puhi</i> <i>tatema</i>	<i>hoe</i> <i>aru</i> <i>aru</i> <i>aru</i> <i>waʔi</i>
English Indonesian PAn	<b>71.</b> big besar	<b>72.</b> small kecil	<b>73.</b> long panjang	<b>74.</b> short pendek	<b>75.</b> near dekat *qadaŋi
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>wai</i> <i>wai</i> <i>vai</i> <i>ai</i> <i>waki</i>	<i>tawai</i> <i>kamais</i> <i>anan</i> <i>ana</i> <i>kenok</i>	<i>poha</i> <i>poha</i> <i>poha</i> <i>poha</i> <i>naru</i>	<i>kapoir</i> <i>kapoir</i> <i>poir</i> <i>poi</i> <i>padak</i>	<i>katesi</i> <i>karinik</i> <i>rani</i> <i>rani</i> <i>ranik</i>
English Indonesian PAn	<b>76.</b> far jauh *Zauq	<b>77.</b> full penuh *ma-pənuq	<b>78.</b> new baru *baqəRu	<b>79.</b> good baik	<b>80.</b> dry kering *kəRaŋ
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>so</i> <i>so</i> <i>soo</i> <i>so</i> <i>so</i>	<i>penu</i> <i>penu</i> <i>penu</i> <i>penu</i> <i>penu</i>	<i>feru</i> <i>feru</i> <i>faferu</i> <i>heruŋ</i> <i>haheu</i>	<i>eaŋ</i> <i>eaŋ</i> <i>namʔi</i> <i>raja</i> <i>lalan</i>	<i>geraŋ</i> <i>geraŋ</i> <i>geran</i> <i>gera</i> <i>namgetun</i>
English Indonesian	<b>81.</b> to dry menjemur	<b>82.</b> no tidak	<b>83.</b> this ini	<b>84.</b> that itu	<b>85.</b> here di sini
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>rinaŋ</i> <i>rinaŋ</i> <i>rinan</i> <i>rese</i> <i>reʔar</i>	<i>tora</i> <i>tora</i> <i>toa</i> <i>tora</i> <i>taik</i>	<i>ge</i> <i>ge</i> <i>ge</i> <i>ge</i> <i>ileʔe</i>	<i>ko</i> <i>ko</i> <i>ko</i> <i>go</i> <i>ilaa</i>	<i>ge</i> <i>ge</i> <i>gee</i> <i>ge</i> <i>ileʔe</i>
English Indonesian PAn	<b>86.</b> there di situ	<b>87.</b> inside di dalam *Daləm	<b>88.</b> above di atas	<b>89.</b> outside di luar	<b>90.</b> underneath di bawah
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>ko</i> <i>go</i> <i>koo</i> <i>go</i> <i>ilaa</i>	<i>ralaŋ</i> <i>ralaŋ</i> <i>ralan</i> <i>ralan</i> <i>ralan</i>	<i>otur</i> <i>sasiŋ</i> <i>legar</i> <i>jela</i> <i>upus</i>	<i>milaŋ</i> <i>liur</i> <i>milan</i> <i>kakeo</i> <i>tuʔan</i>	<i>leŋ</i> <i>pair</i> <i>loin</i> <i>orā</i> <i>rea</i>

English Indonesian PAn	<b>91.</b> in front di depan	<b>92.</b> behind di belakang	<b>93.</b> edge pinggir	<b>94.</b> skin kulit *kulit	<b>95.</b> meat/flesh daging *isi
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>oey</i> <i>oij</i> <i>oe</i> <i>ōē</i> <i>ain</i>	<i>tinay</i> <i>tina</i> <i>tuan</i> <i>liu</i> <i>tuʔan</i>	<i>seriy</i> <i>seriy</i> <i>seriy</i> <i>seriy</i> <i>serin</i>	<i>elik</i> <i>elik</i> <i>ulik</i> <i>uli</i> <i>ulit</i>	<i>ihi</i> <i>musan</i> <i>musan</i> <i>ihi</i> <i>isin</i>
English Indonesian PAn	<b>96.</b> blood darah *DaRaq	<b>97.</b> bone tulang *duRi	<b>98.</b> fat gemuk	<b>99.</b> hair rambut	<b>100.</b> body hair bulu *buluq
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>raray</i> <i>raray</i> <i>raran</i> <i>rara</i> <i>ran</i>	<i>ruriy</i> <i>ruriy</i> <i>rurin</i> <i>rurin</i> <i>ruin</i>	<i>mair</i> <i>mair</i> <i>mair</i> <i>mai</i> <i>poʔur</i>	<i>kuru</i> <i>kuru</i> <i>kuroon</i> <i>kuru'ron</i> <i>gare'ron</i>	<i>fuluy</i> <i>fulun</i> <i>fulun</i> <i>huluy</i> <i>hulur</i>
English Indonesian PAn	<b>101.</b> head kepala	<b>102.</b> ear telinga	<b>103.</b> eye mata *mata	<b>104.</b> nose hidung	<b>105.</b> mouth mulut *babaq
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>kuruʔatu</i> <i>kaʔatun</i> <i>kuratun</i> <i>karatuy</i> <i>garenhatun</i>	<i>kiniy</i> <i>kiniy</i> <i>kinin</i> <i>kini</i> <i>kina</i>	<i>mata</i> <i>mata</i> <i>mata</i> <i>matay</i> <i>matar</i>	<i>nunur</i> <i>nunur</i> <i>kunai</i> <i>kunai</i> <i>inur</i>	<i>hafa</i> <i>hafa</i> <i>kanar</i> <i>nūnū</i> <i>hahar</i>
English Indonesian PAn	<b>106.</b> lip bibir	<b>107.</b> tooth gigi *ʔisi	<b>108.</b> tongue lidah	<b>109.</b> nail kuku	<b>110.</b> foot kaki
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>ipur</i> <i>ipur</i> <i>ipur</i> <i>ipu</i> <i>ipur</i>	<i>ni</i> <i>ni</i> <i>niin</i> <i>ni</i> <i>nis</i>	<i>na</i> <i>nā</i> <i>naan</i> <i>na</i> <i>nanar</i>	<i>kalusuy</i> <i>kalusuy</i> <i>kilusu</i> <i>kalusuy</i> <i>lumatan</i>	<i>luku</i> <i>luku</i> <i>lukuʔ</i> <i>luku</i> <i>en</i>
English Indonesian PAn	<b>111.</b> knee lutut *luluj	<b>112.</b> hand tangan *lima	<b>113.</b> stomach perut *tian/*kə(m)puʔ	<b>114.</b> neck leher	<b>115.</b> breast susu *susu
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>tarulu</i> <i>aturulu</i> <i>tiluru</i> <i>klulu</i> <i>laloun</i>	<i>lima</i> <i>lima</i> <i>liman</i> <i>lima</i> <i>liman</i>	<i>tey</i> <i>tey</i> <i>kanen</i> <i>kapuy</i> <i>apun</i>	<i>genu</i> <i>genun</i> <i>genuy</i> <i>genuy</i> <i>nuan</i>	<i>susu</i> <i>susu</i> <i>susu</i> <i>susu</i> <i>susu</i>

English Indonesian PAN	<b>116.</b> liver hati *qatay	<b>117.</b> face muka	<b>118.</b> faeces tahi *taqi	<b>119.</b> urine air kencing *təDiq	<b>120.</b> deaf tuli
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>rumaŋ</i> <i>rumaŋ</i> <i>fua</i> <i>ateŋ</i> <i>aten</i>	<i>oe</i> <i>oe</i> <i>oe</i> <i>ōē</i> <i>ain</i>	<i>te</i> <i>te</i> <i>tee</i> <i>te</i> <i>tek</i>	<i>tarik</i> <i>tarik</i> <i>tarik</i> <i>tari</i> <i>sumer</i>	<i>pu</i> <i>puŋ</i> <i>upu</i> <i>puŋ</i> <i>par</i>
English Indonesian PAN	<b>121.</b> blind buta *bata	<b>122.</b> person orang	<b>123.</b> man laki-laki *maRuqanay	<b>124.</b> woman perempuan *bata	<b>125.</b> husband suami *qasawa
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>peke</i> <i>puta</i> <i>purur</i> <i>puta</i> <i>puta</i>	<i>aitopu</i> <i>aitopu</i> <i>aitopu</i> <i>atou</i> <i>itopu</i>	<i>amene</i> <i>amaŋ</i> <i>mamane</i> <i>mamane</i> <i>mamane</i>	<i>afata</i> <i>inaŋ</i> <i>fafata</i> <i>hahata</i> <i>papata</i>	<i>riu</i> <i>riu</i> <i>kaliran</i> <i>riu</i> <i>soun</i>
English Indonesian PAN	<b>126.</b> wife istri *qasawa	<b>127.</b> father bapak *ama	<b>128.</b> mother ibu *ina	<b>129.</b> name nama *ŋajan	<b>130.</b> grandfather tete/kakek *u(m)pu/*laki 'male'
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>riu</i> <i>riu</i> <i>kaliran</i> <i>riu</i> <i>soun</i>	<i>ama</i> <i>ama</i> <i>ama</i> <i>ama</i> <i>aman</i>	<i>ina</i> <i>ina</i> <i>ina</i> <i>ina</i> <i>inan</i>	<i>neaŋ</i> <i>neaŋ</i> <i>nean</i> <i>nēā</i> <i>naran</i>	<i>apulaik</i> <i>apulaik</i> <i>apulaik</i> <i>pauŋ</i> <i>tete</i>
English Indonesian PAN	<b>131.</b> grandmother nenek *bəi 'aunt'	<b>132.</b> elder sibling kakak	<b>133.</b> younger sibling adik *Sua(n)ji	<b>134.</b> grandchild cucu *u(m)pu	<b>135.</b> uncle om
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>apufeik</i> <i>apufeik</i> <i>apufeik</i> <i>pauŋ</i> <i>nene</i>	<i>po</i> <i>pou</i> <i>pou</i> <i>pouŋ</i> <i>poun</i>	<i>ali</i> <i>ali</i> <i>ali</i> <i>ali</i> <i>ali</i>	<i>kapu</i> <i>kapu</i> <i>kapu</i> <i>peŋ</i> <i>pein</i>	<i>pani</i> <i>opu</i> <i>pani</i> <i>lai</i> <i>aki</i>
English Indonesian PAN	<b>136.</b> aunt tante	<b>137.</b> friend kawan *kawan	<b>138.</b> guest tamu	<b>139.</b> rope tali *tali	<b>140.</b> road jalan *zalan
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>foi</i> <i>foi</i> <i>foi</i> <i>hai</i> <i>pani</i>	<i>kawair</i> <i>kawair</i> <i>talin</i> <i>aliŋ</i> <i>huwalan</i>	<i>panege</i> <i>panege</i> <i>tamu</i> <i>panage</i> <i>panege</i>	<i>asar</i> <i>asar</i> <i>asar</i> <i>tali</i> <i>tali</i>	<i>sala</i> <i>sala</i> <i>sala</i> <i>salā</i> <i>salan</i>

English Indonesian PAn	<b>141.</b> boat perahu	<b>142.</b> sail layar *layaR	<b>143.</b> machete parang	<b>144.</b> knife pisau	<b>145.</b> rice mortar lesung *l̥əsuj
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>loi</i> <i>loi</i> <i>loi</i> <i>loiʔna</i> <i>ro</i>	<i>lar</i> <i>lar</i> <i>laar</i> <i>la</i> <i>lan</i>	<i>perik</i> <i>m̄m̄</i> <i>m̄m̄</i> <i>api'suj</i> <i>itur</i>	<i>perik</i> <i>sihik</i> <i>perik</i> <i>m̄m̄</i> <i>sihit</i>	<i>kanehuŋ</i> <i>kanehuŋ</i> <i>kanehuŋ</i> <i>knehuŋ</i> <i>nesun</i>
English Indonesian PAn	<b>146.</b> rice stamper alu *qaSəlu	<b>147.</b> salt garam *ma-qasin 'salty'	<b>148.</b> sugar gula	<b>149.</b> what apa *sapa	<b>150.</b> who siapa *i-sai
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>alu</i> <i>alu</i> <i>alu</i> <i>alu</i> <i>alu</i>	<i>masiŋ</i> <i>masiŋ</i> <i>mahin</i> <i>masiŋ</i> <i>masin</i>	<i>gula</i> <i>gula</i> <i>gula</i> <i>gula</i> <i>gula</i>	<i>hala</i> <i>hala</i> <i>hala</i> <i>hala</i> <i>la</i>	<i>hari</i> <i>ari</i> <i>hari</i> <i>hari</i> <i>se</i>
English Indonesian PAn	<b>151.</b> where di mana	<b>152.</b> why kenapa	<b>153.</b> how many berapa *pija	<b>154.</b> thirsty haus	<b>155.</b> bite menggigit
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>'oinume</i> <i>lamei</i> <i>oinumee</i> <i>aci'me</i> <i>gamai</i>	<i>oinala</i> <i>alame</i> <i>onihaala</i> <i>nohila</i> <i>labe</i>	<i>faʔra</i> <i>faʔra</i> <i>faʔra</i> <i>haʔra</i> <i>ihila</i>	<i>mete er</i> <i>paro</i> <i>matroo</i> <i>mate e</i> <i>apro</i>	<i>popar</i> <i>laʔ</i> <i>gaga</i> <i>kosa</i> <i>hisi</i>
English Indonesian PAn	<b>156.</b> drink minum *ma-inum	<b>157.</b> hungry lapar *lapaR	<b>158.</b> eat makan *kaʔən	<b>159.</b> see melihat	<b>160.</b> hear mendengar
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>minu</i> <i>minu</i> <i>minu</i> <i>rinu</i> <i>renu</i>	<i>hahi</i> <i>palar</i> <i>matlaar</i> <i>kla</i> <i>apla</i>	<i>mua</i> <i>moa</i> <i>mua</i> <i>ra</i> <i>aʔan</i>	<i>gua</i> <i>nauŋ</i> <i>coco</i> <i>oco</i> <i>roga</i>	<i>liuŋ</i> <i>liuŋ</i> <i>liu</i> <i>liu</i> <i>dahar</i>
English Indonesian PAn	<b>161.</b> sleep tidur *qinəp	<b>162.</b> know tahu *taqu	<b>163.</b> wake up bangun *[ma]-bagun	<b>164.</b> dead mati *maCey	<b>165.</b> swim berenang *naŋuj
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>pu</i> <i>lole</i> <i>nipuur</i> <i>rapu</i> <i>rena</i>	<i>sasak</i> <i>nauŋ</i> <i>serek</i> <i>nanau</i> <i>nau</i>	<i>pono</i> <i>pano</i> <i>pono</i> <i>panu</i> <i>mesu</i>	<i>mete</i> <i>mate</i> <i>mate</i> <i>mate</i> <i>mate</i>	<i>nani</i> <i>nani</i> <i>nani</i> <i>nani</i> <i>nani</i>

English Indonesian PAN	<b>166.</b> walk berjalan	<b>167.</b> sing bernyanyi	<b>168.</b> vomit muntah *ma-qutaq	<b>169.</b> laugh tertawa *malip	<b>170.</b> itch gatal *gatəl
Perai	<i>akak</i>	<i>loli</i>	<i>muta</i>	<i>mali</i>	<i>gataŋ</i>
Aputai	<i>ahak</i>	<i>loli</i>	<i>muta</i>	<i>mali</i>	<i>gataŋ</i>
Tugun	<i>akat</i>	<i>sani</i>	<i>muta</i>	<i>mali</i>	<i>gatar</i>
Ili'uun	<i>raloa</i>	<i>sani</i>	<i>muta</i>	<i>mali</i>	<i>gatā</i>
Talur	<i>sole</i>	<i>loli</i>	<i>pura</i>	<i>mali</i>	<i>gatar</i>
English Indonesian PAN	<b>171.</b> sleepy mengantuk	<b>172.</b> child anak *anak	<b>173.</b> sky langit *atas 'above'	<b>174.</b> to fly terbang	<b>175.</b> come datang *maRi/*mai
Perai	<i>ferak</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>mota</i>	<i>sopar</i>	<i>ma</i>
Aputai	<i>pulir</i>	<i>anuran</i>	<i>mota</i>	<i>palia</i>	<i>ma</i>
Tugun	<i>ferak</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>natas</i>	<i>sopar</i>	<i>maa</i>
Ili'uun	<i>hera</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>nata</i>	<i>palia</i>	<i>ma</i>
Talur	<i>dukur</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>natas</i>	<i>nemo</i>	<i>mai</i>
English Indonesian PAN	<b>176.</b> stand berdiri *DiRi	<b>177.</b> cough batuk	<b>178.</b> spit meludah	<b>179.</b> cry menangis *tajis	<b>180.</b> dream bermimpi *S-um-ipi
Perai	<i>piri</i>	<i>koser</i>	<i>pita</i>	<i>nage</i>	<i>nami</i>
Aputai	<i>piri</i>	<i>koser</i>	<i>pik'pre</i>	<i>rage</i>	<i>rami</i>
Tugun	<i>piri</i>	<i>koho</i>	<i>pita aprei</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>nami</i>
Ili'uun	<i>piri</i>	<i>koho</i>	<i>pita apre</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>rami</i>
Talur	<i>apri</i>	<i>mahu</i>	<i>putuper</i>	<i>tanis</i>	<i>nami</i>
English Indonesian PAN	<b>181.</b> pregnant mengandung *tian 'belly'	<b>182.</b> old tua	<b>183.</b> river sungai	<b>184.</b> kill membunuh	<b>185.</b> sit duduk
Perai	<i>koru</i>	<i>laik</i>	<i>oraj</i>	<i>eja</i>	<i>tur</i> <sup>11</sup>
Aputai	<i>kamutia</i>	<i>laik</i>	<i>oraj</i>	<i>ega</i>	<i>tur</i>
Tugun	<i>kapkorun</i>	<i>agin</i>	<i>pair</i>	<i>eja</i>	<i>tuur</i>
Ili'uun	<i>magutia</i>	<i>lai</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>eja</i>	<i>pasu</i>
Talur	<i>sau</i>	<i>laʔt</i>	<i>meta</i>	<i>ega</i>	<i>adei</i>

<sup>11</sup> Compare Tetun *tuur* 'sit'.

English Indonesian PAn	<b>186.</b> bathe mandi <i>*diRus</i>	<b>187.</b> fall jatuh	<b>188.</b> give memberi	<b>189.</b> speak bicara	<b>190.</b> leech lintah
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>topur</i> <i>topur</i> <i>topur</i> <i>topu</i> <i>rius</i>	<i>mosu</i> <i>fonuk</i> <i>pole</i> <i>pole</i> <i>ledir</i>	<i>ne</i> <i>ne</i> <i>nee</i> <i>ne</i> <i>ne</i>	<i>salaj</i> <i>oruŋ</i> <i>nihcalan</i> <i>coca</i> <i>teten</i>	<i>heti</i> <i>makak</i> <i>makat</i> <i>maka</i> <i>makat</i>
English Indonesian PAn	<b>191.</b> thick tebal <i>*kapal</i>	<b>192.</b> thin tipis <i>*ma-nipis</i>	<b>193.</b> sharp tajam <i>*taZim</i>	<b>194.</b> rotten busuk <i>*buRuk</i>	<b>195.</b> shoulder carry pikul
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>magas</i> <i>tun</i> <i>kavar</i> <i>kabaŋ</i> <i>tuŋun</i>	<i>mis</i> <i>mis</i> <i>miis</i> <i>mi</i> <i>mis</i>	<i>taiŋ</i> <i>nagan</i> <i>tain</i> <i>taiŋ</i> <i>preʔat</i>	<i>pouŋ</i> <i>fouŋ</i> <i>poon</i> <i>hō</i> <i>hōn</i>	<i>teruŋ</i> <i>fara</i> <i>fara</i> <i>hara</i> <i>san</i>
English Indonesian PAn	<b>196.</b> run lari <i>*laRiw</i>	<b>197.</b> hit pukul <i>*pukpuk/*palu</i>	<b>198.</b> wound luka	<b>199.</b> house rumah <i>*RumaH</i>	<b>200.</b> village kampung
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>koe</i> <i>koe</i> <i>huuk</i> <i>ragarusu</i> <i>lai</i>	<i>fu</i> <i>kalu</i> <i>fuu</i> <i>kalu</i> <i>hehas</i>	<i>mani</i> <i>maniŋ</i> <i>maniŋ</i> <i>mani</i> <i>mani</i>	<i>raha</i> <i>raha</i> <i>raha</i> <i>raha</i> <i>umah</i>	<i>ili</i> <i>ili</i> <i>ili</i> <i>ili</i> <i>ili</i>
English Indonesian PAn	<b>201.</b> brain otak <i>*qutək</i>	<b>202.</b> sweat berkeringat	<b>203.</b> coral karang		
Perai Aputai Tugun Ili'uun Talur	<i>gutaŋ</i> <i>gutaŋ</i> <i>gutaŋ</i> <i>gutaŋ</i> <i>utak</i>	<i>kamolah</i> <i>kamemaŋ</i> <i>kaneus</i> <i>klema</i> <i>kmeman</i>	<i>kura</i> <i>kura</i> <i>aur</i> <i>krosa</i> <i>nele</i>		

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