

## THE BADAIC LANGUAGES OF CENTRAL SULAWESI

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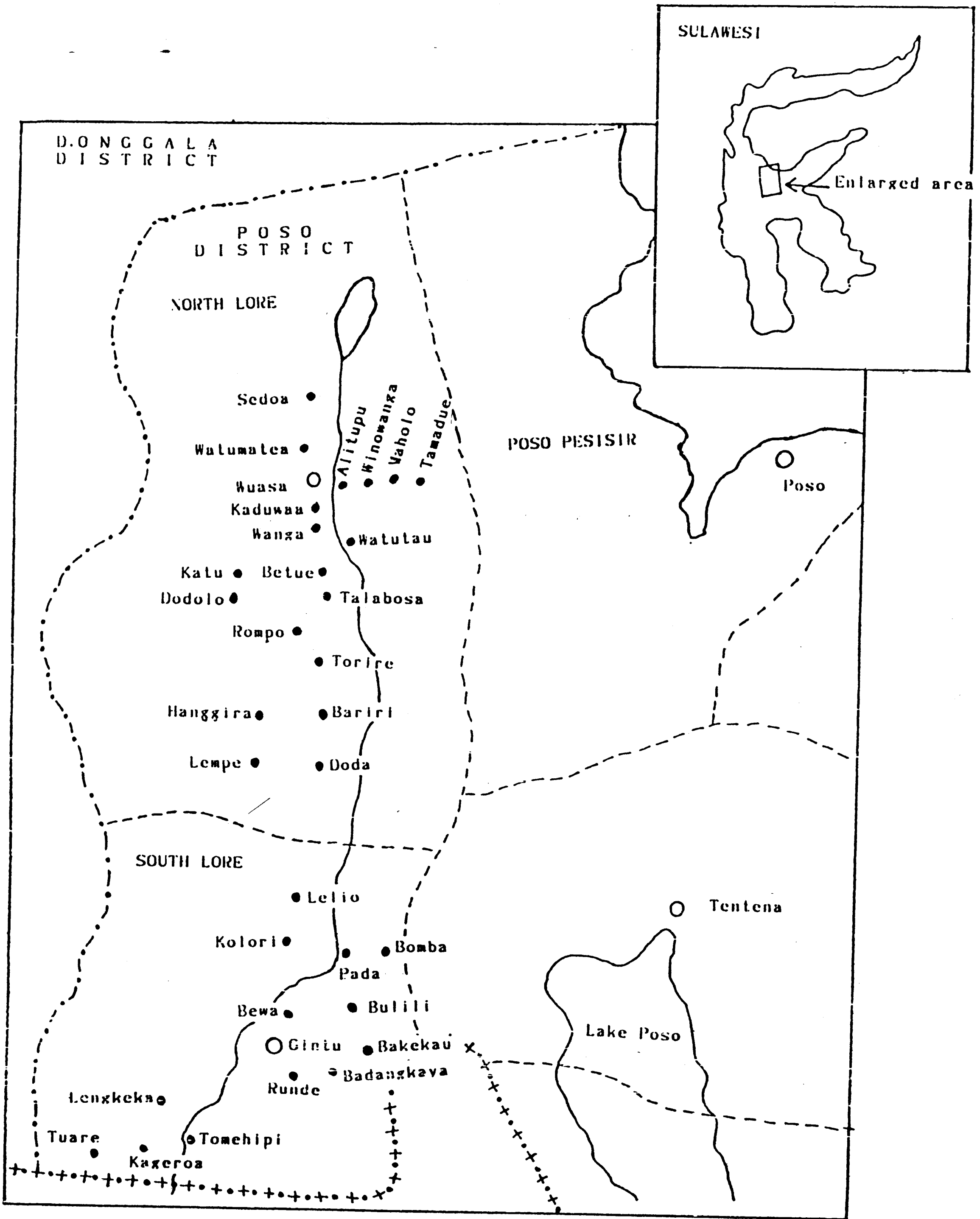
Bada, Besoa and Napu--the three Badaic languages--can be considered three dialects of one language or three separate languages, depending upon one's criteria. They belong to the Kaili-Pamona subgroup of languages, and together with Uma and Rampi they form a sub-subgroup within the Kaili-Pamona subgroup. This grouping is not evident from lexicostatistics, however, partly because the Badaic languages have borrowed many vocabulary items from Seko, a language of the South Sulawesi subgroup. Hopefully the information in this article, together with the appended word-list, will be appreciated by linguists interested in Sulawesi.

On August 8-16, 1988 a survey team from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), working in cooperation with Indonesia's Hasanuddin University (UNHAS), surveyed the subdistricts of North Lore and South Lore (Kecamatan Lore Utara and Kecamatan Lore Selatan) in Central Sulawesi. The survey had several purposes. First, we wished to observe language use in the area and assess the degree of bilingualism in Indonesian and the vigor of the local languages and cultures. Second, we wished to determine the relationships among the three Badaic languages (Bada, Besoa and Napu, hereafter BBN when referred to as a group). Previous literature about BBN has classed Bada and Besoa as dialects of one language and Napu as a separate language (cf. Salzner 1960, followed by Barr, Barr and Salombe 1979). Another purpose of the survey was to determine the most efficient placement of UNHAS-SIL language research team(s) in this area.

As a member of the survey team, I also had the personal goal of gathering data to help determine the relationship of these languages to other languages in Sulawesi. I have carried out extensive research in Uma, a language of the Kaili-Pamona Subgroup, and have recently been working at reconstructing the phonemes and lexicon of Proto Kaili-Pamona (cf. Martens 1988, my first attempt at this project). So the relationship of BBN to the Kaili Pamona subgroup is of interest to me.

To my knowledge the term "Badaic languages" was first used by Ulo Sirk in Baruga. He listed "Bada, Besoa, Napu and perhaps Lemolang" as Badaic languages. Lemolang is a language spoken in two small villages near Masamba in the Luwu District of South Sulawesi. Our survey did not include Lemolang, but a previous UNHAS-SIL team did collect a wordlist from that language as well as from Wotu, another small language in South Sulawesi. My research to date indicates that Bada, Besoa and Napu form a tight grouping of languages, related on a higher level to Uma and Rampi, and together with them form a sub-subgroup within the Kaili-Pamona subgroup of languages. My opinion, based solely on a perusal of the word-lists from Lemolang and Woto, is that those two languages do have some special relationship to the Kaili-Pamona subgroup, perhaps as a transition between Kaili-Pamona and the Southeast Sulawesi languages. But I have not noticed any close ties of either Lemolang or Wotu to BBN. In this paper, therefore, I use the term Badaic to refer only to BBN.

Since the linguistic world knows little about the Badaic languages, a summary of the linguistic and sociolinguistic facts that we discovered may be appreciated by linguists interested in the Sulawesi area.



Map of North and South Lore  
The Badaic Language Area

## 1 GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The region. In the region of North and South Lore there are four native language groups: Sedoa, Napu and Besoa in North Lore and Bada in South Lore. Sedoa is spoken in the village of Sedoa. There are 11 Napu villages, the main one being Wuasa, which is also the subdistrict capital of North Lore. There are 7 Besoa villages, the main one being Doda. There are 14 Bada villages, the main one being Gintu, which is also the subdistrict capital of South Lore (see map). Besides these four native languages, there are also two small enclaves of Rampi speakers in the Napu area, in the villages of Betue and Dodolo. These Rampi people migrated from South Sulawesi in the 1960's. The Rampi homeland is located about 30 miles south of the southernmost Bada village.

Besides these above-mentioned living languages, there reportedly used to be language groups in Tamadue (near Wuasa) and Hanggira (near Doda). Tamadue was probably a language or dialect related either to Napu or Sedoa; Hanggira was listed by Salzner as a dialect of Bada-Besoa. The inhabitants of Tamadue and Hanggira now all speak Napu and Besoa, respectively.

The North and South Lore region is a broad valley over 1,000 m. above sea level and surrounded by mountains; the name Lore means 'inland' or 'interior' in the Badaic languages (lare in Kaili and Rampi, role in Uma). A small ridge of jungle covered mountains, complete with leeches, divides North Lore (Napu and Besoa) from South Lore (Bada). The Lariang River begins from a small lake in the north of North Lore and passes from north to south through the entire Lore area.

The Lore area is bordered on the east by the Pamona (Bare'e) language area, on the northwest of Kaili, and on the west by Moma and Uma. Going south from the Lore area into the province of South Sulawesi, it is a 1-2 day walk to the Rampi language area. BBN and all of these neighboring languages belong to the Kaili-Pamona subgroup of languages. Somewhat farther away from the Lore area is the Seko language area, located a 2-3 day walk to the southwest of Bada in South Sulawesi. Seko is not as close geographically to the BBN area as the languages mentioned above, and it belongs to the South Sulawesi subgroup of languages (cf. Mills 1975). Nonetheless Seko has had considerable influence on the Badaic languages (cf. Section 2).

BBN have well-defined borders. The border between Napu and Besoa is sharp; there is no gradation from one language to the next. Even in the border villages each person either speaks Napu or Besoa, not a mixture. The same is true of the Besoa-Bada border. Furthermore, there are no reported dialect variations within each group.

Population. The population figures given in Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979) (Sedoa + 600, Napu + 4,000, Besoa-Bada + 10,000) are still fairly accurate. The figures we were given by the local Education and Culture Office in Wuasa and the Subdistrict Office in Gintu are:

<b>SEDOA</b>	(village of Sedoa)	376
<b>NAPU</b>	(Wuasa, Watumaeta, Alitupu Winowanga, Maholo, Tamadue, Kaduwaa, Wanga, Watutau, Katu and Talabosa)	4883
<b>BESOA</b>	(Rompo, Torire, Bariri, Hanggira, Lempe, Doda)	2608
<b>BADA</b>	(Gintu, Runde, Badangkaya, Bakekau, Bulili, Bewa, Pada, Bomba, Lelio, Kolori, Lengkeka, Tomehipi', Kageroa, Tuare)	6748

(Two villages in the Napu area, Betue and Dodolo, are excluded here because all the inhabitants are Rampi speakers. The village of Talabosa is here

counted as a Napu village since most of the inhabitants speak Napu. Traditionally, however, it is classed as a Besoa village.)

There are also many speakers of BBN who live outside their home area, mostly in the Poso and Parigi areas of Central Sulawesi and in some scattered areas of northern South Sulawesi. Most of those living outside the region are Bada speakers. According to two leaders in the Bada area (the head of the Education and Culture Office in Gintu and the diocese pastor in Gintu) over 1,000 Bada speakers live outside the Lore area.

Language names. Napu is the name commonly used of the northernmost Badaic language group. The traditional name of the region is Pekurehua, which is said to mean 'a gathering place.' There is a small hill in the area, which according to local legend resulted from piles of leaves used as plates during large ceremonies in ancient times.

The Besoa language is always called Behoa by the local people, and the name is used for the region and tribe as well as the language. Local folk etymology usually relates the name to 'a place for splitting firewood' (from the root beho 'to split firewood') or to a place that is 'not empty' (perhaps from the Pamona language be soa 'not empty').

Bada is used as the name of the region, tribe and language. The name is pronounced bɔdɔʔ, which in the Bada language means 'turmeric', a spice known for its yellow colour (the word for yellow in Bada is mɔbɔdɔʔ; the Uma people used to refer to the Bada as To kuni 'the yellow ones'). The Bada village of Badangkaya is supposedly a place where much turmeric used to grow (bɔdɔʔ ng-kaʔia 'much turmeric').

Never in our survey did we hear any of the Badaic languages referred to by the word for 'no' (bara in Napu, tiara in Bada and Besoa), though this custom is common in most of the neighboring languages.

State of local culture and language. Other than some small enclaves of Rampi speakers, there are few outsiders in the Lore area. In the larger towns there are a handful of outsiders, mostly Bugis or Saddang Toraja speakers from South Sulawesi, working as merchants. Most of the school teachers, religious leaders and a good proportion of the government workers in the Lore area are local people. The impression we received everywhere was that the local culture and languages are vigorous and intact. The local language is used daily by people of all ages. Traditional women's dress of tiered skirts and headbands is common among middle-aged and older women.

Bilingualism in Indonesian. Most adults in the Lore area can speak Indonesian. Every town has a primary school and the three major towns have middle schools. At the same time, most daily interaction is still done in the local language. This is true even across tribal boundaries. When a Bada speaker, for instance, meets a Napu speaker, the two often communicate using their own languages in spite of the differences, rather than using Indonesian.

## 2 RELATIONSHIP TO NEIGHBORING LANGUAGES

Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979) classed BBN (and Rampi) as part of the Kaili-Pamona subgroup, which corresponds to Adriani's and Esser's East and West Toraja groups. During my first attempt at reconstructing Proto Kaili-Pamona phonemes (Martens 1988), I accepted this classification, although at the time I noted that BBN and Rampi sometimes stood apart from the other Kaili-Pamona languages in their vocabulary. Since that time I have had the opportunity to study wordlists from numerous languages in South Sulawesi. I have discovered that the Badaic languages have borrowed a significant number of words from South Sulawesi languages, particularly from Seko. Since BBN are not now in close contact with Seko (it is a 2-3 day walk from Bada to Seko), this indicates that Seko and Badaic must have been more in contact in the past. In Appendix 1 I list 50 clear examples



of words from Seko Padang or Seko Tengah that have been borrowed into some or all of the Badaic languages. This is over 10% of the words on the 488-item wordlist that I collected. These borrowings from Seko account for a large proportion of the non-Kaili-Pamona vocabulary in BBN and also account for BBN's low percentage of cognates with other Kaili-Pamona languages.

Esser (1964, p.3) pointed out that Uma, Bada, Besoa and Rampi all have phonemic word-final glottals, a trait not shared by other Kaili-Pamona languages, which are "vocalic languages". i.e. all words ending with a vowel. In other ways too, the Badaic languages are remarkably like Uma and Rampi. All are "h" predominant languages, i.e., nearly all Proto Kaili-Pamona \*s's have become h.

The Badaic languages are also similar to Uma and Rampi in morphology. Uma, Rampi and BBN do not use a realis-irrealis system of verb affixation, though this system is the norm in the Kaili dialects, in Moma and Tado (Lindu) and in parts of the Pamona area. By a realis-irrealis system, I mean a system of prefixation that differentiates realized or completed action from unrealized or uncompleted action, cf. the na- and ma- prefixes in the Kaili examples: na-rata-mo ia (REALIS-arrive-PERFECTIVE he) 'he has arrived' and ane ma-rata ia (if IRREALIS-arrive he) 'if he arrives.' (All my Kaili data is from the Da'a dialect, courtesy of my coworker, Donald F. Barr.)

Related to this, Uma, Rampi and the Badaic languages have no overt prefix marking goal-focus verbs, but the agent pronoun is prefixed directly to the stem. Compare the Uma ku-?inca (I-know), with the BBN ku-isa (I-know), and contrast both with the Kaili ni-njani-ku (GOAL.FOCUS/REALIS-know-I), all meaning 'I know (it).'

The Badaic languages have enclitic pronouns which are used in an ergative system, marking subject of intransitive verbs and object of transitive verbs, and these enclitic pronouns react morphophonemically with other enclitics (e.g., the -mo perfective). This is remarkably similar to Uma, but unlike Kaili and Pamona, where enclitic pronouns like this are not found. (It is also remarkably similar to Bugis and other South Sulawesi languages, a fact which opens up another interesting area of speculation.) Consider the following example of an intransitive and a transitive clause in both Bada and Uma. Note how the enclitic pronoun -a 'I/me' is the subject in the intransitive clause and the object of the transitive clause. In ergative terminology, -a 'I/me' is the absolutive and na- 'he' is the ergative.

Bada:	butu	-a		
Uma:	rata	-a		'I arrived.'
	arrive	-I		
Bada:	na-	ita	-a	
Uma:	na-	hilo	-a	'He sees me.'
	he-	see	-me	

So, what is the place of the Badaic languages in the Kaili-Pamona subgroup? There is not room in this paper to address this issue in full. I will merely summarize my findings to date. In phonology and grammar, the Badaic languages are more similar to Uma and Rampi than to any other language. Based on shared features of phonology and syntax, I believe that the Badaic languages, Uma and Rampi form a grouping within the larger Kaili-Pamona Subgroup. This grouping, however, is not evident from lexicostatics. In Chart 1 I show cognate percentages among several representative Kaili-Pamona languages: Pamona (Tentena dialect), Kaili (Da'a dialect), Uma, Napu, Besoa, Bada and Rampi. The figures are based on the Swadesh 100 wordlist, which I extracted from my 488-item wordlists for these languages.

**CHART 1: PERCENTAGE OF COGNATES AMONG VARIOUS  
KAILI-PAMONA LANGUAGES (SWADESH 100)**

<b>PAMONA</b>						
66	<b>KAILI</b>					
66	69	<b>UMA</b>				
55	55	63	<b>NAPU</b>			
51	53	58	88	<b>BESOA</b>		
49	51	59	81	86	<b>BADA</b>	
47	49	55	53	54	55	<b>RAMPI</b>

Uma shares a somewhat higher percentage of cognates with Kaili (69%) than it does with the Badaic languages (58-63%). This I believe is caused by the fact that (1) Uma has converged with Kaili due to extensive contact and borrowings in the recent past, and (2) the Badaic languages have diverged from Uma and from the other Kaili-Pamona languages due to borrowings from Seko. Rampi shows a low cognate percentage (47-55%) with all other languages here. I cannot yet fully explain Rampi's divergence, other than to note that Rampi is the most isolated of the Kaili-Pamona languages--in fact one of the most isolated languages in all of Sulawesi--and has diverged from its sister languages at a rapid rate due to lack of contact, and perhaps also due to word taboo and social upheaval.

In summary, I consider BBN to be part of the Kaili-Pamona subgroup. My present working hypothesis is that there were originally two waves of Proto Kaili-Pamona migrations. The first wave came from one language area. Later a second wave came from a slightly different language area and pushed the population from the first migration farther and farther interior. Uma, Rampi and the Badaic languages are descendants of the language of the first migration, while Kaili, Sedoa, Pamona and a few others represent the language of the second migration. During their migration to the interior, the first group came into contact with or was somehow influenced by languages from South Sulawesi, particularly Seko. One of the languages of the first migration, Uma, began to have regular contact with a language of the second migration, Kaili. Again, this is only a working hypothesis.

Valkama (1987, pp. 105-106) is a survey report on languages in the Mamuju area of South Sulawesi. According to this report, Bada is too different lexicostatistically from other Kaili-Pamona languages to be part of the Kaili-Pamona family (=subgroup). The only Kaili-Pamona languages with which Valkama (1987) deals are ones of the outer fringe of the Kaili-Pamona area: Da'a, Topoiyo, Sarudu (an Uma dialect), and Ako (a group of Bada speakers that have been separated from the Bada area for over 100 years). I do not accept Valkama's conclusion, since it is based solely on Bada's low percentages of cognates with other Kaili-Pamona languages, which I believe is caused by borrowing.

**3 RELATIONSHIP OF THE BADAIC LANGUAGES TO EACH OTHER**

As stated previously, Salzner (1960) classified Bada and Besoa as dialects of one language and classed Napu as a separate language. How does this classification stand up to the data we gathered on our survey?

Lexicostatistics. Chart 2 shows the cognate percentages reported in Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979) for BBN using the Swadesh 100 wordlist. Their figures show a slightly closer relationship between Napu and Besoa than between Besoa and Bada.

**CHART 2: Degree of lexical similarity for BBN, from  
Barr (1979)**

<b>Napu</b>		
91	<b>Besoa</b>	
80	85	<b>Bada</b>

Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979, p. 35) hypothesized that Besoa's higher cognate relationship with Napu was due to the high degree of social interaction between these two groups. They tentatively followed Salzner (1960) in classifying Besoa and Bada as dialects of one language and classifying Napu as a separate language.

SIL has prepared a 488-item umbrella wordlist to be used for comparative purposes in Sulawesi. This wordlist is not designed for initial survey purposes. Nevertheless, I did elicit it in BBN. I computed the percentage of cognates both on the entire wordlist (minus a few words that were either redundant or difficult to elicit) and also on the Swadesh 100 and Swadesh 200 wordlists, nearly all of which are included in the umbrella wordlist. Chart 3 shows the cognate percentages obtained.

**CHART 3: Cognate percentages for BBN**

100 words:			200 words:			488 words:		
Napu			Napu			Napu		
88	Besoa		82	Besoa		77	Besoa	
81	86	Bada	79	84	Bada	72	79	Bada

The figures obtained from the Swadesh 100 wordlist (left) are almost identical to those in Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979); the slight differences are due to a few discrepancies in our wordlists, and perhaps a few different decisions about what words were cognates and what were not. So the Swadesh 100 wordlist shows Napu and Besoa to be slightly closer than Besoa and Bada. In contrast, however, the figures obtained by computing cognates from the Swadesh 200 wordlist (center) and from the whole 488 wordlist (right) show Besoa and Bada to be slightly closer than Napu and Besoa. Actually, in all three cases the Bada-Besoa figures differ from the Besoa-Napu figures by only 2 percentage points, an insignificant difference when dealing with a coarse measuring device like lexicostatistics. Note, by the way, that the figures based on 488-item wordlist are somewhat lower than those calculated from the Swadesh lists. This is caused by the fact that the Swadesh list contains only "core" vocabulary, i.e., items that tend to remain stable and tend to resist borrowing, whereas the longer wordlist also contains vocabulary items that are less basic.

Lexicostatistics therefore provides no evidence to support the classification of Bada and Besoa as dialects of one language and Napu as a separate language. My interpretation of the above lexicostatistic figures is that BBN are on the borderline between being three dialects of one language and three languages. From the lexicostatistic evidence, BBN are "dialect triplets."

Phonology. When one examines the phonologies of BBN one finds more support for Salzner's classification of Bada/Besoa over against Napu. While the phonologies of BBN are fairly uniform, there are some differences that unite Bada and Besoa over against Napu. Chart 4 gives the phonemes I tentatively propose for the Badaic languages based on my wordlists. Note that here and throughout this paper I make use of the orthographic symbols "ng" for a velar nasal [ŋ] and "w" for a bilabial fricative [β].

CHART 4: PHONEMES OF BBN

CONSONANTS

<u>Bilabial</u>	<u>Dental</u>	<u>Velar</u>	<u>Laryngeal</u>
p	t	k	ʔ (Ba, Be only)
b	d	g	
mp	nt	ngk	
mb	nd	ngg	
m	n	ng	
	r		
	l		
w	s		h

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VOWELS

i	u
e	o
a	ɔ (Ba, Be only)

In several ways Napu is different phonologically from Bada and Besoa.

1. Napu lacks the phoneme glottal stop. In Bada and Besoa, glottal is contrastive both word-medial and word-final.

Napu: ma-roa	Napu: lindo
Besoa: ma-roʔa 'good'	Besoa: lindoʔ 'face'
Bada: ma-roʔa	Bada: lindɔʔ

That glottal is contrastive in Besoa and Bada can be seen by comparing Bada/Besoa ma-roʔa 'good' with toaʔ 'tree trunk/stump', and comparing Bada/Besoa lindoʔ 'face' with lindo 'comforted'.

2. Napu has five vowels (i, e, a, o, u). Bada has a sixth vowel, ɔ, similar to the vowel in the English word 'bought'. This vowel appears to contrast with both a and o. The same vowel is also found in Besoa, though not as frequently as in Bada. My survey wordlists are unreliable on this a/ɔ distinction, but I did relicit and confirm the following words that show a, o and ɔ in contrast.

Besoa: ma-laaʔ 'infrequently'	
ma-lɔɔʔ 'afraid'	
ma-looʔ 'lack (of water)'	
Bada: daʔa 'to refuse'	Bada: bɔbɔ 'rain'
dɔʔɔ 'branch'	babaʔ 'door'
	bɔdɔʔ 'turmeric'

3. In both Bada and Besoa I noted that the phoneme l sometimes has a flapped or retroflexed quality, a feature I have also noted in the Uma and Rampi languages. I did not notice this flapped l at all in Napu.

Pronouns. BBN have four sets of pronouns: independent pronouns, possessive pronouns (used on nouns, e.g., tambi-MU 'YOUR house'), agentive pronouns (prefixed to goal-focus transitive verbs, e.g., NU-isa 'YOU know (it)'), and enclitic pronouns (used to mark the subject of intransitive verbs, e.g., Bada: butuʔ -HE 'THEY arrive', and the object of transitive verbs, e.g., Bada: nu-ita-HE 'you see THEM'). The agentive and enclitic pronouns form an ergative system in which the agentive pronouns are used as the subject of transitive verbs (the ergative category) and the enclitic pronouns are used as the subject of intransitive verbs and the object of transitive verbs (the absolutive category) (see Section II).



CHART 5: PRONOUNS OF BBN

A. Independent

	Napu	Besoa	Bada
1s	iko	kodo?	kodo?
2s	oio	io	io
3s	ia	ia	ia
1p	ikami	kai?	kai?
2p	ikamu	komu	komiu
3p	ihira	hira	hero
1+2	ikita	kita?	kita?

B. Possessive

	Napu	Besoa	Bada
1s	-ngku	-ku	-(ng)ku
2s	-mu	-mu	-mu
3s	-na	-na	-na
1p	-ngki(?)	-ki	-(ng)ki
2p	-mi	-mi	-mi
3p	-nda	-ra	-nda
1+2	-nta	-ta	-(n)ta

C. Agentive

	Napu	Besoa	Bada
1s	ku-	ku-	ku-
2s	nu-	nu-	nu-
3s	na-	na-	na-
1p	ki-	ki-	ki-
2p	ni-	ni-	ni-
3p	ra-	ra-	ra-
1+2	ta-	ta-	ta-

D. Enclitic

	Napu	Besoa	Bada
1s	-na	-a	-a
2s	-ko	-ko	-ko
3s	(-i)	(-i)	(-i)
1p	-ngkai	-ngkai	-ka
2p	-kau	-kou	-komi
3p	-he	-he	-he
1+2	-ke	-ke	-ke

The similarities among the three languages outweigh the differences. In a few particulars, however, Napu patterns differently from Bada and Besoa. Bada and Besoa have the form kodo? for the independent pronoun 'I', an innovation not shared by Napu. Napu has the unusual 2s form oio, where Bada/Besoa have io. Note also that in Napu the plural independent pronouns all have the prefix i-, a trait not shared by Besoa and Bada.

In the possessive and enclitic pronouns, some forms are prenasalised and some are not. For instance I always heard -ngku for 'my' in Napu, -ku in Besoa, and a mixture of -ngku and -ku in Bada. These are, of course, initial observations only and incomplete. In spite of the provisional nature of my observations, I am sure differences among BBN do exist in

this matter, e.g.,

Napu:	sou	-nda	
Besoa:	tambi	-ra	'their house'
Bada:	tambi	-nda	

In the enclitic pronoun series, all three Badaic languages are quite similar. In all three the 3s form -i often is deleted, so the 3s form is left unmarked. Hence the -i is in parentheses in Chart 5, Section D. When the enclitic pronouns occur along with other enclitics, some significant language differences emerge. Chart 6 shows the enclitic pronouns with the perfective enclitic -mo as they occur, for instance, in the BBN phrase mate-mo-he (die-PERFECTIVE-they) 'they have died'.

**CHART 6: ENCLITIC PRONOUNS WITH -MO PERFECTIVE IN BBN**

	Napu	Besoa	Bada
1s	-mo-na	-mo	-mo
2s	-mo-ko	-mo-ko	-mo-ko
3s	-mi	-mi- <sup>?</sup> i	-mi- <sup>?</sup> i
1p	-mo-ngkai	-mo-ngkai	-mo-ka
2p	-mo-kau	-mo-kou	-mo-komi
3p	-mo-he	-mo-he	-mo-he
1+2	-mo-ke	-mo-ke	-mo-ke

In Besoa and Bada the 1s form -a has coalesced with -mo, but in Napu the 1s form -na is retained. Thus in Bada mə-buhu-mo, but in Napu ma-buhu-ma-na 'I am full.' The situation is reversed, however, for the 3s pronoun. In Bada and Besoa -mo + -<sup>?</sup>i becomes -mi-<sup>?</sup>i, but in Napu -mo + -i coalesces to -mi.

A similar distinction is seen among BBN in the way the enclitic pronouns combine with the -po/-pi incomplete particle. Note how each language says "(It is) not good any more."

Napu:	bara	-pi	ma-roa	
Besoa:	tiara	-pi- <sup>?</sup> i	ma-ro <sup>?</sup> a	'not good any more'
Bada:	tiara	-po- <sup>?</sup> i	ma-ro <sup>?</sup> a	
	not	-INCOMPLETE	good	
		+ 3s enclitic		

In Napu the -po and -i have coalesced to -pi. In Besoa the two have not coalesced but the -po has changed to -pi. In Bada the -po and -i have remained distinct.

**Syntax.** On a one-week survey it was not possible to learn much about the syntax of BBN. But I did observe one difference among the three. In Bada and Besoa the form of the relative pronouns is to, e.g., watu to ma-hile 'rock that is big/big rock'. In Napu, however, the relative pronoun is au. Not only is the form of the relative different in Napu, but relative pronouns seem to occur less frequently in Napu than in Bada and Besoa. In Napu the above phrase is watu au ma-hile 'rock that is big' or simply watu ma-hile 'big rock', the latter being more acceptable to native speakers.

**Sociolinguistic factors.** We asked leaders in all three regions the question, "Which languages are more alike: Napu and Besoa, or Bada and Besoa?" Among the Napu and Besoa speakers there was no clear-cut opinion on this. Some thought one way, some another, and a few said the three were equally close. Among Bada speakers, however, most thought that the Besoa language was more like Bada than like Napu. I suspect the reason for this is that Bada speakers have occasional contact with Besoa speakers, but have little or no contact with Napu speakers and so know little about Napu.

In the Napu-Besoa area (North Lore), several people said that many

Besoa speakers can speak Bada or Napu with no "accent", but that few Napu speakers could speak Besoa well. Several leaders reported that Besoa speakers are more bilingual in Bada and Napu than either Napu or Bada speakers are bilingual in Besoa. (Note that Besoa is between Napu and Bada both geographically and linguistically.) This is consistent with several facts: 1) Besoa is the smallest and least prestigious of the three groups; 2) Besoa speakers frequently visit Napu, but Napu speakers do not visit Besoa; 3) the Napu language was used by early religious workers in the Besoa area. The Napu song book is still used in both Napu and Besoa churches.

The people of Napu and Besoa are in the same governmental subdistrict and the same church diocese. Because of this the two groups have regular social interaction and are more aware of each other. Bada, on the other hand, being in a separate subdistrict and diocese, seems less aware of its neighbors to the north.

Everywhere we went we were told that all three groups can basically understand each other. But at the same time, there is a strong feeling that the three groups are distinct.

#### 4 SEDOA

Sedoa (called Tawailia by Esser) is spoken in the town of Sedoa, located three kilometers north of Wuasa, putting it on the northern edge of the Napu area. Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979) report that Sedoa speakers are also found in the towns of Tambarana and Pinedapa, located to the east of the Napu area on the coast of the Tomini Bay. Altogether there are around 600 speakers. In spite of its small size, Sedoa is a thriving language community. Sedoa is reportedly the language of daily conversation. Most Sedoa speakers can speak Napu as well as Indonesian, but few Napu speakers can speak much Sedoa.

Sedoa is not a Badaic language. In contrast to BBN, in which the phoneme h predominates and there are few s's, Sedoa is an s-dominant language (I found no h's at all on a 210 wordlist). Sedoa's vocabulary shows that it has an affinity with the Kaili language area. Sedoa has borrowed some words from Badaic languages, e.g., rambu 'smoke' (contrast Kaili rangasu or unu), iba 'four' (contrast Kaili ampa or (a)opo), ope-ope 'all' (contrast pura-pura in Kaili and Pamona). But most of its vocabulary still resembles the Kaili-Pamona languages, e.g., eo 'day,' tana 'earth,' raa 'blood,' pale 'hand,' nonsu 'rice mortar,' and many others. I suspect that Sedoa has a realis-irrealis verbal system, like that found in Kaili, but I was unable to find evidence of it in my brief visit there.

#### 5 CONCLUSION

The Badaic languages of Bada, Besoa and Napu appear to be borderline cases both in their relationship to surrounding languages and also in their relationship to each other. As for their relationships to surrounding languages, the Badaic languages are part of the Kaili-Pamona subgroup, but the lexicostatistic evidence for this classification is not strong. Borrowings from Seko, I believe, are a main cause of the divergence of Badaic from the other Kaili-Pamona languages.

As to their internal relationship, I believe that BBN are best classed as dialects of one language from a purely linguistic perspective. It is true that Bada and Besoa do share several features of phonology and morphology that Napu does not share--this is probably what influenced Salzner (1960) and the Dutch linguists before him to class Bada and Besoa as dialects and Napu as a separate language. But in my opinion the linguistic distance between Besoa and Bada is almost the same as that between

Besoa and Napu. The lexicostatistic evidence supports this. Furthermore, Bada, Besoa and Napu appear to be mutually intelligible--a criterion more important than any other in distinguishing dialects from languages. I have done no formal testing and so do not know how much cross-communication among the three is learned bilingualism and how much is innate mutual intelligibility. I can only say that the Bada man who accompanied us on our trip, and who had never been to Napu before, was able to use Bada to communicate with people in the Napu area who had travelled little outside their home area. For the above reasons I think that BBN are best classed as dialects of one language from a linguistic perspective. But from a sociolinguistic perspective the three are best considered three distinct but closely related languages.

As stated above, Bada and Besoa are slightly closer together linguistically than are Besoa and Napu. This reflects a closer genetic relationship between Besoa and Bada as opposed to Napu. But these linguistic factors are balanced or perhaps even outweighed by the social factors that have now united the Napu and Besoa area.

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APPENDIX 1

Possible Seko Borrowings in Badaic Languages

The normal forms found in Kaili-Pamona languages are placed in the left column. Numbers to the left of each entry refer to the number in the 488-item wordlist. An unmarked form indicates a form that is fairly widespread in the Kaili-Pamona languages other than Bada-Besoa-Napu and Rampi, i.e., Ledo (L), Da'a (D), Tado or Lindu(T), Moma (M), Uma (U) and Pamona (P). Often I give a standardized Kaili-Pamona form, ignoring the \*s > h change in Uma and Moma and ignoring the loss of final glottal in all languages but Uma. If the variations are worthy of note I list the forms found in each language.

The Badaic form is found in the second column. An unmarked word indicates a form found in Bada, Besoa and Napu. (If Napu differs from Bada and Besoa only in the absence of a glottal, I do not bother to list the Napu form separately.) If there is significant variation among the three, I note which language each form is found in (N, Be, or Ba).

The Seko form is in the third column. An unmarked form indicates a form found in both Seko Padang and Seko Tengah. If there is significant variation I mark the forms (P = Seko Padang, T = Seko Tengah). If the Seko Padang forms differ from the Seko Tengah form only in the addition of an echo vowel, I put the vowel in parentheses. For instance, word 4, etik(i) 'brain' means that Seko Tengah is etik and Sedo Padang is etiki. In one case (175 'rice') I have given the Saddang Toraja form since neither Seko language has retained the form in question. A colon (:) marks vowel length in Seko.

<u>Kaili-Pamona</u>	<u>Badaic</u>	<u>Seko</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
4. unto (L,D,T,M) uta? (P,U)	oti?	etik(i)	brain
6. lic (D,T,U,P)	lindo?	7. linno: (P) lindo: (T) 'forehead'	face
14. onge (L,D,T,M,U) engo (P)	onge (N) (h)ilo (Be,Ba)	ilong	nose
19. dila (L,T,M) jila? (D,P,U)	lila? (Be,Ba) dila (N)	lila:	tongue
26. siku	hiu (N,Be) hiku (Ba)	siu	elbow
51. buku (L) wuku (D,M,U,P)	bu?u	buu:	bone
52. usu?	oho?	osok(o)	rib
57. poi (L) poyu (D) pou (M,T) poju (U,P) (< *poyu)	puru	puru	gall
87. tua?i	adi	adi:	younger sibling
104. benga	baula	balulang	water buffalo
108. tonji (L,D) tonci (T,M,P) danci (U)	tadasi (N) tadahi (Be) manu-manu? (Ba)	tadassi (T)	bird
112. ntolu	tulu	tulu	egg



131.	ule	ile (N,Ba) leloto (Be)	ile (T) talubamma? (S)	snake
157.	walo	tala	talang	bamboo
160.	lauro (L,D,M,P) ui (U)	lauro (N) uwe (Be,Ba)	uhe	rattan
161.	towu	tuwu	tuhu	sugarcane
175.	pae	pare	pare (Saddang) hea? (P,T)	field rice
195.	bone (L,D,T,P) baone (M) wo?one (U)	wungi	hunging	sand
197.	tana?	tampo?	tampo:	earth
209.	apu	api	api	fire
219.	wamba (L) wombo (T,P) (pe)wobo? (D,U) womo (M)	baba?	baba:	door
229.	wuri	buri (N,Be) ori (Ba)	oring	charcoal
231.	kura	kori	koring	cooking pot
235.	nonju	(r)iso	isong	pestle
249.	luna	longa (N) alonga (Be) olong (Ba)	olong	pillow
250.	pewo pewe (Tentena)	pewe	pehe	loincloth
266.	kawao (L,D,T) laa (U) lawa (P)	karao?	karao:	far
272.	nipi reni? (U)	nipi (N) haba? (Be) nipa? (Ba)	nipa:	thin
279.	taja, baka?	t(um)aru	pa-tarung (P)	sharp
297.	tama (L) tomo (D,T,M,U)	timi (N,Be) dari (Ba)	timi	heavy
306.	ma-ndala	kaladu	kaladung	deep
329.	tatalu (L) tolu (D,T,M,U) togo (P)	talu	italu	three
336.	sampulu?	hampulo?	sampulo:	ten
340.	ri (L,D,T,P) (h)i (M,U)	i	i	at
342.	k(a?)ana	koana (N) kuana (Be) koona (Ba)	kuanang (T) konang (P)	right
347.	ambe (L) un(d)e? (T,M,U,P)	woi?	hoi?	under
354.	eo	alo	alo	day
377.	sili (L,D) (h)uli? (M,U)	hule?	massulei	to repeat
382.	epe (dr)onge (R,P)	pe-hadi-ngi	mampisadingi (P) massading (T)	to hear

392.	kiki (D,Tojo) benci? (T,M,U)	keki?	keki?	to bite
400.	ta(jd)i	tende (N) tibe (Be,Ba)	mantibe	throw away
407.	tuwu?	tuwo? (N,Ba) tue? (Be)	tuho:	to live
424.	mandiu (L,D,T,P) niu? (M,U)	me(n)-doi	d-um-oi? (P) moi? (T)	to bathe
453.	(ka)kata	kati	mikating (P)	to itch
457.	bangga (L,D) mo-woto (T,M,U)	wae (N) kamba (Be,Ba)	likambang (T) likammang (P)	to swell
461.	angga (L) (ng)kore (D,T,M,U,P)	angka (N) ongko? (Be) mekatede? (Ba)	tede?	to stand
466.	leta? (T,U)	leta? (N,Be) leto? (Ba)	leto	to sleep
471.	njili (L,D,T,M) nculii? (U) walili (P)	sule?	s-um-ule:(T)	to return
474.	tiana (L,D,T,M,P) tina?i (U)	kala?ea	kaleang	pregnant
485.	-(i)pia (L,D,T,P) -uma (M,U)	(h)impira	napiranga (T) (cf. 486. pira 'how many?')	when?

The purpose of the above entries is to show instances where a word in the Badaic languages is markedly different from the form found in other Kaili-Pamona languages, but similar to Seko. In some cases the Kaili-Pamona and the Badaic-Seko forms are ultimately cognate, but the Badaic-Seko forms exhibit some quirk (cf. the loss of medial k in 26 and 51; the medial r in 57, 175 and 485; the first vowel in forms 112, 131, 161 and 195; the final vowel of 209, 250, 272, 453 and 466; the metathesis of vowels in 424). In other cases the forms shared by Badaic and Seko are totally unrelated. One item, 104, deserves a note. In several South Sulawesi languages, balulang or a variation of it means 'hide, skin.' But in Seko balulang refers not to the animal hide, but to the animal 'water buffalo' (cf. Mills 1975, p. 630). The Badaic baula, therefore, can only have been borrowed from Seko.

Word 209, 'fire,' also deserves comment. My study of Proto Kaili-Pamona (PKP) has revealed that Proto Austronesian (PAN) \*uy > PKP \*u regularly. Thus PAN \*apuy 'fire' > PKP \*apu (all Kaili-Pamona languages other than BBN and Rampi have apu 'fire'). However, in South Sulawesi PAN \*apuy > Proto South Sulawesi \*api (Mills 1975). So it is almost certain that BBN api 'fire' is not a reflex of PKP \*apu but a borrowing.

Sound changes in some of the above words indicate that Badaic must have borrowed these words from Seko early on. For instance, in words 160, 250 and 407 Proto-South Sulawesi \*w > Seko h (a regular sound change in Seko), but the Badaic forms have w, and so must have been borrowed before Seko underwent the \*w > h change. In some cases Seko has s where Badaic has h (word 52, 108 (Besoa), 336), indicating that these words were borrowed into Badaic early enough to undergo the \*s > h change in Badaic. But there are other cases in which both Seko and Badaic have s (words 108 (Napu), 235 and 471).

There is also a noteworthy pattern in the above data. In Seko proto-forms ending in a high vowel plus glottal have reflexes ending in a lengthened non-high vowel. In other words \*i?# > e:# and \*u?# > o:#. (Mills (1975) noted this for South Sulawesi as a whole, although his data did not record the feature of vowel length in Seko, which consistently reflects the final glottal of the protolanguage.) Thus we can see Seko influence or borrowing in Badaic in words like 52, 336, 377, 407 and 471.

APPENDIX 2

488 - item wordlist in Napu, Besoa and Bada  
(N = Napu, Be = Besoa, Ba = Bada)

<b>001 body</b>	<b>013 temple</b>
N: wata	N: -
Be: wata	Be: pipi
Ba: woto	Ba: petuba
<b>002 head</b>	<b>014 nose</b>
N: waa	N: onge
Be: woa?	Be: hilo
Ba: woo?, woa?	Ba: ilo
<b>003 skull</b>	<b>015 cheek</b>
N: banga? waa	N: kalimpi
Be: banga? woa?	Be: peli
Ba: banga? woo?	Ba: peli
<b>004 brain</b>	<b>016 cheekbone</b>
N: ati waa	N: buu peli
Be: ati?	Be: bu?u peli
Ba: oti?	Ba: bu?u peli
<b>005 hair (head)</b>	<b>017 mouth</b>
N: welua	N: hume
Be: welua?	Be: hume
Ba: welua?	Ba: hume
<b>006 face</b>	<b>018 lip</b>
N: lindo	N: wiwi hume
Be: lindo?	Be: wiwi hume
Ba: lindo?	Ba: hume, hubibi hume
<b>007 forehead</b>	<b>019 tongue</b>
N: wingke	N: dila
Be: kire	Be: lila?
Ba: kire	Ba: lila?
<b>008 eye</b>	<b>020 tooth</b>
N: mata	N: ngihi
Be: mata	Be: ngihi
Ba: mata	Ba: ngihi
<b>009 pupil of the eye</b>	<b>021 chin</b>
N: -	N: are
Be: to maiti-na	Be: are
Ba: tulu mata	Ba: are
<b>010 eyebrow</b>	<b>022 ear</b>
N: kire	N: talinga
Be: teti? mata	Be: talinga
Ba: teti? mata	Ba: tainga
<b>011 eyelashes</b>	<b>023 neck</b>
N: wulu mata	N: tambolo
Be: wulu mata	Be: tambolo
Ba: wulu mata	Ba: buroko?
<b>012 tear (from crying)</b>	<b>024 throat (esophagus)</b>
N: owai mata	N: tambolo (?)
Be: uwai mata	Be: tandoko
Ba: uwai mata	Ba: tambolo

<b>025 shoulder</b>	<b>037 belly</b>
N: owanga	N: tai
Be: wanga	Be: ta'i
Ba: uwanga	Ba: ta'i
<b>026 elbow</b>	<b>038 leg,- foot</b>
N: hiu	N: biti
Be: hiu	Be: biti
Ba: hiku	Ba: biti
<b>027 hand, forearm</b>	<b>039 thigh</b>
N: taye	N: paa
Be: tae	Be: pa'a
Ba: tee	Ba: pa'a
<b>028 palm of hand</b>	<b>040 calf of leg</b>
N: palanta	N: tulu biti
Be: palanta?	Be: tulu biti
Ba: palanta? tee	Ba: tulu biti
<b>029 span (eight inches)</b>	<b>041 knee</b>
N: ha-ndanga	N: kuntu
Be: ha-ndanga	Be: kuntu?
Ba: ha-ndanga	Ba: kuntu?
<b>030 finger</b>	<b>042 popliteal space</b>
N: karawe	N: lengkeda
Be: karawe	Be: lengkeda
Ba: karawe	Ba: lengkeda
<b>031 thumb</b>	<b>043 ankle</b>
N: katumpu	N: leho
Be: katumpu	Be: katipahu (joint),
Ba: katumpu	pelangkea
	Ba: pelangkea
<b>032 pinky, little finger</b>	<b>044 sole of foot</b>
N: karawe koi	N: palanta biti
Be: kahili	Be: palanta? biti
Ba: kahili	Ba: palanta? biti
<b>033 fingernail</b>	<b>045 heel</b>
N: kanu	N: tangkado
Be: kanu	Be: pado?
Ba: kalupa?	Ba: pado?
<b>034 back (person)</b>	<b>046 toe</b>
N: bengo	N: karawe biti
Be: kadu?	Be: karawe biti
Ba: bengo	Ba: karawe biti
<b>035 chest</b>	<b>047 body hair</b>
N: ponda	N: wulu
Be: ponda	Be: wulu
Ba: bombaru?	Ba: wulu
<b>036 breast</b>	<b>048 skin (person)</b>
N: tomia	N: koli
Be: huhu	Be: koli?
Ba: umi?	Ba: koli?

**049 meat, flesh**

N: onto  
 Be: onto?  
 Ba: onto?

**050 fat**

N: taba  
 Be: taba?  
 Ba: lompo? (outer),  
 taba? (inner)

**051 bone**

N: buu  
 Be: bu?u  
 Ba: bu?u

**052 rib**

N: buu oho  
 Be: bu?u oho?  
 Ba: bu?u oho?

**053 heart**

N: hule  
 Be: hule  
 Ba: hule

**054 blood**

N: wahe  
 Be: wahe?  
 Ba: wahe?

**055 vein (blood)**

N: ua  
 Be: uo?  
 Ba: uo?

**056 liver**

N: ate  
 Be: ate  
 Ba: ate

**057 gall, bile**

N: puru  
 Be: puru  
 Ba: puru

**058 lungs**

N: baramba  
 Be: baramba  
 Ba: baramba

**059 intestines**

N: tai liko  
 Be: ta?i liko  
 Ba: ta?i rambo?

**060 buttocks**

N: -  
 Be: palo  
 Ba: palo

**061 anus**

N: -  
 Be: karapuu?  
 Ba: wii?

**062 urine**

N: hindi  
 Be: hindi?  
 Ba: hindi?

**063 excrement**

N: tai  
 Be: buu?  
 Ba: ta?i

**064 penis**

N: -  
 Be: laho?  
 Ba: laho?

**065 vagina**

N: -  
 Be: wii?  
 Ba: kata?

**066 scar**

N: lari  
 Be: bolo  
 Ba: lari?, lela?

**067 boil**

N: bihu  
 Be: bihu  
 Ba: bihu

**068 sweat (n)**

N: siwunia  
 Be: lola  
 Ba: halemu?

**069 person**

N: tauna  
 Be: tauna  
 Ba: tauna

**070 man, male**

N: tobalilo  
 Be: tobalailo  
 Ba: tomoane

**071 woman, female**

N: towawine  
 Be: tawine  
 Ba: tawine

**072 husband**

N: tobalilo  
 Be: tobalailo  
 Ba: tomoane

**073 wife**

N: towawine  
 Be: tawine  
 Ba: tawine

**074 father**

N: uma  
 Be: uma?  
 Ba: ama (add: uma?)



- 075 mother**  
 N: ina  
 Be: ina?  
 Ba: ina (add: ina )
- 076 child**  
 N: anangkoi  
 Be: anangkoi?  
 Ba: ana?, anoke
- 077 first born child**  
 N: ana towutu (?)  
 Be: uluana?  
 Ba: uluana?
- 078 last born child**  
 N: ana toadi (?)  
 Be: ana ngka-upu-a  
 Ba: ana ngka-upu-a
- 079 grandchild**  
 N: ampu  
 Be: ue?  
 Ba: uwe?
- 080 grandmother**  
 N: totua towawine  
 Be: pue?  
 Ba: uwe?
- 081 grandfather**  
 N: totua tobalilo  
 Be: pue?  
 Ba: uwe?
- 082 ancestor**  
 N: totua ioru  
 Be: totu? a ioru  
 Ba: to ieru tuwo?
- 083 offspring**  
 N: pemulea  
 Be: mule?  
 Ba: mule?
- 084 sibling**  
 N: halalu  
 Be: halalu  
 Be: halalu
- 085 older brother**  
 N: wutu  
 Be: wutu?  
 Ba: wutu?
- 086 older sister**  
 N: wutu  
 Be: wutu?  
 Ba: wutu?
- 087 younger brother**  
 N: adi  
 Be: adi  
 Ba: adi
- 088 younger sister**  
 N: adi  
 Be: adi  
 Ba: adi
- 089 mother's brother**  
 N: omu  
 Be: pinouma  
 Ba: pinuama (add: umama )
- 090 father's brother**  
 N: omu  
 Be: pinouma  
 Ba: pinuama (add: umama?)
- 091 mother's sister**  
 N: tanta  
 Be: pinoina?  
 Ba: pinuina (add: inana?)
- 092 father's sister**  
 N: tania  
 Be: pinoina?  
 Ba: pinuina (add: inana?)
- 093 slave**  
 N: hawi  
 Be: hawi?  
 Ba: hawi?
- 094 widow**  
 N: bemba  
 Be: tobemba?  
 Ba: bemba? ,
- 095 guest**  
 N: torare  
 Be: torare  
 Ba: torare
- 096 companion**  
 N: ranga  
 Be: ranga  
 Ba: rongo
- 097 I**  
 N: iko  
 Be: kodo?  
 Ba: kcdo?, ko?o
- 098 you (fam.)**  
 N: oio  
 Be: io  
 Ba: io, komiu (polite)
- 099 he, she**  
 N: ia  
 Be: ia  
 Ba: ia
- 100 we (excl.)**  
 N: ikami  
 Be: kai?  
 Ba: kai?

- 101 we (incl.)  
N: ikita  
Be: kita?  
Ba: kita?
- 102 you (plural)  
N: ikamu  
Be: komu  
Ba: komiu
- 103 they  
N: ihira  
Be: hira  
Ba: hero
- 104 water buffalo  
N: baula  
Be: boula  
Ba: boula
- 105 anoa depressicornis  
N: nua  
Be: tungka?  
Ba: tometungka?
- 106 horn  
N: tandu  
Be: tandu?  
Ba: tandu?
- 107 tail  
N: iku  
Be: iku  
Ba: iku
- 108 bird  
N: tadasi  
Be: tadahi  
Ba: manu-manu?
- 109 crow  
N: kaloa  
Be: kaa?  
Ba: kaa?
- 110 chicken  
N: manu  
Be: manu?  
Ba: manu?
- 111 wing  
N: kapi  
Be: kapi  
Ba: kapi
- 112 egg (chicken)  
N: tulu  
Be: tulu  
Ba: tulu
- 113 feather  
N: wulu  
Be: wulu  
Ba: wulu manu?
- 114 louse (chicken)  
N: tuku  
Be: kutu  
Ba: kutu
- 115 louse (head)  
N: tuku  
Be: kutu  
Ba: kutu
- 116 louse (clothes)  
N: tuma  
Be: kuma  
Ba: tuma
- 117 bat  
N: alimiri  
Be: tulu kiki?  
Ba: doupa
- 118 fruit bat, flying fox  
N: daupa, mampo  
Be: daupa, mampo  
Ba: doupa
- 119 caterpillar  
N: tabulu  
Be: tanadu  
Ba: ile-ile
- 120 butterfly  
N: kalibamba  
Be: kalibamba  
Ba: kolibombo
- 121 mosquito  
N: hani  
Be: karamu?  
Ba: karamu?
- 122 fly  
N: dale  
Be: dali?  
Ba: dali?
- 123 termite  
N: lalari  
Be: bubu?  
Ba: bubu?, lanti? lalari
- 124 centipede  
N: alipaa  
Be: alipa  
Ba: alipa
- 125 luminous millipede  
N: andingo  
Be: andingo  
Ba: andinga
- 126 firefly  
N: bantakia  
Be: bantakia  
Ba: mpio-mpio

- 127 scorpion**  
 N: -  
 Be: tanganga  
 Ba: alipa boe?
- 128 cicada**  
 N: heda, lele-lele  
 Be: lele?  
 Ba: rei-rei
- 129 spider**  
 N: nggereo  
 Be: bukao?  
 Ba: bukao?
- 130 earth worm**  
 N: kaindoro  
 Be: kahindoro  
 Ba: kalindohi?
- 131 snake**  
 N: ile  
 Be: leloto  
 Ba: ile
- 132 fish**  
 N: ikane, bau  
 Be: bou?  
 Ba: bau?, bou?
- 133 fish scales**  
 N: ruke  
 Be: ruke  
 Ba: luhu
- 134 fish gills**  
 N: kara  
 Be: koro?, kara?  
 Ba: koro? bou?
- 135 eel**  
 N: mahapi  
 Be: mahapi  
 Ba: mahapi
- 136 frog**  
 N: seo, toda, tongko  
 Be: seo?  
 Ba: tongko?
- 137 turtle**  
 N: kadapua  
 Be: bantiluku  
 Ba: kolopua?
- 138 crocodile**  
 N: kare ue  
 Be: kapuna?  
 Ba: kapuna
- 139 deer**  
 N: lagiwa  
 Be: lagiwa  
 Ba: lagiwa
- 140 ape**  
 N: ibo  
 Be: ibo  
 Ba: oba
- 141 rat, mouse**  
 N: walehu  
 Be: walehu?  
 Ba: tokui?
- 142 pig**  
 N: boe  
 Be: boe?  
 Ba: boe?
- 143 dog**  
 N: dike  
 Be: ahu  
 Ba: ahu
- 144 tree**  
 N: kau (patoa = trunk)  
 Be: toa? ngkau (toa? = trunk)  
 Ba: toa? ngkau (toa? = trunk)
- 145 leaf**  
 N: tawe  
 Be: tawe?  
 Ba: tawe?
- 146 branch**  
 N: daa  
 Be: rangka  
 Ba: do?o
- 147 root**  
 N: uwaka  
 Be: kalanda  
 Ba: uwaka?
- 148 bark (tree)**  
 N: koli ngkau  
 Be: koli kau  
 Ba: koli ngkau
- 149 wood**  
 N: kau  
 Be: kau  
 Ba: kau
- 150 fruit**  
 N: wua  
 Be: wua?  
 Ba: wua?
- 151 flower**  
 N: bunga, hehe  
 Be: bunga, hehe  
 Ba: bunga, hehe
- 152 thorn**  
 N: dui  
 Be: dui  
 Ba: dui

**153 banana**

N: loka  
 Be: loka?  
 Ba: loka?

**154 coconut (ripe)**

N: kaluku matua  
 Be: kaluku to matu?a  
 Ba: kōuku to matu?a

**155 coconut (unripe)**

N: kaluku mangura  
 Be: kaluku to malehe?  
 Ba: kōuku to malehe?

**156 coconut shell**

N: tabo kaluku  
 Be: banga?  
 Ba: banga? ngkauku

**157 bamboo**

N: tala  
 Be: tala  
 Ba: tolo

**158 sago palm**

N: tabaro  
 Be: tabaro?  
 Ba: tabaro?

**159 nipa palm**

N: nipa  
 Be: nipa  
 Ba: nipa, lelangi

**160 rattan**

N: lauro  
 Be: uwe  
 Ba: uwe

**161 sugarcane**

N: tuwu  
 Be: tuwu  
 Ba: tuwu

**162 peanut**

N: uwi rengo  
 Be: wirengo?  
 Ba: kasa

**163 kapok**

N: kakawu  
 Be: kakawu?  
 Ba: kakawu?

**164 eggplant**

N: poki-poki  
 Be: palola  
 Ba: polola

**165 ginger**

N: kula pare  
 Be: kula?  
 Ba: kula?

**166 cassava**

N: uwi kau  
 Be: wikau  
 Ba: uwi kau

**167 sweet potato**

N: uwi (ntepuu)  
 Be: uwi  
 Ba: uwi (ebe)

**168 betel**

N: baulu  
 Be: bolu  
 Ba: wawulu (or wawulu)

**169 areca nut (betelnut)**

N: handutu  
 Be: pangana  
 Ba: mama? (to chew),  
 baloli (tree)

**170 short grass**

N: hehi  
 Be: rumpu?  
 Ba: hōhi

**171 sword grass**

N: dana  
 Be: dana?  
 Ba: tometohu?

**172 pandanus**

N: nahe  
 Be: nahe  
 Ba: nahe

**173 seed**

N: lihu  
 Be: lihu  
 Ba: lihu

**174 (rice) seedling**

N: hinawu  
 Be: hinawu  
 Ba: tiwu

**175 field rice**

N: pare  
 Be: pare  
 Ba: pare

**176 rice (cut, unhulled)**

N: pare  
 Be: pare  
 Ba: pare (torohe?)

**177 rice hull**

N: kungku  
 Be: kungku (coarse),  
 awa (fine)  
 Ba: kungku (coarse),  
 owo (fine)

- 178 **hulled rice**  
 N: pare bae  
 Be: bahi?  
 Ba: poibulu
- 179 **cooked rice**  
 N: andea  
 Be: ande?a  
 Ba: onde?o
- 180 **corn**  
 N: gogoa  
 Be: goa?  
 Ba: poho?
- 181 **sun**  
 N: alo  
 Be: alc  
 Ba: alo
- 182 **moon**  
 N: wula  
 Be: wula  
 Ba: wulo
- 183 **star**  
 N: betue  
 Be: betue  
 Ba: betue?
- 184 **sky**  
 N: langi  
 Be: langi?  
 Ba: langi?
- 185 **cloud**  
 N: gawu  
 Be: gawu  
 Ba: gawu
- 186 **raincloud**  
 N: gawu maeta  
 Be: gawu to maiti  
 Ba: gawu to mangkaindi
- 187 **fog**  
 N: gawu  
 Be: migawu  
 Ba: megawu
- 188 **thunder**  
 N: gumpata  
 Be: gumpata?  
 Ba: guru (gumpata? = thunderbolt)
- 189 **lightning**  
 N: kila  
 Be: kilo?  
 Ba: bonibi?
- 190 **rain**  
 N: uda  
 Be: uda  
 Ba: bobo
- 191 **rainbow**  
 N: mporagia  
 Be: paragia  
 Ba: mporogia
- 192 **wind**  
 N: himburu  
 Be: wui  
 Ba: angi
- 193 **sea, ocean**  
 N: tahi  
 Be: tahi(?)  
 Ba: tahi?
- 194 **shore**  
 N: wiwi ntahi  
 Be: talinti, wiwi? tahi(?)  
 Ba: tolinti, wiwi tahi?
- 195 **sand**  
 N: wungi  
 Be: wungi  
 Ba: wungi
- 196 **mud**  
 N: reta  
 Be: rege?  
 Ba: lane?
- 197 **earth, ground**  
 N: tampo  
 Be: tampo?  
 Ba: tampo?
- 198 **earthquake**  
 N: linu  
 Be: linu  
 Ba: linu
- 199 **salt**  
 N: bure  
 Be: bure  
 Ba: bure
- 200 **sugar**  
 N: gola  
 Be: gola  
 Ba: gola
- 201 **water**  
 N: owai  
 Be: uwai  
 Ba: uwai
- 202 **waterfall**  
 N: owai melumpa/manawo  
 Be: uwai tumata  
 Ba: uwai kumapa/timburu
- 203 **spring**  
 N: mata owai  
 Be: mata uwai  
 Ba: mata uwai, uwai tumbu?



- 204 mountain**  
 N: bulu  
 Be: bulu(?)  
 Ba: bulu?
- 205 summit**  
 N: wowo bulu  
 Be: tutu? bulu(?)  
 Ba: tutu? bulu?
- 206 woods, forest**  
 N: pandulu  
 Be: kakau (wana? =dense  
 jungle)  
 Ba: kakau
- 207 river**  
 N: owai  
 Be: uwai  
 Ba: halu, uwai
- 208 lake**  
 N: rano  
 Be: rano  
 Ba: rano
- 209 fire**  
 N: api  
 Be: api  
 Ba: api
- 210 smoke (from fire)**  
 N: rambu  
 Be: rambu  
 Ba: ranahu
- 211 ashes**  
 N: awu  
 Be: awu  
 Ba: awu
- 212 dust**  
 N: awu  
 Be: awu  
 Ba: awu tampo?
- 213 stone**  
 N: watu  
 Be: watu  
 Ba: watu
- 214 lime**  
 N: peda?  
 Be: peda?  
 Ba: peda?
- 215 shadow**  
 N: bao-bao  
 Be: babayo  
 Ba: babao
- 216 house**  
 N: sou  
 Be: tambi  
 Ba: tombi
- 217 floor**  
 N: lanta  
 Be: daula  
 Ba: lobo
- 218 wall (of house)**  
 N: rindi  
 Be: rindi  
 Ba: rindi
- 219 door**  
 N: baba  
 Be: baba?  
 Ba: baba?
- 220 roof**  
 N: atu  
 Be: atu?  
 Ba: atu?
- 221 rafter**  
 N: kaho  
 Be: kaho  
 Ba: kaho
- 222 storage shelf above hearth**  
 N: hawia  
 Be: lampa?a  
 Ba: hara, koria
- 223 house post**  
 N: kau sou  
 Be: ari?i  
 Ba: ori?i
- 224 space under house**  
 N: woo sou  
 Be: woi daha  
 Ba: woi?
- 225 fence**  
 N: wala  
 Be: boso?  
 Ba: boso?
- 226 canoe, boat**  
 N: duanga  
 Be: duanga  
 Ba: duango
- 227 canoe paddle**  
 N: pebohe  
 Be: bohe  
 Ba: pebohe
- 228 raft**  
 N: raki  
 Be: raki?  
 Ba: raki?
- 229 charcoal**  
 N: buri  
 Be: buri  
 Ba: ori

- 230 three-stone fireplace**  
 N: tondi  
 Be: tandi  
 Ba: tondi
- 231 cooking pot**  
 N: kori  
 Be: kori  
 Ba: kori
- 232 water jar**  
 N: gumba  
 Be: gumba  
 Ba: gumba
- 233 bamboo water container**  
 N: tala tambua  
 Be: tala ntambu?a  
 Ba: ombu?a, tambu?a
- 234 ladle of coconut shell**  
 N: petabuiki  
 Be: petambu?  
 Ba: pehangku?, pehombu?
- 235 mortar**  
 N: riso  
 Be: iso  
 Ba: iso
- 236 pestle (rice)**  
 N: yalu  
 Be: alu  
 Ba: alu
- 237 knife**  
 N: ladi  
 Be: ladi?  
 Ba: ladi?
- 238 machete**  
 N: ahe  
 Be: ahe?  
 Ba: ahe?
- 239 sheath for machete**  
 N: palungua  
 Be: pangulua  
 Ba: ponggula ahe?
- 240 comb**  
 N: karabi  
 Be: karabi?  
 Ba: karabi?, huraga?
- 241 ring (for finger)**  
 N: sisi kale  
 Be: hingkoli?  
 Ba: koelo
- 242 rope**  
 N: koloro  
 Be: gula?  
 Ba: koloro
- 243 string**  
 N: lero  
 Be: lero  
 Ba: lero, bororo
- 244 needle**  
 N: gigiu  
 Be: daru  
 Ba: daru
- 245 sarong**  
 N: komo mpokakahao  
 Be: pahua  
 Ba: pahua?
- 246 trousers**  
 N: puruka  
 Be: puruka  
 Ba: puruka
- 247 mat**  
 N: ale  
 Be: ale?  
 Ba: ale?
- 248 blanket**  
 N: komo  
 Be: komo?  
 Ba: komo?
- 249 pillow**  
 N: longa  
 Be: alonga  
 Ba: olongo
- 250 loincloth**  
 N: pewe  
 Be: pewe  
 Ba: pewe
- 251 bark cloth**  
 N: hampi  
 Be: ranta?  
 Ba: ranta?
- 252 wine**  
 N: baru  
 Be: baru  
 Ba: baru
- 253 medicine**  
 N: pakuli  
 Be: pakupu  
 Ba: pohopa?
- 254 swidden, rice/corn field**  
 N: bonde  
 Be: h-in-oe  
 Ba: bonde
- 255 trail, road**  
 N: rara  
 Be: rara  
 Ba: rara

- 256 big**  
 N: ma-hile  
 Be: ma-hile  
 Ba: ma-hile
- 257 small (object)**  
 N: kokoi  
 Be: kokoi?  
 Ba: kekede?
- 258 good**  
 N: ma-roa  
 Be: ma-ro?a  
 Ba: ma-ro?a
- 259 bad, evil**  
 N: kadake  
 Be: kadake  
 Ba: kadake
- 260 wet**  
 N: mawuru  
 Be: moloe?  
 Ba: mo-sii?
- 261 dry**  
 N: bangi  
 Be: bangi  
 Ba: bangi
- 262 wide**  
 N: ma-emba  
 Be: ma-ela?  
 Ba: ma-bemba?
- 263 narrow**  
 N: humpii  
 Be: ma-hingki?  
 Ba: poe, mo-hingki?
- 264 strong**  
 N: ma-roho  
 Be: ma-rohc  
 Ba: ma-roho
- 265 weak**  
 N: ma-lede  
 Be: ma-lede?  
 Ba: ma-lede?
- 266 far**  
 N: karao  
 Be: karao?  
 Ba: karao?
- 267 near**  
 N: hungku  
 Be: hungku?  
 Ba: daki?
- 268 new (objects)**  
 N: wou  
 Be: wo?u  
 Ba: wo?u
- 269 old (objects)**  
 N: hae  
 Be: sae  
 Ba: sae
- 270 old (persons)**  
 N: to-sae  
 Be: to-sae  
 Ba: ma-tu?a, sae
- 271 thick (object)**  
 N: ma-kumba  
 Be: ma-koppo  
 Ba: mo-koppo
- 272 thin (object)**  
 N: ma-nipi  
 Be: ma-haba?  
 Ba: ma-nipa?
- 273 skinny**  
 N: ma-duhu  
 Be: ma-duhu?  
 Ba: mo-duhu?
- 274 fat**  
 N: ma-rudu  
 Be: ma-rudu?  
 Ba: bombo
- 275 hot (water)**  
 N: mamu  
 Be: ma-?amu?  
 Ba: m -?omu?
- 276 cold (water)**  
 N: ma-lahe  
 Be: me-lahe?  
 Ba: me-linti
- 277 (luke)warm (water)**  
 N: mamu alo  
 Be: ma-?amu? alo  
 Ba: ma?amu? alo
- 278 dull (knife)**  
 N: ma-kulu  
 Be: ma-kulu?  
 Ba: hapuu, mo-kulu?
- 279 sharp (knife)**  
 N: ma-taru  
 Be: ma-taru  
 Ba: tumaru
- 280 short (length)**  
 N: sosoe(?)  
 Be: rerembe  
 Ba: rerembe, tetembe?
- 281 short (height)**  
 N: ntembe  
 Be: rerembe  
 Ba: rerembe, tetembe?

**282 long (object)**  
N: ngkararu  
Be: kararu, kalanga  
Ba: hangkau, kararu

**283 rotten (fruit)**  
N: mando, bangka  
Be: humau (meat)  
Ba: bongko?, humau

**284 sour**  
N: ma-ngilu  
Be: ma-isu  
Ba: mo-isu

**285 bitter**  
N: ma-pai?  
Be: ma-pai?  
Ba: mo-pai?

**286 sweet**  
N: momi  
Be: ma-tani  
Ba: mo-mumi?

**287 fragrant**  
N: ma-wongi  
Be: ma-wongi  
Ba: boharu

**288 blind**  
N: bilo  
Be: bilo  
Ba: bilo

**289 deaf**  
N: bongo  
Be: bongo?  
Ba: bongo?

**290 pain, to be sick**  
N: ma-hai  
Be: ma-hai, ma-haki, ma-du?a  
Ba: ma-hoi, mo-haki?, madu?a

**291 thirsty**  
N: mangkadou  
Be: mangkado?u  
Ba: mangkado?u

**292 hungry**  
N: ma-rimi  
Be: ma-rimi  
Ba: m-rimi

**293 full (satiated)**  
N: ma-buhu  
Be: ma-buhu  
Ba: m-buhu

**294 other, different**  
N: ntani-na  
Be: ntani?-na  
Ba: tauna ntani?

**295 all**  
N: ope-ope  
Be: upu-upu  
Ba: upu-upu

**296 many**  
N: ngkaya, handa  
Be: handa?  
Ba: handa?, ka?ia

**297 heavy**  
N: mantimi  
Be: ma-timi  
Ba: mo-dori

**298 hard (substance)**  
N: ma-tua  
Be: ma-tu?a  
Ba: ma-tu?a

**299 dirty**  
N: kedai  
Be: kedai  
Ba: boko, kedai

**300 straight**  
N: ma-noto  
Be: ma-noro?  
Ba: ma-nonto, dolo?

**301 round (spherical)**  
N: mo-liogu  
Be: h-um-ambua?  
Ba: lomu

**302 lonely**  
N: mandii  
Be: ma-nii?  
Ba: pondiango, mo-nii?

**303 difficult**  
N: ma-pari, ma-susa  
Be: ma-?angkoro  
Ba: mo-koro

**304 smooth**  
N: me-lora  
Be: ma-?alu  
Ba: alusu?, mo-?olu-olu

**305 fast**  
N: ma-gasi  
Be: ma-gasi  
Ba: ma-gasi

**306 deep**  
N: kaladu  
Be: kaladu  
Ba: kaladu

**307 full (container)**  
N: buke  
Be: buke?  
Ba: pose

**308 true, correct**

N: tou  
Be: to?u, kana  
Ba: to?u, baha?

**309 white**

N: bula  
Be: bula  
Ba: bula

**310 black**

N: ma-eta  
Be: ma-iti  
Ba: mo-iti

**311 yellow**

N: ma-bada  
Be: ma-bodo?  
Ba: mo-bodo?

**312 red**

N: ma-lei  
Be: ma-lei  
Ba: mo-lei

**313 green**

N: ma-lewau  
Be: ma-kodara  
Ba: mo-lewau

**314 not**

N: bara  
Be: tiara  
Ba: ti?ara

**315 none**

N: barara  
Be: tiara ara  
Ba: ti?ara ara

**316 no**

N: bara  
Be: tiara  
Ba: bo?ia

**317 if**

N: ane  
Be: ane  
Ba: ane

**318 whatever you call it**

N: anu  
Be: anu  
Ba: anu

**319 now, already (perfective)**

N: ope-mi  
Be: upu-mi?i  
Ba: upu-mo?i

**320 and**

N: hai  
Be: hai  
Ba: hai

**321 this**

N: ide  
Be: de?e  
Ba: de?e

**322 that**

N: iti  
Be: do?o  
Ba: iti

**323 that distant**

N: olou, indolou  
Be: indorea, indolou  
Ba: itiraa?, iti olou?

**324 here**

N: inde  
Be: inde?e  
Ba: inde?e

**325 there**

N: inditi  
Be: indo?o  
Ba: indo?o, indi?iti

**326 way over there**

N: indo-ra, indo-wei,  
indo-lou  
Be: indo-rea, indowei,  
indo-lou  
Ba: indoraa?

**327 one**

N: isa  
Be: isa?  
Ba: isa?

**328 two**

N: dua  
Be: rombua  
Ba: duo

**329 three**

N: talu  
Be: talu  
Ba: talu

**330 four**

N: iba  
Be: iba  
Ba: iba

**331 five**

N: lima  
Be: lima  
Ba: lima

**332 six**

N: ini  
Be: ini  
Ba: ini



- 333 seven  
N: pitu  
Be: pitu  
Ba: pitu
- 334 eight  
N: uwalu  
Be: uwalu  
Ba: uwalu
- 335 nine  
N: hahio  
Be: hahio?  
Ba: hahio?
- 336 ten  
N: hampulo  
Be: hampulo?  
Ba: hampulo?
- 337 twenty  
N: rompulo  
Be: rompulo?  
Ba: rompulo?
- 338 hundred  
N: hangatu  
Be: hangatu  
Ba: hangatu
- 339 thousand  
N: hasabu  
Be: hasabu  
Ba: hasabu
- 340 at  
N: i  
Be: i  
Ba: i
- 341 left (hand/side)  
N: kabeo  
Be: kabeo?  
Ba: kɔiri, kɔbeo?
- 342 right (hand/side)  
N: koana  
Be: kuana  
Ba: kɔɔnɔ
- 343 west  
N: katampua alo  
Be: katampu-na  
Ba: mɔtɔmpuhɔ
- 344 east  
N: pebetao alo  
Be: mata alo  
Ba: mɔtɔ ɔlo
- 345 toward the sea  
N: --  
Be: --  
Ba: tanda? i tahi?
- 346 toward the interior  
N: --  
Be: --  
Ba: tanda? i lalu
- 347 under  
N: i woi  
Be: i woi?  
Ba: i woi?
- 348 on top of, above  
N: i wongko  
Be: i wongko  
Ba: i wongko
- 349 behind  
N: i taleu  
Be: i taleu  
Ba: i bengo
- 350 in front  
N: i lindo  
Be: i lindo?  
Ba: i lindo?
- 351 outside  
N: i raa  
Be: i rawa  
Ba: i raa
- 352 inside  
N: i lalu  
Be: i lalu  
Ba: i lalu
- 353 edge  
N: wiwi  
Be: wiwi  
Ba: wiwi
- 354 day  
N: alo  
Be: alo  
Ba: ɔlo
- 355 night  
N: kaindi  
Be: kaindi  
Ba: inambengi (mɔkɔindi = dark)
- 356 morning  
N: madondo  
Be: mepulo  
Ba: mepulo
- 357 midday  
N: pualu  
Be: kalialo  
Ba: ma-baa, inanggalo
- 358 afternoon  
N: kalumba  
Be: kalumba?  
Ba: kalumba?

- 359 yesterday**  
 N: imaindi  
 Be: iamaindi  
 Ba: imaindi
- 360 today**  
 N: alo ide  
 Be: alo de<sup>?</sup>e, dehang-alo-a  
 Ba: alo de<sup>?</sup>e
- 361 tomorrow**  
 N: kahalo  
 Be: kahalo  
 Ba: teume<sup>?</sup>
- 362 year**  
 N: pare  
 Be: pare  
 Ba: pare
- 363 ashamed, shy**  
 N: maea  
 Be: ma-hili  
 Ba: mo-hili
- 364 angry**  
 N: rumpu  
 Be: ma-buko<sup>?</sup>  
 Ba: towe
- 365 to fear, be afraid of**  
 N: langa  
 Be: ma-l<sup>oo</sup>?  
 Ba: long<sup>oo</sup>?
- 366 to count**  
 N: mo-imba  
 Be: mo-imba<sup>?</sup>  
 Ba: mo-imba<sup>?</sup>
- 367 to learn**  
 N: me-guru  
 Be: me-guru  
 Ba: me-guru
- 368 to think**  
 N: mampekiri  
 Be: mompekiri  
 Ba: mompekiri
- 369 to know (a thing)**  
 N: na-<sup>?</sup>isa, mang-isa  
 Be: na-<sup>?</sup>isa, mang-isa  
 Ba: mang-isa
- 370 to know (a person)**  
 N: ku-kaisanga  
 Be: na-<sup>?</sup>isa  
 Ba: me-isa, mehala<sup>?</sup>
- 371 to forget**  
 N: naliu inao-ngku  
 Be: ku-kalali<sup>?</sup>a  
 Ba: kololio, ku-kaluli<sup>?</sup>i
- 372 to lie (untruth)**  
 N: mo-dongko  
 Be: mo-dongko<sup>?</sup>  
 Ba: mo-dongko<sup>?</sup>
- 373 to choose**  
 N: mampilei  
 Be: pile<sup>?</sup>i  
 Ba: mampileki
- 374 to beckon with hand**  
 N: kawe  
 Be: ra-kawe  
 Ba: me-k<sup>ow</sup>i<sup>?</sup>
- 375 to tell**  
 N: ku-uliangaa  
 Be: ku-pehanga<sup>?</sup>a  
 Ba: mam-pehang<sup>oo</sup>?
- 376 to say, speak, utter**  
 N: mo-lolita  
 Be: mo-laluita  
 Ba: mo-laluta
- 377 to repeat**  
 N: mo-hule  
 Be: ra-hule-ki  
 Ba: mo-hule<sup>?</sup> ingi
- 378 to answer**  
 N: me-hana  
 Be: me-hani<sup>?</sup>, mo-hangki  
 Ba: me-hani<sup>?</sup>
- 379 to sing**  
 N: mo-nani  
 Be: mo-nani  
 Ba: mo-linga, mo-nani
- 380 to cry**  
 N: mo-teria  
 Be: teria<sup>?</sup>  
 Ba: teria<sup>?</sup>
- 381 to laugh**  
 N: me-ngele  
 Be: ma-tawa  
 Ba: ma-tawa
- 382 to hear**  
 N: mam-pehadingi  
 Be: ku-hadi, mam-pehadingi  
 Ba: ku-h<sup>oo</sup>di, mam-peh<sup>oo</sup>dingi
- 383 to see**  
 N: ku-ita  
 Be: ku-<sup>?</sup>ita  
 Ba: manginta, ku-<sup>?</sup>ita
- 384 to smell, sniff**  
 N: mam-penga, ku-penga  
 Be: ku-<sup>?</sup>ari  
 Ba: mam-pe<sup>oo</sup>ri<sup>?</sup>, ku-<sup>?</sup>ari<sup>?</sup>

- 385 to cut (wood, across grain)  
N: ra-boho  
Be: ra-boho  
Ba: mo-boho
- 386 to split (wood)  
N: bika  
Be: bika  
Ba: mo-bika
- 387 to cook  
N: mo-daka  
Be: mompaeho  
Ba: me-huhe
- 388 to (be) boil(ing) (of water)  
N: rengke  
Be: loko  
Ba: dede
- 389 to open, uncover  
N: bungkahi  
Be: bungk hi  
Ba: mo-bungk hi
- 390 to eat  
N: mande  
Be: mande  
Ba: ma-ande
- 391 to drink  
N: ma-inu  
Be: ma-inu  
Ba: m -inu
- 392 to bite  
N: mo-keki  
Be: me-keki  
Ba: me-keki
- 393 to chew (not to swallow)  
N: mangkangai  
Be: mangkangai  
Ba: mo-kangai
- 394 to chew betelnut  
N: mo-mama  
Be: mo-mama  
Ba: mo-mama
- 395 to swallow  
N: mo-ame  
Be: mo- ame  
Ba: mo-ame
- 396 to suck (not nurse)  
N: mo-hibu  
Be: mo-hibu  
Ba: mo-hihi
- 397 to blow (on fire)  
N: tawue  
Be: tawue  
Ba: mo-tawue
- 398 to hold  
N: mo-kingki  
Be: mo-tibaa  
Ba: mo-antia
- 399 to squeeze (in hand)  
N: pie  
Be: pie  
Ba: mo-pie
- 400 to throw away  
N: mo-tende  
Be: tibe  
Ba: mo-tibe (tende = toss)
- 401 to fall, drop (as fruit)  
N: ma-nawo  
Be: ma-nawo  
Ba: mandawo
- 402 to drop (trans.)  
N: na-nawo  
Be: na-nawo?  
Ba: ku-ndawo?
- 403 to play  
N: mo-wadi  
Be: mo-wadi  
Ba: mo-kuli
- 404 to work  
N: mo-bago  
Be: mo-bago  
Ba: mo-bago?
- 405 to burn (field)  
N: me-huwe  
Be: mo-hunui  
Ba: me-hunu
- 406 to plant  
N: mantuda, me-hua  
Be: me-hu?a, mo-tuda  
Ba: me-hu?a, me-tuda?
- 407 to grow  
N: tuwo  
Be: tue?  
Ba: tuwo?
- 408 to winnow  
N: mo-tapihi  
Be: mo-tapi?i  
Ba: mo-topi?i
- 409 to pound (rice)  
N: mombau  
Be: mombau  
Ba: mo-into?
- 410 to live, be alive  
N: tuwo  
Be: tue?  
Ba: tuwo?

- 411 to die, dead  
N: mate  
Be: mate  
Ba: mate
- 412 to dig (hole)  
N: mo-kae  
Be: mo-kae  
Ba: mo-kae, keke
- 413 to bury, inter  
N: mo-tawu  
Be: mo-patawu  
Ba: mo-tawu, mopatampu
- 414 to push  
N: mo-humbanga  
Be: humbanga  
Ba: me-humbongo
- 415 to pull  
N: mo-dii, mo-penono  
Be: dii?  
Ba: mo-dii?
- 416 to tie (tether animal)  
N: taka  
Be: taka?  
Ba: mo-taka?
- 417 to turn (right/left)  
N: mo-lengko  
Be: mo-baleo?  
Ba: mo-baleo?
- 418 to turn around  
N: menggoli  
Be: menggoli  
Ba: mombulili
- 419 to stick to  
N: mentaka  
Be: me-dingki?, mentaka?  
Ba: me-dingki?
- 420 to wipe  
N: mo-umpahi  
Be: ra-umpahi  
Ba: mo?umpahi
- 421 to wash clothes  
N: mo-bahoi  
Be: mo-baho?i  
Ba: mo-baho?i, toposi
- 422 to dry (clothes) in sun  
N: mampenei  
Be: mompuai  
Ba: mampuai
- 423 to wash hands  
N: memando  
Be: membaho?  
Ba: membaho?
- 424 to bathe  
N: mendo  
Be: me-doi  
Ba: me-doi
- 425 to give someone a bath  
N: mo-doi, ku-doi  
Be: mpadoi, ku-doi  
Ba: mo-doi
- 426 to swim  
N: mo-nangu  
Be: me-lu?u  
Ba: me-lu?u
- 427 to climb (tree)  
N: me-ngkahe  
Be: me-ngkahe?  
Ba: mengkahe?
- 428 to climb (mountain)  
N: mempanai  
Be: mempanai?  
Ba: mempanai?
- 429 to hide  
N: mentabungi  
Be: me-buni  
Ba: me-buni
- 430 to hunt (for game)  
N: mo-ahu  
Be: mo-ahu  
Ba: mo-ahu
- 431 to fly  
N: membaro  
Be: membara  
Ba: me-tumeo? (membaro used too)
- 432 to shoot an arrow  
N: --  
Be: --  
Ba: mo-tuni?
- 433 to stab  
N: ra-haku, ra-tohu, ra-tawala  
Be: mo-haku, mo-tohu  
Ba: me-haku?, dalo?, tohu?
- 434 to kill  
N: mopapate  
Be: me-papate, ku-papate  
Ba: mepapate

- 435 to throw  
N: mo-weduka  
Be: me-tela  
Ba: me-tumpa?
- 436 to hit (with a stick, club)  
N: mo-wombe  
Be: me-boba?, me-bomba  
Ba: me-bamba, me-womba, mowoba?
- 437 to kick (ball)  
N: me-sempa  
Be: me-sepa  
Ba: me-sempa
- 438 to fight  
N: mombe-tie  
Be: mo-haka?  
Ba: mombe-ala, mombe-eni?
- 439 to steal  
N: manangka  
Be: ma-nako  
Ba: baina
- 440 to sew  
N: mandau  
Be: mandau  
Ba: mo-dau
- 441 to weave cloth  
N: mo-tanu  
Be: mo-tanu  
Ba: mantanu
- 442 to weave a mat  
N: mo-ale(?)  
Be: mo-ale?  
Ba: mo-ale?
- 443 to buy  
N: me-holo  
Be: me-holo  
Ba: me-holo
- 444 to sell  
N: mo-balu  
Be: mompo-balu?  
Ba: mo-balu?, mampobalu?
- 445 to pay  
N: bayari  
Be: mo-bayari  
Ba: mo-baiari
- 446 to give  
N: ku-wei, mo-wei  
Be: ku-we?i  
Ba: mepa?ambe?i, mampe-we?i, ra-we?i
- 447 to lose something, lost  
N: ma-tanta  
Be: ma-tanta  
Ba: mantanta, ma-kawu
- 448 to breathe  
N: mo-inao  
Be: me-inao  
Ba: me-inao
- 449 to cough  
N: mo-meke  
Be: me-meke  
Ba: me-meke
- 450 to spit  
N: mo-tinudu  
Be: me-tinudu  
Ba: me-tinudu
- 451 to vomit (not to spit out)  
N: te-bola  
Be: to-bola  
Ba: te-bola
- 452 to defecate  
N: mo-tetai  
Be: mo-dao?  
Ba: mo-iwiwi, me-wiwi
- 453 to itch, be itchy  
N: ma-kati  
Be: ma-kati  
Ba: ma-kati
- 454 to scratch (an itch)  
N: mangkao  
Be: mangkao  
Ba: mangkakao
- 455 to delouse  
N: mombe-utei (reciprocal)  
Be: mombe-utei  
Ba: mombe-utei
- 456 to rub (massage)  
N: ra-uru (loan?)  
Be: me-?uru? (loan?)  
Ba: me-uru (loan?)
- 457 to swell (as an abcess)  
N: ma-wae  
Be: kamba  
Ba: kamba
- 458 to flow  
N: mo-ili  
Be: mo-ili  
Ba: mo-ili

- 459 to run**  
 N: me-langka  
 Be: me-langka  
 Ba: me-langka
- 460 to walk**  
 N: mo-lumao  
 Be: mo-lumao  
 Ba: mo-lumao
- 461 to stand**  
 N: me-angka  
 Be: me-ɔngko?  
 Ba: me-katede?
- 462 to sit**  
 N: mo-hoda  
 Be: me-hoda  
 Ba: me-huda
- 463 to lie down**  
 N: ma-turu  
 Be: ma-turu  
 Ba: ma-turu(-turu)
- 464 to nod, be sleepy**  
 N: ma-lelue  
 Be: ma-lelue  
 Ba: ma-tetundu?
- 465 to yawn**  
 N: ma-moa  
 Be: ma-moa?  
 Ba: ma-moa?
- 466 to sleep**  
 N: leta  
 Be: leta?  
 Ba: leto?
- 467 to dream**  
 N: mangipi  
 Be: mampaturua  
 Ba: mampaturua
- 468 to wake up**  
 N: me-aro  
 Be: me-aro  
 Ba: me-aro
- 469 to awaken someone**  
 N: ku-pope-aro  
 Be: ku-pope-aro, ku-rua?  
 Ba: ku-rua?, ku-pope-aro
- 470 to come, arrive**  
 N: hawe  
 Be: hawe?  
 Ba: butu
- 471 to return home**  
 N: me-sule  
 Be: me-sule?  
 Ba: ma-sule?
- 472 to live, dwell**  
 N: maida  
 Be: toro?  
 Ba: toro?, roo
- 473 to wait**  
 N: me-pegia  
 Be: mam-pegia  
 Ba: mam-pegia
- 474 to be pregnant**  
 N: mantimi (kalaea =  
 of animals)  
 Be: kala?ea  
 Ba: kolɔ?eo
- 475 name**  
 N: hanga  
 Be: hanga?  
 Ba: hanga?
- 476 story**  
 N: lolita, laluita  
 Be: laluta  
 Ba: laluta
- 477 word**  
 N: lolita, ngkora  
 Be: laluta  
 Ba: ngkora?
- 478 language**  
 N: basa  
 Be: basa  
 Ba: basa
- 479 debt**  
 N: inda  
 Be: inda  
 Ba: inda
- 480 breakfast**  
 N: mo-labi  
 Be: mo-labi?  
 Ba: mo-labi?
- 481 bride price**  
 N: holo  
 Be: holo  
 Ba: holo tawine,  
 wɔtɔ tawine
- 482 what?**  
 N: apa  
 Be: apa  
 Ba: apa



**483 who?**

N: hema  
Be: heana  
Ba: hema

**484 where?**

N: iumba  
Be: iumba  
Ba: i'umbo

**485 when?**

N: impira  
Be: impira  
Ba: himpiro

**486 how many?**

N: hangkia  
Be: hangapa  
Ba: hangapa

**487 how?**

N: noumba  
Be: noumba  
Ba: nu'umbo

**488 why?**

N: moapa  
Be: moapa  
Ba: ma'ampa

