

ADDITIONAL ADDENDA

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1. The new Indonesian and Austronesian reconstructions presented here mostly have as their starting point the proto-forms proposed for Proto South Sulawesi (PSS), ancestor to the present-day languages of South Sulawesi (hereafter SSul). A few of the new etyma lack SSul witnesses, but in these cases the available evidence seemed convincing.

2. Since the linguistic situation on the island of Sulawesi (formerly Celebes) is complex and perhaps unfamiliar to many readers, I offer here a quick survey.

2.1. The languages of *South Sulawesi* were examined in detail in my dissertation (Mills 1975), and reconstructed PSS turned out to be rather straightforward, with few surprises in either the phonology or morphology.

2.1a. I have classified the modern languages as follows:

1. Makassarese
2. Buginese
3. Mandar
4. Sa'dan group (< Proto Sa'dan, PSad)
 - 4.1. Pitu-Ulunna-Salo group
 - 4.1.1a. PUS
 - 4.1.1b. Mamuju
 - 4.1.2. Seko
 - 4.2. Sa'dan Toraja
 - 4.3. Massenrempulu

This represents a refinement of Esser's grouping on his well known language map; he, however, did not include Mamuju at all, perhaps with good reason. It is the language of relatively recent migrants to the coast from the PUS-speaking interior; it has much of the phonology and vocabulary of PUS, but like Mandar it has the final continuants /r l s/. At the time of my field work I was unaware of the origins of these people, and the language seemed unexceptional. I now suspect that Mamuju is in fact a *koiné* based on PUS, with the final continuants to be viewed not as retentions but rather as phonemes *reintroduced* under the influence of the more prestigious trade languages — Mandar, Makassarese and Malay/Bahasa Indonesia — spoken in the coastal towns. Such adjustments between more or less closely related languages must have been common throughout the history of the AN languages; similar to pidginization, they might provide insights into the mechanics of that process. It is therefore a matter of some regret that my work with the language was brief, and the data limited.

Adriani and Kruyt (1914:146—154; hereafter A&K) discuss two dialects of "Mamoedjoesch". The name of one, Rante Bulawang, seems to be a variant of Rante Bulahan ('Plain of Gold'), the chief dialect of PUS; the other, Salo (river) Tabang does not appear on modern maps nor

in Van der Veen's (1929) more careful discussion of the area. A&K apparently used wordlists supplied by civil and military authorities (or their native underlings, since some were in Bug. script), with the result that their data are suspect: they fail to indicate the geminate consonants and final glottal stop. Their Mandar data (pp. 154—169) suffer from the same faults; the speech of both my Mmj. and Mdr. informants had these features. Forms cited from A&K, therefore, are so marked, and, where they lack expected phonological developments, are enclosed in quotation marks.

Massenrempulu is a cover term for the languages spoken in the mountainous area between the Buginese and Sa'dan Toraja lands, and is represented in my data by two dialects of *Duri*. My informants stated that their language is mutually intelligible with Sa'dan, a view confirmed by lexicostatistical percentages (around 80%). An Indonesian publication (Pelenkahu et al. 1972) provides small amounts of data from languages known as Endekan (or Enrekang), Maiwa and Pattinjo, place names all.

2.1b. Phonologically the most distinctive feature of the SSul languages is the so-called geminate consonants, which actually vary from true geminates¹ to complex articulations of glottal stop plus consonant. They derive from four sources in the protolanguage: (i) as an automatic feature following *ě -- indicated in PSS reconstructions (e.g. PSS *těllu *three*) even though it is redundant; (ii) the remnants of the heterorganic medial clusters in reduplicated (or repeated) monosyllables (RMs), where in PSS the first member of the cluster can only be reconstructed as a glottal stop *q. Thus, hypothetical AN *taptap > PSS *taqtap, or AN *paspas > PSS *paqpas. Heterorganic nasals in old RMs become homorganic in PSS, i.e. AN *tangtang > PSS *tantang. (iii) The shift of PSS nasal + voiceless stop, including those derived in RMs, to a geminate vl. stop (or perhaps q + stop). This change affects every language to a greater or less degree except Mak. where it is absent. (iv) Survivals of the AN infixes *-r-, *-R- and *-l-, into PSS with a post-PSS change to q — actually a tiny and tenuous group of forms, some possibly borrowings, whose cluster cannot be accounted for by any of the changes just detailed above. A transcriptional problem in my data and the dictionaries, and variation in the spoken languages, arises due to a convergence in the pronunciations of q + vl. stop and geminate vl. stops: the mechanics and the auditory affect of each are to all intents identical, and the result is free variation for almost all speakers. The old RM clusters of *q + continuant and *q + nasal merge with the geminates everywhere except in Mak, where

they are distinguished; thus PSS *muqmuR *rinse the mouth* > Mak. móqmoróq, Bug. Sad. mommoq, PSS *loqlos *fade* > Mak. loqlosoq, Bug. Sad. lolloq; but even Mak. has only /-ss-/ in RM reflexes, making it indeterminate whether PSS had *-qs- or had already undergone assimilation > *-ss- in this one environment.

The SSul languages, like many others, show double reflexes of AN *b and *d/D, viz. /bʷw/ (and a further development of w > h > ø) and /dʷr/ (and r from any source further > h or x in PUS/Mmj.). It is safe to assume that in initial position the variation arose due to analogy based on morphophonemic alternants determined by vowel- or consonant-final prefixes; medially, there is no ready explanation. The /w-/ that arose < *b must have been phonetically distinct from PSS *w < AN *w, since the latter usually has a vocalic onset, the former never, as in Bug. wai ~ uwai (note Sinjai dial. hai ~ uhai) *water* vs. watang *trunk, stem* (never *uwatang). Intervocally AN *b is almost always reflected as PSS *-w- (but *-bb- after *ě) and so merges with the reflex of AN *w in this position; forms with PSS *-b- are quite likely borrowings — perhaps of Toraja /-mb-/ which is a unit phoneme in those languages — or cases where the witness languages have all independently denasalized an earlier PSS *mb.

2.1c. PSS morphology, insofar as it has been reconstructed, contains only a few peculiarities vis-a-vis e.g. Malay. The most noteworthy is the series of prefixes *me(N)- 1. =Ml. *ber-*, 2. *active verb*, *pe(N)- *causative verb or agent noun*, *pe—*an nominal* alongside *mar- =Ml. *ber-*, *ma(N)- *active vb.*, *pa(N)- *causative/agent* and *pa—*an nominal*. Whether me/pe should be compared with the identical prefixes in Toraja languages, or with OJ mi/pi (of somewhat vague meaning and obscure origin) is uncertain. I tentatively view them as remnants of a Toraja-type substratum, and if this is correct, then they are ultimately cognate with AN *mar/paR-.

2.2. The *Toraja languages* figure prominently in these comparisons thanks to the abundant data in A&K, Adriani's *Bare'e Woordenboek* and S.J. Esser's works. On his map, Esser's classification of the languages differs slightly from A&K, but I suspect that anything like an accurate classification is yet to be made, and will have to take into account the Bungku-Laki languages (Esser's Group X) and probably also the Muna-Butung group (Esser's XII); the many cognates cited below show how similar these languages are to one another. My use of "Toraja", then, must be interpreted broadly, including all three groups; that is, it refers to all the non-SSul languages spoken south of the Equator, excluding the easternmost arm of the island.

Bare'e and Mori are especially useful as test-languages for AN *j and *(n)j — even though outside evidence is still needed, since they merge *j and *R. The reflex of *j/R in Bar. is y (> ø in the env. of i or e), with ø or a vowel-change finally; since AN *l also > Bar. y, Bar. evidence is not as conclusive for *j/R as Mori. There, the reflex is ø but with vowel changes pointing to an earlier y-stage: e < *aj, *ej, i < *uj as well as *ij. The reflex of *nj is poorly attested in Mori, but is probably nd, as in Bar. Whether Bar.

/y/ can also reflect AN *d or *D is not clear; there are a few suspicious examples, at least one of which matches a Dempwolff reconstruction — *su(n)du *spoon* — all of whose witnesses could equally well reflect *su(n)ju.

2.3. *North Sulawesi*. The long thin arm of the island stretching north and east from the Equator contains languages which can apparently be classified as Philippine (see Esser's Group V, and possibly VI and VII as well). To my view, the criteria for this classification have in the past been vague and impressionistic; hopefully the work of M. Charles will provide the more rigorous definition that is needed. In any case, most of the forms which I cite were originally cited in the Bare'e dictionary and are sometimes to be viewed with suspicion, especially when not glossed. I have more than once checked Adriani's suggested SSul cognates only to find that the meaning cannot possibly be compared despite a good phonological fit. In general, having gone through Steller and Aebersold's Sangir dictionary, and my own Gorontalo word-list, I find few SSul-NSul cognates that do not reflect already known etyma — disappointing in the case of Sangir, which shares important sound changes with Mak. (all final nasals > ng, all final stops > q, final continuants preserved with a support-vowel, RM clusters C1C2 > qC) though morphologically there is little resemblance.

2.4. *Eastern Sulawesi* gives us the *Loinang* languages, represented by A&K's Loinang, Balantak and Banggai; further, Van den Bergh's Banggai, and little-known Lo'on and Kahumamahon (Soeparman et al. 1974a, 1974b; the printing does not inspire confidence). Banggai is divergent compared with the others, but despite a respectable body of data, some important sound changes are obscure, e.g. whether Bang. merges *R with *d/D/r/l > l — the crucial examples are either lacking, or possible Ml. loans. Like Bar. and Mori, however, Bang. is a test-language for AN *j, which is reflected uniquely as -y- and -y, with the latter less certain, given few examples and the apparent retention also of AN *-uy.

A language which Adriani (1900) classified as intermediate between the Philippine languages of NSul and the Loinang group is *Bobongko*, spoken at that time — but dying out — on the Togian Islands. Its status is unclear, as is likewise that of the Loinang group; ultimately both are probably connected with the Philippine languages. Their distribution, on islands and along the coast, suggests that they may be relatively recent arrivals in the area — an intriguing speculation is that they may have been "Bajau" seagypsies who returned to the land².

2.5. In sum, we can see that the island of Sulawesi contains documented representatives of at least three major subgroups, possibly four — or more, since we have not dealt with the poorly attested Tomini languages of NSul. No one group appears to be closely related to any other; each shows distinctive phonological developments, though on balance SSul and Tor. tend to resemble each other more than they do NSul or Loin. Morphologically the situation is reversed: SSul stands apart with

an almost Malay-like simplicity, while Tor. and NSul share certain features such as (in just a few Tor. languages) a tense distinction, which was one of Adriani's reasons for positing a northern origin for the Toraja peoples.

3. The new reconstructions are listed here in three sections: (1) Sulawesi only (2) Proto Indonesian (3) Proto Austronesian.

3.1. *Sulawesi only* means, obviously, that cognate forms found to date are restricted to languages spoken on that island. Theoretically, in view of the three or four subgroups represented, it should be possible to reconstruct at least to the PIN level. I do so, but very tentatively because of (a) the strong possibility of borrowed (SSul > Tor.) or substratum items (Tor. > SSul), (b) the manifold ambiguities due *inter alia* to the poor evidence for final consonants, and the Tor. and SSul mergers of *d/D/r > d/r (and in SSul further add *ʒ and often *z > d/r, likewise *j > PSS *z which > Bug. s but all others r), (c) the local nature of many of the words — plant and animal names, agricultural and geographical terms, etc. Thus any PIN forms here should be viewed as rough estimates, not finished products. This section of the list is alphabetized according to the PSS or PTor. forms: a - b, (bv), (bw) - c - d, (dr), z, r, R - ě - g - i, e - j - k - l - m - n - ñ - ,ng - p - s - t - u, o - w - y.

3.2. *Proto Indonesian* (PIN) for my purposes encompasses all the AN languages of Republik Indonesia (except Irian Barat, for which I lack data), the Philippines, mainland Southeast Asia, and Malagasy. The accuracy of this is certainly open to debate, as it is more a geographical than a linguistic view; but I think that any errors which it occasions will be on the conservative side. In a sense, too, it is a counsel of despair in the face of so many gaps in our knowledge, and my belief that the only alternative way of dealing with large numbers of poorly known languages — lexico-statistics — is all but useless in this area where contact and borrowing have been going on for centuries if not millenia.

Selection of witness languages is somewhat haphazard and reflects access to sources and/or my own interests. Lack of a good Malay dictionary has forced me to rely on Bahasa Indonesia as equivalent, which may have introduced some, though I suspect not many, spurious attributions; where other sources cite forms as "Ml.", so do I. Otherwise, the principal languages compared (fairly thoroughly) are Javanese and Old Javanese, Old Balinese, Madurese, Leti, Kisar, Fordat, Jamdena; Tagalog and Reid's "minor languages"; and Malgache (Merina or Hova). Several of Stresemann's (1927) "UrAmbon" reconstructions are cited, without further attestation; his work is most interesting and contains an impressive body of proto-forms, though marred by a methodological error involving AN *j and an apparently unconditioned triple reflex of AN *e (> UrAmb. *ě, *e or *o).

One cannot work in this area without forming certain conclusions and working hypotheses about the subgrouping of the languages. Some of mine follow; all are tentative. I view as distinct groups (1) the Philippines, including NSul and northern Borneo, and pro-

bably the Tidung and Tinggalan Dayak used here. (2) Malay, with Minangkabau and other South Sumatran languages (but no comment on Lampung or Sundanese), Aceh and Cham, and probably Madurese despite its Javanized vocabulary. Of considerable interest are the Old Malay and Old Balinese materials from approx. 600-900 A.D.: the languages seem quite similar, especially in their morphology. One wonders, however, whether the resemblances are due to the courtly nature of the edicts, the only sources; if so, it follows that the OBal-using ruling class might at best have been only partly ethnic Balinese, and OBal would not necessarily be the ancestor of modern Bal. (and I feel it is not, nor do I class Mod. Bal. or Sasak in this Malayic group). PSS also compares favorably with Oml and OBal, both in phonology and morphology, and with just a few revisions PSS could serve as the protolanguage of either Ml. or Mad., or both; thus in the back of my mind PSS is classed as Malayic. (3) NgD and Malgache, probably with other languages of Borneo, perhaps form a subgroup within Malayic. (4) Old Javanese and modern Javanese. The possible relationship with Malayic seems remote to me, particularly if one compares OJ and Oml. (5) Languages of Nusa Tenggara. Leti, Moa, Kisar and the others compared with them in Jonker (1932) are clearly closely related. "Proto-Lettic" proposed in Grima and Mills (1976) can probably be expanded to something like "Proto Nusa Tenggara" with the inclusion of the Tanimbar languages (Fordat, Jamdena and Slaru) and others like Tetum. At a higher level there seems also to be a relationship (or is it merely areal?) with Timorese and Rotinese, as well as with — (6) Stresemann's UrAmbon. If Esser's Timor-Ambon grouping is in any way correct, then UrAmb. is but a subgroup within it. The protolanguage needed to account for both Nusa Tenggara and UrAmb. must at the least retain (a) all final consonants (which are partially lost in UrAmb.) and (b) the distinction between *ʒ and *d/D (merged > UrAmb. *d). (7) Ngadha and other languages of Flores cannot be classified. The Ngadha data were collected in a field methods class at the Univ. of Michigan under Prof. Kenneth Hill; Arndt's dictionary has not been available. The language is closely related to Bajawa and Liu, for which I have small amounts of data. I find many items in common with both Timor and Nusa Tenggara, but much is obscure — such as in particular the origin of Ngadha's preglottalized voiced stops.

The position of Ml. and Jav. as sources of loanwords throughout the IN area is so well known that I need not discuss it here. Generally I have excluded comparisons which involve only SSul or Tor. plus Ml/Jav. unless distinctive sound changes are present. But even in those comparisons which lack Ml/Jav. cognates the problem is not necessarily absent, because of the prominence also of Bug. and Mak. as trade languages. This seems especially true in eastern and southern Indonesia, whose poorly known history only compounds the difficulties.

3.3. *Proto Austronesian* (PAN). Here at least we are not plagued by the Malay-borrowing problem, and any IN/OC comparison can

safely be assumed to reflect AN material. The same assumption is usually made regarding Formosan data, and I follow the custom, albeit reluctantly and *faute de mieux* since my knowledge of that area is extremely limited. In any case, all my Formosan witnesses are thanks to Benedict (1975), with all the attendant question marks. The principal OC sources have been the Fijian and Tongan dictionaries, Hockett's (1974) Proto Fiji-Polynesian list, and the Proto Southeast Solomon list of Levy (1976).

4. Orthography

4.1. Those who are familiar with my dissertation will be aware that I departed there slightly from current usage, in particular with regard to what I consider the illogical use of AN *j as a (probable) continuant and AN *z as a (fairly certain) affricated palatal stop (cf. Mills 1975:540—543). Ah well — symbols are only symbols after all, so to achieve a clarity of sorts in this article, the IN and AN reconstructions will be written in the accepted Dempwolff/Dyen orthography, with but one departure: *ng* for the velar nasal. PSS reconstructions, however, continue to appear as they do in my dissertation, the only substitutions being *ě* in place of *ǰ*, and *R* for gamma; it is important, therefore, to keep in mind that PSS *j represents a palatal affricate (< AN *z), PSS *z a dental affricate or continuant (< AN *j).

4.2. Further, in citations from Bug., Ml., Jav. Mad., etc. *ě* is used for the pepet, *e* for the mid-to-low front vowel. Likewise in citations from Reid, *ě* is substituted for *ǰ* simply as a typographic convenience; in those Philippine languages like Manobo where *e* represents only schwa, no change is necessary and the orthography of the sources is followed. The Dutch-based system of A&K and others is regularized in the usual ways to correspond to that of present-day Bahasa Indonesia. For all other languages the orthography of the sources is followed.

4.3. Because of the mergers and double reflexes in SSul, several symbols have been devised to cover the possibilities: in PSS forms, pre-final *A means *a or *ě; *-(r) means *-r or *-R; *-(t) and *-(p) mean that these are the most likely possibilities but can only be established with certainty from outside evidence; *-(C) means any possible final stop or (in the absence of a Mak. or Mdr. witness) continuant; *-(N) any possible final nasal; *(bv) initial *b or the associated fricative which later > /w/, perhaps proto-doublets; *(bw) medially for the reflex of either AN *b or *w; *(dr) means (1) when all SSul languages show /r/, and likewise the other available evidence, AN *d/D may still be possible; or (2) SSul witnesses show both /d/ and /r/ < presumed proto-doublets. In PIN and PAN forms, *A, *C and *N are also used where necessary, along with *-(?) to indicate the possible presence of a final, but with insufficient or contradictory evidence. Otherwise I indicate the possibilities in parentheses, e.g. *(dDj); in the case of initial and final *(qhø) I simply use empty parentheses since so few of the languages involved here offer evidence for these sounds.

Similarly, I have not felt it necessary to indicate *(CtT) for etyma with *t, given the rarity of *T and lack of Formosan data for *C; as also with *n instead of *(nN). Finally, since unlike Blust I am not convinced that nasal accretion involved the velar *ng, I indicate the nasals in ordinary clusters as homorganic with the following consonant.

A slash is used to separate affixes and other non-comparable material from the relevant portion of a form. Only if the sources or my informants indicated that the base could occur unaffixed, or with other affixes, do I cite the bare root.

As mentioned above in 3.1, the "Sulawesi only" section is alphabetized according to PSS; the remainder of the list follows the usual AN order: a - b - c - d - D - e - g - h (=Blust *S) - i - j - k - l - m - n - ñ - ng - p - q - r - R - s - t - T - u - w - y - z - Z. Where the evidence is clear, *h and *q are treated alphabetically; forms with *() for *(qhø) appear under the relevant vowel. Optional infixes and, as usual, prenasalization are not taken into account.

4.3. Doublets. For the most part I try to avoid reconstructing doublets, especially when only the vowel *e is involved; a great many languages apparently have harmonized *e to a neighboring vowel (or else such forms indicate dialect mixing) — even languages like Bug. which otherwise retain an /ě/ reflex. Thus

for example we have Dempwolff *tudung *head covering* and Blust *tedung, of which I view only *tedung as correct, with Dempwolff's witnesses being examples of schwa-harmonization. I suspect that this situation has arisen from an old unspoken assumption that somehow the sounds of Ml. and Jav. are sacrosanct, and that these languages are somehow immune against the irregularities that crop up in *every other* AN language.

Doubleting, it is true, appears to be an important feature of AN languages. My files, of course, contain a good many examples of irreconcilable doublets (what Blust terms disjunctive alternatives); one or two appear in this listing, but most do not and await clarification.

In a few cases, forms already used as evidence by Dempwolff or others have been included, but realigned under a new proto-form.

Finally, every effort has been made to insure that the proto-forms offered here are truly original. I do confess that in some cases Adriani, Jonker or Esser first assembled the cognates, but either did not reconstruct, or else did so according to systems which we no longer accept; I acknowledge the debt and express gratitude for the labor they saved me. Several of my forms appear in Zorc's (1971) compendium, attributed to himself, M. Charles or some other source I may have missed; if I seem here to assert paternity for someone else's child, my apologies.

RECONSTRUCTIONS

A. Proto South Sulawesi with cognates limited to Sulawesi

1. PSS *b(aě)mba(N), with infixes *-ar-, *-al-, chest, stomach < PIN ?*bangbang or ?*bembang: Bug. (Obug)³ warěmpang⁴, Mak. barambang, Seko balambang ~ balammang (dial. variants). Bar. Par. bambara⁵ belly; Napu baramba; Bes. baramba, Leb. wuramba⁶ lungs. Bob. borombang back. Sangir, Sangil běmbang shoulder.

2. PSS *(bv)ayo shadow < PIN ?*bayuq, ?*bayaw or ?*bayu(-?): Bug. wajo-wajo, Mdr. bajo-wajo ghost, Sad. bayo, ayo; ti/ajo-ajo shimmer, shine, pu/ajo soul of a dead person (y ~ j dial. variants), Duri bajo-bajo, Seko kali/hayo. Bar. wayo⁷, limbayo; bayo ghost; Ledo wayo; limbayo ghost: pom-/pem/pe/wayo mirror; Napu pampe/wao/a mirror; Lindu wao.

3. PSad. *birang female, perhaps < Dempwolff *biRang red; shame⁸: Sad. birang female (animal), End. tu/birang woman. Bar. bira, wega; Wana to/wea; Par. wega; Laki wira; Ramp. to/wě/weqě woman; Leb. bira (ntodi) (buffalo) cow.

4. PSad. bu(n)di(k?) short < PIN ?*bu(n)jik: Sad. Duri bondiq (expect -k), Seko ka/hodik. Bar. boe short (of a buffalo's horns).

5. PSS *bungka to bark < PIN ?*bu(ng)kaq: Bug. bokka; Mak. (dial.) bokka-bokka an aquatic bird with a bark-like cry; Sad. bongka, Duri ma/mongkaq (-q unexpl.). Wotu boka, Ramp. ma/büngkaq; Bad. bungkaq to attack (of dogs).

6. PSS *bungkang crab < PIN ?*bungkang: Bug. bukkang⁹, Mdr. buqang (-q- irreg.), Sad. Duri Mmj. bungkang. Bar. Mori Wol. bungka, Ledo Par. Bungku bungga.

7. PSS *bokong provisions < PIN ?*b(eu)kung: Bug. Mak. Sad. bokong, Mdr. bong, (dial. A&K) "pewoungan" (=woqung?). Uma bokuq; wokuq catch, bag (i.e. of game); Ledo baku; Wana baku, Khm. bokung cooked rice.

8. PSS *bukoyo or *buyoko snail¹⁰: Bug. (prob. > Duri) bojo, Sad. bukoyo. Bar. woku(?), mbokuo. Gor. buqoyo. Saluwan¹¹ boyukuq.

9. PTor (> PSS) *bola house; village < PIN ?*bela(-?): Bug., Mak. (dial.), Sad. (poet.) bola, Mak. (std.) ballaq (reflecting

the PIN), Mdr. boyang ~ bojang¹² (dial. variants). Bar. boya ~ (ritual) popam/bola, Uma Ramp. bola. Borrowed from Bar.: Ledo boya, Tawael. boéa, Bad. Bes. boía.

10. PSS *ri(bw)u grass; plant sp. < PIN ?*Ribu(): Bug. diu-riu; Mak. riu-riu plant sp. with medicinal uses; Sad. riu ~ rewu, Duri reu. Bar. ewu, Binongko rewu grass; Ledo -ewu to graze, feed.

11. PSS ?*(dr)o(n)do or PTor *(dr)o(n)jo to stick, poke; tattoo or scarify < PIN ?*(dDr)e(n)ju(-?): Seko mang/ronno (J. Kruyt 1920) tattoo; (informant) to write. Ramp. rondo scarred; Bar. royo scar; perhaps also rondo red (of a light); Lindu mporando (pers. name) The Tattooed One.

12. PSS *(dr)olo(C) to dive < PIN ?*(dD)elek or ?*(dD)uluk or ?*(dD)elep¹³: Mdr. l/um/oloq (< **roloq), Mmj. me/lolloq (-ll-unexpl.); Seko d/um/oloq ~ "dummolo"¹⁴ to fly. Bar. dolo, dolo/maka; perhaps also loyo (if < **lolo < **rolo) religious "ordeal by water"; Bar. (Ampana dial.) mon/dolo/pi. Bob. d/um/olok. Mong. dolop. Perhaps cf. Roti dolo slide down, Tim. sika/nolo slide, drift.

13. PSS *(dr)olong to flow < PIN ?*(dD)ulung: Mdr. Sad. Duri PUS lolong, Mmj. loleng¹⁵, Seko "dummolong". Perhaps here also the Roti and Tim. forms cited at No. 12; also cf. Fi. lolo (of the tide) to flow¹⁶.

14. PSS *(dr)undu(mn) fall, drop, collapse < PIN ?*dumdum: Bug. runrung, Mak. rorong, Sad. rondon, PUS me/dondon; also Mak. ronrong shake; earthquake. Toba domdom to flicker. Malg. rórona debase oneself; lose strength; go down (of the sun)¹⁷, Perhaps cf. Fi. (Hazlewood only and marked as dial.) susu landslide; if cognate, then PAN ?*ZumZum

15. PSS *rěmmus hot < PIN ?*Remus: Bug. rěmmuq, Mak. rámmusuq, Mmj. (A&K) "mahamu" hot, feverish. Bar. ma/ramu¹⁸, Bad. maqamu (base amu).

16. PSS *gau(k?) to work, to do < PIN ?*ga(hø)u(k?): Bug. gauq, po/gauq; mang/kauq to rule; Mak. Mdr. Sad. gauq, End. gau¹⁹. Bar. gau (bad) treatment, misfortune; mam/po/gau to do, carry out; Ledo gau behavior; magau prince; no/si/po/gau (coarse) have sexual intercourse; Uma gau deed; Laki gau deceive; Wol. gau to trick; to speak (?); gau-gau tell a lie; Cited in AWB without gloss: Ttb. Sang. gau. Cf. also Dibabawon Manobo (Reid) gauq tell a lie.

17. PSS *gona *name, namesake* < PIN ?*guna(), perhaps somehow a variant of Ml/Skt. guna?: Bug. Mak. gona, Seko kona; Bug. səng/kona *having the same name or title*. Bar. ngkona, Ledo kona, Ramp. Bad. konga; Leb. (A&K) "koně'mu"²⁰. Lo'on pangangkongan *title* (BI *gelar*).

18. PSS *insAn *to know* < PIN ?*()insAn: Bug. issəng, Mak. isseng, asseng²¹, Mdr. Sad. Mmj. issan, Mass. issen ~ isseng, PUS issan, insan (dial. variants), Seko issang ~ "isang"; Duri issan-issan, Seko ka/issan/ang *popular, common*; Seko pa/issang *clever, capable*. Bar. incani, Par. injani, Ledo mang/isani, Napu isa, Wotu sani, mancani, mangincani (the last prob. < Bar.).

19. PSS or PTor *ka(bw)u *kapok tree or fibre* < PIN ?*ka(bw)u() or ?*kabuk, doublet of Dw *kapuk: Bug. Mak. Mdr. Sad. kau-kau, Sad. also kakau, Duri kao-kao, Mdr-Bal. (A&K, = PUS) kahu-kahu, Mdr. (unspecified dial., A&K) kawu-kawu, Seko kabu-kabu. Bar. Napu Par. kakawu, Mori Wotu kawu-kawu.

20. PSS *karěkka *chest (lungs?)* < PIN ?*kareka(-?): Mak-Sal. karakka; Sad. karakkak²² *gills*. Ledo karaka *ribs*. Togian Bajau karěka.

21. PSS *kande *eat, *k/in/ande food* < PIN ?*k(ae)n(dDj)(iq, ay, i): Bug. m/anre, inanre, Mak. kanre, Mdr. ande, Sad. kande, Mass. kande, kinande, PUS Mmj. ande, Seko ande ~ anne, kinanne. Bar. m/ande (dial.); ande *to graze*; koni (loan?); Ledo kande, Palu mang/ande *eat*, kande/a *food*, Napu ande, ande/a, Bad. Bes. ande/a *cooked rice*, Lindu mang/kondi *eat*, kondi/a *food*, Buton manre, kinanre (likely < Bug.), Pipikoro (A&K, = Uma) koni, Par. mang/goni, Tawael. koni/a *food*, Wana mong/koni; Sausu (A&K) na/oni *cooked, ripe*.

22. PSS *kandora(-?) *edible tuber, ubi* < PIN ?*ka(n)(dDj)uRa(-?): Bug. Mak. kandoraq (*nd* suggests a loan), Mdr. kandraq, kandora, Sad. kandoaq, andoaq, dandaq, duaq, doaq, Duri kandoaq, Seko (inf.) annora, (J. Kruyt 1920) "kanao" (for expected *kannoa(q?)*). Bar. gandoqa, Ledo kadue, Mori (A&K, Padoe dial.)²³ kandora.

23. PSS *kěssing *good* < PIN ?*kesing: Bug. kěssing; Mak. pa/kassing *clever*; Sad. Duri ma/kassing, End. kaqsiŋ (-ŋ unexpl.); perhaps also Sad. ma/gassing *good* and Mak. gassing *strong, healthy*. Mori tekosi (if < **te/kosi < **taR/kesing).

24. PTor *kuli *cool, *pa/kuli medicine* < PIN ?*kulit II, cf. Tamil kulir *feel cool; numb; coldness; ague etc.*²⁴: Bug. Sad. Mmj. pakuli, Mdr. pauli *medicine*. Bar. Par. Ledo Mori Tawael. pakuli *medicine*; Napu Bar. kuli *cold*²⁵. Loin. kulit *cool*.

25. PSS *kolo(N) *carry on the back* < PIN ?*k(eu)l(eu)(N): Bug. pa/kolong *porter*; Sad. kolong, Mdr-Bal. (A&K, = PUS) "kolo". Bar. koyo, Tawael. kolo. Loin. kolon (cited AWB). Tomini (cited SWB) kolong²⁶.

26. PSS or PTor *kuse *a marsupial animal, Phalanger spp.* < PIN ?*kusay: Mdr. use, Sad. kuse. Bar. kuse, Leb. kuhe. Sang. kuse, Mong. kutoy, Ttb. Tonsea kuse, "Minahasa" (cited SWB) kusoy.

27. PSS *lebu *round* < PIN ?*libu²⁷ (cf. also No. 28 next): Bug. lebu, lebo-lebo: pa/lebo/ng (-ong < earlier *u/ang) *to roll, roll out* (e.g. *dough*); Mdr. ma/lewu; Sad. lebu *long and round*; ka/lebu, ka/libu *cylindrical or oval shaped*; Mmj. ka/lebu. Bar. libu *ring around the sun or moon*, ma/limbu *wide and round, like a bowl*; Wotu ma/limbu.

28. PSS *limbo *gather around* < PIN ?*li(m)bu()²⁷: Bug. (> Mak.) limpo; Sad. limbu; sang/limbo *a group of..., a stool or clump of bamboo*. Bar. mo/limbu, Ledo no/libu *sit in a circle*.

29. PSS *pěllu *hearth; to cook* < PIN ?*pelu(): Bug. pěllu²⁸, Mak. pallu *cook*; Bug. pěllu-pěllu, Mak. pallu-pallu *arrangement of stones atop a grave, so called from its resemblance to a native fireplace*. Bar. polu (dial.) *the 3 hearthstones*; Bar. Mori polu *tripod to hold a pot*; Maron. polu, Mek. ambolu *fireplace*; Laki opolu *fireplace*, hum/bolu *hearthstones*. Saluwan poluq *kitchen* (BI *dapur*)¹¹.

30. PSS *pe(ng)ka *branching, hook-shaped, *peka-an hook* < PIN ?*pi(ng)ka(): Bug. peka, Mak. pengka *hook-shaped*; note Mak. agang aq/pengka *crossroads*; Mdr. pekkaq (-q unexpl.) *fork in a road*; Bug. meng(?), Mak. pekang, Mdr. peang *fish-hook*. Bar. Mori Ledo Bang. peka *fish-hook*; Mori Par. mo/meka, Ledo nom/ba/meka *to fish*; Ledo penga *pitchfork*, no/penga *forked* (-ng- unexpl.)

31. PSad. or PTor. *tampo *earth, land* < PIN ?*tampu(q?): Sad. Mmj. Seko tampo; Sad. tanampo *dikes in the sawah*. Bar. Napu tampo, Bad. tampoq; Ledo na/tampo *muddy*.

32. PSS or PTor. *t(ěu)(dr)o *stay, dwell*²⁹: Mdr. (A&K) "toro"; "pa/toro" *leave behind*; Sad. torro *stop, stand still*, torro/i *inhabit*, pe/torro/an *leave something behind for someone*; Duri torro; pa/torro *put/place*; Mmj. toang(?)³⁰. Bar. todo, toro *beat rest*; Uma me/toro, Ledo non/turo; Mori todo; toro *sit*.

33. PSS *tumpang *frog* < PIN ?*tumpang: Bug. tumpang, (dial.) cuppang, Mak. Sad. tumpang. Bar. Ledo Par. Bku. tumpa, Bad.

Napu tumpe (-e unexpl.); cf. also Bar. tumpego *young frog*. Bang. tumpak (-k unexpl., loan?). Soboyo (Sula Isl., cited AWB) tumpa (perhaps < Bang.?). Cf. perhaps NgD tumpang *patched, spotted, stained* for a basic PIN gloss *spotted*; or To. tupa *landerab* for basic meaning *amphibian*?

B. Proto Indonesian

34. PIN *()a(n)si() *contents, flesh* (cf. Dempwolff *isi): Mak. assi, Tidung, Tinggalan Dayak ansi, Aceh asoë.

35. PIN *()aza() *do not ...*: PSS *(a)ja, Bug. ajaq, Mdr. daq, Sad. daq~da, Mmj. daqa³¹. OJ, Jav. aja, Mad. ajjhaq, ějjhaq, ěnjaq; probably Bal. (Kusuma) "eda" if = ěda; Malg. aza.

36. PIN *ba() *negative particle*: Seko ha~haN-. Bar. Napu ba-, Uma uma, Kulawi moma (if < **ma/umba); Ngadha bha Go, bhaqi Go³². Cf. also Bar. temba (dial.) as in ku/temba *I will not ...*; AWB cites s.v. Tawael. teba *not*, Mori temba without gloss.

37. PIN *ba(R?)baR *to hit*: Sad. Duri si/boboq *fight*; Mmj. me/bamba (-ø unexpl.). Bar. bóbaki; bomba, bóbali³³, Sausu bobagi³⁴, Napu wombe, Bad. bamba, womba, Ledo boba. Lole (To-mini area), Bob. bobag. Loin. bobal/i³⁵. Cited without gloss in AWB: Tag. babag, Mong. bobag.

38. PIN *b(ae)(dDjr)uku()³⁶ *throat*: PSS *baroko, Mdr. baro (via baroø?), Sad. Duri PUS baroko, Mmj. baroko, bahoko, Seko barako (medial a unexpl.). Bar. Ledo wuroko³⁷, Mori buroko, Wol. boroko, Wotu "buró" (prob. = buroo reg. < *buroko). Also cited in AWB: Leb. doko, Da'a (unidentified) buroko, Layolo baroko. Buol buloko; Gor. bulogo. Sas tēm/broko, tēmēroko *throat, windpipe*.

39. PIN *bangkal *tree sp.*: Bug. bakkēq, Mak. bāngkalaq *Nuclea orientalis* D.C. or *Sarcocephalus undulatus* Miq.; Sad. bakan, Bar. waka *Litsea* sp.³⁸. Ml. bangkal *Sarcocephalus*; Jav. wangkal, Mad. bangkal *Albizia procera*; perhaps Aceh bangka *rhizophore* sp. with hard wood, growing in brackish water. Bis. bangkal *unidentified tree sp.*

40. PIN *bala() *enclosure*: PSS *(bv)ala *animal pen, corral*, Bug. wala, Mdr. Sad. Duri bala, PUS hala; Mmj. hala *fence*. Bar. waya; Par. Uma Napu wala *fence*; Mori wala *pen*; Laki me/wala *surround, enclose*. Gor. bala *fence*. Malg. vala *park, enclosure*.

41. PIN *balbal *to hit*: PSS *baqbal; Bug. babbaq *whip*; Mak. báqbalaq. Toba balbal

piece of wood with which one beats, SimB. mam/balbal *beat*. UrAmb. *baba *beat, pound*; Ford. vavval³⁹, Jamd. babal. Perhaps OJ babal *torn off, broken*.

42. PIN *baluk *to sell*: PSS *baluk, Bug. Mak. PUS Mmj. baluq, Sad. Duri baluk, Seko balok. Loin. baluk, Bang. baluk/on. Sangir baluq, Sangil me/bauq. Tagabili hbaluq. Let. Moa Kis. Roma, Luang Sermata olu (via **walu).

43. PIN *ban(iq,ay)(-an) *lower abdomen*: PSS *bane(-an) also *bladder*, Bug. wane, wanéng (< earlier wane/ang), Mak. baneang, Sad. bannean (-nn- unexpl.). Malg. vaniana.

44. PIN *bas, *b/ar/a(s)bas *wet, wet place*: PSS *b(ar)aqbas, Bug. běbbaq (ě irreg.) *sprinkle*; Mak. baráqbasaq *to rain in*, bábasaq *wet*; perhaps Sad. baraqbaq, Duri baraqbah ~ baraqba *garden*; Sad. baraba *moss or algae on top of water* (-ø unexpl.). Lo'on baras (< ?*b/ar/as). Let. pasi, Moa pahi, Roma paha *to wash e.g. clothes*⁴⁰. OJ barabas *flow, overflow*, Jav. brabas *soak in, drip*.

45. PIN *bataD *grain sp., millet*: PSS *batar, Bug. Sad. bataq, Mak. bátarraq *millet*, *Andropogon sorghum* Brot.; Mdr. Seko bataq *maize* (expect Mdr. -r; a Bug. loan?). Western Sumba watara (prob. < Mak.), Solor wata, fata, Alor watah, Tetum batar *maize*⁴¹. Bis. batad *millet sp.* Cf. Ml. batari *millet*; and remotely possible To. pata a *sp. of plantain*.

46. PIN *bayu *to pound rice*⁴²: Bar. baju, Uma mo/mañu⁴³, Pipikoro mo/mau, Par. bayu, Napu Baria bau, Sigi bai, Lindu bou; Kulawi po/mau *ricepounder* (BI *halu*); Maron. pinembeu *husked rice* (BI *beras*). Ngadha vaju. Tag. bayó, Man. bevayu.

47. PIN *bebeng *blocked, surrounded, caught*: OJ běběng, Jav. Bał. běběng⁴⁴; BI běbang *stillborn*, cf. ke—an *strangled in the course of birth*. Let. pepna *surround, enclose*; perhaps Moa popna *wall*. Ford. vęvang *surround*.

48. PIN *bela() *to cook (boil)*: PSS *bělla, Bug. u/bělla, Sad. balla *rice-water*; probably Mak. balla *to burn*⁴⁵. Leb. kinabala *rice porridge*. Samal bělla. Bajau billah (*i* unexpl., misprint for *?).

49. PIN *belun *cloud*: PSS *(bv)ěllun, Bug. ěllung, (dial.) "wělung"⁴⁶, Mass. (Maiwa) allung; Mdr. ballung/an *fog*, ma/ullung *shade; cool time of day, dusk*; Sad. allun-allun (*of the sun*) *covered by clouds*. Ledo na/olu *shaded*; Wol. "ōlu"⁴⁷. Bang. ti/bolun *smoke*. OJ ma/wěllun-wěllun *belch clouds of smoke*.

50. PIN *betem *millet sp.*: PSS *běttě(mn), Bug. wěttěng, Mak. battang, Sad. baqtan, Mass. "batang". UrAmb. *větěn. Let.

wetma, Kis. wekeme; Jonker cites Roti betek, fetaq. The following from Heyne 1950: Buol butumo, Talaud batung, Sang. gětung, Sas. gětēm, Ambonese Ml. hotong, Solor wetan, Wetar hetan, Tanimbar, Kai botan, Buru feten, beten; North Halmahera (non-AN) Galoli "boboötene", Tobelo botēme, Ternate, Tidore futu. Probably cf. Bis. batong *cow-pea*, borrowed (from a language like Talaud) if cognate; and very remote Fi. voto *thorn*.

51. PIN *bi() ~ *bi(m)bi() *goat (to bleat?)*, probably onomatopoeic: Bug. bembe, bembeq, Mak. bembe, Sad. bembeq, Seko bembeq ~ bemmeq. Ledo nom/bee *bleat*. Lo'on bembe, Saluwan membeq, Bang. bembe, mbembe. Ttb. membeq (cited SWB). Buol bimi *sheep*. OJ wiwi, Sas. bembeq. UrAmb. *bibi; Ford. bibi, Jamd. mbimbi, Slar. bib ~ bibi-; Let. Moa Roma Kis. pipi; Roti (Jonker) bii, Tim. Tetum bibi.

52. PIN *bi(dD)ing *side, edge; aslant* (possible disjunctive alternant of PIN *biRing¹²⁴): PSS *biring *side*, *tum/biring *aslant*, Bug. biring, wiring, Mak. Mdr. Sad. Duri biring; Mdr. Sad. tumbiring, Mmj tumbihing, Seko "mi/tuhehe"⁴⁸. Bar. Ledo Wotu tumbiri *aslant; lie on one's side*. Bang. mo/biing, tombiing *aslant*⁴⁹. Bob. biring, Loin, Khm. bihing, Mori biri *ear*⁵⁰. OJ hiring *slant, slope, side*⁵¹; BI miring *aslant*; Lam-pung SimB. biding *side*; NgD biring *long but narrow(?)*. Perhaps cf. also Reid, No. 327 *turn, revolve*: Atta mabbiribiring, Pal. Batak biring, Bilaan biling, Manobo biling.

53. PIN *bi(ng)kas *to split* (cf. also PAN *bisak below, and Blust, PAN *sibak): Seko "mam/bika". Bar. beka; Ledo beka *cracked (of earth)*, bingga *split*. OJ bingkas *damaged, destroyed*. NgD bingkas *rip, tear*. Savu viqa. Ngadha bheka *break*, bhiqa *break open*. Tag. bingkas *unravelled*. Malg. vika *dislocated*.

54. PIN *bila() *friend*: PSS *bela, Mak. Sad. bela. Bob. mo/bela *friendly*. Mong. bila. OJ bela *follow one's dead beloved by committing suicide*; Jav. bela *participate; suffer with someone, die for someone*; BI bela *sacrifice, sacrificial victim*; pēm/bela *nurse*; Sas. bela *one who offers himself for another*. UrAmb. *bela I *friend*, perhaps *bela II *ready, capable (fertig sein)*⁵². Ford. kida/bela *friends*; Kai bel *treaty, bond; friend*.

55. PIN *bila() *to wound, kill* (perhaps ult. cognate with Dempwolff *bilaq *split*): PSad., PTor. *bela *wounded*, Sad. bela/i; Seko hela *a boil*. Bar. Par. Wana wela, Ramp. belë, Ledo Mori Tawael. Wol. bela; Khm. bela *wounded*. Ngadha vela *kill*. Perhaps Malg. vely *to beat*.

56. PIN *bilang *naked*: PSS *belang, Bug. Mdr. belang, Sad. kam/belang; Bug. welampelang

*young girl not yet of marriageable age*⁵³; Sad. Duri belang-belang *unmarried*; Sad. belang *childless*. Sas. belang *coquette*. Perhaps Malg. vilana *crosswise, twisted, deviant (via unmarried?)*.

57. PIN *bisi() *to peel*: Let. Kis. wisi. Jamd. bisi *rip*. Ttb. misi *rub*.

58. PIN *bubun *well, spring*: PSS *bubun, Bug. bubung, (dial.) buhung, (BWB only) bujung (-j- unexpl.), Mak. buwung, bungung (-ng- unexpl.), Sad. bubun. Bar. ti/bubu⁵⁴, Ledo, Kaili buwu. Bang. bubung (-ng dial.). OBal. buwun a term found in place names, which Goris equates with modern Bal. bon and Sas. buwun.

59. PIN *bulilik *lizard*⁵⁵: Mak-Bantaeng "bulili" (*sic* in MWB), Sad. bulilik, Seko "huleliki" (= /hulelik/). Bad. buleli. Mong. bulilik. Let. plilki, probably Moa plinki-planki.

60. PIN *bungas *first; foremost*: Bug. wungëq, Mak. búngasaq, Sad. bungaq, Duri bungah. Jav. bungas *end, top, limit*. Ngadha vunga.

61. PIN *buyang probably *bark cloth*: PSS *buyang *colored or printed paper*, Bug. ujang, Mak. buyang *playing cards*; Mdr. buyang *paper money*. Wol. bia *tissue, cloth*. Sausu Palu Ledo Uma buya, Tawael. Pakuli Siki wuya; Tombulu, Pakewa wuyang all *sarong*. Sang. boiang *cardboard*. Moluccan Ml. fuya *bark cloth* (often cited in the Dutch literature but not identified further as to language). Various Tor. buja, and NgD buyang *playing cards*, derive from Bug. and Mak/Mdr. respectively.

62. PIN *buyaq *to see, look for*: Bug. (OB) pa/boja *eye*; Mak. boya, Mak-Konjo hoja *look for*. Sas. boyaq. Ivatan ma/voyaq, Ilongot buya *see*.

63. PIN *ceku(DrR) *a medicinal plant sp., Kaempferia*: PSS *cěkku(r), Bug. cekkuq, Mak. cakkuruq, Duri caqkuh; Mdr. saqur (-q- irreg.) (unidentified species); Sad. saqkuq *a plant sp. used to stun fish*. Minahasa Bajau cěkur; Tonsea sukur, Buol tukolo. UrAmb. *sokur⁵⁶. Probably (metathesized) Jav. BI kěncur; Mad. kěncor *alpinia sp.*

64. PIN *daqu() *tree sp., usually Dracontomelon mangiferum Bl.*: Bug. dawo, Mak. rawo (-w- unexpl.); Bar. Mori daqu. Mong. dauq (unidentified sp.; -q unexpl.). OJ Jav. Bal. rahu, Mad. dhau, Sund. dahu. Tag. daó, Bis. dao.

65. PIN *(dD)asan *house, home, home-*

land: Mak. (> Bug.) pa/rasang/ang land, country; Mmj. dasang, Seko rasang house. Uma, Mori, Mek. raha, Mori-Tambe'e rodoha; Jamd. dase, Ford. Kai rahan house. Let. krasna, Moa krahane temporary hut in the fields; Kis. karahane village; Roma kraham house; Bima rasa (Jonker cites without gloss). Jav. krasan⁵⁷, BI kērasan feel at home. Probably in Nias adu siraha house-idol (huis-idool)⁵⁸.

66. PIN *(dD)in(dD)in pull, lead: PSS *(dr)enden, Bug. Mak. renreng, Sad. renden. Sas. denden, renden lead by the hand or on a rope. Perhaps cf. To. lele, lele/a driven off course by wind; carried away with astonishment (cited also at my PAN *laylay q.v.)

67. PIN *(dD)inge(C) carry on the back: PSS *(dr)eng(eě)(C), Bug. reneq ~ maq/dengeq, Mak. dengeq, Sad. (SWB) reneq; and PSS *(dr)ěngnge(C) with metathesis and subsequent harmonization of the ě: Mdr. man/dengngeq, Sad. (informant) rengngeq; Mmj. (A&K) "ma/denge" could reflect either source. UrAmb. *dingě.

68. PIN *(dD)us(dD)us to rub: PSS *ro(q)ros, Bug. roroq, Mdr. roros, Duri pa/ruru, PUS roqroq. Bang. mo/lolos. Mad. rosros smooth or finish off (schoonmaken) with a knife. Perhaps Tag. dusdos sarna (mange) of the hairy parts of the skin (via itch ~ rub?).

69. PIN *Dang(-an) light (weight), doublet of PIN *Ding(-an) below, q.v.: Nusa Tenggara *ran, Moa prana, Kis. ma/rana, Roma na-ma/ranran; Tim. makaf ~ manaf (k < *nd, n < *d, -f unexpl.); Jamd. be/rane, Slar. rān; also Nusa Tenggara *ran/an, Let. p/ranna, Roma na-ma/ranan. OJ dangan.

70. PIN *DenDeng or *DengDeng continuous, lasting: PSS *(dr)ěnděng, Bug. rěnrěng, Mak. ranrang last a long time, endure; Sad. randang always, continually. Jav. děnděng in a long row; work slowly, tediously. If cognate, Man. rendeng constant sprinkling of rain shows that the original was not *DengDeng.

71. PIN *Ding(-an) light (weight), doublet of *Dang(-an) above: PSS *ringan, Bug. ringěng, Mak. Mdr. ringang, Sad. Duri Seko ringan (-n unexpected in Seko; perhaps a loan < Ml/BI); Mmj. ma/hingan. BI ringan (r unexpl.). Jav. adeng less serious, lightened; ěđeng to temper, moderate.

72. PIN *gayam tree sp., Inocarpus edulis: PSS ?*ang/kaya(mn) borrowed from an unknown source, Bug. akkajěng, Mak. angkaeng. Jav. NgD. gayam, Mad. ghajam. UrAmb. *gayan.

73. PIN *(hø)eRung drone, roar, buzz, probable variant of Blust *eRang growl, howl: PSS *ěrrung, Bug. m/ěrrung, Mak. m/arrung roar (of e.g. wind, rain, surf); droning noise;

Sad. n/urrung noise of e.g. a motor, swarm of bees, dog's growl. Tag. ugóng loud noise, murmur, thunder; hugong humming in the ears; Bis. hugóng hum, drone, buzz. Malg. érona growl, roar. Perhaps with vocalic metathesis, cf. Man. mugeng talk incoherently, as one drunk, or in one's sleep; To. uō crowded and noisy⁵⁹.

74. PIN *(hø)isug rub, clean, polish (cf. also PAN *li(cs)u(-?) below): PSS *iso, Bug. eso, Sad. iso; Mak. peso (< **pa/iso) 1. polished rice 2. of a path, clean and free of weeds. Cf. also Mak. kesoq rub, scrape. Jav. isuh (and wisuh) wash. Tag. hisoq clean the teeth by rubbing; Man. isug leaves used to wipe after defecating⁶⁰. Perhaps (cf. Mak. peso or Jav. wisuh) To. fihu 1. finish off the edges of a mat 2. a fine mat, almost white and very soft.

75. PIN *()i(dD)a() kin term; brother/sister in law: Bar. Uma Leb. era. Let. yera, Moa yere, Kis. yer/ne, Luang Sermata yer/u⁶¹; Roti (Jonker cites) kela, kera; Bima hera (Bima h < *k or *s). Ngadha eja. SimB. eda older sibling (BI kakak).

76. PIN *()i(n)sa() to count, perhaps derived from PAN *isa one: PSS *insa(-?), Mdr. sang/issaq some, several; Mmj. issaq, Seko essaq count. NgD isæ, Ba'amang (Hudson) isæ. Malg. isa number, counting; man/isa to count. Probably ManoboKC qěsaq.

77. PIN *kali()a(b?)u(-?) shield: Bug. kaliawo, Mmj. kaliaho. Par. Ledo kaliawo. Mong. kaleau; Ttb. kaleaw; Sang. kaliauq. Sub-Seran (Stresemann) *galiauq (SS *g < *ngk). Let. kliau, kiliau, keliau, Kis. "eliauwe"; Ford. ngelyaa, Jamd. ngelyawe, Slar. kalyau⁶².

78. PIN *ka(m)pin extra, surplus: Bug. apping, Mak. kamping extra work, second job, to "moonlight". Bis. kapin excess, surplus, gain, profit.

79. PIN *katu() to send: PSS *katu, Bug. de/atu ~ d/atu (de- unexpl.). Mak. pi/katu, Mdr. atu, Sad. Duri Seko katu. Bar. Ledo katu; Par. pa/katu gift. Balantak katu, Bang. kapatu (metath., borrowed?). SubAmb. *katu; Let. Moa natu (< *ngatu), Kis. aku; Roma "inyatu" (prob. reflecting **k/in/atu), Kis. naku shipment (BI kiriman); Jonker cites Sikka natu, Ende ngatu.

80. PIN *kerak cry, shout, cf. perhaps Blust *keraq monkey: PSS *kěrrak, Bug. kěrraq howl; Mdr. arraq, Sad. karrak, Duri kumarrak, Seko "karraka" (=karrak/); Duri Seko karrakk/i weep over, mourn. OJ krak shout.

81. PIN *ketu() break, break off: PSad. *kě(r?)tu, Sad. kaqtu, Seko ma/katu, probably

Mdr. bottu (if < ?*ba/uttu). Bar. kotu *cracked, bent but not yet broken through*; ketu (< **keRtu) *sprained*; Mori linggotu⁶³, Wol. ma/katu. Let. ketu *cut off* (esp. of rice) (k- < ngk-, or borrowed), petu (< ?*pa/etu < *pa/ketu?); Roma ketu, Kis. eku *to pick*. Perhaps cf. Aceh keuteë ~ geuteë *sound of hard objects striking each other*.

82. PIN *ke(zZ)uR *stiff*: PSS *kěddo(r) also *inflexible, hence stubborn* (*d < *(zZ) unexpl.), Bug. kěddoq, Mak. káqdooroq, Duri kaqdo; Sad. kaqdo (-ø unexpl.) *coarse, crude*. BI kějur *stiff, of fibres*; Jav. kěju *stiff, of muscles*; NgD kejer, kujur. Cf. OJ gěñjor; also Bar. ojo *inflexible, tojo stiff, of muscles*.

83. PIN *kuta() *to chew*: Bug. ota; (dial.) ota *sirih, oca chew*; Mak. kota; Sad. k/ar/ottaq *remnants or pulp of something chewed*⁶⁴. Malg. hota.

84. PIN *kuyum *fist*: Bug. kojong/ěng (< **koyong/an)⁶⁵ *handle or grip of a lance*; Tag. kuyom *fist*.

85. PIN *la(m)b(ei)R *long*: PSS *lamb(eě)R⁶⁶, Bug. lampeq, Mak. lámbereq, Sad. Mass-Maiwa lambeq, Mmj. "lambe"; in Duri malambeh nawa-nawa *intelligent* (word for word = BI panjang akal). Sas. (dial.) lambih *too long*. PBis. *labeg⁶⁷; Kalagan (Reid) ma/lawig. Perhaps Malg. lávitra *far away, distant* (note derivs. lavir-).

86. PIN ?*la(ng)ka(hø)i or ?*la(ng)kay *male; revered* (?)⁶⁸: From **langkai, Bug. lakkai *husband*; Bar. langkai *man, male*; Wana rongo talangkai *husband*; Ledo langgai *male, man*; Mori langkai *great, honorable*. From *la(ng)kay, Ivatan hakay, Itbayaten gakay *man*; Sambal lakay *husband*; Atta lakalakay, Balangaw, Bontoc na/lakay *old (of people)*; probably Tag. langkayan *a sort of bier, stand for images*.

87. PIN *lamun *to bury, plant*: PSS *lamun, Bug. lamung (OB according to BWB) *bury, plant, (informants) deep*; Mak. lamung, Sad. Duri lamun, Mmj. ma/lammu (-mm-, -ø are unexpl.), Seko mal/lamung; l/in/amun *plant (noun)*. BI kě/lamun *overwhelmed, me/lamun/i to cover, overwhelm* ngě/lamun *muse, ponder, daydream, pě/lamun one who meditates*. Perhaps cf. Fi. lamu *hole in a pot, lamu/ta make a hole in (something)*.

88. PIN *langi(DrR) *tree sp. (usu. Albizzia saponaria Bl.) from which a sort of shampoo is derived*⁶⁹: PSS *langi(r), Bug. Sad. langiq, Mak. lángiriq, Mdr. langer; Duri langih *shampoo made from ashes of padi-straw*. BI, Jav. langir, Sas. langer, langeh; Aceh langi *an aromatic salve*.

89. PIN *langu(hø) *nausea, nauseating* (surely the same as Blust *langu *unpleasant*

taste): PSS *lango also *drunk*, Bug. lango-lango *drunk, dizzy*, Mdr. lango *get sick immediately from eating something disagreeable*; Sad. lango *intoxicating*; perhaps Mak. taq/lange vomit (-e unexpl.). Bar. yangu, Ledo Napu langu, Leb. lanu; Loin. Bang. langu; Ttb. Mong. langu *dizzy, drunk*. OJ langu *smell bad; a smell causing dizziness*; Jav. langu *bitter smell or taste*; BI langu *rotten smell*. Tag. langó *tipsy*.

90. PIN *la(m)puR *heap, pile* (variant of Dempwolff *dapuR?): PSS *lampo(r), Bug. lappoq, Mak. lámporoq, Sad. lampoq, Duri lampoh; probably Mdr. lapur/an *cooking place, stove* (if not a corruption of *dapuR/an). Ml. lampor (cited by Matthes but not in my sources); Jav. lampor *an evil spirit who causes swellings on the body and very high spring tides*; Mad. lampor *spring tides, lapor report*; BI laporan *report*⁷⁰. Bis. lapog *bonfire, pyre*. Cf. perhaps Fi. (Hazlewood) lambuya *rise or bubble up, as water when its course is blocked*; (Capell) labue, bue *to bubble, of boiling water* (?).

91. PIN *lañzak *to kick*: PSS *lañja(C?) *calf-kicking game*, Bug. (BWB) lañca, (informants) lañcaq, Mak. lañja (-ø unexpl.). Sas. lañjak, Bima lañja *kick*.

92. PIN *le(zZ)u(DrR) *to pour*: PSS *lějju(r), Bug. lějjuq, (dial.) loddo; Sad. loqdoq. Bar. lojo. Mad. lějjhur *melted, liquid; to pour out, decant*.

93. PIN *limbang *cross over*: PSS *li(m)bAng or *li(m)bAn⁷¹, Bug. liwěng, Mak. limbang, Mdr. liwang, lewang; Mak. pa/pa/limbang *kind of ferry, limbang/ang journey*; Sad. lian, limban *to the other side*; Mmj. ka/limbang/an *ford*. Bad. limba *the other side, mo/limba/nga move, remove, transfer*; Wol. limba *go out, polimba remove, pass over*. OJ mang/limbang *jump over, jump across*.

94. PIN *limba(DrR) *carry on a shoulder-pole*: PSS *lemba(r), Bug. lempaq, Mak. lémbaraq, Mdr. lembar, Sad. lembaq, lemba, Duri lembah ~ lemba, Mmj. (A&K) "ma/limba". Bar. Ledo lemba, Uma lema, Limolang⁷² molimbari. Togian Bajau lembar; Bob. ota/lembang (ota- unidentified, -ng unexpl.). Sas. lembar, lembah. UrAmb *leba. Let. le/lepa, Moa lepe; Kis. an/lepe *shoulder pole*; Tet. Ford leba, Slar. r/leb⁷³. Eli-Elat limbar. Rot. (Jonker cites) lepa, lempa, lemba.

95. PIN *li(m)bung *deep or still water*: PSS *limbong, Bug. lempong *pond*; Mdr. ma/limbong *deep*; Mdr. dial. forms (A&K) limpong lembong ~ limbong *bay, gulf*; Sad. limbong *fishpond*; Duri PUS limbong *deep*. Ledo libo *pool*. BI limbung *inner harbor, dock*. Let. tliwnu, Kis. "kiliuwe" Luang Sermata liwu⁷⁴ *pond*; Jonker cites without gloss Tim. nifu, Tet. lihun, Sumba kalibuk. Jamd. lifu *deep place in a river*.

96. PIN *lin(dD)ung *eel*: PSS *lendong, Bug. lenrong, Mak. Sad. lendong (Mak. *nd* prob. borrowed). Bar. lendo, Ledo lindu. BI Sas. Aceh NgD. lindong, Bal. lindung. Tausug qindung. Perhaps cf. Fi. lerua *a sp. of shellfish* or To. lelo *a fish sp.*

97. PIN *li(n)juq *forehead, face*: PSS *lindo, Bug. linro, alinro, Mdr. Sad. Mass. lindo, Seko linno *forehead*. Bar. Ledo Wana Mori lio, Bad. lindo, lingo, Napu lindo, Da'a⁷⁵ lio *face*; Mori lio/no *-self*. Togian Bajau lendo; Samal lendoq *forehead*. With Tor. cf. also Sad. si/lio *to look alike*; Bug. Mak. lio-lio *eyepiece of a gunsight*.

98. PIN *likAn *hearth*: Sad. lalikan (< redupl. la/likan or **ralikan < *dalikan). Bar. dalika *the 3 hearthstones*. Bal. jalikan. Let. lina, Moa liine; Jonker cites Bima riha, Tet. lalian, Kupang klikan, Gayo kĕlikön. Ilongot dĕikan.

99. PIN *lingkaq⁷⁶ *go, walk*: PSS *lingka, Bug. lika (BWB only, for *likka?*), lengka (-ngk- irreg.), Mak. (dial.) lingka, Sad. likka, lingka, Mass. l/um/ingka. Napu lingka, Buton ka/lingka-lingka, Wol. lingka; Bonerate (A&K) longka *run* (irreg. if cognate); Bob. l/um/engkad (-d unexpl.; cognate?). Mad. lingka *step, step over*; lengka *step over, overstep, exceed*. Aceh lingka *around, go around*.

100. PIN *lipuq *village*: PSS *lipu (expect *-o), Bug. Sad. Seko lipu. Bar. lipu; Wol. lipu *country, land*. Loin. Bang. lipu; Gor. Buol lipu; Mong. lipuq. AWB cites Soboyo (Sula Is.) and Ombi (Bacan Is.) lipu. Possibly reflecting a PIN *li(m)puq: Bug. Mak. limpo *surround with extended meanings village, people*; Sad. lempo *platform*; Seko (dial.) leppo *house*. Bar. limpu *classifier for pieces of land*. Bug. si/lepporĕng, Mak. si/lepporang *live together in the same house or kampong* are also suggestive, though the -r- is unexpl.

101. PIN *lu(dj)lu(dj) *rub, wipe, polish*; PSS *luqlu(t), Bug. lulluq, Mak. Mdr. luqluq; Sad. lulluq *thresh rice by walking buffalo over it*; lolloq *praise, flatter (?)*. Jav. lulur; BI lulut *massage*; prob. OJ lulud, lulur *a kind of powder (bĕdak)*. Perhaps the single root **lu(dj) in Tausug hilud and many other forms with -lut in Reid s.v. *rub*.

102. PIN *lungkut *ashamed*: PSS *longko(t), Bug. Mak. longkoq *dishonor, desecrate* (Bug. -ngk- irreg., < Mak. ?); Sad. longkoq. Bar. longko. Tag. lungkot *sad, troubled, melancholy*.

103. PIN *merak *peacock*, apparently a loan < Mon-Khmer: Bug. mĕrraq, Mak. marraq. OJ mrak, Ml. Jav. Sund. mĕrak, Mad. mĕrrak; NgD marak *pheasant*; Proto Chamic⁷⁷ *amrāk. Mon-Khmer: Santali marak, Mon mrāk⁷⁸; Old Mon

mrek, mreng, Palaung braq, Riang prak, Biat brak, Bahnar (h)amra, maraq⁷⁹. Undoubtedly of onomatopoeitic origin.

104. PIN *mu(q?)aq *particle*: PSS *mua, Bug. mua *only, just*; Mdr. muaq, PUS moa, Mmj. moaq *if* (Mdr., Mmj. -q unexpl.) OJ muwah *again*; OBal. muwah *and, further, again*; Jav. muwah (ngoko) *as well, moreover*⁸⁰. Malg. moa *interrogative or expletive particle*. Perhaps Man. buwa *maybe*.

105. PIN *nasu() *to cook*⁸¹: PSS *nasu, Bug. Sad. Duri Mmj. nasu. Bar. Wotu Wol. nasu; Bar. also nau (prob. borrowed from an -h- form); Uma Mori Laki nahu. Let. nasu, Moa nahu; Jonker cites Sumba-Kambera ma/nahu; Roti nasu *boil*. Proto New Guinea AN⁸² *nazu. Probably UrAmb. *nasu *sugar*.

106. PIN *nunuk *banyan tree, Ficus sp.*⁸³: Bar. nunu, Ramp. nunuq. Gor. luluqo. UrAmb. *nunuq. Let. Moa nunu; Jonker cites Rot. nunu(k), Ceram Sangir nunu; Tim. nunuh. Ngadha nunu. Malg. nónoka.

107. PIN *pa/r/lak or ?*p/ar/elak *garden*: Bug. pallaq, Sad. paqlak; Mak. parallakkeng⁸⁴ *courtyard*. Oml. OBal. parlak. Angkola Batak porlak (< ?*pe/r/lak?).

108. PIN *pazeg *tax; tribute, offering*: PSS *pajĕ(k) also *tray used to present an offering*, Bug. pajĕq, Mak. pajaq *rattan trays used to dry fish, for eating, etc.*⁸⁵; Mdr. pajaq *ritual food offering*. Bar. paja *kind of basket* (< SSul?). OJ pajĕg *to assemble (?)*; Jav. pajĕg, BI pajak⁸⁶, Mad. pajhĕk *tax, land-tax*; NgD pajak *salted fish or meat* (perhaps < SSul?). Cf. also Bang. padak, Khm. padat, Lo'on ne/madat *rice harvest* (-t unexpl.)

109. PIN *panzut *torch; light; damar resin* (apparently a loan, cf. Skt. jyotis *light; heavenly body* < root jyut?): OJ padyut, pañjut *torch*; jyut, pajyut *lamp, light*. Reflecting **banduk < **mpan(dz)uk (-k unexpl.), Let. Roma wadku, Kis. wadu *lamp; damar*; Jonker cites Tet. badut, Solor padu, Roti banuk, banduk. Ford. Jamd. faduk, Slar. haduk *torch*; Tim. paku *damar*.

110. PIN *pilis *temples (of the head)*: PSS *pilis also *cheek*, Bug. piliq, Mdr. pilis *cheek*, Mak. pilisiq, Sad. piliq, Duri pilih *temples*. Bar. pidi (-d- unexpl.), Bad. Bes. peli *temples*. OJ, Jav. pilis, Mad. papeles; Jav. pilis, Mad. peles *rub salve on the temples to ward off a headache*. Perhaps cf. BI pĕlipis/an, Tag. pilipis (by metathesis < redupl. **pipilis?)

111. PIN *pukpuk *evil spirit*⁸⁷: PSS *po(q)pok, Bug. pĕppoq; Mak. popoq, popok/ *ang female spirit that cries "popoq"*; Sad.

poqpok werewolf; Mass-End. "poopoŋ" (prob. = /poqpok/) ghost. Bar. popo word which evil spirits cry as they fly around. SWB cites without gloss Ttb. pokpok, Bal. pokpokan. OJ pukpuk a bird sp.; BI popok/an, momok ghost; momok/i to haunt; Mad. pok-kopok an evil spirit.

112. PIN *pus, *pus/an or *pus/en sweat: PUS *pus, *pus/an, Sad. aq/puq, maq/puq to sweat; Bug. (BWB) pusēq⁸⁸; Sad. pusan very hot (of the body). Tim. puse (prob. < *puse(n)).

113. PIN *(q)a(m)bang float, drift (cf. Dempwolff *awang air or the root *bang in e.g. Ml. tērbang, or various kalibangbang butterfly): PSS *a(bw)ang, Bug. awang, Mak. m/awang, Sad. menn/aang, Duri n/awang, Mmj. m/ahang, ti/ahang. OJ m/ambang, k/ambang; Jav. awang air; drift⁸⁹; BI awang far off, uncertain; indulge in fancies; Jav. Mad. Bal. kambang float; Sas. awang air (perhaps best < *awang). Tag. abáng stand around waiting.

114. PIN *(q)alit discord, trouble: PSS *ali(t), Bug. aliq; aliq-aliq nervous; Mak. aliq-aliq bother, annoy; Sad. aliq-aliq; maq/allik-allik (intensive) keep, silent, be stubborn. Tag. alit discord, quarrel. Malg. ady war; trial; argument.

115. PIN *(q)u(n)tuR stand up, become erect (cf. Charles 1974 PPh. *utu(gR)): PSS *o(n)to(r), Bug. m/otoq stand up; Mak. óntoroq erect (penis); Sad. m/otok, Mass-End. m/otoŋ (intensive -k?) get up. Tag. utog zeal, ardor, sexual heat; Bis. utog perk up, become erect (penis).

116. PIN *(rR)e(m)puq round (hanging) object or to hang down (of round things): PSS *rēppo, Bug. rēppo-rēppo knot; padlock; Mak. rappo fruit; Sad. (kadong) rappo, Duri (bue) rappo peanut. Ledo rapo-rapo padlock. BI rēpuh padlock. NgD rarampo, rampo-rampo, marampo hang down in quantity (of round things).

117. PIN *Rembu() smòke: PSS *rēmbu, Bug. rumpu, Mak. Mdr. Mass. rumbu, Sad. Duri rambu, Mmj. rambu, hambu. Bar. rumpu (obviously < Bug.) dust; ma/rumpu-rumpu dusk; tama/rumpu, to/rumpu fire (taboo substitute); Napu Ledo rambu, Wolio ombu; ka/rombu dirty (prob. borrowed); Wana kumbu. Samal humbu.

118. PIN *Riba(hø) lap: PSS *ri(bw)a, Bug. Mak. riwa, Sad. ria, riwa; mar/riwa carry on the hip (BI menggendong). Ml. riba, riba/an, Mad. reba, Sas. riwa, iwaq (-q unexpl.). Sang. hiwa. Let. riwa, Roma rewa/na; Roti ifa(k); Jamd. rean, Slar. riha. Savu iwa. Tim. aifan (if a/ifa/n).

119. PIN *sabay to arrive (possible doublet of Dempwolff *sampay): PSS *sa(bw)e,

Bug. (OB) sawe, Sad. Mass-End. sae. Mori Napu hawe. Tidung Dayak "sabei" (for /sabey/?); kě/saboy come.

120. PIN *sa(m)bay work together, share: PSS *sa(bw)e have time for ... (usu. with negative), Bug. Mak. sawe. OJ Jav. sambi together with. Tag. sabay simultaneous, do something together with someone; perhaps Man. sambey borrow, lend.

121. PIN *sabi(-?) say, tell; witness (possibly from Span. or Port. sabe, less likely Pidgin Engl. savvy): Bug. Mak. sabiq, Sad. saqbi witness; Mdr. pa/saqbi to inform (Mdr. Sad. -q- unexpl.). Tor. forms probably via SSul: Bar. Ledo sabi, Uma sabiq eyewitness; inform. Tag. sabi statement, say, tell. (AWB cites Tag. Bis. Bik. sabiq).

122. PIN *san(dD)u(q?) curer, shaman: PSS *sando, Bug. Mak. Mdr. (dial., A&K) sanro; Sad. sando trusted friend; (Palopo dial. curer); Mdr. (dial., A&K) sando wetnurse. Bar. Laki sando, Wotu, Mori-Padoe (Bug. influence) sanro. Tidung Dayak sandu doctor.

123. PIN *sahug bucket: Mdr. pe/sauq; pe/sau/ang well. BI sauk; Jav. sog, sok to pour; NgD sauk long flat basket for catching fish in shallow water; Tinggalan Dayak sēsauk net (Du. schepnet). Cf. Bang. tauk (cognate if < a language like Gor. or Mong. where *s > t).

124. PIN *se(dD)ing feel, be aware: PSS *sēdding, Bug. sēdding to feel; to wake up; Mak. saqring feel, űaqring wake up; Mdr. saqding feel, pe/naqding/i to hear; Sad. saqding feel, suffer, pa/naqding wake up; Duri pa/saqding hear. Napu Bad. Bes. hadi, Leb. hēri, Mori mo/hori, (dial.) h/um/ori/ngo hear. Mad. sēddhing to touch. Probably Malg. sériny impassioned; like something to the point of folly. Cf. also BI sedih sad.

125. PIN *se(dD)i(q?) side⁹⁰: PSS *sēdde, Bug. sēdde waist; Mak. saqri; Mdr. seqde waist, di/seqde beside; Sad. Duri saqde. Bar. sori, Mori hori. Mad. sēddhiq nearby. Let. seri side (of the body); to lean; Moa ser/ni (poss.) side, "serye" (= seri-e) army, seri lean; Kis. her/na, her/ne (poss.); heri/e army, nai/heri (it) leans; Roma hneri (with -n- noun infix) leaning; Ford. Jamd. Slar. seri; Jamd. also sedin close by.

126. PIN *su(m)bAl to sail: PSS *so(m)bAl, Bug. sompēq, Mak. sōmbalaq, Mdr. sobal, Sad. sombaq, Mmj. s/um/obal. Par. somba. UrAmb. *soba. Bonfia sobal, soban, Seran Laut sobal; Let. Moa soplā, Kis hoplo, hopolo, Roma hopal; Jamd. sombal to travel, esp. outside of Tanimbar; Slar. sobal⁹¹.

127. PIN *su(n)(dD)Ang to sit (possible

doublet of *tu(n)(dD)eng q.v. below)⁹²: Bar. (ritual) ancura, Napu Bad. huda, Leb. (A&K) hura, (Woensdregt) hura, Par. kan/jura, Baria sura, Lindu, Sausu sunda, Uma hura, Wol. un/cura; Tawael. suda/nga bench (< **su(n)dangan). Khm. s/um/uhang, Loin. suhang, Bang. oo/sulang. Bob. s/um/urang. Bilaan (Reid) suděng.

128. PIN *sulaq indifferent: Bug. Mak. sola-sola. Ledo na/sola of colors, to fade. Mad. sola whim, caprice; and N.B. pola-sola ghabay careless in one's work. Cebuano Bis. suláq to look at blankly.

129. PIN ?*sulapa side, edge, possibly a borrowing of Span. solapa lapel: Bug. Mak. Sad. sulapāq (-q unexpl.). Bar. sulapa; Ledo no/sulapa rectangle. Tag. sulapa edge; lapel.

130. PIN *sulej sharp pointed object: quill, spindle, needle⁹³: PSS *sula(t), Bug. sulěq weave (using a quill to insert the material); interweave threads of another color into a cloth; repair a basket by inserting new pieces of rattan; similarly Mak. Sad. sulaq. Bar. sula to poke, stick e.g. with the quill in weaving; weave in threads of another color (expect -o < *e); Uma sulaq to exchange (?). Bang. sulay thorn (expect o < *e). Bob. sulad hairpin (Du. haarnaald). Let. surna spin. Tag. sulid flax for spinning; sulirán spinning-wheel. Cf. also SubAmb. *sula decorate, *s/ěn/ulat-ě decoration possibly from this, or more likely < Dempwolff *surat.

131. PIN *suqsuq to peel: PSS *soso, Bug. Mak. Mdr. Sad. Duri Seko soso, sometimes soso/i; Sad. salusu strip branches from a trunk; sosoq, sossoq (intensives) reduce, decrease. Bar. mon/coso; Ledo soso edge (?). Kis. soso rub; brush (the teeth). Man. suqsuq strip bark from a tree.

132. PIN *susuq snail: Mak. siso a shellfish (i unexpl. if cognate); Sad. suso. Bar. suso, Mori uho (ø- unexpl.), Bad. huhoq. AWB cites Sang. suso. Bob. susu; Gor. hutu; Bang. suse a mollusc (-e unexpl.). OJ susuh. Tag. susóq; balinsusóq curl, ringlet of hair; balisusóq twisted like a snail's shell; cornucopia.

133. PIN *ta(bw)ay leaf: PTor. ?*tawe, Bar. Bad. Napu tawe, Ramp. taweq (-q unexpl.), Laki Palu Wol. Layolo tawa, Salayar taha⁹⁴, Let. Moa tawi, Kis. kawi, Roma tawa (-a possibly irreg.). Tet. tahan. Slar. tahi.

134. PIN *ta(m)buk belly (possible doublet of Zorc *tambek fat): PSS *tambuk, Bug. tampuq pregnant; Sad. Duri PUS tambuk belly. Mad. tabuq. Tag. tambok convexity, bulge. Tausug ma/tambuk fat (u < *e or *u). Sang. těmbuq (ě unexpl.)

135. PIN *t(eu)(m)buR spring, well (cf. also PAN *buR, *buRbuR below): PSS *tumbu(r), Bug. tompoq to well up in a strong jet; Mdr. tumbur. Wol. tumbu come up, spurt up. Tag. tubog 1. pool 2. immerse; timbog splash of water while swimming.

136. PIN *te(ng)kaw strong: PSS *těkko, Mak. Sad. takko. Minangkabau takaw. Ngadha děgo (g < *ngk; whether d < *nt is unclear).

137. PIN *ti(m)baR to throw: PSS *ti(m)be, ult. < PTor. *ti(m)bay, Mdr. timbe, (dial.) simbe/ang (s- irreg.), Sad. Seko tibe. Bar. Bes. tibe, Ramp. man/tibeq; Uma time stab. Manobo, Mansaka, Mamanwa timbag. Cf. also Bang. timpakon.

138. PIN *tika(dj) vigilant, alert: PSS *tika(t), Bug. tikěq, Mak. tikaq; Sad. tikaq quick; Duri ka/ma/tikat/an vigilance (base would be tikaq). Jav. tekad undertake, decide on, persevere; BI tekad, tekad determined, strong-willed.

139. PIN *tub, *tub-an, *tubtub to close, cover: Reflecting the monosyllable, Bug. toběng, Mak. tobang basket for carrying a fighting cock; rice-pot; Sad. toban cage, trap. BI tuban-tuban amnion. Jamd. tuban 1. bind up the hair in a cloth 2. cover with leaves; Ford. tuvan, Slar. tuban. Tim. an/kub (they) cover (< *ntub or *ngkub). Tag. talob (if < *t/al/ub) a soft cover. Perhaps Jav. ě/tub, a/tub⁹⁵ (also with -p) press in on, surround; (of a tree) covered with fruit; Bal. a/tub thick, dense. Reflecting *tubtub (or *tutub), Mori tutuwi (monomorphemic, ult. < *tutub-i); Ttb. tutuwan (could be redupl. of *tuban); OJ tutub, tutup; Let. tutwu. Tag. tutub; alitubtub enclosure made around a fire. Sang. tutubě. (Bug. tuttuq and Bug. Mak. Sad. Duri PUS tutuq < PSS *tu(q)tu(p) from either *tubtub or Dempwolff *tu(p)tup.

140. PIN *tu(n)(dD)eng to sit (cf. also my PIN *su(n)(dD)Ang and PSS/PTor. *t(ěu)(dD)o above): PSS *tudang (a irreg.), Bug. Mak. Sad. tudang; Mak. also timorong (if < t/im?/orong); Sad. togdang (poet.); Duri todang kneel. Bar. Mori Wana tunda. Ledo turo sit; live, dwell. Lo'on t/um/orong; Bang. tudang (of birds) to perch. Tinggalan Dayak (dials.) ěnturung, ěntudung, tumudung; Tidung Dayak ěntudung sit, dwell. Perhaps (with metathesis?) Ilongot tungěd.

141. PIN *tu(dD)ik knife, perhaps a loan/corruption of OJ curik, curika < Skt. churiga: OJ curik, curika, Mad. todig, NgD turik. UrAmb *tudig. Let. tori, Kis. kuri; Slar. turi. Savu "tuqdi" (sic in my wordlist).

142. PIN *tul, *tul-an, *tultul tool; device to provide leverage: PSS *tolan,

*toqtol, Bug. tottoq, Mak. toqtoloq bamboo device to restrain a wild animal, or a criminal (a sort of stocks or pillory); Sad. toqton (-n perhaps irreg.) bamboo tube with a rope through it, to lead a refractory animal; Mak. tolang wooden device to restrain a wild buffalo; Sad. tolan carry on the back hanging from a stick. Jav. tol, totul to lever, pry up. Let. toltolla, Moa toltolle fork; Ford. Jamd. tulan, Slar. tul to skewer; Slar. tultul spit. Probably Tag. tultol plummet, level (carpenter's tools); perhaps Malg. tolana mountings of a door-frame.

143. PIN *()umba() interrogative particle (cf. Dempwolff *ba): Sad. PUS Duri umba; Sad. also umbo (-o unexpl.); Seko umma usually which; where. Bar. Napu Ledo Bad. Bes umba, Uma uma, Ramp. umbě; Wana ungka/umba from where; Lo'on mbana to where. Liu omba which, (lěka)ěmba (to) where (ě unexpl., perhaps fast speech). Perhaps Man. umba therefore; probably Bug. upanna when? (in future) if < upa-na < an irreg. denasalized form of expected **umpa.

144. PIN *()u(dDj)uk smell, sniff; kiss (perhaps related to Dempwolff *ijung ~ ujung nose): PSS *uduk Mdr. me/uruq, Sad. uduk, Mmj. mang/udiq/i smell (trans.); Seko mangng/uduk kiss, uduk/ang smell (noun). Probably < PSS **pa/uduk, Sad. puduk mouth, PUS puduk, Mass-End. puduŋ nose. Malg. óroka to embrace; kiss with the nose.

145. PIN *()ula(q?) to act, to do; to go?: PSS *ola go, follow and *si/ola follow each other; (be) with, Bug. Mdr. Sad. Duri ola, Mak. olla (-ll- unexpl.), Seko sola follow; Bug. sola with; Mdr. si/ola, Sad. sola with; friend; Duri sola friend, si/sola with; Mak. si/olla, Seko si/sola with. Bar. me/ola have consequences; Napu hi/ola stand next to each other; Bad. olaqa road (prob. < *olaq-an). OJ ulah deed, behavior; olah (< a/ulah) act, move; Bal. solah behavior; dance; Sas. sola while, at the same time. Perhaps Man. ula-gula custom; to do something (-ø unexpl.).

146. PIN *za(m)baAl close, block up: PSS *jambAl, Bug. jampěq, Mak. jámbalaq. BI pěn/jabal/an rubber band.

147. PIN *za(ng)gu(Dr) hit with the fist: Mak. jáguruq, Mdr. janggur. All other SSul and Tor. forms are loans from Mak., probably in some cases via Bug.: Bug. jágguruq; Sad. pe/dagguru to pound; Duri jangguruq, Mmj. ma/jagguru, Seko pi/takuru. Bar. Ledo jangguru. Jav. Sas. jagur. Tunjung (Hudson) ba/jagur. Perhaps Mad. jhagghur loud noise, as of cannon, waves, etc.; Tag. dagok a blow with the fist if < a borrowed dagok < **dagog (in which case PIN *za(ng)guR, with Jav. as a borrowing). Less likely, cf. Malg. ranggo 2. take without permission (via grab?); ranggotra scratch/scrabble with hands or feet (e.g. to get out of a hole); Fi. saku(-ta) knock on the head; sako(-ca) beat with a stick; caqu injured in a

certain way (really semantically remote, cf. Capell s.v.).

148. PIN *zangan food eaten as side-dishes: PSS jangan bird, chicken, Mak. jangang chicken, jangang-jangang bird; Sad. dangan-dangan dove. OJ jangan, gangan vegetables; parāñjangan a bird sp. (?); Jav. Bal. jangan vegetables; Mad. ghangang, (dial.) jhangang greens. Bima janga chicken (< Mak.?)

149. PIN *(paN-)zapzap kind of boat: PSS *pañ/jaqja(p), Bug. pañcaqjaq, Mak. pañjaqjaq. Matthes MWB cites Ml. "pañjajab" (i.e. pěnjajap?) as equivalent; it is not in my sources; Jav. pañjajap small boat (Du. schuit, sloep).

150. PIN *(zZ)uqal sick (cf. Blust *(q)u(q) (ae)l nauseated) PTor *juqa, Bar. Par. juqa, Sausu, Baria Palu, Kul. Bad. duqa, Ledo dua, Layolo (cited AWB) men/rua. Bob. mo/duqol. Tidung, Tinggalan Dayak "duwol" (= /duol/?).

151. PIN *zukut food eaten as side-dishes: PSS *juku(t) meat, food, Bug. Mass. jukuq, Sad. dukuq meat; Mak. jukuq fish. OJ jukut vegetables, side-dishes; Mad. jhukoq fish, fish or meat side-dish. SimB juhut meat. Moken jukut, Moklen yukut⁹⁶. Probably Let. dukti meat (k either borrowed or < *ngk; i for expected u is sporadic in Let.)

152. PIN *Zujus straight: PSS *du(rz)us, Sad. ruruq (dial. doro, lora unexpl.), Duri ruruh ~ ruru, Mdr. doro, roro, PUS doro, Mmj. doho (Mdr. PUS Mmj. -ø unexpl.). OJ lurus, Jav. lurus, rurus; BI jurus, lurus (< Jav.?), Bal. rurus, Mad. loros (< Jav.?). Bar. joyo, Wana ka/do/doo(?). Khm. mo/duhus, Bang. loyos. Tag. lulos pass through without delay. Malg. joro 1. standing, upright; in a straight and fixed position 2. trunk of a tree.

153. PIN *Zulu(Dr) to crawl: PSS *(dr)olo(r?), Bug. (> Mak.) loloq; Sad. (old) dongloq. Bar. joyo, jololo (?), Ledo joyo (< Bar.), Uma me/ñolo. Bang. mo/lolo follow⁹⁷. OJ dulur follow, ulur a creeping plant (ø- unexpl.) OBal. Jav. dulur follow; BI cf. jalar creep and julur in julur-jalar (E&S) go in and out all over (the example refers to ants swarming — crawling? — over sugar). Man. lulud to stalk. Perhaps Malg. jóloka pass through a hole or opening.

C. Proto Austronesian

154. PAN *basi(qk)⁹⁸ troubled: Bug. Mak. waseq-waseq sadness, cares, troubles. Jav. (bosah-)basi, (bosak-)basik in a mess, disorderly. To. pahi fed up, exasperated; mamahi(-qia) suffer pain; be sorrowful,

annoyed; fāsifasi hurt, offended.

155. PAN *be(ñ)ce(C) or *bu(ñ)cu(C) to curtain off, enclose: PSS *bo(ñ)co(C)⁹⁹, Bug. boccoq (BWB) curtain off; curtain; (informants) mosquito net; Mdr. Mass. bocoq, Sad. bosoq mosquito net. Also Mak. boqcoq (MWB, < Bug.?) sarong or other cloth to hang over a sleeping child. Bar. bonco animal pen, corral; Bad. bosoq enclosure; Mori bonso door. To. poho covered part of a canoe.

156. PAN *belay lie, boast: PSS *bēlle, Bug. bēlle, Mak. Sad. Duri balle. BI bēlai flatter. Manam¹⁰⁰ (New Guinea) boli lie. Fi. bole, bole-bole boast, challenge; To. pole challenge.

157. PAN *b(eu)(n)zi(N) naked; to skin: Bug. bōnceng (BWB only), Mak. boñjing naked. Ledo na/bonji chafed. Hockett PFP *fosi ~ *mposi: Fi. voci to skin, boci uncircumcized; To. fohi to skin.

158. PAN *bi(n)sa() wet; wash: PSS *binsa, Bug. Mak. bissa to wash. NgD bisa, tam/bisa wet; the following all from Hudson, Tunjung bisaq, Ba'amang babisaq, Kapuas, Katingan, Dohoi, Murung², Siang bisaq wet. Dumagat (Reid) bisaq wet. Fi. bisa to fall (of rain); bisā (i.e. bisa/a) to rain on.

159. PAN *bisak to split: PSS *bi(n?)sak chop, Bus. wisaq, Mak. bisaq-bisaq, Mdr. bisaq, bissaq, Sad. bisak; bissaq (intensive) split small pieces of wood for kindling. Bar. wisa cut into pieces; Uma ha/mesa (< *saN/besa) one (counter). NgD bisak split. Savu mbisa break off. Proto SE Sol. (Levy) *vithal¹⁰¹ split, divide. Perhaps Fi. visa, visā set fire to, burn up (via firewood/kindling?). Cf. also No. 53 above, PIN *bi(ng)kas and Blust *sibak.

160. PAN *bukay swollen; full: PSS/PTor. buke, Bug. Sad. buke full. Bar. Mori Par. Wol. buke full; Bar. Ledo woke to swell. Loin no/buki full (expect -e). Malg. voky sated. Hockett PFP *mpuke mound, moundlike eminence, PPN *puke mound, well up, flood¹⁰².

161. PAN *buliq buttocks¹⁰³: (Reid) Dumagat buleq (also anus), Samal, Tausug buliq, Sambal boliq; Pal. Batak Tagbanwa buliq, Ilongot bui (?) anus. Malg. vody rear, base, tsinaim-body rectum. Fi. buli.

162. PAN *bumbum, *bu(m)bun or bunbun cloudy or indistinct color: PSS *b/ar/umbun, Bug. warumpung bluish-white, Mak. barumbung dusty white, Sad. barumbun grey-brown (all refer to the coloration of chickens). Fi. vuvu muddy, troubled (of water)¹⁰⁴.

163. PAN *buR, *buRbuR bubble up, well up

(cf. Dempwolff *bu(r)¹⁰⁵, which is hereby disambiguated; cf. also No. 138 above, PIN *t(eu)(m)buR: PSS *buqbuR, Bug. bubbuq, Mak. tim/búqburuq, Sad. buqbuq well up (of saliva, just before one vomits). Bar. tibubu well, talimbubu spring¹⁰⁶. Ford. bubut, Jamd. mbumbut (-t unexpl.). Let. Moa pupru rinse the mouth (p < *mb). Malg. bobo onomat. for sound of water going into a container. Proto SE Sol. (Levy) *vula spring; Hockett PFP *fua, *mpua flow, flow out (these three point to POC *(m)puRa(n); PFP *mpumpu, PPN *pu(u)pu(u) gargle, rinse the mouth (but note Maori bubble up).

164. PAN *ci(-rR-)nu(N) clear (water): PSS *ci-r?-nong, Bug. cinnong, Mak. cignong, Duri cinnong. To. hino, mahino clear, lucid.

165. PAN *cuRung funnel, tube: Mak. Seko corong (Mak. likely, Seko with /c/ definitely < Ml.). Jav. BI corong funnel. Bis sugóng, Manobo sugung bamboo tube, container. Fi. su (expect sū?) small-mouthed basket used for catching fish.

166. PAN *(dD)emes dirty: Mak. ráqmasaq mossy, dirty. Fi. dromo-dromo/a (< *ndemes) yellow, dirty.

167. PAN *()eng(gk)en charcoal; black substance: UrAmb. *ogon charcoal. Proto SE Sol. (Levy) *ogo tooth-blackening agent.

168. PAN *ga(n)(dD)u(hø) stir, scrape; harrow; (cf. Dempwolff *garut, *garus and Blust *kalu) PSS *garu stir, Bug. Mak. Mdr. Sad. garu. BI Jav. garu, Sas. gau (< **gahu?) harrow. Malg. haro stir. SubAmb. *galu stir (UrAmb. would be **ga(dlr)u if attested). Fi. kadru scratch, scrape; i kadru harrow.

169. PAN *ga(p)gap stammer, stutter: Bug. (BWB) gaggaq, (informant) gagaq. Ledo gaga. Ml. gagap; Jav gagap grope, feel one's way. Mad. ghagghaq. Aceh gagab (written form). Fi. kaka(-vaka).

170. PAN *guntu(Dr) thunder: Bug. (BWB) gutuq, (informant) guttuq, Mak. gúnturuq, Mdr. guttur, Sad. Duri guntuq; Sad. galuntuq rumbling noise. Ledo pana/guntu gun (pana shoot); Wol. guntu. OJ Jav. BI Sas. guntur, Mad. guntor; OJ also gěntur (ě unexpl.). Fi. kudru grunt, groan, grumble.

171. PAN *kaput to close, cover: Bug. Mak. Sad. Duri kapuq; note Mak. sassang makapuq pitch-dark (sassang dark). Bar. kapu. Bang. kaput dark. NgD kaput dark; kaput/an, kalaputan knot, fastening; to tie: Let. nat-u in natmuela dark (mela night) (expect base **nātu); Moa "nagtu" (=naŭtu/ < *ngaŭtu) dark. Bima kapu to close. Sam. qafu/ti cover¹⁰⁷.

172. PAN *kulat hot: PSad. *kula(t), Sad. kulaq hot, sick, feverish; Mass. kulaq hot; Seko "kula" sun. Bar. kuya ginger, kula flecks on skin due to exposure to sun; Ledo kula ginger; Napu Mori Laki kula hot. Itbayaten kugat, Ivatan kohat hot. Hockett PFP *kula red? bird? based on Fi. kula a red parrot, kula-kula red; To. kula 1. blush 2. = kulokula red; kula/mūmū crimson. Sam. gula 1. red 2. fine, good (weather). Cf. perhaps Malg. hólatra scar.

173. PAN *la(m)baR free; rebellious, contrary: PSS *lambaR free, loose (of an animal), Bug. lampaq, Mak. lámbaraq, Sad. lambaq, Duri lambah ~ lamba. Bar. lamba free, loose. Mad. lombhar free, loose (o unexpl.). Aceh labaih free of cares, responsibilities. Tag. labag rebellious, contrary. Fi. laba strike, kill treacherously. To. lapa attack without warning. Perhaps cf. OJ lambā simple, plain; lamba-lamban indifferent, uncaring¹⁰⁸.

174. PAN *langkaR far apart: PSS *langkaR also rare, seldom, Mak. lángkaraq; Sad. langka far, far from (-ø unexpl.) Jav. (> BI) langka unheard of, rare, seldom. Fi. laqa crack, chink; not tight fitting (e.g. a door in its frame).

175. PAN *laseR male organs (usu. scrotum); lie, deceive¹⁰⁹. Bug. lasēq scrotum. Bar. lase tame male pig (i.e. gelded?), mo/ lase to mate. UrAmb. *lase- scrotum. Roti lase scrotum; Tim. nasa/n male privates; Let. lasra, Moa lahra, Roma lahar, Luang Sermata lahara lie, deceive; Ford. lasar lie shamelessly, Jamd. lasar talk big; Slar. lasa male privates. Bis. lasug, Proto Bis. (Zorc) *lase(gR) scrotum. Proto SE Sol. (Levy) *lato testicles (t unexpl., a typo for th?); To. laho, loho scrotum.

176. PAN *la(n)sug penis; lie, deceive¹⁰⁹: PSS *laso penis, Bug. Mak. Mdr. Sad. laso. Bar. laso peg; Ledo Tawael. lasu, Mori lahu, Napu laho penis. Khm. Loin. lasu, Bang. laso penis. Sas. (dial., influence < Bug/Mak?) laso; Sumba (dials., Bug/Mak. influence?) lasu, lahu, lazū; Let. Roma ledu (d < *ns; e unexpl.), Moa lasu all penis; Let. also kakaun lasl(u)asu whirlwind. Ata Manobo lasuq penis; Tausug "lasoh" middle finger. Hockett PFP *lansu lie, deceive (Fi. lasu), PPN *lasu (Mao. rahua foiled).

177. PAN *lawlaw oil, fat (Benedict AT *lawlaw): Form. (Puy. Pai: Mak.) *lawlaw. Fi. lolo coconut milk.

178. PAN *laylay spread; move, go around: PSS *lele, Bug. Mak. Mdr. Sad. Duri PUS Mmj. lele all with many derivs. meaning move, spread, be common, well known; also Sad. ulele/an, Seko mu/ulele/ang tell a story, speak. Ledo na/lele faded, nom/pa/lele/a peddle; Mori lele news, l/um/ele spread. Lo'on Bang. pa/lele peddle, trade. Mad. lele

wind (e.g. a rope) around. Tag. l/ag/aylay¹¹⁰ spread out. Hockett PFP *lele, based on Fi. lele 1. end of a branch farthest from the trunk 2. cross a river, ferry across; To. Sam. lele moved along by the wind.

179. PAN *le(ng)ke(Dr) to roll up (?): PSS *lēkkē(C), Bug. lēkkēq small cushion placed under things carried on the head; Sad. laqkaq woven rattan frame to support a pot. OJ lēkēr twist; Jav. lēkēr rolled up, lēngkēr roll up into a ring; coil; Mad. lēkkēr roll up, lēngkēr crawl (of snakes); BI lēkar, Jav. lēkēr, NgD rakar rattan frame to support a pot. Fi. lokoloko a pillow of something soft.

180. PAN *le(n)taw float; still water¹¹¹: PUS lanto, Seko lonto. Bar. Ledo Wol. Wana lanto, Mori lonto. Khm. l/um/anto, all float. Tag. litaw, Bis. lutaw, Man. letew float. Sam. loto pool, stretch of deep water, usu. within the reef of an atoll; Mao. roto pool, lake.

181. PAN *li(cs)u(-?) shiny, polished: Bug. Mak. lecoq to clean, polish; Bug. lecco-lecco (< *leñco) polished, elegant (speech). NgD taliso polished; talisok a bird sp. with shiny feathers; nalisok smooth and soft e.g. oiled hair. Tag. ma/lisóq restless, mobile (?). Fi. liso-liso fiery, angry (eyes); liso/ta glare at; liso-liso/a glossy.

182. PAN *(sa-)liwan off to one side, outside: PSS *sali(bw)an outside, Bug. saliwēng, Mdr. saliwang, Sad. salian, Duri salean/an, PUS salihan, Mmj. salihan, sulihan (u unexpl.). Bang. seleon exterior (Du. buitenland), foreign. Sas. sēlewan get out of the way, go aside, pass. Perhaps SimB salian very. Tag. saliwaq sinister, left-handed, unfortunate (-q unexpl., if cognate). Fi. liwa place far from town, uninhabited; at sea, far from land.

183. PAN *lu(m)pus sink down: PSS *lo(m)pos also step in a hole. Bug. tal/lopoq, Mak. tal/lóposoq put one's foot through something, sink down; Sad. loqpoq make a hole in. Bang. ta/lompos step in a hidden hole. Fi. luvu¹¹² sink into the water, luvu/ca sink, drown; lovu hole filled with water, as on a reef (?).

184. PAN *mane(mn) large quantity: PSS *manē(mn), Bug. manēng, Sad. manan, Mass. ia/manan(g) all; Mak. manang correspond, be one, manang/i do something together with someone. To. mano myriad, ten thousand¹¹³.

185. PAN *muqa() face: Mak. mua. Mad. mua, moa, Sas. mua, Bal. moa. Hockett PFP *muqa (Fi. mua tip, point; To. muqa face).

186. PAN *na(n)jam domesticated, tame; clever: PSS *na(n)da(mn), Bug. (OB) nanrang clever, accustomed (expect -ēng), Mak-Sal.

narang *tame*; Mdr. narang *skilled, clever*; Sad. naran *tame, naqran very tame, narang clever* (loan?); Duri narang, Mdr-Bal. (A&K, = PUS) naran, Seko narang *clever*; Seko mam/pi/narang *teach*. Bar. (> Ledo) naya *tame*; Ledo nara *pretty* (?); Mori Binongko nea, Kul. Lindu nara *tame*. Balantak ma/naam *tame*. Sangir narang, Sangil nalang *accustomed*; Ttb. Tonsea naram *accustomed; clever; tame*. Ceb. Bis. hi/nalam (~ higalam) *become accustomed to something*. Tausug maqam *domesticated*. Nabay Murut main/daram *tame*. Formosa-Siraya ma/dagam *to accus-* tom114. Proto SE Sol. (Levy) *manatha 1. *tame* 2. *know, understand*. Cf. also Fi. lasa *easy, contented, tame, accustomed*.

187. PAN *namaw *pool; deep water*: UrAmb. *nama(w) *bay, harbor*. Proto SE Sol. *namo *deep place in the water*. To. namo *sea near the land, esp. between the reef and shore; lagoon*.

188. PAN *pu(dDr)us *to pull or gather together*: PSS *purus, Bug. puruq; pa/puruq *drawstring; sap/puruq run the hand along, strip off (e.g. leaves from a branch)*; Mak. púrusuq *strip with the hand; to gather (as in sewing)*; purus/ang *drawstring*; Mdr. (calana) purrus *undershorts*; Sad. purruq *pick ripe and unripe fruits indiscriminately (i.e. strip the branches)*; ti/purruq *pulled tight (of a rope)*. Bar. poru *pull tight, púrusi* (loan) *rub with the hand*. Fi. buru/ka *nip between finger and thumb*. To. mulu *to strip, run the hand along with a stripping motion*115.

189. PAN *(qø)alas *line; descendant*: Mak. álasaq *descendant*. BI alas *basis*. Tag. (Laktaw only) alas *equal, in a line, line up*. Fi. yala *extend to; yala/na terminate, make a boundary*.

190. PAN *(q?)añu() *annoy*: PSS *añu *tease, mock*, Bug. Mak. añu-añu. Wol. anu. Fi. manu-manu (vaka—ya) *to bother, be worried*. Perhaps To. qanu/hi *spit on, spit out; qaganu to spit*116.

191. PAN *Ru(n)tut *come together, meet*: PSS *runtu(C) *collide, meet*, Bug. Mak. runtuq; prob. Sad. runtuk (*intensive?*) *pursue a goal until it is achieved*. Bar. runtu *together, at the same time* (borrowed, if cognate). BI (> Jav., if *R) runtut *harmonious; to match*. Fi. utu *join with, meet; udu meet, land (of canoes)*.

192. PAN *sa(m)paw *house, hut* (Benedict 1975 AT *(tsa)paw and other variants): PSS/PTor *sa(m)po, Bug. sao, Mak-Konjo, Mak-Sal., Mdr. (dial.) sapo *house*; Bug. (dial.) sapo *fence, sappo bamboo structure around a well, so one may bathe unobserved*. Par. sapo, Napu sou *house*. Ngadha saqo *house (traditional)* (q < *p is irreg.). Cited by Benedict (1975: 319 s.v. *Hut*): NgD sapau *roof*; lepau (< s/al/epau) *rice barn*; Malg. t/afu, Maanyan (Siong) hapau, Siang, Lawangan sapo *roof*. Formosa

(Paiwan) *tsapaw *rest hut in the fields*.

193. PAN *senit *to cut*: PSS *sěnni(t), Bug. sěnniq; Sad. saniq *cut into little pieces* (expect -nn-); Seko "sinni" *circumcised*. Bar. sone; perhaps sini *pull hard (on the hair of a victim's head)* and Napu hini *pull up*. Bang. sonit *thorn*. Hockett PFP *nsoni (Fi. soni, soni/ta *make an incision*), PPN *soni (To. honi/qi *make an incision*).

194. PAN *se(m)pa(hø) *container*: PSS *s/al/ěppa *betel-box*, Bug. saleppa, Mak. Sad. salappa; also irreg. Mak. sulappa, Sad. salappe. Ml. sělēpa, Jav. slēpa (also slēpi) *betel-box*. Irregularities point to borrowing in NgD tepa *rattan betel box*, salupa *idem of copper*; Tinggalan Dayak salapa. Fi. soba *banana blossom*. To. hofa *quiver for arrows*.

195. PAN *si(hø)a(DrR) *scatter, strew*: PSS *sia(r), Bug. seaq, Mak. siaraq, Sad. siaq, seaq; Duri ma/siaq *wild* (?). Mori sia117 *separated*. Bang. sia *scattered*. BI NgD siar *scatter; wander*; Mad. ba/siar *roam*; Malg. sia, sia-sia *go astray*. Hockett PFP *nsense (if cognate, the vowel merger is unexpl.) and PPN *see, *sesee and *seesee *err, go astray*. Also Biggs (1965) PEO *sese *be wrong*.

196. PAN *si(n)dit *to cut*: PSS *si(n)di(t), Bug. sinreq, Sad. serek (-k unexpl., an intensive?); Seko "sinni" *circumcised*118. Jav. sedet *cut or saw at an angle*. Hockett PFP *nsele (Fi. sele *cut; knife*), PPN *sele119.

197. PAN *si(ng)kit *to pick up* (containing the root *kit ~ *kat ~ *kut seen elsewhere, e.g. Dempwolff *angkat): PSS *siki(t), Bug. Mak. sikiq *pick up*. Ramp. hingkiq. Biggs (1965) PEO *siki (To. hiki *lift, raise*; hikitaki *throw at*)120.

198. PAN *ta(m)ba() *cut up, divide up* (Benedict 1975 AT *(t)a/(n)tab(/a): PSS *ta(bw)a, Bug. Mak. Duri tawa, Sad. tawa, taa *cut up, divide into portions*. Ledo pan/tawa, Leb. (nihi) mpo/tawo *incisor (tooth)*. Nias (cited A&K) sinaba *a cut-off piece of ...* (< /t-in-aba/). Let. Roma tawa, Kis. kawa, Moa "tawä" (= /tawqa/ < **tawak?, cf. Tanimbar) *knife*; Roti tafa, Tet. taha *machete*; Ford. tavat, Jamd. Slar. tabat *stab*; Ford. tawak, Jamd. Slar. tabak *stab* (finals unexpl.). UrAmb. *tava, *dava *stab*. Proto SE Sol. *tava-thi *cut*, PEO (Levy) *tava; Hockett PFP *tafa, PPN *tafa, *tampa; perhaps also Fi. daba/na *do up in parcels* < **ntampa. Formosa-Favorlang (Benedict) *ta/ta_a *sword used in head-hunting*.

199. PAN *tangaR *look at, stare, ponder*: PSS *tanga(r), Bug. tangaq, Mak. tangaraq, Mdr. tangar, tangngar, Sad. (SWB) tangngaq, (informant) tangaq, Duri tangngah (*geminate*

ng unexpl. in every case). Ledo tangara *deliberate, consider* (obviously < Mak.). Ml. (cited SWB and Matthes, not in my sources) tangar; OJ tangā, tangā-tangā *be careful; consider; watch*; Sas. tangar *look around anxiously*; Bal. tangar *be careful*. SimB tangar *hear*. Let. takra *to look* (if the sequence *ng--r in fact > -kr-, as it seems to); Jonker cites Sumba tangar. Fi. daga *throw the head back, stare up*. To. tākaki (*of royalty*) *look, look up* (perhaps from metathesized **taRang-?)

200. PAN *tulali() *flute*: PTor. *tulali, Sad. tulali. Bar. tuyali, Bar-Ampana, Par. Kul. tulali. Gor. tulali. Irregularities suggest borrowing in Bang. tilalu, Sumba (dials.) talili, taleli, talali, talalu. Fi. dulali. Cf. perhaps Dempwolff *bulaylay and Jav. tēlale 1. *elephant's trunk* 2. *proboscis of an insect*; further (cited Raffles, *History of Java*) Sund. tulalek, Mad. talali, Bal. tama-lele *elephant's trunk*.

201. PAN *tuluR *insert, string together* (cf. Blust *(CtT)uSuR): PSS *toloR, Bug. toloq, Mak. tóloroq, Mdr. tuluq (expect -r); Sad. toloq *insert (something small)*; Duri toloq *pegs inserted in the floorboards of a house*. Bar. (ritual) tuyo *to string*. NgD tulutulur, tatulur *to hang down (of rope-like things)*(?). Tag. Bis. tuhog *string together, skewer*. Perhaps Malg. tólotra *a sort of bobbin*. Fi. duludulu/mata *large bunch of taro tied by the leaves*. Perhaps To. tolo *push partly burned logs into a fire to renew it*.

202. PAN *wilu(C?) *spit, spittle*: Bar. uelu, Wol.¹²¹ wilu, Ledo teweulu (prob. < **te/uwelu). Fi. welu.

203. PAN *(zZ)a(ng)kan *to cook (boil?)*: OBal. Bal. jakan, SimB. mar/dahan. Bar. daka (expect j-), (dial.) jaka; Mori mon/saka *cook a long time*; Ledo nom/pa/daka *boil*. Ttb. Tonsea (cited AWB) rakan. Alorl²² dakā. Ngadha zaka. Kis. kakan (< *takan < *(zZ)angkan). Fi. saqa(-ta). To. haka(-qi) *to boil, stew*.

204. PAN *zu(dDr)ug *excess*: Bug. joroq *overdo; extraordinary*; Mak. taq/joroq *overdo; exceed; too much*. Jav. jurug *add even more to ...*; jorog *addition*. To. hulu *vast, very big; excessive, abundant, too much*.

205. PAN *zu(ng)gi(dj) *move about; dance*: Bug. Mak. jogeq, Sad. dogeq *dance*. Jav. Bal. joged, BI joget, Aceh juget *dance*; BI doger (< an unattested Jav. form?) *kind of dance of the lower classes*. Fi. coqe *hop on one leg*¹²³.

FOOTNOTES

I wish to acknowledge the patient assist-

ance of my Indonesian informants in 1971-72, without whom my work would have been impossible. For Buginese, Andi Zainal Abidin, Husen Abas, Abu Hamid, Ambo Gani, Abdullah Gamal; Makassarese, Nurdin Yatim and Trees Salim; Mandar, Abdul Majid; Sa'dan, Robert Lantang and M.L. Manda; Massenrempulu (Duri) Syukur Abdullah and P.B. Barrang; Pitu-Ulunna-Salo, Mohammed Saleh; Mamuju, Daud Limbugau; Seko, J.Z. Dasinglolo and D.P. Kalambo; Mori, Hans Lapoliwa. The staff of the Lembaga Bahasa Nasional in Makassar, and especially their associate R.A. Pelenkahu, merit special thanks for much assistance. Correspondence with M. Charles over the years has answered many a vexing question. Finally, a profound debt is owed to my mentor and friend A.L. Becker, who guided me into this field in the first place.

Needless to say, I hope this article will provoke a few "aha!" reactions from researchers in other AN areas, and I will welcome all comments, additions, even criticisms. My present address is 327 Crest, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48103.

Abbreviations: Major languages and their abbreviations are familiar to all by now. Others used here are: A&K Adriani & Kruyt 1914 (most of the Tor. data); AWB Adriani 1928 (Bare'e); Bad. Badaq; Bal. Balinese; Bang. Banggai; Bar. Bare'e; Bes. Besoa; Bob. Bobongko; Bug. Buginese; Bku. Bungku; BWB Matthes 1874 (Bug.); End. Endekan; Ford. Fordat; Gor. Gorontalo; Jamd. Jamdena; Khm. Kahumamahon; Kis. Kisar; Kul. Kulawi; Leb. Leboni; Let. Letti; Loin. Loinang; Mad. Madurese; Mak. Makassarese; Malg. Malgache; Man. Manobo; Maron. Maronene; Mass. Massenrempulu; Mdr. Mandar; Mdr-Bal. Mandar, Balanipa dial. (A&K); Mek. Mekongka; Mmj. Mamuju; Mong. Mongondouw; MWB Matthes 1859 (Mak.); Par. Parigi; PUS Pitu-Ulunna-Salo; Ramp. Rampi; Sad. Sa'dan; Sang. Sangirese; Sas. Sasak; SimB. Simalungun Batak; Slar. Slaru; SWB Van der Veen 1940 (Sad.); Tawael. Tawaelia; Tet. Tetum; Tim. Timorese; Tor. Toraja; Ttb. Tontemboan; Wol. Wolio

1. I.e. a lengthened articulation, which is always the case for nasals and continuants, usually for vl. stops; pronunciation with /q/ is variable for vl. stops, but always the case for vd. stops — except in Bug. where it is considered *kasar*. Bug. voiced geminate stops are preferably given a lengthened pronunciation.

2. Another interesting speculation: according to Mak. legendary history, a man called Karaeng Bayo (King Bajau) married a semi-divine woman and founded the kingdom of Goa.

3. The ascription to Old Bug. — a stage of the language not clearly defined — is in every case by Matthes in his dictionary. My informant A. Hamid, who was versed in Bug. literature, usually recognized these terms; other informants varied.

4. In a number of cases Bug. changes the first-syllable vowel of old repeated monosyllables to ẽ — as Sangir does regularly.

5. Presumed to show metathesis. AWB. cites Philippine cognates of Blust *baRaQ which I consider irrelevant.

6. /wu-/ probably a development < **wě-.

7. Bar. -y- suggests a loan; usually *y > Bar. /j/.

8. Whatever the ultimate origin, it would be *biRang. The irregularities in Tor. not only indicate borrowing (bira < SSul, others < Phil.-type languages) but also reflexes of *R.

9. From my informants, who rejected BWB's *bukang*.

10. Loss of *-k- in Bug. and of *-y- in Bar. (apparently a borrowing) create the difficulty here, along with the metathesis in either Gor. or Saluwan. I attempt no PIN reconstruction, but if we compare Mak. *sikuyu crab*, then ?*kuyu *hard-shelled (edible?) creature* suggests itself.

11. Sihwojo 1967: *Phonemic Analysis of Saluwan*. Unpubl. Sarjana thesis, IKIP-Malang, Java. Short wordlist in my possession.

12. Clearly < Bar. *boya*, with -ng by back-formation from possessed forms, e.g. *boyangku my house*.

13. Note Charles 1974, PPh. *delep. The forms with *-k are on the basis of Bob. alone.

14. *Sie* in my informant's writing; other examples of this infix are also spelled with *mm*. Omission of /-q/ was typical of most of my SSul informants when they wrote out forms for me.

15. Mmj. frequently has *e/i* for final-syl. *u.

16. If Fi. changes the sequence **#rVl. > #lVl ...

17. Cited in Dempwolff VLAW3 s.v. *lurus.

18. The *r-* suggests a loanword.

19. End. "ŋ" represents an unreleased [ngk] and is apparently the allophone of /-k/; Sad. *gauq* for expected **gauk* is prob. a Bug. loan, as are many of the Tor. forms and — it would appear — the Manobo. The various pejorative changes would reflect the low repute in which the Bug. and Tor. hold each other. As for forms meaning *have sex/lie, deceive*, see further Nos. 175, 176 and note 109.

20. From the discussion (A&K p.142) it would appear that the base could be either *koně* or *koněq*.

21. The /e/ of *isseng* is unexpl.; *asseng* is presumed to show vocalic metathesis < ***essang*.

22. Informant only; not listed in SWB.

23. Mori-Padoe (A&K) seems to be heavily influenced by Bug. All forms in this comparison show irregularities of one sort or another, suggesting borrowing from some unattested source.

24. See No. 1523 in Burrow & Emeneau 1961, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*. Oxford.

25. According to AWB s.v., Bar. *kuli* occurs only in some old hydronyms.

26. Tomini languages seem ordinarily to retain original finals; -ng here may be a misprint, or may reflect borrowing from Bug.

27. See Zorc 1971, No. 2265 **libu move in a circle* attributed to M. Charles. Both PSS **lebu*, **limbo* (and Zorc's **libu*?) probably ultimately < **li(m)but surround* (Zorc No.2268).

28. Cited in MWB s.v. *pallu*; not recognized by my informants.

29. I attempt no PIN reconstruction; cf. PIN **tu(n)(dD)Ang sit* below; PTor. could also be based on IN **tunDuk* containing the root **Duk sit*.

30. Cognate only if < earlier ***toho/an*; perhaps I mis-heard "toang" for "tohoang".

31. The final /q/ and variants in SSul and elsewhere are presumed to be due to the emphatic nature of this item's meaning.

32. Ngadha *bh* (like *dh*) represents a preglottalized stop; *G* is the voiced velar fricative — I do not know how Arndt transcribes this sound.

33. Bóbaki and bóbali both marked as loans by the stress pattern and the final support-vowel.

34. Probably = *boba/qi*, but in any case a likely loan, with /-q-/ reflecting *k* or *g* ult. < *R.

35. The Loin. reflex of *R being obscure, this form — the probable source of Bar. *bóbali* — could equally well derive from my **balbal* (no. 41). The /o/ in all forms is presumed to reflect the secondary shift of initial-syl. V > ẽ in repeated monosyllables as discussed in Charles 1974.

36. This very ambiguous medial consonant can be simplified by assuming the presence of an infix — thus **b-a(rR)-uku()*, which suggests a possible relationship with Dempwolff **buku joint, node; bone*.

37. The initial-syl. *o* in Tor. < secondary *ẽ, with further change > *u* following a labial.

38. AWB cites "Minahasa" *waqkan Litsea* which, with Sad. and Bar., may reflect a different etymon.

39. Drabbe's use of the doubled consonant in Ford. is unclear, but it appears to indicate a preceding short vowel.

40. Let/Moa could reflect either **mbas-i* or IN **baseq*; Roma < **mbas* or Dempwolff **baseq*. My **bas* may be related to **baseq* (~ *baseq*?) in some as yet undetermined way.

41. These non-SSul forms, and Ml. *batari*, from Heyne 1950, sub *Zea Mays* Linn.

42. Zorc 1971, No. 896, attributed to his own research and the INL Preliminary Studies. These cognates, especially Ngadha, broaden the distribution considerably.

43. A&K's Pipikoro and Esser's Uma refer to the same language; these forms may be dialect variants.

44. Bal. *běběng* cited without gloss, Jonker 1932 s.v. *pepna*.

45. The Sad. and Mak. forms from informants only, not listed in the dictionaries. Perhaps Bug. loans.

46. Cited Kustini 1967: *Phonemic Analysis of Bone Buginese*. Unpubl. Sarjana thesis, IKIP-Malang, Java. The transcription is unreliable, or else the dialect is divergent from std. Bug.; here *wëllung* would be expected.

47. From a Swadesh-200 list provided by James Fox. I suspect the long /o/ simply reflects lengthening due to stress; less likely, the word is really *o/olu*, with *o-* a fossilized form of definite article sometimes seen in Tor. languages.

48. Final \emptyset is irreg., likewise final-syl. /h/, which points to borrowing from the Mmj. area.

49. This form suggests AN *j: biing < biying < *bijing. However, Bug. and Mori do not reflect *j. It may be that *R > \emptyset in Bang.

50. For the semantics, cf. OJ talinga ear: panalinga side.

51. Suggesting that *bi(dD)ing may be a morphologically complex form of *()i(dD)ing.

52. For the possible relationship between these two, note Kis. namakene 1. *friendly* 2. *ready, prepared* (BI *sedia*). Stresemann (p. 100) notes that Brandstetter originally reconstructed *bela friend, the sole instance of IN *e:

53. According to my informants: at an age when she may still go about without a blouse. For the semantics, cf. OJ (< Skt.) nagna naked: nagnā young girl.

54. Also cited at my PAN *buRbuR, no. 163 below.

55. Cf. also Bug. (BWB) "bucili", Mak. buñciniq, Mass-Maiwa buciliq *lizard* against Bar. boncingi, Mong. bosing, Tombulu bunsili *squirrel*. SSul appears to have blended *bulilik and (borrowed) boncingi.

56. While UrAmb. *r is only < *R, this word is prob. a loan here and in many of the other languages.

57. Jansz derives krasan < Jav/Skt. rasa, but I feel it is more at home here.

58. Cited Rappard, *Het eiland Nias en zijn bewoners*, Bijd. 62:532 (1909). Adu is apparently *idol*, *si-* unidentified.

59. If To. is indeed cognate, the status of this item can be elevated to PAN.

60. Tag. *h:Man.* \emptyset are contradictory.

61. Letti et al. appear to have affixed a "personal article" *i-, in my files (e.g. Bug.) but not yet well attested. Kis. -ne is 3d person poss., LS -u is prob. 1st person poss.

62. This word has the earmarks of a loan in almost every case; it is therefore uncertain whether the SSul/Tor /w/ truly reflects *b or is simply the result of some corrupt pronunciation. Final /q/ of Sangir is unexpl.; Ceram may have borrowed from this source.

63. Various Mori dialects (not the standard) show voicing of original vl. stops after nasals. The element *ling-* may derive by back-formation from **maling-kotu.

64. This is an example of what Van der Veen SWB calls "intensive" forms in Sad. The process involves geminating or prenasalizing the medial consonant, adding final /q/ or /k/, or changing final /q, k/ to resp. /k, q/.

65. In Appendix E of my diss., this word was (I now believe) erroneously associated with PSS *koyo(ng) wounded.

66. There is some, but not much, evidence that AN *-eR > PSS *-eR rather than expected *-ěR. The *i* in Sas. lambih cannot reflect *e; is this a loan < SSul? I do not know whether Kalagan *i* is a possible reflex of *e.

67. See Zorc 1972b:120 where he terms this "a putative WBis innovation".

68. Possibly to be related with Dempwolff *laki?

69. Charles' PPh. *langig *slime on fish; fishy smell* if cognate shows that the final is *R. With Charles' form, cf. Malg. lany odor of fish, in VLaw sub *hañir as an irregularity.

70. The word for *report* is usu. said to be a corruption of Du/Fr. *rapport*; for the semantics here cf. Engl. *compile, compilation*.

71. There is no explanation for SSul *-n here; it is clearly reflected, however, by Sad., and Bug. -ěng < *-an.

72. The language of a non-SSul enclave in the Waebunta area, slightly NW of Palopo. It was moribund at the time of van der Veen's (1929) description.

73. The NT forms just cited must descend from *leba with irreg. - \emptyset for expected -r; loans.

74. Kis. "kiliuwe" = /kiliu-e/ < *ti/li(w)u; absence of /w/ before /u/ may be a transcriptional error. The loss of /-n/ in both Kis. and LS is unexpl.

75. Apparently a Tor. language or dialect, but of unspecified location. According to AWB, Da'a liro is "harvest speech", i.e. a form of the language used in the fields at harvest time and subject to certain taboos.

76. Final *q on the basis of Dempwolff *langkaq, of which this is assumed to be a doublet.

77. Lee, Ernest W. 1966: *Proto Chamie Phonologic Word and Vocabulary*. (Diss., Indiana Univ.) University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

78. Kern, H. 1908: "Het woord voor pauw in Santali, Mon en Indonesisch". Bijd. 60: 173.

79. Luce, G.H. 1965: "Danaw, a dying Austroasiatic language". *Lingua XIV* (Indo-Pacific Linguistic Studies I):98—129.

80. Cf. also OJ uwah, mowah *again*: this, and muwah, may contain the root **wah < **baq add, as in Dempwolff *tambaq.

81. Possibly related to Blust *la(cs)uq *hot* via *l/um/asuq > **n/um/asuq, an assimilation occasionally seen. However, from *-uq we would expect PSS *-o.

82. Milke, W. 1965: Comparative notes on the AN languages of New Guinea. *Lingua* XIV: 330—48. PNGA *nazu is cited as an innovation in that area.

83. Zorc 1971 No. 2518 *nunuk based on his own research.

84. Matthes derives < parang *plain* and lakkeng unglossed, occurring only in this compound. Cf. Mak. parallu < Ml/Arab. pĕrlu. The final /-eng/ is an irreg. though occasional variant of /-ang/ < *-an *nominalizing suffix*.

85. If such offerings were religious in nature, the introduction of Islam to SSul in the early 1600's would account for the change in meaning.

86. Usually said to be a corruption of Du. *pacht*.

87. Perhaps originally an onomatopoeic term for a *bird sp.* whose cry was considered an ill omen. Cf. Zorc 1971 No. 2476 *mumuk *ghost; bogey* attributed to M. Charles.

88. Either misread from a written source (in Bug. syllabic script "pu.sě" = pusěq or pusěng) or else a back formation. Because of morphophonemic changes, the base of possessed forms becomes ambiguous, i.e. pusěkkumy *sweat*, or pusěнна *his* ... — either could derive from pusěq or pusěng.

89. Jav/BI awang could be the reflex of either *awang or *abang. They are cited in VLAW sub *awang.

90. Zorc 1971 No. 3103 *sidiq *side* attributed to Charles.

91. I suspect that almost all forms reflect borrowing < Mak. If not, then the final-syl. vowel can be *a.

92. At the last minute, I have realized that the initial segment is ambiguous and should be *(cs). I reconstruct the ambiguous *A solely because of uncertainty as to what Bilaan /ě/ might represent; Sul. forms clearly reflect only *a.

93. The semantic development seems to have been: sharp pointed object > spindle > spin, weave > weave alternate colors > (Uma) exchange.

94. Tor. forms with -a for expected -e < *-ay are unexpl.

95. In VLAW sub *teReb.

96. Cited by Hogan, David W. 1972: "Men of the Sea: coastal tribes of South Thailand's westcoast". *Jnl. of the Siam Society* 60.1:205-35.

97. This form and others meaning *follow* — OJ Jav. Bal. Man. — may reflect another etymon ?*dulu(Dj); if so, the final of *crawl* should be *(DrR).

98. Ambiguous final because of the Jav. doublet; SSul if native would only reflect *-k, but the limited distribution suggests borrowing, and either Jav. form could be the source. Furthermore, the Jav. -k forms might be a secondary "intensive" development.

99. While PSS *o ordinarily < AN *u, there are other possibilities here, in view of

the good OC evidence, where o almost always reflects *e. (1) The protoform may have contained a sequence *e-u or *u-e, with *all* witness showing harmonization; or (2) the PSS may be an early borrowing < Tor., i.e. before Tor. had lost all final consonants (assuming such a stage existed).

100. Phonological developments in this language are unknown. Cited in Capell's New Guinea article in *Current Trends* vol. 8.

101. SE Sol. *th represents the interdental fricative, *ç* of the Fi. alphabet.

102. Hockett's Fi. and OC witnesses are in VLAW sub *bukid.

103. Zorc 1971 No. 1125 *buliq attributed to Charles.

104. Used by Hockett sub PFP *fufu (see my *buR, *buRbuR).

105. It is surprising that Dempwolff reconstructed an ambiguous *(r) here, since he must have been aware of the whole constellation of words containing the root, aside from those used here. Cf. OJ sibū *splash*, Bal. simbuh *spray*, BI sibur *scoop*, sěmbur *spray*, sěmbuh *spittle*; NgD sambur *spray*; Tag. kambog, lambog, kalambog *sound of liquid churning*, tambog *resounding splash*. A variant PIN *muRmuR is also reconstructible. Finally, Blust's *kebu(rR) can be disambiguated.

106. Also cited above, No. 58, PIN *bubun. Perhaps tibubu < *bubun *man-made well* vs. talimbubu < *buRbuR *natural spring*?

107. Sam. qafuti, cited in VLAW sub *saput as an irregularity.

108. While I feel, in an intuitive way, that these various meanings can all be associated, not everyone may agree. Note, therefore, that PAN *la(m)baR can be reconstructed from just the Tag. and OC cognates, which show the clearest semantic relationship.

109. To find this semantic pairing under one etymon could be coincidental; under two, a curiosity; but under three (and indeed more), hardly due to chance or parallel development. Two of the cases are listed here, Nos. 178 and 179; the third is not, since it involves Dempwolff *butuq — but it is also the one case so far where the two meanings co-occur in the same language — to wit, Sad. buto *testicles*, kabuto-buto *tell a lie*. To this English-speaker, the following occur as possible explanations for the pairing of meanings seen here: (a) to *cheat* on one's wife; (b) to *screw* someone, literally or figuratively; (c) to *boast* of one's (mostly fictitious) sexual conquests; etc.

The geographical distribution of *male organs* vs. *lie* is interesting, but whether it is significant is hard to say at this point.

The homonymy of BI butuh 1. *need* 2. *male organs* has always puzzled me. I have found one other language with a similar pairing: Seko, where my informant glossed *penis* with hang kuparallui. I had no opportunity to check with him, but I am sure this means "I don't need it" (Mak. Sad. parallu < Ml./Arab pĕrlu *need*).

Another: I am beginning to find examples for PIN *(zZ)alu() — Jav. *cock's spur*, SSul

male; to mate, Sumba to lie among others.
Note also the range of meanings given sub No.
16 *gau(k) above.

110. In VLAW sub *DayDay where it fits
very poorly with Jav. *dede sun oneself*.

111. Zorc 1971 No. 2245 *letaw attri-
buted to himself, Charles, and the INL Pre-
liminary Studies.

112. In VLAW sub *lubuk.

113. In VLAW sub *teReb.

114. I owe the reference for this form,
originally cited in AWB, to M. Charles, who
also provided assistance with the NSul and
Phil. forms, and pointed out the Fi.

115. In VLAW sub *bulu wash.

116. To. qanu- if cognate establishes
*q, but is vitiated somewhat by its obvious
cognacy with Milke's (1968) *qanusi spit.
SSul and Fi. together still permit PAN
*()añu().

117. Mori -ø- provides evidence against
*-q-; while /-a/ militates againsts *-aR,
which would > Mori /e/.

118. Also cited sub No. 193 *senit.

119. Since Fi. /l/ cannot reflect *(n)d,
I assume here that Fi. sele is borrowed < PN.

120. To. hiki also appears sub Milke
(1968) *singgi move.

121. From the wordlist supplied by James
Fox.

122. From a short wordlist in my posses-
sion. The transcription is suspicious, and
"dakã" may = dakang.

123. Since the IN witnesses are likely
all < Ml/Jav., the reconstruction depends on
this rather shaky Fi. evidence.

124. I have inadvertently neglected to
include PIN *biRing in its proper place.
Forms which could reflect the disjunctive al-
ternant *biRing are: PSS *biring and *tum/
biring; Bar. wii edge; perhaps Bang. biing,
tombiing (see n. 49); OJ tambing, tãmbing,
tẽmbing, tawing side, edge; Jav. bing edge;
Samal bihing tasik shore; Bajau Laut (Sather)
mag/bihing at the side of, next to (?); and
(if metathesized) Manobo bingig aslant. I do
not know whether any of Reid's forms meaning
turn, revolve (if cognate) reflect *R > l.

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