

BARANG-BARANG PHONOLOGY: A PRELIMINARY DESCRIPTION

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An initial phonological description of the Barang-barang language is presented. Barang-barang is spoken by approximately 500 people on the southern tip of the island of Selayar in South Sulawesi, Indonesia. Barang-barang is classified as an Austronesian language of the Western Malayo-Polynesian group, and has been commonly sub-classified as a member of the Muna-Buton group, although the linguistic evidence supporting this classification is far from complete. Other than short word lists, neither Barang-barang nor its nearest linguistic neighbors, Laiyolo and Kalao, have been previously documented. This phonological description, while far from complete, marks a significant step forward in our analysis of Barang-barang, and provides preliminary data which may help lead to a more accurate definition of the position of this language in relation to other languages of Sulawesi.

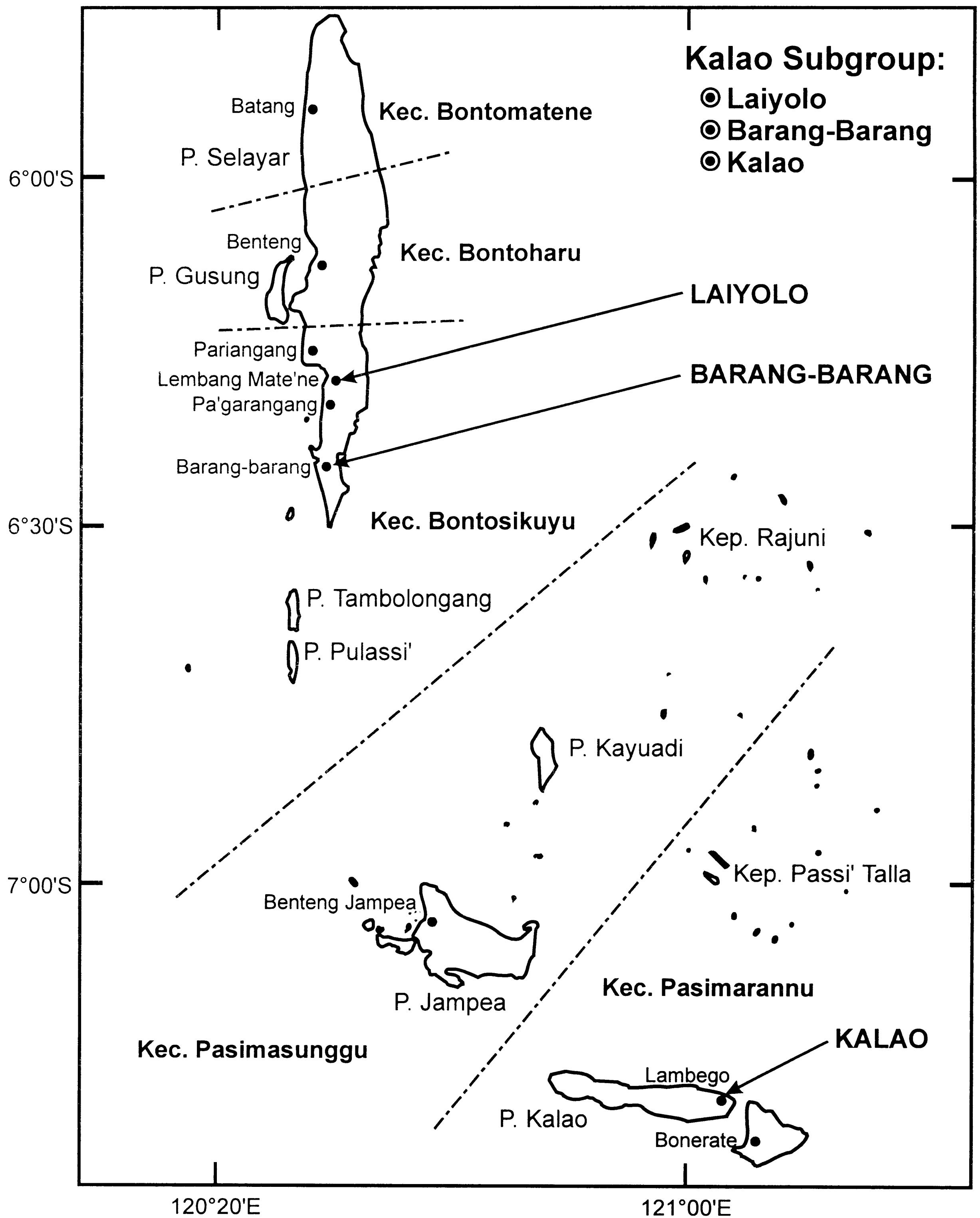
1. INTRODUCTION

The Barang-barang language¹ is spoken in the village of Barang-barang, *Desa Lowa*, on the southern tip of the island of Selayar in South Sulawesi. It is estimated that there are approximately 500 speakers of Barang-barang. Although the endonym for the village district as well as the language is [Loəʔ], both are generally referred to by outsiders as either Lowa, Loa, Loa', or Barang-barang. The name Barang-barang is used throughout this paper in order to be consistent with published references.²

There is virtually nothing in the literature concerning Barang-barang. The only published language data is a brief 200-entry word list (Grimes and Grimes 1987). In 1961, J. Noorduyn together with Sahabu Dg. Maingak were able to assemble some linguistic data on Barang-barang, including a wordlist and several texts, but this material was never published.³ Another Barang-barang wordlist was taken as a part of a comparative survey by Friberg and Laskowkse (1989:13-14). Although their wordlists were not published, the results of their analysis show a close lexical similarity between Barang-barang and Laiyolo⁴, spoken just to the north of Barang-barang on Selayar, and Kalao, spoken in the village of Lambego on the eastern portion of the neighboring island of Kalao (see Map 1). Friberg and Laskowske (1989:13-14) report the lexical similarity for these three languages, referred to as the Kalao subgroup, as follows:

Barang-barang		
86	Laiyolo	
77	76	Kalao

Unfortunately, the linguistic picture is no more complete for Laiyolo and Kalao than it is for Barang-barang. No published language data exists for Kalao, and the only available linguistic information for Laiyolo is a Holle wordlist collected by Koopman 1897 and recently published by Stokhof (1984). Because of the close relationship between Barang-barang and Laiyolo, it is important to note that Laiyolo was first recognized by Van der Stok (1865) in his description of Selayar, and was later mentioned briefly by Adriani and Kruyt (1914:272-5). It was also included on the early language maps of Holle (1894) and Esser (1938). A comparative word list of Barang-barang, Laiyolo, and Kalao is presented in Appendix A.



Map 1. The Kalao subgroup of languages located in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, consisting of Laiyolo, Barang-barang, and Kalao.

Barang-barang and the rest of the Kalao subgroup show a more distant relationship to the languages of Wolio and Kamaru, spoken on the island of Buton in Southeast Sulawesi, and Wotu, spoken in the district of Luwuk in South Sulawesi (Donohue 1994, Noorduynd 1991a:133-5, Noorduynd 1991b:144-5, Friberg and Laskowske 1989:13, Sirk 1988). While these languages have previously been considered a part of the Muna-Buton group of the Western Malayo-Polynesian group, there is some evidence that Wotu, Wolio, and the Kalao subgroup may be part of a language group that is separate from the Munic languages (Van den Berg 1988). It has been proposed that this group be called the Wotu-Wolio group (Donohue 1994). For the present, however, such a statement remains entirely speculative, pending the availability of linguistic data for these sparsely documented languages. It is hoped that an initial description of Barang-barang will lead to a better understanding of the relationships between these languages, and to a more accurate definition of their position in the Western Malayo-Polynesian group.

It should be noted that the village of Barang-barang is located in the midst of an area where Selayarese, the *lingua franca* which dominates the entire island, is still spoken vigorously by all segments of the population. It is therefore no surprise that the vocabulary and structure of Barang-barang have been significantly impacted by prolonged, intimate contact with Selayarese. Of interest for comparison purposes is the analysis of Selayarese phonology by Mithun and Basri (1987).

Regarding the place of origin of the Barang-barang people, according to oral history, it is claimed that they originated from what is now the district of Luwu' in South Sulawesi. In one account (see text in Appendix B), there is a story of a family of one of the nobility of that time that was returning by boat to Luwu' from a place referred to as "China"⁵, where they had attended a wedding. They lost their way in a storm and finally landed on the island of Selayar, where they settled in the village of Barang-barang, and presumably also in the village of Laiyolo. Later, according to oral tradition in Barang-barang, there was a secondary migration from these villages in Selayar to Kalao, resulting in the speakers of what is now the Kalao language in the village of Lambego. Tradition also has it that there was another independent primary migration from Luwu' to Buton, which presumably resulted in the Wolio and Kamaru speakers on that island. Although the details of the historical events are not known, there are clear, commonly recognized traditional relationships linking these language groups together⁶, and pointing toward the Wotu speaking area of Luwu' as the common origin of Barang-barang, Laiyolo, Kalao, Wolio, and Kamaru. Although the linguistic evidence is far from complete, these traditional accounts lend oral support to speculation that these languages may form a linguistically related group such as the putative Wotu-Wolio group mentioned above.

2. VOWELS

Barang-barang has six vowels /i, e, ə, a, o, u/ displayed in the traditional vowel chart:

Table 1. Vowel Inventory

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

The examples in the following table offer evidence for the six-vowel inventory. Minimal pairs are shown where available; otherwise contrasts in similar environments are provided.

Table 2. Vowel Contrasts

i - e	lipə?	sarong	u - o	bafu	pig
	lepə?	leaf plate		bafo	up, top
	sia	to tear		kolo	river
	sea	ant		kulo	wormy
	filo	blind		ulo	snake
a - o	felo	activity	a - ə	olo	toward
	baki	basket		badu?	eel
	bake	kidney		bado?	joke
	boli	to store		lante	to arrive
	bali	enemy		lənte	bamboo floor
a - e	opa	taro	e - ə	katti	liter of measure
	apa	four		kətti	to close
	dala	road		assa	formal
	dalo	basket		əssa	one
	tobo?	to spear		jaŋka	deadline
o - ə	toba?	to repent		jəŋka	comb
	balo	hole		aŋka	number
	belo	adorn		əŋka	to carry
	ane	if		Ara?	Arab
	ana	child		arə?	egoist
	eka	wide		emba	yard
	aka	older sibling		əmba	appear
	daje	baked sago		deŋka	to pound
	daŋa	handspan		dəŋka	to crawl
	dəŋko	to grill, toast		metta	black
	doŋko?	to ride		mətta	unripe
	tombə?	rooster comb		deŋko	toothpaste
	təmbə?	bundle of corn		dəŋko	to grill, toast
	bomboŋ	leaf shoot		sərrə?	sunset
	bombəŋ	wave		sərre?	extreme
	dəkki?	stick		je?je?	eye infection
	dokki?	buttocks		jə?jə?	to guide

3. VOWEL SEQUENCES

There are no occurrences of word-initial vowel clusters. Vowel clusters in word-medial and word-final positions are indicated in the following tables. The number indicates the frequency of occurrence in a 15,800 word data corpus.⁷

Table 3. Word-Medial Vowel Clusters

I/F	a	e	ə	i	o	u
a	-	90	45	262	60	227
e	95	-	75	51	35	2
ə	-	4	-	20	26	6
i	338	9	77	-	54	45
o	81	19	67	32	-	10
u	240	14	70	52	4	-

Table 4. Word-Final Vowel Clusters

I/F	a	e	ə	i	o	u
a	-	19	-	215	13	76
e	608	-	-	49	7	1
ə	-	-	-	-	-	-
i	475	3	-	-	18	23
o	79	9	-	55	-	13
u	156	4	-	71	4	-

From the above tables, the following conclusions can be made with regard to vowel clusters:

1. Geminate vowel clusters do not occur.⁸
2. Word-initial vowel clusters do not occur.
3. The clusters /əV/ and /Və/ do not occur in word-final position.
4. The cluster /əa/ does not occur in any position.⁹

Additionally, sequences of three vowels can occur in Barang-barang. This happens when roots ending in a two-vowel sequence are suffixed by a vowel-initial morpheme, as shown in the following examples, all illustrating verbs with transitive suffixation.

Table 5. Three-Vowel Sequences

duruia	<i>to take away s.t.</i>
gauaka	<i>to make s.t.</i>
beloia	<i>to adorn s.t.</i>
taua	<i>to place s.t.</i>

inroia	<i>to search for s.o.</i>
saiaku	<i>to give to me</i>
agoia	<i>to try to do s.t.</i>
akuia	<i>to confess s.t.</i>

4. CONSONANTS

The Barang-barang consonant inventory consists of a total of twenty phonemes. Of these, however, it should be noted that two phonemes, the semivowels /w/ and /y/, are considered to be recent borrowings. But even though these borrowed phonemes have a limited distribution and occur with low frequency, they must be considered an integral part of the current Barang-barang sound system.

Table 6. Consonant Inventory¹⁰

	Labial	Alveolar ¹¹	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless Stops	p	t	c	k	ʔ
Voiced Stops	b	d	j	g	
Nasals	m	n	ɲ ¹²	ŋ	
Fricatives	f	s			h
Lateral		l			
Flap		r			
Semivowels	w		y		

Table 7. Consonant Contrasts

p - b	pau	word
	bau	new
	pusu?	gone, finished
	busu?	peak
p - f	kape	paralyzed
	kabe	true
	lopa?	carton
	loba?	cruel
p - f	pale	to cut
	fale	tasty
	pitu	seven
	fitu	similar to
t - d	apu	fire
	afu	ashes
	lapa	to fold
	lafa	therefore
t - d	tafu	testicle
	dafu	portion
	tonko?	lid
	donko?	to ride
t - n	pitu	seven
	pidu	bile
	ate	liver
	ade	chin
t - n	tipa	mango
	nipa	k.o. palm
	tafa	leaf
	nafa	light
c - s	atu	hundred
	anu	which, that
	batəŋ	corpse
	banəŋ	thread
c - s	coto	meat dish
	soto	meat soup
	cani?	honey
	sani	to know
j - ɲ	boco?	mosquito net
	boso?	high tide
	coco?	agree
	soso?	diminish
j - ɲ	Jafa	Java
	ɲafa	spirit
	gajia	to hire s.o.
	kaɲia	because of
j - ɲ	kaju	wood
	maɲu?	to drift
	lagaji	to employ
	la?aɲi?	to operate, cut

p - m	pusu	heart
	musu	enemy
	pəllə?	palm, sole
	məllə?	stiff, cramped
b - m	apa	four
	ama	father
	kapi	wing
	kami	we (1pe)
b - m	bala	dangerous
	mala	lake
	bəŋka	canoe
	məŋka	but
c - j	liba	quick
	lima	five
	kábara?	news
	kámara?	room
c - j	cə?ə?	paint
	jə?jə?	to guide
	cala?	latch
	jale?	grasshopper
d - n	boco?	mosquito net
	bojo?	cucumber
	kaci	white cloth
	saji	to serve
d - n	dəŋka	crawl over
	nəŋka	jackfruit
	ade	chin
	ane	when
c - ɲ	tada	sharp
	tana	land
	tudu	to order
	tunu	to bake
c - ɲ	cala?	latch
	ɲafa	spirit
	cə?cərita	to converse
	ɲə?ɲamu?	strawberry
k - g	daciŋ	scales
	kupi?	turmeric
	pəcobekəŋ	mortar
	pəɲoŋka	medicine
k - g	kau	claw
	gau	to do, make
	kolo	river
	golo	ball
k - g	bake	fruit
	bage	to divide
	loka	banana
	loga	spacious

k - ŋ	kapa	cotton
	ŋapa	ocean
	kura	pot
	ŋura	young
	aku	I, me (1s)
ʔ - k	ano	piece (CLASS)
	loka	banana
	loŋa	to see
	faʔa	blue
	faka	root
h - Ø	soʔo	soup
	soko	hoe
	meʔe	to bleat
	meke	to cough
	faʔi	spoiled
n - ŋ	baki	basket
	tahu	tofu
	tau	to put
	Tuhan	Lord
	tuan	sir, mister
ŋ - ŋ	hammaʔ	exclamatory. ¹³
	ammaʔ	mother
	hakkaʔ	alliance
	ákkalaʔ	to deceive
	nafa	light
ŋ - ŋ	ŋafa	spirit
	nipa	k.o. palm
	nia	to exist
	tanuŋ	to weave
	maŋuʔ	to drift
r - l	mənia	parent-in-law
	dənia	to have, own
	nia	to exist
	ŋisi	tooth
	ŋəʔŋamuʔ	Strawberry
r - l	ŋəʔŋərəʔ	to shout
	dənia	to have, own
	dənia	to be present
	leŋoŋ	Bald
	leŋoŋ	long
r - l	roka	to tear down
	loka	banana
	rui	Thorn
	lui	k.o. palm
	belo	to adorn
r - l	bero	to fan
	bara	shed, pen
	bala	dangerous

g - ŋ	gaji	wage
	ŋaji	to read
	guru	teacher
	ŋuru	news
	dane	baked sago
ʔ - h	bage	to divide
	pigu	corner
	liŋu	confused
	daʔang	without
	pahang	to understand
ʔ - Ø	hihi	to neigh
	siʔi	this
	tuʔa	old
	Tuhan	Lord
	seheʔ	freind
n - ŋ	ceʔeʔ	paint
	kai	to hook
	kaiʔ	to win
	bitiʔ	news
	biti	calf of leg
n - m	toboʔ	to stab
	tobo	palm blossom
	faʔi	spoiled
	mai	here
	nasu	to boil
r - d	ŋalu	wind
	nuriŋ	parrot
	ŋuru	news
	anu	that, which
	aŋu	piece (CLASS)
n - m	tana	land
	taŋa	middle
	nai	who
	mai	here
	neʔe	don't
r - d	meʔe	to bleat
	ánaraʔ	polite
	ámaraʔ	to greet guests
	ana	child
	ama	father
r - d	rua	two
	dua	also
	raŋa	friend
	daŋa	hand span
	tara	way, manner
r - d	tada	sharp
	turuŋ	to descend
	tuduŋ	to touch

5. SEMIVOWELS

The phonemes /w/ and /y/ occur with relatively low frequency, and are limited to syllable-initial position, often occurring in recognized borrowings. Furthermore, it is extremely rare for semivowels to be found in word-initial position.

Several examples of semivowel occurrences are listed in the following table.

Table 8. Some Semivowel Occurrences

/w/	walli	<i>monk</i>
	wórtele?	<i>carrot</i>
	cawa?	<i>loin cloth</i>
	hawa	<i>air</i>
	gəŋiwaŋ	<i>ear clip</i>
	sawi	<i>mustard greens</i>
	awasia	<i>to watch, guard</i>
	máwara?	<i>rose</i>
	jowa?	<i>troops, workers</i>

/y/	ya	<i>yes</i>
	yuraŋ	<i>amount owed</i>
	ra?ya?	<i>society</i>
	saya?	<i>skirt</i>
	aya?	<i>verse</i>
	bayaŋ	<i>amaranth</i>
	kiyau	<i>dog</i>
	diyun	<i>dugong</i>

In spite of the fact that many occurrences of /w/ and /y/ are either in borrowed words or in ambiguous sequences, it should be recognized that unambiguous semivowel occurrences do exist in Barang-barang. Consider for example **hawa** “air”. Because of the penultimate stress pattern, and the absence of clustered vowels within one syllable, **hawa** could not be analyzed as */haua/ since that would result in *[ha.ú.a] rather than the observed [há.wa]. Likewise, **sawi** “mustard greens” could not be analyzed as */sau/ since that would result in *[sa.ú.i] rather than the observed [sá.wa]. Similar arguments could be made for the phoneme /y/, with words like **saya?** “skirt” and **bayaŋ** “amaranth”.

It is also instructive to consider the final vowel in **kiyau** “dog”. One may be tempted to analyze this word as /kiyaw/ with a final semivowel instead of a vowel. But once again, the penultimate stress pattern would then predict [kí.yaw] rather than the observed [ki.yáw]. It is significant that stress is on the final /a/, since that indicates the /a/ is the penultimate syllable, and that the underlying representation is best denoted as /kiyau/.¹⁴

The analysis of final /u/ rather than /w/ in **kiyau** “dog” is also supported by a study of CVV words, which are best analyzed with word-final vowels rather than word-final semivowels. Consider the CVV examples in the following table:

Table 9. Final Vowels in CVV Words

kai	<i>pick</i>
kae	<i>swim</i>

Sau	<i>steam</i>
sao	<i>descend</i>

lai	<i>run</i>
lae	<i>joint</i>

Ləlli	<i>mushy</i>
ləllio	<i>to aim</i>

koi	<i>bed</i>
koe	<i>discouraged</i>

beu ¹⁵	<i>k.o. bird</i>
beo	<i>k.o. bird</i>

rui	<i>k.o. palm</i>
bue	<i>bean</i>

kia	<i>why</i>
kea	<i>swing hips</i>

tau	<i>to place</i>
tao	<i>fashionable</i>

nroa	<i>to not exist</i>
nrua	<i>to be sick</i>

Since the final vowels in CVV words are not limited to /i/ and /u/, there is no reason to introduce a more complex analysis involving the use of word-final semivowels for only one subset of CVV words. A two-syllable analysis (CV.V) with word-final vowels more elegantly captures the general pattern. This is also consistent with Barang-barang word patterns, which, except for a few particles and prepositions¹⁶, excludes monosyllabic words.

6. CONSONANT SEQUENCES

There are no occurrences of word-final consonant clusters. The tables below indicate the frequency of word-initial and word-medial consonant clusters occurring in the same 15,800-entry wordlist used to quantify vowel sequences. Note that there are no clusters with /h/, /w/, or /y/, so these phonemes have not been included in the tables.

Table 10. Consonant Clusters in Word-Initial Position

I/F	b	c	d	f	g	j	k	l	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	p	r	s	t	?
b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
d	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
f	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
g	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
j	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
k	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
l	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
m	150	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	40	-	-	-	73	5	6	9	-
n	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	-	11	-
ɲ	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ŋ	-	-	-	-	34	-	92	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
r	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
t	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 11. Consonant Clusters in Word-Medial Position

I/F	b	c	d	f	g	j	k	l	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	p	r	s	t	?
b	82	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
c	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
d	-	-	53	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
f	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
g	-	-	-	-	90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
j	-	-	-	-	-	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
k	-	-	-	-	-	-	439	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
l	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	564	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
m	685	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	143	-	-	-	338	-	-	-	-
n	-	-	123	1	-	-	-	1	-	240	-	-	-	516	99	430	-
ɲ	-	3	-	-	-	132	-	-	-	-	87	-	-	-	-	-	-
ŋ	-	-	9	5	225	-	710	-	-	-	-	378	12	-	32	7	-
p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	291	-	-	-	-
r	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	244	-	-	-
s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	435	-	-
t	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	425	-
?	270	2	184	13	112	125	258	177	156	82	12	519	64	143	53	55	-

Several comments are in order with regard to previous two tables. First, clusters from foreign words have not been included in the consonant cluster tables, since these borrowings are clear exceptions to normal consonant cluster patterns in Barang-barang. Typical examples of words which were eliminated from the data corpus include proper nouns such as **Afrika**, **Israil**, **Bakri**, **April**, **Agustusu?**, **Septembərə?**, **Oktobərə?**, and borrowed words such as **nuklir** “nuclear”, **atlit** “athlete”,

perseʔen “percent”, **persiden** “president”, **guburnuruʔ** “governor”, **bioskoʔ** “theater (BI: bioskop)”, **ilmu** “science (BI: ilmu)”, **səkəripsi** “thesis (BI: scripsi)”, **tripleks** “plywood (BI: tripleks)”, **koreksi** “to correct (BI: koreksi)”, **arloji** “wristwatch (BI: arloji)”, **kismisiʔ** “raisin (BI: kismis)”, and **merdeka** “freedom (BI: merdeka)”.

Second, word-initial NC combinations are limited to homorganic nasal-consonant clusters (those sharing a common point of articulation), and to consonant clusters beginning with /m/. In mC clusters without a common point of articulation, the /m/ functions as a shortened form of verbal prefixes **mə-** or **ma-**.

Third, the combination /ll/ occurs when the initial /l/ functions as a shortened form of the verbal prefix **la-** and is followed by a stem beginning with /l/.

Lastly, there are infrequent occurrences of non-homorganic, word-medial, NC clusters. In the case of ŋC clusters, this is usually attributed to borrowing (e.g., /**boŋtisiʔ**/ “bean”, /**laŋsaʔ**/ “k.o. fruit”), compounding (e.g., /**kərəŋ-tuŋo**/ “heel”, /**piŋ-sio**/ “the ninth time”), or suffixation (e.g., /**daʔŋ-po**/ “not yet”, /**inroŋ-da**/ “mother only”). The single occurrences of /nf/ and /nl/ are found in multi-morphemic number words in which the nasal has not been assimilated to the point of articulation of the following consonant (e.g., /**tapin-felu**/ “eight times”, /**tapin-lima**/ “five times”).

Given the exceptions discussed above, the following generalizations regarding consonant clusters can be made:

1. Word-final consonant clusters do not occur.
2. Word-initial consonant clusters may consist of:
 - a. NC, only homorganic nasal-consonant clusters
 - b. mC, a consonant cluster with /m/ as the initial consonant
 - c. ll, the cluster /ll/
3. Word medially, consonant clusters may consist of
 - a. CC, only geminate consonants clusters
 - b. NC, including some non-homorganic NC clusters¹⁷
 - c. ʔC, glottal stop followed by a consonant

It is also informative to consider which CC clusters occur as an integral part of the syllable structure versus those which occur only across syllable boundaries and those which occur only across morpheme boundaries. This distribution pattern is summarized as follows:

1. CC clusters integral to the syllable structure
 - a. NC homorganic clusters
2. CC clusters occurring across syllable boundaries
 - a. NC homorganic clusters
 - b. CC geminate consonant clusters
 - c. ʔC glottal stop followed by consonant
3. CC clusters occurring across morpheme boundaries
 - a. NC homorganic clusters
 - b. CC geminate consonant clusters
 - c. ʔC glottal stop followed by consonant
 - d. NC non-homorganic clusters resulting from affixation or compounding
 - e. word-initial mC clusters where /m/ is reduced morpheme
 - f. word-initial ll clusters where initial /l/ is reduced morpheme

7. NASAL-CONSONANT CLUSTERS

Barang-barang has a variety of homorganic NC combinations which carry a significant functional load in the language. These NC combinations could be treated as prenasalized consonants, if it were clear that they functioned as a single phonemic unit, or they could be treated as sequence of separate phonemic units, grouped together as an NC cluster. Here the latter analysis is chosen, as discussed below.

The inventory of these homorganic NC clusters is shown in the following table.

Table 12. Homorganic NC Clusters

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Voiceless Stops	mp	nt		ŋk
Voiced Stops	mb	nd	ɲj	ŋg
Fricative		ns		
Flap		nr		

Contrastive examples of consonants with their NC cluster counterparts are presented in the table below.

Table 13. Homorganic NC Cluster Contrasts¹⁸

mp - p	mpane	to be hot
	pane	hot
	lumpə?	to jump
	lupu?	tired
mb - b	mbafo	to be short
	bafo	top
	limbo	neighbor
	libo	engulfed
nt - t	ntə?buŋ	to be falling
	tə?buŋ	fall
	binto?	cataract
	bito?	k.o. plant
nd - d	ndulu	to share
	dulu	partner
	andele?	capital
	adele?	fair
ns - s	-nsofu	thousand
	sofo?	to move
	fenso	nervous
	reso	effort
nr - r	nrua	to be sick
	rua	two
	tanra	sign
	tara	manner
ŋk - k	ŋkafa	to come
	kafa	from, to
	boŋko?	rotten
	boko?	to choke
ŋg - g	ŋgolo?	to compete
	golo?	dagger
	ŋgəssiŋ	to be strong
	gəssiŋ	strong
mp - mb	sumpu	ear of corn
	sumbu	candle wick
	tumpəŋ	frog
	tumbəŋ	landslide

mp - m	mposo	to gasp
	moso	poison
	lumpə?	to jump
	lumu?	moss
mb - m	mbari	to be many
	bari	many
	tambo	wages
	tamo	heavy
nt - n	ntəggi	to be rotten
	təggi	rotten
	buntu	protrude
	bunu	to kill
nd - n	ndulu	to share
	nunua	sluggish
	dundu	to bow
	tunu	bake
ns - n	-nsofu	thousand
	nolo	zero
	monsoŋ	green
	mono?	to stop
nr - n	kanrea	to eat s.t.
	kanea	to touch s.t.
	tanra	sign
	tana	land
ŋk - ŋ	ŋkapa	to be thick
	ŋapa	ocean
	məŋka	but
	məŋa	and
ŋg - ŋ	ŋgolu	to roll
	ŋojo	still
	sanga	boundary
	saŋa	name
ŋk - ŋg	eŋkəŋ	road
	əŋgəŋ	news
	enggu	proud
	əngku	to haul

nt - nd	góntolo?	<i>manure</i>
	góndolo?	<i>bald</i>
	móntoro?	<i>erection</i>
	dóndolo?	<i>serious</i>
ɲj - j	ɲjoro	<i>coconut</i>
	joro?	<i>slanted</i>
	tajaɲ	<i>wait</i>
	tanja?	<i>face</i>

nd - nr	kondo	<i>heron</i>
	konro	<i>neck</i>
nt - ns	məntu?	<i>refuse</i>
	mənsu	<i>lip</i>
ɲj - n - ɲ	ɲjoro	<i>coconut</i>
	nolo	<i>zero</i>
	ɲolo?	<i>while</i>
	kunja	<i>basket</i>
	runa	<i>soft</i>
	ɲunu	<i>smell</i>

Given the two choices for analysis of NC clusters, prenasalized consonants vs. sequence of two phonemes, it seems most economical to choose the latter. The analysis of NC clusters as a sequence of two phonemes does require the addition of two new syllable types, NCV and NCVC, which would not be required if the NC clusters were treated as prenasalized consonant. However the addition of two syllable types is more economical than the addition of the many new consonant phonemes that would be required by the prenasalized consonant analysis. Furthermore, the prenasalized consonant analysis would require unique distribution rules for the prenasalized consonants, since their distribution is more restricted than that of other consonants.

8. GEMINATE CONSONANT CLUSTERS

Geminate consonant clusters manifest themselves as lengthened consonants in Barang-barang. As with the sequential analysis of NC consonants, it seems most efficient analyze these lengthened consonants as the phonetic manifestation of geminate consonant clusters rather than as single, lengthened phonemic units, since the latter would require the addition of at least 16 phonemes. Also, the lengthened phoneme analysis would require additional distribution rules since unlike other consonants, the lengthened consonants do not occur word initially. Another argument in favor of the sequential CC analysis is that when such sequences occur as the result of affixation, the predicted phonetic lengthening of the consonant is observed.

The following geminate consonant clusters have been observed:

Table 14. Geminate Consonant Clusters

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Voiceless Stops	pp	tt	cc	kk
Voiced Stops	bb	dd	jj	gg
Nasals	mm	nn	ɲɲ	ŋŋ
Fricatives	ff	ss		
Lateral		ll		
Flap		rr		

Regarding the preceding table, it should be noted that the geminate alveolar flap /rr/ is realized phonetically as a trill.

The following table presents examples of contrasts with geminate consonant clusters and similar segments or clusters. Geminate consonant clusters are generally observed only in word-medial position. There are however a few instances of word-initial geminate consonant clusters, but these only occur across morpheme boundaries where the word-initial C is actually a reduced morpheme. Examples are **mmai** “to come here”, which is composed of the reduced morpheme (verbal prefix) m- with the root **mai**, and **lleɲka** “to go”, composed of the reduced morpheme (verbal prefix) l- and the root **leɲka**.

Table 15. Contrasts with Geminate Consonant Clusters

pp - p	tappa	face
	tapa	point, cape
bb - b	laruppai	to pick up
	larupai	to prove
mm - m	kúbburu?	grave
	búbusu?	add, take more
ff - f ²⁰	nabbi	prophet
	labi	leftovers
tt - t	ámmala?	hold breath
	ámala?	deeds
dd - d	kumme	soft
	kami	we (1pe)
nn - n	fəffelo	to shake
	kəfele	basket
ll - l	fəffala	sports ring
	kəfalu	mat
rr - r	katti	liter
	kati	to pick
jj - j	dəti?	second
	dətti?	to tap
ᵑᵑ - ᵑ	addo	oh!
	oda	ladder
kk - k	kəddi?	small
	kudi?	just
gg - g	məsinna	desire
	məsina	machine
pp - p	tannaᵑ	to place
	tanuᵑ	to weave
bb - b	ballo	beautiful
	balo	hole
mm - m	jalla	lonely
	jala	fishnet
ff - f ²⁰	larra	famous
	lara	inside
tt - t	sərrə?	sunset
	serə?	sting
nn - n	ájjala?	time of death
	ájərə?	teach
ll - l	hajja?	desire
	bajaᵑ	to penetrate
rr - r	karᵑᵑ	eyebrows
	kupi?	turmeric
jj - j	ləᵑᵑ	clean
	leᵑᵑ	bald
kk - k	bakke	corpse
	bake	fruit
gg - g	bakka?	grandmother
	baka?	talent
pp - p	ləgga	already
	laga	wrestle
bb - b	mogge	big
	toge	bean sprout

pp - ʔp ¹⁹	pəʔpodo?	shy person
	púppusu?	stub
bb - ʔb	puppua	ancestor
	pəʔpui?	conch shell
mm - ʔm	subbu	dawn
	saʔba	musical horn
ff - ʔf ²¹	bəbbara	outfit, uniform
	bəʔbafa	magic
tt - ʔt ²²	tumme?	lead, tin
	loʔme?	weak
nn - ʔn	úmmuru?	age
	múʔmusu?	to suck
ll - ʔl	fəffala	sports ring
	fəʔfalu?	to wander
rr - ʔr	fəffərri	to blow
	fəʔfiddu?	tiny
jj - ʔj	təttoro	to sit
	təʔturu?	agreeable
kk - ʔk	təttasi	bag
	təʔtisi?	to mend
gg - ʔg	kəddi?	small
	kəʔdi?	if, when
pp - p	kuddi	let it be!
	koʔdi	ugly
bb - b	tannaᵑ	to place
	toʔneᵑ	melancholy
mm - m	jəᵑna	step
	teʔne	happy
ff - f ²⁰	kolli?	to tease
	toʔlo?	to spill
tt - t	ləlleʔe	urinate
	lóʔlori	to flow
nn - n	kərru?	to scrape
	kuʔru?	disheveled
ll - l	sərre?	extreme
	seʔre?	one
rr - r	sujju?	to kneel
	fuʔja	drunk
jj - j	hajji	pilgrim
	fəʔje	saliva
kk - k	marəᵑᵑu?	slippery
	kuʔᵑu?	shriveled
gg - g	kəmiᵑᵑə?	greasy
	kəriʔᵑə?	wrinkled
pp - p	kəkkoto	boiling
	kəʔkoto?	mackerel
bb - b	kəkkaro	by one's self
	kəʔkare?	cassava
mm - m	ləgga	already
	baʔga	stupid
ff - f ²⁰	bəggo?	k.o. fruit
	geloʔgo?	to guzzle

ŋŋ - ŋ	taŋŋa	<i>in process</i>
	taŋa	<i>middle</i>
	ləŋŋa	<i>sesame</i>
	loŋa	<i>to see</i>
ss - s	nassu	<i>to boil</i>
	nasu	<i>anger</i>
	assa	<i>formal</i>
	asa	<i>to rub</i>
ss - ?s	passa	<i>to force</i>
	ra?sa	<i>mercury</i>

ŋŋ - ?ŋ ²³	ŋəŋŋoəŋ	<i>wasp</i>
	ŋə?ŋərə?	<i>to shout</i>
	daŋŋa?	<i>stupid</i>
	ha?ŋa	<i>rights</i>
cc - c	pəkocci?	<i>pickpocket</i>
	səkoci	<i>canoe</i>
	macca	<i>capable</i>
	macaŋ	<i>tiger</i>
cc - ?c	məcə?cərita	<i>to converse</i>
	məcəccəŋ	<i>corrupt</i>

9. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

In Barang-barang, the basic syllable types are: V, CV, VC, CVC. In addition, the existence of word-initial, homorganic NC clusters add the syllable types NCV and NCVC. This does not imply that the other consonants, denoted by C, cannot be nasal. In fact, the distribution of syllable-final consonants is limited to include only nasals or glottal, unless the syllable-final consonant is the first consonant of a geminate consonant cluster. Examples of Barang-barang syllable types are shown in the following table.

Table 16. Syllable Types

V	a.de	<i>chin</i>
	e.ka	<i>expansive</i>
	ke.a	<i>to swing hips</i>
	ka.e	<i>to swim</i>
VC	ge.a?	<i>to bother</i>
	ja.i?	<i>to sew</i>
	ep.paŋ	<i>bait</i>
	əs.səŋ	<i>gill</i>
	ba.ge.əŋ	<i>portion</i>
	du.ri.aŋ	<i>durian</i>
NCV	nri.u	<i>to bathe</i>
	njo.ro	<i>coconut</i>
	mpa.ne	<i>to be hot</i>
	ŋka.lə?	<i>to be tired</i>

CV	ba.fa	<i>to bring</i>
	to.fu	<i>sugarcane</i>
	po.di	<i>cuscut</i>
	re.so	<i>effort</i>
CVC	a.so?	<i>to force</i>
	ba.du?	<i>eel</i>
	ba.fəŋ	<i>onion</i>
	tap.pa	<i>face</i>
	ba?ga	<i>stupid</i>
	tə?.buŋ	<i>to fall</i>
NCVC	ntəg.gi	<i>to be rotten</i>
	mpas.sa	<i>to break</i>
	mbo?.bo?	<i>to crack</i>
	ŋko?.di	<i>bad</i>

Note that only word-initial examples of NCV and NCVC syllable types are shown. That is because word medially there is always ambiguity as to how to correctly divide syllables. For example, it is uncertain whether **mpanra?** “to damage” should be analyzed as /**mpa.nra?**/ or as /**mpan.ra?**/. Also, since there are no three-unit consonant clusters (CCC) in Barang-barang, the combinations NCC and CNC never occur. As a result, there are no unambiguous occurrences of syllable types NCV and NCVC other than those in word-initial position. This is discussed further in the following section.

10. WORD STRUCTURE

Barang-barang does not have monosyllabic words; hence Barang-barang word structure consists of two or more syllables with syllable structure as defined in the previous section.

All consonants except /ʔ/, /w/, and /y/ may occupy the word-initial position.²⁴ In addition, NC clusters can occur word initially. NC clusters may occur word medially also, but in those cases it is always ambiguous as to whether the nasal is the final C of the previous syllable or the initial nasal in the following syllable of type NCV or NCVC. This analysis assumes the former, since it seems somewhat more economical. Admittedly, the choice of this analysis is somewhat subjective. But the alternative would mean the possibility of word types such as CVC-NCV and CVC-NCVC, and since there are no occurrences of CNC clusters, such an analysis would require rules for blocking this construction. It seems simpler to just limit the distribution of NCV and NCVC syllables to the word-initial position. Further analysis, including the study of native speaker reaction to various syllable divisions, will be required before conclusive statements can be made. Assuming the current analysis, the syllable types NCV and NCVC are not shown to occur word medially or word finally. An additional word-level restriction is that the word-final consonant position may only be filled by /ʔ/ and /ŋ/.²⁵ This can be summarized as follows:

1. Words consist of two or more syllables
2. Word-initial Syllable conditions:
 - a. any syllable type (V, CV, VC, CVC, NCV, or NCVC)
 - b. initial C is not /ʔ/, /w/, or /y/
 - c. final C is /ʔ/, a nasal, or any C beginning a geminate cluster
3. Word-medial Syllable conditions:
 - a. only syllables V, CV, VC, or CVC
 - b. final C is only /ʔ/, a nasal, or any C beginning a geminate cluster
4. Word-final Syllable conditions:
 - a. only syllables V, CV, VC, or CVC
 - b. final C is only /ʔ/ or /ŋ/

11. WORD STRESS

Word stress is normally penultimate. This applies to roots as well as derived forms. Other than for a particular group of words with an epenthetic final /-Vʔ/, sometimes referred to as a paragogic syllable (Sneddon 1993), described later in this section, there are very few exceptions to the Barang-barang penultimate stress rule. The normal, penultimate stress pattern is shown in following examples:

Table 17. Penultimate Stress – Root Forms

Root forms:	áde	<i>chin</i>
	káe	<i>to swim</i>
	báfa	<i>to bring</i>
	éssəŋ	<i>gill</i>
	táppa	<i>face</i>
	ŋjóro	<i>coconut</i>
	duríaŋ	<i>durian</i>

Table 18. Penultimate Stress – Suffixed Forms

Suffixed forms:	gáfe	<i>make, work</i>
	gaféna	<i>shape</i>
	gaféəŋ	<i>task</i>
	gafeəŋa	<i>his work</i>
	táfu	<i>testicle</i>
	tafúi	<i>castrate</i>
	lakánre	<i>to eat</i>
	lakanréa	<i>to eat s.t.</i>
	lagáu	<i>to do</i>
	lagauáka	<i>to do s.t.</i>
	lagauakéa	<i>to do s.t. to s.o.</i>

The major exception to the penultimate stress rule is with a group of words, often recognized as borrowings in which the original word had a final consonant. Apparently when these words were assimilated into Barang-barang, they retained the stress on the same syllable that was originally stressed, and added an paragodic final syllable /-Vʔ/ with an echo vowel. The echo vowel always copies the final vowel of the root. The addition of a paragodic syllable is similar to that observed in many languages of Sulawesi. For example, Sneddon (1993:17) states, “*Martens (pers. comm.) points out that in recent borrowings into Uma and some other KP [Kaili-Pamona] languages, a paragodic vowel, usually an echo vowel, is frequently added to final consonants... In Uma and Ledo, and presumably in other KP languages, this paragodic syllable on recent borrowings is counted for stress placement, with stress falling on the syllable before it.*” The process in Barang-barang is similar that of Kaili-Pamona languages, except that in Barang-barang stress remains on the original stressed syllable, resulting on this group of words having antepenultimate stress. Because the added syllable is not counted for purposes of stress, it is more specifically denoted as an epenthetic syllable. The process of adding a epenthetic syllable serves to preserve Barang-barang word structure, which only allows /ŋ/ and /ʔ/ as word-final consonants. Examples are as follows:

Table 19. Stress With Epenthetic -Vʔ

Barang-barang	Indonesian	English
áddasaʔ	adas	<i>fennel</i>
ájjalaʔ	ajal	<i>time of death</i>
áppeleʔ	apel	<i>apple</i>
áŋgoroʔ	angur	<i>grape</i>
áŋgəreʔ	anggrek	<i>orchid</i>
bóŋtisiʔ	boncis	<i>green bean</i>
bəʔdiliʔ	bedil	<i>gun</i>
dábbusuʔ	dabus	<i>scrub one's body</i>
dóddoloʔ	dodol	<i>taffy</i>
dóttoroʔ	dokter	<i>doctor</i>
jəʔjələʔ	jejal	<i>press, cram</i>
kántoroʔ	kantor	<i>office</i>
kúbburuʔ	kubur	<i>grave</i>

Throughout this paper (except for the tables in this section), stress is marked only in words that exhibit a stress pattern other than the normal penultimate stress pattern. That is, words with penultimate stress are not marked.

12. GLOTTAL INSERTION

Since geminate vowel clusters are not allowed, Barang-barang employs a glottal-insertion process to separate geminate vowel clusters which occur when morphemes are combined. This process occurs within morphemes as well as across morpheme boundaries.

Within single morphemes, the process is evidenced by the presence of words such as /baʔa/ “head”, /leʔe/ “urine”, /siʔi/ “this”, /koʔo/ “you”, and /puʔu/ “tree”, along with the fact that no geminate VV clusters occur.

Across morpheme boundaries, the process can be seen from the following examples, which show glottal insertion between like vowels but not between unlike vowels.

Table 20. Glottal Insertion

VʔV (same V)	VV (different V)
laʔali la-ali 3sS-buy <i>he buys</i>	mu<u>ʔ</u>ali mu-ali 2sS-buy <i>you buy</i>
piʔinraŋ pi-inraŋ 1peS-borrow <i>we borrow</i>	la<u>ʔ</u>inraŋ la-inraŋ 3sS-borrow <i>he borrows</i>
kuʔuʔraŋia ku-uʔraŋi-ea 1sS-remember-3sO <i>I remember s.t.</i>	kup<u>ʔ</u>uʔraŋikea ku-pi-uʔraŋi-ka-ea 1sS-CA-remember-BEN-3sO <i>I remind him</i>
kupəlongaʔaka ku-pə-longa-aka 1sS-VR-see-TR <i>I showed s.t.</i>	la<u>ʔ</u>sajaka la-sai-aka 3sS-give-TR <i>he gives s.t.</i>

In addition to glottal insertion, Barang-barang also employs morphophonemic alternations to prevent the clustering of like vowels across morpheme boundaries. A variety of morphophonemic processes and alternations have been identified, but since they are morpheme specific, their characteristics and distributions are more appropriately described in a study of morphology. The glottal-insertion process is included in the present discussion since it operates at a phonological level.

13. RESIDUE

The only vowel cluster that never occurs is the sequence /əa/. This irregular vowel-cluster distribution pattern indicates a unique relationship between the vowels /ə/ and /a/. It also suggests that /ə/ perhaps originated historically as a shift from /a/ in certain environments. This could explain the absence of the cluster /əa/, since it would have originated from geminate vowel clusters which are never observed.

Related to this are morphophonemic data which show some predictable variation between /a/ and /ə/. This is seen with the nominalization suffix -əŋ, alternating with -aŋ in the environment following /a/. A similar pattern is also observed with the prefixes pə-, mə-, and kə-, alternating with pa-, ma-, and ka-, respectively, in the environment preceding /a/. Note that the application of the

glottal insertion rule separates the resultant /aa/ sequences occurring with the -aŋ, pa-, ma, and ka-forms. Representative examples of the -əŋ/-aŋ and pə-/pa- alternation are shown in the following tables.

Table 21. Nominalizer -əŋ → -aŋ after /a/

-əŋ	dolaŋ-əŋ ocean-NOM	→	dolaŋəŋ <i>ocean</i>
	gafe-əŋ work-NOM	→	gafeəŋ <i>effort</i>
-aŋ	bafa-əŋ carry-NOM	→	bafaʔaŋ <i>companion</i>
	kəfasa-əŋ power-NOM	→	kəfasaʔaŋ <i>power</i>

Table 22. Verbalizer pə- → pa- before /a/

pə-	pə-laka VR-fly	→	pəlaka <i>to fly</i>
	pə-opo-opo VR-hide-hide	→	pəʔopo-opo <i>to play hide and seek</i>
pa-	pə-ati-ati VR-look	→	paʔati-ati <i>to look for</i>
	pə-agama VR-religion	→	paʔagama <i>to be religious</i>

In addition to the predictable alternation described above, there is also some unpredictable /a/ - /ə/ alternation, as shown in the following examples. In some (but not all) cases, /ə/ is realized as /a/ when it receives word-level penultimate stress.

Table 23. Unpredictable /ə/-/a/ alternation

Root	/ə/ form	/a/ form
tokəʔ to plant	tojəkia to plant s.t.	tojakəŋ <i>sprout (noun)</i>
kaləʔ tired	kuŋkaləʔ I am tired	ŋkalakiʔi <i>they are tired</i>
tanrəŋ stand	latanrəŋ to build	tanraŋəŋ <i>building (noun)</i>

Such alternations are not common, and are perhaps best considered to be the lexicalized irregular forms. However, more study is warranted, especially in view of the irregular distribution of vowel clusters and the predictable morphophonemic /ə/ - /a/ alternation.

Another observation that warrants further investigation is the occasional and unpredictable appearance of “hidden” root-final consonants when a suffix is added. Similar observations have been made in other languages of Sulawesi (Sneddon 1993:16-17): “In some KP [Kaili-Pamona] languages, perhaps in all, various phonologically unpredictable consonants are inserted between roots and vowel-initial suffixes. These may be reflexes of previous final consonants. However, very frequently they do not correspond with the original lost consonants.” In some cases the final consonant is not completely hidden, but appears to have been reduced to /ʔ/. Examples of these unpredictable consonants are seen in the following forms:

Table 24. Unpredictable Consonants

Ø → t	pə-liu-i VR-pass-LOC	→	pəliuti <i>to pass by s.t.</i>
	binu-i to pull-LOC	→	binuti <i>to pull out s.t.</i>
Ø → s	kə-baʔani-əŋ brave-NOM	→	kəbaʔanisəŋ <i>bravery</i>
	ati-əŋ look-NOM	→	atisəŋ <i>s.t. searched for</i>
ʔ → k	dongkoʔ-əŋ ride-NOM	→	dongkokəŋ <i>transportation</i>
	ŋkaləʔ-iʔi tired-PL	→	ŋkalakiʔi <i>they are tired</i>
	jaiʔ-əŋ to sew-NOM	→	jaikəŋ <i>s.t. sewn</i>

These unpredictable consonants are sometimes referred to as “thematic” consonants, and may reflect the retention of older final consonants (Sneddon 1993).

14. SUMMARY

A preliminary description of the phonology of Barang-barang has been presented. Included is a comparative survey wordlist (Appendix A) of the Kalao subgroup of languages, including Barang-barang, Laiyolo, and Kalao. An interlinearized text (Appendix B) is also provided in order to give a glimpse into the grammatical structure of the language.

Barang-barang has a six-vowel inventory /a, e, i, o, u, ə/. While the phoneme /ə/ is somewhat more limited in its distribution than the other vowels (in that /əV/ and /Və/ sequences do not occur in word-final position), the phoneme /ə/ does occur in both stressed and unstressed positions and in a variety of unpredictable environments. Its existence as a distinct phoneme is clear, in spite of the fact that a six-vowel system is somewhat unusual for language in this region of Indonesia.

The language has a total of 18 consonants /p, b, m, t, d, n, c, j, ɲ, k, g, ŋ, f, s, l, r, h, ʔ/, plus the two semivowels /y, w/ which occur infrequently and with limited distribution. Consonant clusters are limited to nasal-consonant clusters, geminate consonant clusters, and glottal-consonant clusters.

Syllable types include V, CV, VC, CVC, NCV, and NCVC. Words consist of two or more syllables, with /ʔ/ or /ŋ/ as the only allowed word-final consonants. Word stress is predictable, occurring on the penultimate syllable (regardless of affixation), or on the antepenultimate syllable in the case of what appears to be recently assimilated words ending in the epenthetic sequence /-Vʔ/, where the vowel is an echo vowel copied from the final syllable of the root.

The data presented here, while only offering a initial look at the language of Barang-barang, provide an important first step in the documentation of the Kalao subgroup of languages. It is hoped that further study will enable these languages to be more completely documented, in order that their linguistic relationship with neighboring Sulawesi languages may be more accurately defined.

APPENDIX A: WORDLIST

A comparative wordlist representative of the Kalao language subgroup is shown below. While the Barang-barang and Laiyolo data are fairly reliable, due to the authors' limited access to Kalao speakers, the Kalao data has not gone through the same degree of testing. It is included, however, since no published wordlist of the Kalao language exists. The numbering in the list below follows the numbering of the standard Sulawesi Word Book survey list (Friberg and Laskowske 1989).

#	Barang-barang	Laiyolo	Kalao	Indonesian	English
001a	batəŋ karo	karo	<i>baja</i>	badan	body
001b	karo	tubu	<i>tubu</i>	tubuh	body
002	baʔa	baʔa	<i>baʔa</i>	kepala	head
003	kufa otoʔ	kauʔfana baʔa	<i>buku otoʔ</i>	tengkorak	skull
004	otoʔ	otoʔ	<i>oto</i>	otak	brain
005	bəlua	bulua	<i>buluʔa</i>	rambut	hair (head)
006a	tanjaʔ	tanjaʔ	<i>tanjaʔ</i>	wajah	face
006b	tappa	tanjo	<i>rupa</i>	muka	face
007	rupa	rupa	<i>rou</i>	dahi	forehead
008	mata	mata	<i>mata</i>	mata	eye
009	batu mata	batu mata	<i>batu mata</i>	biji mata	eyeball
010	kanŋiŋ	kanŋiŋ	<i>kire</i>	kening	eyebrow
011	bulu mata	bulu mata	<i>bulu mata</i>	bulu mata	eyelashes
012	ufe mata	ufe mata	<i>uvena mata</i>	air mata	tear (crying)
013	kəʔkipisiʔ	kipiʔkipisiʔ	<i>kipi-kipi</i>	pelipis	temple
014	aŋo	aŋo	<i>aŋo</i>	hidung	nose
015	bagəŋ	kasumpi	<i>kasempi</i>	pipi	cheek
016	buku bagəŋ	buku bagəŋ	<i>buku kasempi</i>	tulang pipi	cheekbone
017	ŋaŋa	ŋaŋa	<i>ŋaŋa</i>	mulut	mouth
018	mənsu	muri-muri	<i>mensu</i>	bibir	lip
019	dila	dila	<i>dila</i>	lidah	tongue
020	ŋisi	ŋisi	<i>ŋisi</i>	gigi	tooth
021	ade	ade	<i>aʔde</i>	dagu	chin
022	təliŋa	taliŋa	<i>taliŋa</i>	telinga	ear
023	bəroko	boroko	<i>baroko</i>	leher	neck
024a	kəʔkerroʔ	kəroʔ-kəroʔ	<i>ŋerroʔ-ŋerroʔ</i>	kerongkongan	throat
024b	gandron	ganron		jakun	Adam's apple
025	bəlikəʔ	balikoʔ	<i>balike</i>	bahu	shoulder
026	siku	siku	<i>siku</i>	siku	elbow
027	lima	lima	<i>lima</i>	tangan	hand, forearm
028	pəlləʔ lima	pəlləʔ lima	<i>pele lima</i>	tapak tangan	palm of hand
029	daŋa	raŋa	<i>ndaŋa</i>	jengkal	hand span
030	gərege	gurege	<i>anana lima</i>	jari	finger
031	inron gərege	inron gurege	<i>indaŋa lima</i>	ibu jari	thumb
032	kəniŋkiŋ	kəniŋkiŋ	<i>kanəŋkiŋ</i>	jari kelinking	little finger
033	kənuku	kənuku	<i>kanuku</i>	kuku jari	finger nail
034a	kəssəʔ	pəŋgun	<i>barembəŋ</i>	punggung	back, spine
034b	taŋa	poŋkoʔ	<i>taŋa</i>	pinggang	waist, loin
034c	təliku	taliku	<i>taliku</i>	belakang	back, backside
035	ranra	ranra	<i>randa</i>	dada	chest
036	susu	mimmiʔ	<i>susu</i>	susu, buah dada	breast
037	pompon	kompon	<i>kəmpoʔŋ</i>	perut	belly
038	bəŋkəŋ	bəŋkəŋ	<i>bəŋkəŋ</i>	kaki	leg, foot
039	pəŋgon	poŋgon	<i>paʔa</i>	paha	thigh
040	biti	biti	<i>biti</i>	betis	calf of leg
041	təputu	taputu	<i>taputu</i>	lutut	knee
042	dəndoləŋ	doləŋ-doləŋ	<i>palentoʔoŋ</i>	pelipatan lutut	popliteal space
043	pəgəlaŋgəŋ bəŋkəŋ	pəgalaŋgəŋ bəŋkəŋ	<i>gənte</i>	pergelangan kaki	ankle
044	pəlləʔ bəŋkəŋ	pəllə bəŋkəŋ	<i>pəllə bəŋkəŋ</i>	tapak kaki	sole of foot

#	Barang-barang	Laiyolo	Kalao	Indonesian	English
045	kərəntuŋo	kuruntunjo	korontunjo	tumit	heel
046	gərege bəŋkəŋ	gərege bəŋkəŋ	anana bəŋkəŋ	jari kaki	toe
047a	bulu	bulu	bulu	bulu	hair
047b	bulu karo	bulu karo	bulu baja	bulu badan	body hair
048	kuli	kuli	kuli	kulit	skin
049	isi	dagen	isi	daging	meat, flesh
050	mbaka	mbaka	mbaka	lemak	fat
051	buku	buku	buku	tulang	bone
052	buku kərəkka	bulu karakka	kərəkka	tulang rusuk	rib
053	pusu	puso	jantun	jantung	heart
054	raʔa	raʔa	raʔa	darah	blood
055	ufa raʔa	ufa raʔa	uvana raʔa	urat darah	vein
056	ati	ati	ate	hati	liver
057	pidu	pidu	piʔdu	empedu	gall, bile
058	pəpparu	paruparu		paru-paru	lungs
059	pompon lekkereʔ	kompon lekkereʔ	isi kəmpoŋ	usus	intestines
060a	paja	puki	paʔaʔ	pantat	buttocks
060b	dokkiʔ	ponkoʔ	təkki	bokong	buttocks
061a	təmbun	təmmbun	balona təkki	pelepasan	anus
061b	təkki	təkki	təkki	dubur	anus
062	leʔe	ufe leʔe	leʔe	air kencing	urine
063	taʔi	tai	taʔi	tahi	excrement
064	lasu	lasu	tafu	kemaluan laki-laki	penis
065	puki	puki	pio	kemaluan perempuan	vagina
066	bəlləŋ	kubi-kubi	tarana mbela	bekas luka	scar
067	kəbisu	kabisu	kabisu	bisul	boil
068	oməsəʔ	fusa	vosa	keringat	sweat (noun)
069	ito	ito	ito	orang	person
070	muane	muane	muane	laki-laki	man, male
071	bine	baine	baine	perempuan	woman, female
072	bərei	bairəi	bərei	suami	husband
073	bərei	bahine	bərei	isteri	wife
074a	papaʔ	pua	ama	bapak, ayah	father
074b	ama	pua	ama	bapak, ayah	father
075a	inron	ammaʔ	ino	ibu	mother
075b	ammaʔ	ammaʔ	ino	ibu	mother
075c	inaʔ	ammaʔ	ino	ibu	mother
076	ana	anaʔ	anaʔ	anak	child
077	ana lifua	anaʔ lifua	ana tumpe	anak sulung	first born child
078	ana bunko	anaʔ bunko	ana bunko	anak bungsu	last born child
079	susu	kimah	susu	cucu	grandchild
080	pua bine	pua baine	pua baine	nenek perempuan	grandmother
081	pua muane	pua muane	pua muane	nenek laki-laki, kakek	grandfather
082	pəppua	puaʔ	pua-pua	nenek moyang	ancestor
083a	susu-susuna	kima-kimana	leʔena	keturunan	offspring
083b	pəʔpiuʔŋa	piuʔ-piuʔŋa	piu-piuka	keturunan	offspring
084	təttənai	fitianimu	rəppi	saudara	sibling
085	aka muanena	aka muane	aka muane	kakak laki-laki	older brother
086	aka binena	aka baine	aka baine	kakak perempuan	older sister
087	anri muane	anri muane	andi muane	adik laki-laki	younger brother
088	anri bine	anri baine	andi baine	adik perempuan	younger sister
089	sətəttənai inron	pinuama	pinu ama	saudara laki-laki dari ibu	mother's brother
090	sətəttənai ama	pinuama	pinu ama	saudara laki-laki dari ayah	father's brother
091	sətəttənai inron	pininron	pinu indon	saudara perempuan dari ibu	mother's sister

#	Barang-barang	Laiyolo	Kalao	Indonesian	English
092	sətəttənai ama	pininroŋ	pinu indoŋ	saudara perempuan dari ayah	father's sister
093	bətua	bəttua	batua	hamba, budak	slave
094	bəbbalu	balu-balu	məlolaʔa	janda	widow
095	itoŋkafa	tamu	tamu	tamu	guest
096a	raŋa	raŋana	raŋa	kawan, teman	companion
096b	bahaʔ	raŋaka	raŋa-raŋana	kawan, teman	companion
096c	pəbafaʔaŋ	pobahaʔ	raŋa-raŋana	kawan, teman	companion
097	aku	aku	yaku	aku, saya	I, me
098	koʔo	koʔo	koʔo	engkau, kamu	you
099	sia	sia	sia	dia, ia	he, she
100	kami	kami	kami	kami	we (1pe)
101	kita	kita	kita	kita	we (1pi)
102a	koʔomiu	koʔo salele	kəmiu	kalian	you (PL)
103	sianai	koʔomiu lele	sinai	mereka	they
104	kərambu	karambu	kərambau	kerbau	water buffalo
105	sapikoʔo	anoa	anoa	anoa	anoa
106	tanruʔ	tanruʔ	tandu	tanduk	horn
107	iku	poti	iku	ekor	tail
108	jəŋjaŋaŋ	kadoʔkadola	manu-manu	burung	bird
109	jəŋjaŋaŋ kəlaʔaʔ	kadoʔkadola kallaʔaʔ	bəŋŋo	burung gagak	crow
110	jaŋaŋ	kadola	manu	ayam	chicken
111	kapi	kopi	kapi	sayap	wing
112	gərau	gərau	gorau	telur	egg (chicken)
113	bulu	bulu	bulu	bulu	feather
114	ama-ama	kutu	ama-ama	kutu	louse (chicken)
115	kutu	kutu	kutu	kutu	louse (head)
116	kəntuma	kəntuma (baju)	kantuma	tuma	louse (clothes)
117	pənəkki	ponekki	panəkki	kelelawar	bat (small)
118	pənəkki	ponekki	panəkki	keluang, kalong	fruit bat (large)
119	ulo-ulo	ulo	ulo	ulat	caterpillar
120	kəkkote	kote-kote	kote-kote	kupu-kupu	butterfly
121	kəsissiliʔ	kosisiliʔ	kasəssi	nyamuk	mosquito
122	lale	lale	lale	lalat	fly
123	bubuʔ	bubuʔ	lipen	anai-anai	termite
124	lipəŋ	lipəŋ	lipəŋ	lipan	centipede
125	oŋgəʔ	oŋgəʔ		kelemanyar	millipede
126	pəʔpepeʔ	pəpepeʔ	popo-popo	kunang-kunang	firefly
127	kala	kala	supikala	kalajengking	scorpion
128a	təttərri	turi-turi	tetteri	tonggeret	cicada
128b	jəŋkərriʔ	tərri	jenkerri	tonggeret	cicada
129	bəmbolaŋ	boleŋ	puka-puka	labah-labah	spider
130	gəŋ-gəlleŋ tana	gelleŋ-gelle tana	gelleŋ-gelleŋ	cacing tanah	earth worm
131	ulo	ulo	ulo	ular	snake
132	jukuʔ	jukuʔ	juku	ikan	fish
133	sissiʔ	sissiʔ	paki	sisik	fish scales
134	əssəŋ	ossəŋ	essəŋ	insang	fish gills
135	gəggelu	geluʔ	gelu-gelu	ikan belut	eel
136	tumpəŋ	tumpəŋ	tumpəŋ	katak	frog
137	kəʔkuraʔ	saŋkuraʔ	kura-kura	kura-kura	turtle
138	buaja	buaja	buaja	buaya	crocodile
139	rusa	rusa	rusa	rusa	deer
140	punroʔ	punro	kərra	monyet	ape
141	bəlafo	balafu	balavo	tikus	rat, mouse
142	bafu	bafu	bavu	babi	pig
143	kiyau	keyau	keau	anjing	dog
144	puʔu	batəŋ	puʔu	pohon	tree
145	tafa	tafa-tafa	tafa	daun	leaf
146	təŋke	təŋke	təŋke	cabang	branch

#	Barang-barang	Laiyolo	Kalao	Indonesian	English
147	faka	faka	faka	akar	root
148	kuli kaju	kuli kaju	kulina kaju	kulit kayu	bark (tree)
149	kaju	kaju	kaju	kayu	wood
150	bake	bake	bake	buah	fruit
151	taju?	buna	kəmbəŋ	bunga	flower
152	rui	rui	rui	duri	thorn
153	loka	loka	loka	pisang	banana
154	njoro tu?a?	njoro makərrin	kalalo tua	kelapa tua	coconut (ripe)
155	njoro nura	njoro nura	kalalo nura	kelapa muda	coconut (unripe)
156	kufa	kaufa	kouva	tempurung	coconut shell
157	pərrin	pərrin	perrin	bambu	bamboo
158	bəlambaŋ	balambin	rumbia	pohon rumbia, pohon sagu	sago palm
159	nipa	nifa	nipa	pohon nipah	nipa palm
160	luro	lauro	lauro	rotan	rattan
161	tofu	tofu	tevu	tebu	sugar cane
162	sangoreŋ	sangoreŋ	kaju tanah	kacang tanah	peanut
163	kəkkaŋu	pu?una kafu- kafu	kavu-kavu	pohon kapok	kapok
164	pənrola	palola	pandola	terung	eggplant
165	kələmpəŋa	kolompəŋa meməŋ	baŋəlle	jahe	ginger
166	kənro? kaju	kandora kaju	opakau	ubi kayu	cassava
167	kənro? mənrele	kandora lu?i	kandora	ubi jalar	sweet potato
168	komba	komba	komba	sirih	betel
169	pinəŋ	pinəŋ	pinəŋ	pinang	areca nut
170	bobomatufu	rompo?	borəŋ	rumput	short grass
171	rea	padəŋ tirosi	pa?dəŋ	alang-alang	sword grass
172	pandəŋ	pandəŋ	pəndəŋ	pandan	pandanus
173	liso	liso	batu	biji	seed
174	lamuŋəŋ	lamuŋəŋ bae	vini	bibit (padi)	rice seedling
175	bae	bae	asə	padi	field rice
176	bae	bae	asə	gabah	unhulled rice
177	kuli bae	kulina bae	kulina asse	sekam (gabah)	hull of rice
178	berəsə?	bərəsə?	asə	beras	hulled rice
179	kənanre	rikare	kinande	nasi	cooked rice
180	ganru	batari	bətari	jagung	corn
181	mata ajo	matana ajo	mata ajo	matahari	sun
182	bula	bula	bula	bulan	moon
183	bintoəŋ	bintoəŋ	bintoəŋ	bintang	star
184	laŋi?	laŋi?	əlla	langit	sky
185	ta?i ŋalu	tai ŋalu	ke?bu	awan	cloud
186	rəmməŋ	marəmməŋ	ke?bu eta	awan hitam	rain cloud
187	kə?bu	kə?bumo	ke?bu-ke?bu	kabut	fog
188a	lätte	lette	lätte	guntur	thunder
188b	gunturu?	gunturu?	guntu	guntur	thunder
189	kilə?	kela?	lelə	kilat	lightning
190	uda	uda	uda	hujan	rain
191	tara ufe	tara ufe	toro uve	pelangi	rainbow
192	ŋalu	ŋalu	aŋin	angin	wind
193	ŋapa	tafəŋ	tavəŋ	laut	sea, ocean
194	bifi ŋapa	bifi tafəŋ	bivi bone	pantai	shore
195	bone	bone	bone	pasir	sand
196	jəmməŋ	jammeŋ	jelo?boŋ	lumpur	mud
197	tana	tana	tana	tanah	earth, ground
198	linruŋ	linruŋ	linduŋ	gempa bumi	earthquake
199	gərrəŋ	gərrəŋ	tino	garam	salt
200	pəgaŋga	golla	gola	gula	sugar
201	ufe	ufe	uve	air	water
202	ufe ntə?buŋ	ufe maurru	uve mosolo	air terjun	waterfall

#	Barang-barang	Laiyolo	Kalao	Indonesian	English
203	mata ufe	mata ufe	matana uve	mata air	spring
204	bənto	bonto	bento	gunung	mountain
205	busu?		baʔana bənto	puncak	summit
206	rompo?	boron	boron	hutan	woods, forest
207	kolo	kolo	mala	sungai	river
208	mala	mala		danau	lake
209	apu	apu	apu	api	fire
210	ombu	ombu	ombu	asap	smoke (of fire)
211	afu	afu	avu	abu	ashes
212	afu-afu	limpuran	limpuran	debu	dust
213	batu	batu	batu	batu	stone
214	tila	kaporo?	toila	kapur	lime
215	ito-itoka	ito-itoka	ito-ito	bayang-bayang	shadow
216	sapo	sapo	sapo	rumah	house
217a	lənte	lənte	lənte	lantai	floor
217b	lapərə?	lənte	dopi	lantai	floor
218	rinrin	rinrin	rindin	dinding	wall (of house)
219	bamba	bamfa	bamba	daun pintu	door
220	tərosən	tərosan	patənko	atap	roof
221	kərəkka	kaso	kaso	kasau	rafter
222	pəppaʔa	pəppaʔa	pəpaʔa	para	storage shelf above hearth
223	benten sapo	bənten sapo	ori	tiang rumah	house post
224	kəpeo	kapeo	kapeo	kolong rumah	crawl space
225a	tonro?	kikisi	tondo	pagar	fence
225b	kikisi?	kikisi	tərali	pagar	fence
226	bənka	lepa-lepa	benka	perahu	canoe, boat
227a	bose	gajon	bose	dayung	canoe paddle
227b	gajon	gajon	jao?	dayung	canoe paddle
228	raki?	raki?	raki	rakit	raft
229a	tottoro?	afon	avon	arang	charcoal
229b	osan	osan	afon	arang	charcoal
230a	dəlikən	dəlikən	dalikən	tungku	fireplace
230b	dapurən	dapuru?	dapu?	tungku	fireplace
231	kura	kuro	kura	periuk, belanga	cooking pot
232	gusi	gusi	pəlalinən	tempayan	water jar
233	pəllo diŋkanən ufe	təmpələ?	pəllo	tempat air bambu	bamboo water container
234	pəŋalle	pəŋalle	taʔbo	gayung	ladle
235	loson	loson	loson	lesung	mortar
236	ana loson	ana loson	anana loson	penumbuk, alu	pestle (rice)
237	piso	piso	piso	pisau	knife
238	berən	berən	berən	parang	machete
239	bənua berən	bənua berən	banoa	sarung parang	machete sheath
240	jənka	jənka	suru	sisir	comb
241	sinsin	sinsin	sinsin	cincin	ring (for finger)
242a	tolu	kalara	lui	tali pintal	twine
242b	kəlara	kalara	kəlara	tali	rope
243	banən	banən	banən	benang	string, thread
244	pəŋjai?	pəŋjai	pəŋjai	jarum	needle
245	lipə?	lipə?	tope	sarung	sarong
246	səluara?	sala	sala	celana	trousers
247	kəfalu	kəfalu	kifalu	tikar	mat
248a	səlimu?	salimu?	lamba	selimut	blanket
248b	kaən panasa?	salimu?		selimut	blanket
249	bəntələ?	bəntila	bəntə	bantal	pillow
250	pəŋali?	sombi	sələmbin	cawat	loincloth
251	pakeyən karun		pakeyən karu	jeluang	bark cloth
252	tule	tule	tule	saguer	wine
253	ufə?	ufə?	uvo	obat	medicine
254	naun	naun	naun	ladang	dry field (corn)

#	Barang-barang	Laiyolo	Kalao	Indonesian	English
255	dala	dala	dala	jalanan	trail, road
256	mogge	maoge	oge	besar	big
257	kæddi?	makiddi?	kæ?di	kecil	small (object)
258	mælape	malape	pætte	baik	good
259	kurəŋajərə?	makurəŋajara	da?a	jahat	bad, evil
260	fəssa	fəssa	fessa	basah	wet
261	təŋko	matəŋko?	təŋko	kering	dry
262	məluo	malua?	fare	lebar	wide
263	məseke?	maseke	sekə	sempit	narrow
264	ŋgæssin	magæssin	ka?a	kuat	strong
265	mələmma	pamele	runa	lemah	weak
266	mərido	marido	rido	jauh	far
267	məsumpe	masumpe	sumpe	dekati	near
268	bau	bau	beəru	baru	new (objects)
269	mələŋoŋo	malinŋoŋo	leŋoŋ	lama	old (objects)
270	mətu?a	matu?a?	tu?a	tua	old (persons)
271a	məkapa	makafa	kapa	tebal	thick (objects)
271b	ŋkapa	makafa	kapa	tebal	thick (objects)
272	mənipi	manipi	nipi	tipis	thin (objects)
273	mərusu	mado?koŋ	rusu	kurus	skinny
274	mələmpo	maoge	ləmpo	gemuk	fat
275a	pane	pane	pane	panas (air)	hot (water)
275b	bəlla (ufe bəlla)	pane	pane	panas (air)	hot (water)
276	dinŋ	madinŋ	dinŋ	dingin (air)	cold (water)
277	bələkuku	ufe kammu?	pane-pane	hangat (air)	lukewarm (water)
278	mpokkolo?	mpokolo	kənduŋ	tumpul	dull (knife)
279	mətada	matada	tada	tajam	sharp (knife)
280	mpo?do	mpodo-podo	po?do	pendek	short (length)
281a	mbafo	mbafo	mbavo	rendah	short (height)
281b	bəmbafo	bəmbafo	mbavo	rendah	short (height)
282	mərate	marate	rate	panjang	long (object)
283	mətəggi	matəggi	vərru	busuk	rotten (fruit)
284	məkəssi	pakəssi	kəssi	masam, asam	sour
285	mpa?i	mpa?i	pa?i?	pahit	bitter
286	tənnin	tennin	tənnin	manis	sweet
287	fəru	fəru	vəndu	harum, wangi	fragrant
288	filo	filo	vilo	buta	blind
289	mbəŋolo?	mbəŋolo?	bəŋo	tuli	deaf
290	mənrua	madodon	ndua	sakit	pain, to be sick
291	mərou	marou	mərou	haus	thirsty
292	ma?ara	ma?ara	ma?ara	lapar	hungry
293	mbosu	mbosu	mbosu	kenyang	full, satiated
294	məraen	marəen	maraiŋ	lain	other, different
295	səlelea	səlelea	lelea	semua	all
296	bari	mbari	bari	banyak	many
297	mətamo	matamo	tamo	berat	heavy
298	terəsə?	materasa	təre	keras	hard (substance)
299	mərənnəsə?	marəmmasə	rota	kotor	dirty
300	məkate	mlambusu	kate	lurus	straight
301	mbogu	bo?don	ko?don-kodon	bulat	round, spherical
302	səssino	sino	sinon	sunyi, sepi	lonely
303	mərəsai	marasai	marasai	sukar	difficult
304a	məlaro	malaro	laro	licin	smooth
304b	ma?alusu?	ma?alusu	ma?allu	halus	smooth
305	ləssiri?	ləssiri	simbon	lekas, cepat	fast
306	mənrala	mralan	ndala	dalam	deep
307	bukke	bukke	buke	penuh	full (container)
308	kana	kana	kana	benar	true, correct
309	putti	putti	puti	putih	white

#	Barang-barang	Laiyolo	Kalao	Indonesian	English
310	etta	etta	təttəŋ	hitam	black
311	kunniŋ	kunniŋ	kuniŋ	kuning	yellow
312	leʔi	leʔi	vərra	merah	red
313	monsoŋ	monsoŋ	kudaraŋ	hijau	green
314	ninro	ninro	ndo	tidak	not
315	daʔaŋ	daʔaŋ	daəŋ	tidak ada	none
316	ninro	nainro	ndo	bukan	no
317	ane	ane	ane	kalau, jika	if
318	anu	anu	anu	anu, yang	that, whatever you call it
319	ləggamo	lengamo	ləgga	sudah	already
320	məŋa	məŋa	məŋa	dan	and
321	siʔi	siʔi	siʔi	ini	this
322a	tria	tiria	itu	itu	that
322b	təria	teria	itu	itu	that
323	mərido tria	tiria marido	turi	itu yang jauh	that distant
324	ri siʔi	ri siʔi	ri siʔiʔ	di sini	here
325	ri itu	ri itu	ri itu	di situ	there
326	ri itumako	tiria mako	ri turi	di sana	way over there
327	səʔənsa	sa ansa	saʔənsa	satu	one
328	rua	rua ansa	rua	dua	two
329	talū	talū ansa	talū	tiga	three
330	apa	pata ansa	pata	empat	four
331	lima	lima ansa	lima	lima	five
332	ana	ana ansa	ana	enam	six
333	pitu	pitu ansa	pitu	tujuh	seven
334	falu	falu	valu	delapan	eight
335	sio	sio	sio	sembilan	nine
336	səpulu	səpulu	səpulu	sepuluh	ten
337	ruappulu	rua pulu	rua pulu	dua puluh	twenty
338	saʔatu	saʔatu	saʔatu	seratus	hundred
339	sənsofu	sansofu	saʔansovu	seribu	thousand
340	ri	ri	ri	di	at
341	kiri	kiri	kairi	kiri	left (hand)
342	kaʔana	kanan	kaʔana	kanan	right (hand)
343	barəʔ	barəʔ	barə	barat	west
344	mbure	timoro	timu	timur	east
345	təŋio suluʔ ŋapa	taŋio manau ri barəʔ	tambe	ke arah laut	seaward, toward the sea
346	təŋio	taŋio	bavo	ke arah pedalaman	inland, toward the interior
347	ri tambe	lario	tambe	di bawah	under
348	ri bafo	rate	ri bavo	di atas	on top of, above
349	ri təliku	ri taliku	ri mburi	di belakang	behind
350	ri təŋio	ri taŋio	ri taŋəo	di depan	in front
351	lara bifi	lara taliku	ri bivi	di luar	outside
352	lara	lara	ri lara	di dalam	inside
353	bifi	bifi	ri bivi-bivi	pinggir	edge
354	ajo	ajo	ajo	hari	day
355	boŋi	malo	boŋi	malam	night
356	pəŋessələʔ	maŋəssolo	boŋi-boŋi	pagi	morning
357	mənafamo	ajoʔmo	taŋa ajo	siang	midday
358	kənəfia	kənəfia	konovia	sore	afternoon
359	riafi	riafi	riavi	kemarin	yesterday
360	ajo siʔi	ajo siʔi	ajo siʔiʔ	hari ini	today
361	lile	lile	laile	besok	tomorrow
362	taun	taun	taun	tahun	year
363	məsili	masiʔ-masili	sili	malu	ashamed, shy
364	nassuna	konassu	konasu	marah	angry
365	lameka	maeka	maeka	takut	to fear, be afraid
366	lapərekeŋ	pobiləŋ	biləŋ	menghitung	to count

#	Barang-barang	Laiyolo	Kalao	Indonesian	English
367	pəmiajərə?	pəmiajərə	pamiaja	belajar	to learn
368	lapəpikkiri?	pikkiri	pikiri	berpikir	to think
369	lasania	asani	sanía	tahu (sesuatu)	to know (s.t.)
370	musania	asani kita	lasania	kenal (orang)	to know (s.o.)
371	məliŋa	malinea	maliŋa	lupa	to forget
372	pərərarafo	rafo-rafo	ravo	berbohong, mendusta	to lie (untruth)
373	lapiliki	pili	pili	memilih	to choose
374	kape	ŋgora	bero	memanggil (dng. tangan)	to beckon (with hand)
375	pau aka	pau aka	poŋurusia	memberitahu, kasi tahu	to tell
376a	lapəppau	pəpau	pəpau	berkata	to say, speak
376b	lapəbisara	pəpau	pəpau	berkata	to say, speak
377a	laulaŋia	aulaŋia	pakuliŋ	mengulangi	to repeat
377b	labəlilisia	aulaŋia	pakuliŋ	mengulangi	to repeat
378	lalafəŋ	fali-falia	bo?o	menjawab	to answer
379	lapəkəlonŋ	pukelonŋ	kajəŋki	menyanyi	to sing
380	latəŋi	taŋi	taŋi	menangis	to cry
381	lapəŋərre	gege	ŋərre	tertawa	to laugh
382	lapənraŋo	murəŋo	raŋo	mendengar	to hear
383	lapəlləŋa	pea ləŋa	ləŋea	melihat	to see
384	laboua	fo bou	bou	mencium (bau)	to smell, sniff
385	lapale	pale	pale	memotong	to cut (wood)
386	labissə?	birea	bira	membelah	to split (wood)
387	lapənasu	pəmanasu	pəmanasu	memasak	to cook
388	koto	kotomo	rende	mendidih	to boil (water)
389	labuŋkərə?	boŋkarə?	buŋkəri	membuka	to open, uncover
390	lakanre	bekare	kande	makan	to eat
391	lodu	lodu	lodu	minum	to drink
392	lapəkikki?	kikki?	kekiti	menggigit	to bite
393	lamuntea	pomunta	munta	mengunyah	to chew
394	lakanre loka	makara loka	penəŋ	makan pinang	to chew betel nut
395	laome	komea	ome	menelan	to swallow
396a	lamu?musu?	muigu	emmu	mengisap	to suck
396b	laemmu?	muigu	emmu	menjilat	to lick
397	latəppo	təppo	təppo	meniup	to blow
398	lakenia	tetəŋ	keni	memegang	to hold
399	lapərara	pərara	pərara	memeras	to squeeze
400	lamənakea	banakea	naka	membuang	to throw away
401	latə?buŋ	marau	ndau	jatuh	to fall, drop
402	lapətə?buŋea	paurru kia	ndautəkia	menjatuhkan	to drop
403	labəmbore	mbo?o-mbo?ore	mbore-mbore	bermain	to play
404	lapəgafe	keni	jama	bekerja	to work
405	latunu	a?tunua	tunu	membakar	to burn
406	lalamuŋ	lamuŋ	lamuŋ	menanam	to plant
407	tufu	tufu	dadi	tumbuh	to grow
408	latapi	pənapi	tapi	menampi	to winnow
409	ladenka	pədo?da	rəntu	menumbuk	to pound (rice)
410	tufu	tufu	da?di	hidup	to live, alive
411	matte	matemo	mate	mati	to die, dead
412	lakeke	keke	keke	menggali	to dig (hole)
413	lakubburu?aka	toluananugo	balokəkia	menguburkan	to bury, inter
414	lasorəŋea	lasorəŋ	sorəŋ	mendorong	to push
415	labeso?	labeso?	nunu	menarik	to pull
416	latəmbəŋ	bokea	boke	mengikat, menambatkan	to tie, to tether
417	lafəlili	popaliŋ	pəlliŋ	berbelok	to turn
418	lapinro	po inro-inro	pakainto	berputar	to turn around
419	ladəkki?	kadekki	pərəkki	melekat berlekat	to stick to
420	lalu?lu?	lalu?lu?	laləlukia	mengelap	to wipe

#	Barang-barang	Laiyolo	Kalao	Indonesian	English
421	latapəsə?	panapəsa	pənapə	mencuci pakaian	to wash clothes
422	laʔajoni	paŋajoni	pai	menjemur	to dry in sun
423	labəssuki limana	mepoki lima	pambəssu	mencuci tangan	to wash hands
424	lapənriu	panriu	pandiu	mandi	to bathe
425	lapənriua	panriua	pandiu	memandikan	to bathe s.o.
426	lapənaŋo	ponaŋo	panaŋo	berenang	to swim
427a	laenre?	laenre?	ende	memanjat	to climb (tree)
427b	lakələmbi?	laenre?	ende	memanjat	to climb (tree)
428	laenre?	laenre? lanta	ende	mendaki	to climb (hill)
429	laopo	laopo	opo	bersembunyi	to hide
430a	ladatələ?	tatola (rusa)	patola	berburu	to hunt
430b	ladatələ?	osea (kadola)		berburu	to hunt
431	pəlaka	pəlaka	latəŋ	terbang	to fly
432a	lapəpana	lapəpana	pana	memanah	to shoot arrow
432b	lapəmana	lapəpana	pana	memanah	to shoot arrow
433a	lapətobo?	patobo?	tobo?	menikam	to stab
433b	lapənobo?	patobo?	tobo?	menikam	to stab
434	labunu	bunu (ito)	bunu	membunuh	to kill
435	lapəmbərru?	tutu (batu)	pantuda	melempar	to throw
436	lapalua	tapalua	palu	memukul	to hit
437	lasemba?	semba (bola)	turrəŋ	menendang	to kick (ball)
438	lapəgirəŋ	pəlaga	pogaga	berkelahi	to fight
439	lapəlukka?	pəmanako	pamanako	mencuri	to steal
440	lapənjai?	jai?	jai	menjahit	to sew
441	latanun	tannun	tanun	menenun	to weave cloth
442a	lajəllin lənte	jəllin	pənpəllin	menjalin	to weave (mat)
442b	laʔana kəfalu	laana	ana	menganyam	to weave (mat)
443	laʔali	ali	ali	membeli	to buy
444	labalu?	balu?	baluka	menjual	to sell
445	labajara?	pəmbajara	pameo	membayar	to pay
446	lapusa	saiko	pasai	memberi	to give
447a	tənnaka	banaka	tobanaka	hilang	lost
447b	latənnaka	tebanaka	tobanaka	kehilangan	to lose s.t.
448	lapənosa	ponosa	painosa	bernafas	to breathe
449	kəmeke	kəmeke	komeke	batuk	to cough
450	lapəfəʔje	fəʔje	pavəjje	meludah	to spit
451	latəlua	təlua	tolua	muntah	to vomit
452	latəttaʔi	totali	tutaʔi	buang air besar, berak	to defecate
453	kəkkata	makata	kakata	gatal	to itch, be itchy
454a	lapəmərəŋkau	pərəŋkau	kau	bergaruk	to scratch
454b	lapəkau	pokau	kau	bergaruk	to scratch
455	durui kutu	banakea kutu	nisi	menghilangkan kutu	to delouse
456	lasossoro?	peso? mako karakka	pəgigi	menggosok	to rub (massage)
457	lamboro	lamboro	voron	bergembung, membengkak	to swell (as an abscess)
458	laloʔloro?	loʔloro?	solo	mengalir	to flow
459	lapəlai	mərrun	pəndata	berlari	to run
460	lalenka	lenka	lenka	berjalan	to walk
461	latanrəŋ	tanrəŋ	tandəŋ	berdiri	to stand
462	latoro	toro	jonko	duduk	to sit
463	lakəŋkolen	kolen	ngolu	berbaring	to lie down
464	latədoʔdoʔ	todoʔdoʔ	tojuju	mengantuk	to nod, be sleepy
465	lapəmojai	lapəmoja	pamoja	menguap	to yawn
466	lakolen	kolen	kolen	tidur	to sleep
467	lapənipi	paŋipi	paŋipi	bermimpi	to dream
468	labanun	banu	epe	bangun	to wake up
469	labanunəa	baun erea?	banua	membangunkan	to awaken s.o.

#	Barang-barang	Laiyolo	Kalao	Indonesian	English
470a	niamea	daneā	tokava	datang	to come
470b	lantemo	katamo	tokava	tiba	to arrive
471	bəlili	balili	balili	pulang	to return home
472	laənton	ənton	toro	tinggal	to live, dwell
473	latungua	tungua	tungu	menunggu	to wait
474	lakətənai	kitinai	kotinai	mengandung hamil	to be pregnant
475	saŋa	saŋa	saŋa	nama	name
476	pəʔpauwəŋ	melagərəʔ	bisa-bisara	cerita	story
477	pau	pau	pau	kata	word
478	bisara	bisara	bisara	bahasa	language
479	inraŋ	utəŋ	utəŋ	utang	debt
480	kanre pəŋəssələʔ	kanre maŋəssaləʔ	patambə	sarapan pagi	breakfast
481	əntoʔnikka	ontoʔnikka	pausa	mas kawin	bride price
482	apea	pea	apea	apa	what
483	nai	nai tirio	nai	siapa	who
484	teʔea mai	teʔeko	ri tæ	di mana	where
485	rirəppia	ripia	laipia	kapan	when
486	səkia	sakia	sakia	berapa	how many
487	fərenumo	kampəkia	verenu	bagaimana	how
488a	kapəkiaka	kapokia	lapokea	mengapa	why
488b	pəkia	pəkia	lapokea	kenapa	why

APPENDIX B: INTERLINEARIZED TEXT

The following text is interesting not only because it sheds light on the grammatical structure of Barang-barang (a topic of a forthcoming publication), but also because it provides a traditional view of the origin of the people of Loa’.

Assala?ŋa Loə? - *The Origin of Loa’*

1. **Mənuru? pə?pauəŋa ito ri kana assala?ŋa ito Loə?**
 mənuru? RED-pau-əŋ-na ito ri kana assala?-na ito Loə?
 according RED-word-NOM-3sP person GP before origin-3sP person Loa’
si?i, kafa ri daera Luwu?
 si?i kafa ri daera Luwu?
 this from GP region Luwu

According to the story of the ancestors, the Loa’ people originate from the area of Luwu.

2. **Saba? mənuru? pauna ito mətʉa ri kana, turunəŋa**
 saba? mənuru? pau-na ito mə-tʉa ri kana turun-əŋ-na
 because according word-3sP person ST-old GP before descend-NOM-3sP
kafa ri Luwu?, toka.
 kafa ri Luwu? toka
 from GP Luwu true

Because the ancestors say that they are truly descendants of the people of Luwu.

3. **Si?i Sawerigadiŋ mənuru? pə?pauəŋa ito ri kana mako**
 si?i Sawerigadiŋ mənuru? RED-pau-əŋ-na ito ri kana mako
 this Sawerigading according RED-word-NOM-3sP person GP before there
siamo itu kəraeŋ.
 sia-mo itu kəraeŋ
 3s-EMP that king

Now Sawerigading, again according to the ancestors, was a king.

4. **Kəraeŋa Sulawesi; ito ogge.**
 kəraeŋ-na sulawesi ito ogge
 king-3sP Sulawesi person big

His kingdom was Sulawesi; he was an important person.

5. **Lafa si?i Sawerigadiŋ ri fattuna bemaʉərei, lapəromua**
 lafa si?i Sawerigadiŋ ri fattu-na be-ma-ʉərei la-pə-romu-a
 therefore this Sawerigading GP time-3sP FUT-AF-spouse 3sS-VB-gather-3sO
səlelea bəbbijana ri Luwu?
 səlele-a RED-bija-na ri Luwu?
 all-3sO RED-family-3sP GP Luwu

So when Sawerigading was going to get married, all of his family were gathered together in Luwu.

6. **Labafea bəbbijana leŋka pəbontiŋ, ri tana Sina.**
 la-bafe-a RED-bija-na leŋka pəbontiŋ ri tana Sina
 3sS-bring-3sO RED-family-3sP walk wedding GP land Cina

His brought his family to the wedding in China.²⁶

7. **Saŋgeŋa lalenkaimo səbija səpəmənakəŋ.**
 saŋgeŋa la-leŋka-i-mo sə-bija sə-pəmənakəŋ
 so that 3sS-walk-PL-EMP one-family one-relatives

It turned out that all the relatives went.

8. **Saŋgeŋa** **ri** **fattuna** **bəlili** **lele,** **kaləggamo** **pəbontiŋəŋa**
 saŋgeŋa **ri** **fattu-na** **bəlili** **lele** **ka-ləggamo** **pəbontiŋ-əŋ-na**
 so that GP time-3sP return all REA-already to marry-NOM-3sP
Sawerigadiŋ, **labəlilimo** **dua** **kəluargana.**
 Sawerigadiŋ **la-bəlili-mo** **dua** **kəluarga-na**
 Sawerigading 3sS-return-EMP also family-3sP
Finally when it was time to go home, because Sawerigading's wedding was over, his relatives also went home.
9. **Kəluarganamo** **siʔi** **məmaŋuʔ,** **saŋgeŋa** **laməŋuʔ** **mako** **ri** **lipu**
 kəluarga-na-mo **siʔi** **mə-maŋuʔ** **saŋgeŋa** **la-maŋuʔ** **mako** **ri** **lipu**
 family-3sP-EMP this ST-drift so that 3sS-drift there GP village
risaŋa **təria** **lipu** **Loəʔ.**
 ri-saŋa **təria** **lipu** **Loəʔ**
 PAS-name that village Loa
But it was these relatives that went adrift, and finally drifted to a village that was named Loa'.
10. **Muŋkiŋ** **sianai** **siʔi** **lasaŋea** **lipu** **siʔi** **lipu** **Loəʔ.**
 muŋkiŋ **sianai** **siʔi** **la-saŋa-ea** **lipu** **siʔi** **lipu** **Loəʔ**
 maybe 3p this 3sS-name-3sO village this village Loa'
It is possible that it was these people who named the village Loa'.
11. **Saŋŋiŋ** **kəluargana** **Sawerigadiŋ.**
 saŋŋiŋ **kəluarga-na** **Sawerigadiŋ**
 all family-3sP Sawerigading
All of them were relatives of Sawerigading.
12. **Təŋka** **kəluargana** **Sawerigadiŋ,** **sabaʔ** **barina** **muni** **baraŋ**
 tena-aka **kəluarga-na** **Sawerigadiŋ** **sabaʔ** **bari-na** **muni** **baraŋ**
 speak-TR family-3sP Sawerigading because many-3sP also item
antiʔ **kafa** **rikeke.**
 antiʔ **kafa** **ri-keke**
 antique from PAS-dig
It is said it was the Sawerigading family because of all their artifacts that were dug up.
13. **Mənuruʔ** **pəŋəlidikəŋa** **ito** **tena** **bari**
 mənuruʔ **pəŋəlidikəŋ-na** **ito** **tena** **bari**
 according investigation-3sP person speak many
pəʔbaraŋ-barəŋəŋ.
 pəʔ-barəŋ-barəŋ-əŋ
 NOM-item-item-NOM
According to the research, people say there were all kinds of artifacts.
14. **Anuna** **ito** **ri** **kana** **karirumpəʔ** **ri** **lipu** **Loəʔ.**
 anu-na **ito** **ri** **kana** **ka-ri-rumpəʔ** **ri** **lipu** **Loəʔ**
 something-3sP person GP true REA-PAS-find GP village Loa'
Possessions of people from earlier times were found in Loa'.
15. **Səmbau** **ri** **lipu** **Toka,** **Səŋkima,** **riomai** **ri** **Bəntopala.**
 səmbau **ri** **lipu** **Toka** **səŋkima** **riomai** **ri** **bəntopala**
 like GP village Toka Səŋkima below GP Bəntopala
Likewise in the villages of Toka, Səŋkima, and below Bəntopala.
16. **Məŋa** **ri** **məraeŋəŋa** **tampaʔ** **ri** **Loəʔ.**
 məŋa **ri** **mə-raeŋ-əŋ-na** **tampaʔ** **ri** **Loəʔ**
 and GP ST-other-NOM-3sP location GP Loa'
And also in other locations around Loa'.

17. **Fəŋkoəŋ bari dua baraŋ.**
Fəŋkoəŋ bari dua baraŋ
Hangkoang many also item
Hangkoang also had lots of artifacts.
18. **Tərianamo kalasaŋea ito bifitu lipu Loə? si?i**
Təria-na-mo ka-la-saŋa-ea ito bifi-tu lipu Loə? si?i
that-3sP-EMP REA-3sS-name-3sO person edge-that village Loa' this
lipu Baraŋ-baraŋ.
lipu Baraŋ-baraŋ
village Barang-barang
Because of that outsiders refer to the village of Loa' as Barang-barang.
19. **Saba? barina baraŋ anti? kafa rikeke ane nia ito makeke**
saba? bari-na baraŋ anti? kafa ri-keke ane nia ito ma-keke
because many-3sP item antique from PAS-dig if exist person AF-dig
Because lots of artifacts were found when people dug.
20. **Baraŋ rikafa təria makəttulu? alina.**
baraŋ ri-kafa təria ma-kəttulu? ali-na
item PAS-from that AF-expensive price-3sP
The artifacts that were found were of high value.
21. **Tenaimo si?i ito Loə? si?i.**
tena-i-mo si?i ito Loə? si?i
speak-LOC-EMP this person Loa' this
That is what the people of Loa' say.
22. **Meməŋ turunəŋmami kafa ri Sawerigadiŋ.**
meməŋ turun-əŋ-mami kafa ri Sawerigadiŋ
Truely descend-NOM-1peP from GP Sawerigading
It is true that we are descendants of Saweriganding.
23. **Bijana Sawerigadiŋ tərianamo kaŋia ito Loə?.**
bija-na Sawerigadiŋ təria-na-mo ka-ŋia ito Loə?
family-3sP Sawerigading that-3sP-EMP REA-exist person Loa'
The relatives of Sawerigading are therefore the people of Loa'.
24. **Lafa ito latoroi təria Selea.**
lafa ito la-toro-i təria Selea
therefore person 3sS-sit-LOC that Selayar
So the people lived in Selayar.
25. **Pətumbu latoroi təria Selea siamo itu ito Loə? si?i.**
pətumbu la-toro-i təria Selea sia-mo itu ito Loə? si?i
first 3sS-sit-LOC that Selayar 3s-EMP that person Loa' this
This was the beginning of the Loa' people living on Selayar.
26. **Tərianamo kaŋia ito Loə? saŋgeŋa si?i ajosi?i.**
Təria-na-mo ka-ŋia ito Loə? saŋgeŋa si?i ajo-si?i
that-3sP-EMP REA-exist person Loa' until this today
And as a result there are still Loa' people there to this day.
27. **nia ito Loə? ri lipu Loə?.**
nia ito Loə? ri lipu Loə?
exist person Loa' GP village Loa'
There are people of Loa' in the village of Loa'.

28. **Tərianamo** **kampon** **təria** **katenka** **da?dua** **Loə?**
Təria-na-mo kampon təria ka-tena-aka da?dua Loə?
that-3sP-EMP village that REA-speak-TR also Loa'

Tha is how the village got to be called Loa'.

29. **Si?i** **ajo** **si?i** **risaŋa** **desa** **Loə?**
si?i ajo si?i ri-saŋa desa Loə?
this day this PAS-name village Loa'

To this day it is called Loa'.

30. **Saba?** **səlelea** **ito** **məpəbisara** **saŋŋiŋ** **bisara** **Loə?** **lara**
saba? səlele-a ito mə-pə-bisara saŋŋiŋ bisara Loə? lara
because all-3sO person ST-VR-speak all speak Loa' inside
lipu **si?i.**
lipu si?i
village this

And all the people always speak the Loa' language in the village.

31. **Ri** **Loə?** **səssi?ina** **tenkamo** **lipu** **Baraŋ-baraŋ.**
ri Loə? RED-si?i-na tena-aka-mo lipu Baraŋ-baraŋ
GP Loa' RED-this-3sP speak-TR-EMP village Barang-barang

In Loa' to this time the village is named Barang-barang.

32. **Muŋkiŋ** **saba?** **barinamo** **pə?baraŋ-baraŋəŋ** **ri** **kafa** **rikeke,**
muŋkiŋ saba? bari-na-mo pə?-baraŋ-baraŋ-əŋ ri kafa ri-keke
maybe because many-3sP-EMP NOM-item-item-NOM GP from PAS-dig

səmbau **anu** **kupau** **təria** **pəŋane,** **ri** **bəntona** **Saŋkima,** **ri**
səmbau anu ku-pau təria pəŋane ri bənto-na Saŋkima ri
like REL 1sS-word that earlier GP mountain-3sP Sangkima GP

Bəntopala, **ri** **Fəŋkoəŋ,** **ri** **rate** **ri** **Kətoka.**
Bəntopala ri Fəŋkoəŋ ri rate ri Kətoka
Bentopala GP Hangkoang GP top GP Kətoka

Probably because of all the artifacts that were dug up, like I said before, on Sanglima mountain, in Bentopala, in Hangkoang, and up in Katoka.

33. **Kalasaŋaia** **kampon** **Baraŋ-baraŋ,** **saba?**
ka-la-saŋa-i-a kampon Baraŋ-baraŋ saba?
REA-3sS-name-LOC-3sO village Barang-barang because

bari **pə?baraŋ-baraŋəŋ** **rirumpə?** **risi?i.**
bari pə?-baraŋ-baraŋ-əŋ ri-rumpə? ri-si?i
many NOM-item-item-NOM PAS-find here

They named it the village of Barang-barang, since lots of artifacts were discovered here.

34. **Lafa** **lipuna** **ito** **Loə?** **si?i,** **tenamo** **ito** **ribifi** **lipu**
lafa lipu-na ito Loə? si?i tena-mo ito ri-bifi lipu
therefore village-3sP person Loa' this speak-EMP person outside village

lasaŋea **kampon** **Baraŋ-baraŋ.**
la-saŋa-ea kampon Baraŋ-baraŋ
3sS-name-3sO village Barang-barang

So the village of the Loa' people is called Barang-barang by people that are not from the village.

35. **Məŋka** **ito** **Loə?** **si?i** **tena?da** **sao** **ito** **Loə?** **lipu** **Loə?**
məŋka ito Loə? si?i tena-?da sao ito Loə? lipu Loə?
but person Loa' this speak-only down person Loa' village Loa'

tapana **si?i** **ajosi?i.**
tapana si?i ajo-si?i
until this today

But the people of Loa' refer to the Loa' people and the Loa' village to this day.

APPENDIX C: ABBREVIATIONS

1pe	1st person plural exclusive	k.o.	kind of
1pi	1st person plural inclusive or 2nd person singular formal	LOC	locative / transitive
1s	1st person singular	NOM	nominalizer
2p	2nd person plural	O	object marker
2s	2nd person singular informal	P	possessive / genitive
3p	3rd person plural	PAS	passive
3s	3rd person singular or unmarked 3rd person plural	PL	plural
AF	actor focus	REA	reason / result
BEN	benefactive	RED	reduplication
BI	<i>Bahasa</i> Indonesia	S	subject marker
CA	causative	s.o.	someone
CLASS	classifier	s.t.	something
EMP	emphatic	ST	stative
FUT	future	TR	transitive
GP	general preposition	VR	verbalizer

NOTES

1. Pastor Sahabu Daing Maingak is a native speaker of Barang-barang, and has lived in *Desa Lowa* for most of his life. The authors greatly appreciate the assistance of Suayuati Maingak in the typing and translating of Barang-barang texts, and the help of Carol Laidig in the preparation of texts, wordlists, and manuscripts. The authors have benefited greatly from interaction with a number of colleagues at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, especially René van den Berg, Scott Youngman, and Rick Nivens. Special thanks and appreciation also go to J. Noorduyn, who communicated with the authors on numerous occasions before his death. The Barang-barang language data used for this analysis was collected from 1991 through 1998.
2. Barang-barang is referred to in Grimes and Grimes (1987), Friberg and Laskowske (1989), and Noorduyn (1991a and 1991b).
3. The authors have revised the data which Noorduyn had collected with one of us (Maingak) and have included that material in the corpus of data used for the present study.
4. Because of its lexical similarity, Barang-barang is sometimes classified as a dialect of Laiyolo, alternatively spelled Layolo or Laiolo. The spelling Laiyolo is used here in accordance with *The Ethnologue* (B. F. Grimes 1996).
5. The exact location of “China” is unclear. It probably does not refer to the present country of China, but more likely refers to a former kingdom located near what is now the region of Bone, South Sulawesi.
6. Friberg and Laskowske (1989:13) also report on Barang-barang folk history linking it with Wotu. In that account, “two princes were faced with an invasion from the king of Seram. The younger was for war, but the older for peace. The older brother won out over his younger sibling, after which the younger prince and his followers, because of their great loss of face, sailed away to settle in a place called Wotu in Luwu’.” It should be noted that this account does not imply that Wotu was settled through a migration led by the younger prince from Barang-barang, but rather it could have been that existing relationships between Barang-barang and Wotu caused the younger prince to return to the area of his origin.
7. The 15,000-word data corpus consists of a list of all Barang-barang words obtained from the authors’ texts and collected data. Each word is included only once in the list, regardless of the frequency of occurrence of that particular word in the texts.
8. A glottal stop must occur between like vowels. Since it is apparent from other contexts that a glottal insertion rule operates at morpheme boundaries, and since it is also apparent from other contexts that glottal is indeed a separate phoneme, the situation with morpheme-internal glottal between like vowels is truly ambiguous. Thus, the glottal between like vowels may be phonemic or it may be the result of the glottal insertion rule.
9. It is possible that the absence of the /əa/ sequence results from the acoustic and articulatory similarity of the two vowels, making it difficult to pronounce, and thus more difficult for children to learn. If such a sequence ever existed, it is probable that it shifted to another sequence, such as /aʔa/. It is interesting to note that a /ə/-/a/ alternation is apparent in the affixation pattern of Barang-barang.
10. The voiced affricate [ɟ] and the voiceless affricate [tʃ] are denoted as /j/ and /c/, respectively. The alveolar flap [ɾ] is denoted as /r/.
11. A more accurate column heading would be “Dental/Alveolar”. Similar to many Austronesian languages, Barang-barang /t/ is dental, while /d/ is alveolar.
12. As is common among Austronesian languages in Indonesia, the palatal nasal /ɲ/ has a phonetic offglide [ɲʷ].
13. **hammaʔ** is an exclamation used to prevent someone from falling or to ward off harm when someone is falling.

14. An acceptable alternative representation of **kiyau** ‘dog’ would be /kiau/, however, /kiyau/ is preferred since three-vowel sequences are not observed within a single morpheme.
15. The similar words **beu** and **beo** refer to two different but closely related eagle-like bird species.
16. Exceptions are the two monosyllabic words **he** ‘hey!’ and **ya** ‘yes’, as well as the borrowed word **ha?** ‘responsibility, BI: hak’. Other possibilities for monosyllabic words are the general preposition **ri** which most likely functions as a clitic, the morpheme **be-** which is probably best analyzed as a verbal prefix marking future, and the marker **ka-** which indicates benefactive or reason/result and probably only functions as an affix rather than a monosyllabic word.
17. Word-final, non-homorganic NC clusters are usually the consequence of a syllable-final /ŋ/ preceding a C-initial syllable, occurring as a result of suffixation or compounding.
18. Although ideally contrasts should be with monomorphemic words, several examples in this table include multimorphemic words. These are N-initial words in which the N functions as a verbal or stative morpheme.
19. The sequence /ʔp/ only occurs across morpheme boundaries. The most common occurrences are with the **CəC-** reduplication prefix (which becomes **pə?**- with stems beginning in /p/ and ending in glottal), and with the suffix **-po**.
20. The only observed occurrences of /ff/ are across morpheme boundaries with the reduplication prefix **CəC-**.
21. The sequences /ff/ and /ʔf/ occur in complementary distribution, following the distribution of the reduplication prefix **CəC-** and its alternate **Cə?**.
22. The sequence /ʔt/ only occurs across morpheme boundaries with the reduplication prefix **CəC-**. With word-final glottal, the prefix **tət-** becomes **tə?**.
23. The sequence /ʔŋ/ nearly always occurs across morpheme boundaries, most often with alternates of the affixes **-mo**, **-na**, and **CəC-** (**-ŋo**, **-ŋa**, and **Cə?**-, respectively).
24. Semivowels occur with low frequency in all positions, but this is especially evident in the word-initial position.
25. The few exceptions, such as **jəma?at** ‘church congregation’, **juritulis** ‘writer, clerk’, **məŋgu?gur** ‘to drop, fall’, **mil** ‘mile’, **minəral** ‘mineral’, **kuddus** ‘spirit’, **ruam** ‘skin rash’, **tabur** ‘scatter’, **tulis** ‘write’, **ukkir** ‘carve’, and **usus** ‘intestines’, can be attributed to borrowings.
26. See footnote 5.

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