

## IRARUTU

### (Irutu)

Asap-eil., Jaru, Ofatai, Marjedi, Aroba, Babo, Susunu, Wararoma, Mambriëma, Egarwara, Mandiwa, Tanusan, Warmenu, Taniba, Wetenama, Warganusa, Tugrama, Siritwora, Amutu, Kasira, Sara, Kaitero, Werafuta, Waromi, Manggéra (? zielen).

- Galis 1955-56:170.

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### (IRAHUTU)

+ 3850 [speakers]

Dialects: There are three [sic] dialects, spoken in the following villages:

1. (West of Arguni Bay): in Manggera, Kupriai, Warmenu, Egerwara, Wararoma, Warafuta, Temia, Rauna, Ewaragegra, Mambriema, Maryedi, Taniba.

2. (Central Arguni Bay): in Mandiwa, Tanusan, Manggai, Jawera, Sawatawera, Susunu, Wanggita, Funiara, Mafua, Warua, Tugumawa, Amberwara, Barari, Urisa, Waromi, Maisenu, Seraran, Nagura, Matua.

3. (Northern and Eastern Arguni Bay): in Kokoroba, Moyana, Bayeda, Gusimawa, Afuafu, Gusi, Tantura, Borogerba, Weswasa, Tiwara, Eregara.

4. (Babo area): in Wergunusa, Sara, Tugrama, Suga, Yaru, Aroba, Kasira.

Comments: Irahutu is very closely related to Nabi ...

- Voorhoeve 1975f:54.

The name Irarutu is an impressionistic rendering of the phrase Irðrotu "their language true" = 'their own language'. The sequence rðr with two flapped r's separated by a shewa [sic] is often shortened to one trilled r; this accounts for the variant form Irutu mentioned by Anceaux. The variant Irahutu I have never heard. As the name Irarutu has gained common acceptance I shall retain it in this paper.

- Voorhoeve 1989:108.

Irarutu is now spoken by an estimated 5000-6000 people. ... The 1971 census gives the following figures: Arguni sub-district 3000, Babo sub-district 2000. The two sub-districts ... cover all of the Irarutu speaking area except for part of the Nabi dialect area. A small number of non-local residents is included in the figures. ... The estimate given above takes into account the additional Nabi vilages and the steady increase of the population in Irian Jaya.

- Voorhoeve 1989:108.

My informants distinguished seven varieties of Irarutu, mainly on the basis of lexical differences and differences in ...

intonation, stress patterns, and speed of speech. ... The seven dialects are:

1. **Nabi**, spoken in the villages of Nabi, Rafideso, Werdadne, Owa, and Opu in the valleys of the Nabi and Kuri rivers and in Wagura and Sarebe on the Wagura river. The villages on the Nabi river seem to be bilingual. The second language spoken there was called Nanggwa by one of my informants. This name does not appear in the two existing surveys of Irian Jaya languages (Voorhoeve 1975, Barr and Barr 1978), but could be an alternative name for either Tandia or Mer, spoken to the east and south respectively.

2. **Babo**, spoken in Sarebe and Wagura on the Wagura river, in Tugurama, Sara, and Warganusa on the lower Kaitero river and in Babo, the administrative centre of the Babo sub-district.

3. **Kasuri**, spoken in Aroba and Yaru on the Kasuri river and in Tomage village which has a mixed population of Sebyar, Tanah Merah, and Irarutu speakers. Anceaux lists these villages under the Babo dialect but according to my informants they speak a dialect which has similarities to Fruata as well as Babo.

4. **Fruata** is spoken in Fruata, Taniba-Wararoma, Warmenu-Egerwara, Manggera, Rauna and Werefuta-Temia. Fruata is a relatively new settlement near the Roman Catholic airstrip in the area and is made up of two former villages Mambrieme and Mariedi.

Initially Taniba-Wararoma also moved to Fruata airstrip but it later returned to its old village site. Warmenu-Egerwara and Manggera have in recent times moved from their inland locations to sites closer to Arguni Bay. Formerly Werefuta and Rauna were situated higher up the Gono river. Werefuta local tradition has it that its inhabitants once lived in the hills further west.

5. **South-Arguni** is spoken along the shores of Arguni Bay in the villages Susuru, Sawatawera, Funiara, Wanggita, Yawera-Manggai, Mandiwa, Tanusan, Nagura, Serarang, Ukiara, Warum-Maisenu, Waroa, Amberwara, Mahua and Bofwer. Bofwer is a new settlement and the administrative centre of the Arguni sub-district. It has a mixed population.

6. **East-Arguni** is spoken in Borgerba, Afuafu-Gusimawa, Moyana-Bayeda and Kokoroba on the northeastern shores of Arguni Bay.

7. **North-Arguni** is spoken at the northern end of Arguni Bay in the villages Tiwara, Weswasa and Eregara. /

A considerable number of Irarutu speakers, mostly from the Arguni Bay area, is now living in the township of Kaimana and the nearby villages Tiowa and Krol. ...

- Voorhoeve 1989:108-109.

... Anceaux, basing himself on an earlier report by D. van Beek, distinguished four dialects and a potential fifth dialect:

1. The dialect spoken between the Kaitero river and Arguni Bay, with approximately 950 speakers. (I shall refer to this dialect as the Fruata dialect.)

2. The dialect of central Arguni Bay with about 1300 speakers. (In the following I shall label this the South-Arguni dialect.)

3. The dialect of northern and eastern Arguni Bay with about 800 speakers.

4. The dialect of the Babo area (henceforth the Babo dialect) with about 800 speakers.

5. The Nabi language with about 550 speakers, spoken on the Nabi river to the northeast of the Irarutu language. Nabi "is very closely related to Irarutu and often held to be a dialect of that language".

- Voorhoeve 1994:251.

The name Irarutu is an impressionistic rendering of the phrase iròro tu "their language true" = 'their own language'. The sequence rōr with two flapped r's separated by a shewa is often shortened to one trilled r; this accounts for the variant form Irutu mentioned by Anceaux. The variant Irahutu I have never heard. As the name Irarutu has gained common acceptance I shall retain it in this article.

- Voorhoeve 1994:251.

Irarutu is now spoken by and [sic] estimated 5000-6000 people. In 1958 the estimated total, including Nabi, was 4400.

...

- Voorhoeve 1994:251.

My informants distinguished seven varieties of Irarutu, mainly on the basis of lexical differences and differences in 'rimia', a local term covering intonation, stress patterns, and speed of speech. There are two locally recognised differences / in the realization of segmental phonemes which in themselves are not sufficient to set off all varieties from each other. ... The seven dialects are:

1. Nabi, spoken in the villages of Nabi, Refideso, Werdadne, Owa, and Opu in the valleys of the Nambi and Kuri rivers and in Wagura and Sarebe on the Wagura river. The villages on the Nabi river seem to be bilingual. The second language spoken there was called Nanggwa by one of my informants. This name does not appear in the existing surveys of Irian Jaya languages ..., but could be an alternative name for either Tandia of [sic] Mer, spoken to the east and south respectively.

2. Babo, spoken in Sarebe and Wagura on the Wagura river, in Tugurama, Sara and Warganusa on the lower Kaitero river and in Babo, the administrative centre of the Babo sub-district.

3. Kasuri, spoken in Aroba and Yaru on the Kasuri river and in Tomage village which has a mixed population of Sebyar, Tanah Merah, and Irarutu speakers. Anceaux lists these villages under the Babo dialect but according to my informants they speak a dialect which has similarities to Fruata as well as Babo.

4. Fruata is spoken in Fruata, Taniba-Wararoma [given as

Tawiba-Wararoma on p. 249], Warmenu-Egerwara, Manggera, Rauna and Werefuta-Temia. Fruata is a relatively new settlement near the Roman Catholic airstrip in the area and is made up of two former villages Mambrieme and Mariedi. Initially Taniba-Wararoma also moved to Fruata airstrip but it later returned to its old village site. Warmenu-Egerwara and Manggera have in recent times moved their inland locations to sites closer to Arguni Bay. Formerly Werefuta and Rauna were situated higher up the Gono river. Werefuta local tradition has it that its inhabitants once lived in the hills further west.

5. South-Arguni is spoken along the shores of Arguni Bay in the villages Susunu, Sawatawera, Funiara, Wanggita [given as Wanogita on p. 249], Yawera-Manggai [given as Jawere-Manggai on p. 249], Mandiwa, Tanusan, Nagura, Serarang, Ukiara, Warum-Maisenu, Waroa, Amberwara, Mahua and Bofwer. Bofwer is a new settlement and the administrative centre of the Arguni sub-district. It has a mixed population.

6. East-Arguni is spoken in Borgerba listed under North Arguni dialect on p. 249], Afuafu-Gusimawa, Moyana-Bayeda and Kokoroba on the northeastern shores of Arguni Bay.

7. North-Arguni is spoken at the northern end of Arguni Bay in the villages Tiwara, Weswara [given as Weswasa on p. 249] and Eregara.

A considerable number of Irarutu speakers, mostly from the Arguni Bay area, is now living in the township of Kaimana and the nearby villages Tiowa and Kroi.

- Voorhoeve 1994:251-252.

Irarutu is spoken by 5000 - 6000 people living in the centre of the Bomberai Peninsula, southwest Irian Jaya, and its eastern interior up to the watershed which separates the rivers flowing into Bintuni Bay from those flowing into Cenderawasih Bay. ...

Irarutu speakers themselves distinguish seven variants in their language on the basis of lexical differences and differences in rimia, a local term covering intonation, stress patterns, speed of speech, and differences in the realisation of segmental phonemes. The seven variants are:

1. Nabi, spoken in the valleys of the Nabi and Kuri rivers, and on the Wagura river. In the Nabi villages on the Wagura river also the Babo variant is spoken.

2. Babo, spoken on the Wagura river (see above), on the lower Kaitero river and in Babo, the administrative centre of the Babo sub-district.

3. Kasuri, spoken on the Kasuri river and in Tomage village.

4. Fruata, spoken in the environments of the R.C. Mission station Fruata and in a number of villages south of it, down to Werefuta on the lower Gono river.

5. South-Arguni, spoken along the western, southern, and eastern shores of Arguni Bay.

6. East-Arguni, spoken along the northeastern shore of Arguni Bay.

7. North-Arguni, spoken in a few villages at the northern tip of Arguni Bay.

A considerable number of Irarutu speakers, mostly from the Arguni Bay area, are now living in the township of Kaimana and the nearby villages Tiowa and Kroi.

- Voorhoeve 1995:651.

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[Map]

Babo -- IRAHUTU

Susunu -- IRAHUTU

- Wurm & Hattori 1981

\*

**( IRARUTU )**

**Irarutu** (Irahutu; Irutu; Kasira; Kaitero; Arguni Bay)

POP: +/- 4,000

LOC: East Bomberai Peninsula from Arguni Bay north to Bintuni Bay

...

VILLAGE(S):

Manggera

Kupriai

Warmenu

Egerwara

Wararoma

Temia

Warafuta

Rauna

Ewaragegra

Mambriema

Maryedi

Taniba

Mandiwa

Tanusan

Manggai

Jawera

Sawatawera

Susunu

Wanggita

Funiara

Mafua

Warua

Tugumawa

Wergunuas

Kasira

Urisa

Amberwara

Barari

Waromi

Maisenu  
Seraran  
Nagura  
Matua  
Kokoroba  
Moyana  
Bayeda  
Gusimawa  
Afuafu  
Gusi  
Tantura  
Borogerba  
Weswasa  
Tiwara  
Eregara  
Sara  
Tugrama  
Suga  
Yaru  
Aroba

- Silzer & Heikkinen 1984:60.

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The Irarutu language group is located in the Arguni and Babo Bays, and in the interior west from Arguni Bay. These bays are / located in the south west of Irian Jaya, Indonesia (Bird's throat area).

- Matsumura 1991:37-38.

This research was carried out from 1985-1989 in the Desa (region) of Tugarni, Gusimawa village, which is located in northern Arguni Bay.

- Matsumura 1991:38.

Irarutu is the name of the language spoken by a people who live on the coast of Arguni Bay, on the south coast of Bintuni Bay and in the interior west of Arguni Bay, in the southwestern part of Irian Jaya, Indonesia.

The word **iraru** means 'voice' or 'language' and **tu** is derived from **fitu** which means 'true'. The people traditionally believe that the world originated to the southeast (in the Nabi/Kuri language area) and that Irarutu is the true original language.

This language has been referred to as the Irahutu language but it seems that this name is only used by foreigners. The people in the village of Fruata (interior) and at the coastal villages refer to the language as Irarutu.

- Matsumura & Matsumura 1991:76.

The language group is divided into two political regions. It is difficult, therefore, to count the whole population. In

the 1988 census, around 3900 people were counted in the Arguni Region, excluding the Mairasi and Kuri people in Desa Tugarni. The total population could be more than 5000.

- Matsumura & Matsumura 1991:76.

The language has three major dialects. Two dialects are in Arguni Bay, and one dialect is in Fruata in the interior, and in the Babo Bay area. ...

- Matsumura & Matsumura 1991:76.

Irarutu is an Austronesian language spoken in an area north of Arguni Bay in Irian Jaya ... Approximately 5,000 Irarutu people live in 44 villages, some in the interior but the majority located along the coast. ...

- Matsumura 1992:1.

Figure 2 Irarutu villages in the Arguni Bay

Village complex (Desa)		Villages included	
Irarutu name	Indonesian name	Irarutu name	Indonesian name
Tugarni	Tugarni	Awaf	Afu-afu
		Busmafnu	Gusimawa
		Baid	Bayeda
		Mujan	Moyana
		Kakuluba	Kokoroba
Sawi	Sawi	Burgrba	Burgerba
		Tifar	Tiwara
		Weswas	Weswasa
		Ergar	Eregara
Fomu	Fumusa	Wagit	Wangita
		Funiar	Funiara
		Susunu	Susunu
		Sawatwer	Sawatawera
		Jafer	Jawera
Ruwewar	Ruwara	Wermnu	Warmenu
		Muger	Mangera
		Mudif	Mandiwa
		Jab	Jaba
Gnof	Genofa	Nagur	Nagura
		Seraruni	Seraran
		Ukiar	Ukiara
		Maisunu	Waromi
		Uris	Urisa
Funeften	Feternu	Gusu	Gusi
		Mufu	Mafuwa
		War	Waruwa
		Tugmaf	Tugumawa

- Matsumura 1992:3.

Irarutu is an Austronesian language spoken in an area north of Arguni Bay in Irian Jaya ... Approximately 5,000 Irarutu people live in forty-four villages with some in the interior but the majority located along // the coast. ...

- Matsumura 1997:221, 223.

There are six groups of villages along the coast. ... Irarutu people often use the names of these village complexes.

...

Each village complex includes four or five villages ...

- Matsumura 1997:223.

Fig. 2 Irarutu villages in the Arguni Bay

Village complex		Villages included	
Irarutu name	Indonesian name	Irarutu name	Indonesian name
Tugarni	Tugarni	Awaf	Afu-afu
		Busmafnu	Gusimawa
		Baid	Bayeda
		Mujan	Moyana
		Kakuruba	Kokoroba
Sawi	Sawi	Burgnurba	Burgerba
		Tifar	Tiwara
		Weswas	Weswasa
		Ergar	Eregara
Fornu	Fornusu	Wagit	Wangita
		Funia	Funiara
		Susunu	Susunu
		Sawatwer	Sawatawera
		Jafer	Jawera
Ruwewar	Ruwara	Wermnu	Warmenu
		Muger	Mangera
		Mudif	Mandiwa
		Jab	Jaba
Gnof	Genofa	Nagur	Nagura
		Seraruni	Seraran
		Ukiar	Ukiara
		Maisunu	Waromi
		Uris	Urisa
Funeften	Feternu	Gusu	Gusi
		Mufu	Mafuwa
		War	Waruwa
		Tugmaf	Tugumawa



- Matsumura 1997:224.

\*

(Irahutu; Irutu; Kasira; Kaitero; Arguni Bay)  
4,000

LOC: East Bomberai Peninsula from Arguni Bay north to  
Bintuni Bay

- Silzer & Clouse 1991:51.

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**Irarutu:** 4,000 speakers reported in 1987, on the eastern  
Bomberai Peninsula, Irian Jaya. Also called Irahutu, Irutu,  
Kasira, Arguni Bay, or Kaitero.

- Comrie 1992oo:51.

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East Bomberai Peninsula southwest from Arguni Bay north to  
Bintuni Bay, 44 villages. ... Dialects: FUNIARA, AROBA, YARU,  
TUGRAMA, TOMAGE, WERAFUTA, WARMNU. ...

- Grimes 1992:573.

**IRARUTU (IRAHUTU, IRUTU, KASIRA, ARGUNI BAY, KAITERO) ...**  
4,000 (1987 SIL). East Bomberai Peninsula southwest from Arguni  
Bay north to Bintuni Bay, 44 villages. ... Unclassified.  
Dialects: FUNIARA, AROBA, YARU, TUGRAMA, TOMAGE, WERAFUTA,  
WARMNU. ...

- Grimes 1996.

**IRARUTU (IRAHUTU, IRUTU, KASIRA, ARGUNI BAY, KAITERO) ...**  
4,000 (1987 SIL). East Bomberai Peninsula southwest from Arguni  
Bay north to Bintuni Bay, 44 villages. Linguistic affiliation:  
Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Central-Eastern, Unclassified. 6  
or 7 dialects. ...

- Grimes 2000.

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**(KAITERO)**

... Het Kaitero wordt gesproken in de dorpen Babo, Tugerama,  
Sara, Kaitero, Mabrima, Kasira en Suga.

- Cowan 1953:29.

\*

**(KASIRA)**

The five languages left ungrouped [by Dyen 1965] are located  
on the Bomberai Peninsula and the Waropen coast, and include  
Sekar, Kuiu (also called Kuiu [sic], Kowiai and Namatota),  
Arguni, Kasira (also called Irahutu, Irarutu, Irutu) and Waropen.

...

- Bromley 1973:13.

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**(MEISIN)**

... Vanaf deze Meremgi tot aan de Apauwar is het bergland bevolkt door diverse stammen, waaronder de Wares, de Meisin, de Saberi en de Airiki, die juist aan de grens van onze bestuursinvloed ...

- Halie 1930 Ts:31.

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**(WERRERI)**

[map]

	TAAL	BEVOLKINGSGROEP (STAM?)	cf S&C
ARGOENI	BERAU	BERAU (ARANDAI)	KEMBERANO
	ARGOENI	---	ARGUNI
SEKAR	BAHAM (PATIMONI)	BAHAM	BAHAM
FATAGAR	KAPAOER (IHANDI)	IHA	IHA
ROEMBATI	ONIN	---	ONIN
ATI-ATI	BATOER	KARAS	URUANGNIRIN
	KARAS-LAOET	KARAS-LAOET	KARAS
	BORAWAJ (KAMRAU)	BORAWAJ-KAMRAU	BURUWAI
	KOIWAJ	---	KOWIAI
	MAJRASSIH	MAJRASSIH	MAIRASI
	---	KARANA (?)	MAIRASI
	WERRERI	---	IRARUTU
	JAMOER (?)	JABI (?)	IRESIM

- Maurenbrecher 1953(1993):320-321.

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**(WERREROE)**

De Werreroetaal wordt gesproken rond de Argoenibaai en ook in Tanggaromi, Matoa en Tjowa.

- Peters 1956 Ts:54.

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<b>IRAHUTU</b>	<b>Capell 1962 (Anceaux)</b>
<b>IRAHUTU = KASIRA</b>	Bromley 1973
<b>IRAHUTU</b>	<b>3,850 Geelvink Bay SG-AN (Wurm &amp; Hattori 1981)</b>
<b>IRAHUTU = IRARUTU</b>	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984; Voorhoeve 1989; Matsumura & Matsumura 1991; Silzer & Clouse 1991; Comrie 1992; Smits & Voorhoeve 1992; Grimes 1992, 1996, 2000
<b>IRAHUTU</b>	<b>4,000 Geelvink Bay (Wurm 1994)</b>
<b>IRARUTU</b>	<b>Galis 1960</b>
<b>IRARUTU = KASIRA</b>	Bromley 1973
<b>IRARUTU</b>	<b>5-6,000 Voorhoeve 1989, 1994,</b>
<b>IRARUTU (own name)</b>	<b>5,000 Matsumura &amp; Matsumura</b>
<b>IRARUTU</b>	<b>4,000 (1987) Comrie 1992</b>
<b>IRARUTU</b>	<b>5,000 Matsumura 1992</b>
<b>IRARUTU</b>	<b>4,000 Geelvink Bay S-G (Silzer &amp; Heikkinen 1984, Silzer &amp; Clouse Smits &amp; Voorhoeve 1992</b>
<b>IRARUTU</b>	Wurm 1994
<b>IRARUTU = IRAHUTU</b>	<b>4,000 Unclassified (Grimes</b>
<b>IRARUTU</b>	<b>Galis 1955-56</b>
<b>IRUTU</b>	Capell 1962 (Galis)
<b>IRUTU = IRAHUTU</b>	Bromley 1973
<b>IRUTU = KASIRA</b>	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984; Voorhoeve 1989, 1994; Silzer & Clouse 1991;
<b>IRUTU = IRARUTU</b>	
<b>ARGUNI BAY = IRARUTU</b>	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984; Silzer &
<b>IRIENNA = IRARUTU</b>	Salzner 1960 (cf S&C)
<b>KAITERO</b>	<b>Cowan 1953, Capell 1962 (Cowan),</b>
<b>KAITERO = IRAHUTU</b>	Wurm & Hattori 1981, Silzer &
<b>KAITERO = IRARUTU</b>	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984; Comrie
<b>KASIRA</b>	<b>Bromley 1973</b>
<b>KASIRA = IRAHUTU</b>	Wurm & Hattori 1981, Silzer &
<b>KASIRA = IRARUTU</b>	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984; Comrie
<b>WERRERI</b>	<b>Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)</b>
<b>WERRERI = IRARUTU</b>	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993) [cf S&C]
<b>WERREROE</b>	<b>Peters 1956 Ts</b>
Abirwar -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Ambirwara = Abirwar -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Amberwara -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Amberwara -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Amberwara -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Amberwara -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989

Amberwara -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1994
Afoe-Afoe -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Afuafu -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Afuafu -- EAST ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Afuafu -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984, Silzer &
Afu-afu = Awaf -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Afuafu-Gusimawa -- EAST ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1994
Amutu -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
ARGUNI, EAST -- d of IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994, 1995
ARGUNI, NORTH -- d of IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994, 1995
ARGUNI, SOUTH -- d of IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994, 1995; Smits & Voorhoeve 1992
AROBA -- d of IRARUTU	Grimes 1992, 1996
Aroba -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Aroba -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Aroba -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Aroba -- KASURI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, Voorhoeve 1994
Aroba -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984, Silzer &
Asap I -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Awaf -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
BABO dist -- BINTOENI subd	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
BABO -- d of IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994, 1995; Smits & Voorhoeve 1992
Babo -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Babo -- KAITERO	Cowan 1953
Babo -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Babo -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975, Wurm & Hattori 1981
Babo -- BABO IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Baid -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Bajeda -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Bayeda -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Bayeda -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Bayeda -- EAST ARGUNI	

IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Bayeda = Baid -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Barari -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Barari -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Barari -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Bofwer -- SOUTH ARGUNI	
IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Bofwer -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Clouse 1991
Borgerba -- EAST ARGUNI	
IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Borgerba -- NORTH ARGUNI	
IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1994
Borogerba -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Borogerba -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Borogerba -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Burgerba = Burgrba -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992
Burgerba = Burgnurba --	
IRARUTU	Matsumura 1997
Burngurba -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1997
Burgrba -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992
Busmafnu -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Egarwara -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Egarwara -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Egarwara -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Egerwara -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Egerwara -- FRUATA IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Eregara -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Eregara -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Eregara -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Eregara -- NORTH ARGUNI	
IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Eregara = Ergar -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Ergar -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Ewaragegra -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Ewaragegra -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Feternu = Funeften --	
IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Fornu -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Fornusu = Fornu -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Fraragegra -- ARGOENIBAAI	
dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)

FRUATA -- d of IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994, 1995; Smits & Voorhoeve 1992
Fruata -- FRUATA IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Fruata -- IRARUTU	Matsumura & Matsumura 1991, Silzer & Clouse 1991
Funefthen -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Funia -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1997
Foenjiara -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Funiar -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992
Funiara -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Funiara -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Funiara -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Funiara -- IRARUTU	Smits & Voorhoeve 1992
Funiara = Funiar -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992
Funiara = Funia -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1997
FUNIARA -- d of IRARUTU	Grimes 1992, 1996
Genofa = Gnof -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Gnof -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Goesi -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Gusi -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Gusi -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Gusi = Gusu -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Goesimawa -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Gusimawa -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Gusimawa -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Gusimawa -- EAST ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Gusimawa -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1991, Silzer & Clouse
Gusimawa = Busmafnu -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Gusu -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Inari -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Jab -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Jaba = Jab -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Jafer -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
YARU -- d of IRARUTU	Grimes 1992, 1996

Jaru -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Jaru -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Yaru -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Yaru -- KASURI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Yaru -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984, Smits &
Djawera -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Jawera -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Jawera -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Jawera = Jafer -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Jawera-Manggai -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1994
Yawera-Manggai -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Joesoenoe -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Kaimana -- IRARUTU +	Voorhoeve 1994
Kaitero -- KAITERO	Cowan 1953
Kaitero -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Kaitero -- IRARUTU	Smits & Voorhoeve 1992
Kakuluba -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992
Kakuruba -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1997
Kasira -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Kasirah -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Kasira -- KAITERO	Cowan 1953
Kasira -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Kasira -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Kasira -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984, Smits &
KASURI -- d of IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994, 1995; Smits & Voorhoeve 1992
Kokoroba -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Kokoroba -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Kokoroba -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Kokoroba -- EAST ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Kokoroba = Kakuluba -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992
Kokoroba = Kakuruba -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1997
KaroE -- KAIMANA dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Keroi -- KOIWAI	Walker 1982, Silzer & Heikkinen
Karoi -- KAIWAI	Smits & Voorhoeve 1992

Karu -- NAMATOTE	Cowan 1953
Keroi -- KOWIAI	Silzer & Clouse 1991; Grimes 1992, 1996
Kroi -- IRARUTU +	Voorhoeve 1994
Kroi -- KAIWAI	Smits & Voorhoeve 1992
Krooy -- KOWIAI	Peters 1956 Ts
Kupriai -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Kupriai -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Mafua -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Mafua -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Mafuwa = Mufu -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Mahua -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Maisenoë -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Maisenu -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Maisenu -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Maisenu -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Maisunu -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Mambriëma -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Mambriema -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Mambriema -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Mambrieme = Fruata -- FRUATA IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Mabrima -- KAITERO	Cowan 1953
Mandiwa -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Mandiwa -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Mandiwa -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Mandiwa -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Mandiwa -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Mandiwa = Mudif -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Mangera = Muger -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Manggéra -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Manggera -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Manggera -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Manggera -- FRUATA IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Manggera Xefoerjai -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Manggai -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Manggai -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Manggai -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989



Manggosa -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Mariedi = Fruata -- FRUATA IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Marjedi -- ARGOENIBAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Marjedi -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Maryedi -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Maryedi -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Matoea -- KAIMANA	Cator 1939(1993)
Matoa -- WERREROE	Peters 1956 Ts
Matua -- NAMATOTE	Cowan 1953
Matua -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Matua -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
MEISIN	Halie 1930 Ts
Modan -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Mofoea -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Mufu -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Mojana -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Moyana -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Moyana -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Moyana -- EAST ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Moyana = Mujan -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Moyana-Bayeda -- EAST ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1994
Mudif -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Muger -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Mujan -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
NABI -- d of IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994, 1995
Nabi -- WANDAMMEN dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Nabi -- NABI	Voorhoeve 1975, Silzer & Heikkinen 1984, Silzer & Clouse 1991
Nabi -- NABI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Nagur -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Nagoera -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Nagura = Nagur -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Nagura -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Nagura -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984

Nagura -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Nagura -- IRARUTU	Smits & Voorhoeve 1992
Naramasa -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Ofatai -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Opu -- NABI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Owa -- NABI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Rafideso -- NABI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Refideso -- NABI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1994
Robideso -- NABI	Silzer & Clouse 1991
Rauna -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Rauna -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Rauna -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Rauna -- FRUATA IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Ruwara = Ruwewar -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Ruwewar -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Sara -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Sara -- KAITERO	Cowan 1953
Sara -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Sara -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Sara -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Sara -- BABO IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Sarabe -- MODAN	Galis 1955-56
Sarbei -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Sarebe -- NABI	Voorhoeve 1975, Silzer & Heikkinen 1984, Silzer & Clouse 1991
Sararang -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Sarebe -- NABI IRARUTU & BABO IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Sarebe -- BABO IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1994
Saritoe -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Sawatawera -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Sawatawera -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Sawatawera -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Sawatawera -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Sawatawera = Sawatwer -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997

Sawatwer -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Sawi -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Seraran -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Seraran -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984, Smits &
Seraran = Seraruni -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Serarang -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Seraruni -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Siriwo -- IRAHUTU	Stokhof 1983
Siriwora -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Sobrowara -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Soë -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Soega -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Suga -- KAITERO	Cowan 1953
Suga -- MODAN	Galis 1955-56
Suga -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Suga -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Susunu -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Susunu -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975, Wurm & Hattori 1981
Susunu -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Susuru -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Susunu -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Tamtura -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Tantura -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Tantura -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984, Silzer &
Tanggaromi -- WERREROE	Peters 1956 Ts
Taniba -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Taniba -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Taniba -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Taniba -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Taniba -- FRUATA IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Taniba-Wararoma -- FRUATA IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1994
Tawiba-Wararoma -- FRUATA IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1994
Tanoesan -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Tanusan -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Tanusan -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975

Tanusan -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Tanusan -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Tarofa -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Temia -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Temia -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Temia -- FRUATA IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Tifar -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Tiwara -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Tiwara = Tifar -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Tiwara -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Tiwara -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Tiwara -- NORTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Tjowa -- WERREROE	Peters 1956 Ts
Tiowa -- IRARUTU +	Voorhoeve 1994
Toegoemawa -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Tugumawa -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Tugumawa -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Tugumawa = Tugmaf -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Tofoë -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
TOMAGE -- d of IRARUTU	Grimes 1992, 1996
Tomage -- KASURI IRARUTU & SEBYAR & TANAH MERAH	Voorhoeve 1989
Tomage -- IRARUTU	Smits & Voorhoeve 1992
Tomage -- KASURI IRARUTU/ SEBYAR/TANAH MERAH	Voorhoeve 1994
Tugarama -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Tugarni -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Tugmaf -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
TUGRAMA -- d of IRARUTU	Grimes 1992, 1996
Tugerama -- KAITERO	Cowan 1953
Tugrama -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Tugrama -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Tugrama -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984, Smits &
Tugurama -- BABO IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989

Ukiar -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Ukiara = Ukiar -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Ukiara -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Oerisa -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Uris -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Urisa = Uris -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Urisa -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Urisa -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Wagit -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Wangita = Wagit -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Wanggita -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Wanggita -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Wanggita -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Wanggita -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Wanogita -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1994
Wagoera -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Wagura -- MODAN	Galis 1955-56
Wagura -- NABI	Voorhoeve 1975, Silzer & Heikkinen 1984, Silzer & Clouse 1991
Wagura -- NABI IRARUTU & BABO IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Wagura -- BABO IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1994
Wainaga -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Waar -- WANDAMMEN dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
War -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Warafuta -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Warafuta -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984, Smits &
Werafuta -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Werefuta -- FRUATA IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Wararoma -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Wararoma -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Wararoma -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Wararoma -- FRUATA IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Warenai -- IRAHUTU	Stokhof 1983
Warganoesa -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Warganusa -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Warganusa -- BABO IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Warmenoe -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)

Warmenu -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Warmenu -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Warmenu -- FRUATA IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989
Warmenu -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984, Smits &
Warmenu = Wermnu -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Wermnu -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Warmenu-Egerwara -- FRUATA IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1994
WARMNU -- d of IRARUTU	Grimes 1992, 1996
Waroa -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Waroea -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Warua -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Warua -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Waruwa = War -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Waromi -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Waromi -- IRUTU	Galis 1955-56
Waromi -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Waromi -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Waromi = Maisunu -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Warum-Maisenu -- SOUTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Watenisi -- BABO dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
WERAFUTA -- d of IRARUTU	Grimes 1992, 1996
Werefuta-Temia -- FRUATA IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1994
Werdadne -- NABI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994
Wergunuas -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Wergunusa -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Werganusa -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Clouse 1991
Weswara -- NORTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1994
Weswas -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Weswasa -- ARGOENIBAAI dist	Maurenbrecher 1953(1993)
Weswasa = Weswas -- IRARUTU	Matsumura 1992, 1997
Weswasa -- IRAHUTU	Voorhoeve 1975
Weswasa -- IRARUTU	Silzer & Heikkinen 1984
Weswasa -- NORTH ARGUNI IRARUTU	Voorhoeve 1989, 1994

Wetenama -- IRUTU

Galis 1955-56  
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