TOROR
A Name Beyond Language and Culture Fusion

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FOREWORD FROM PUBLISHER

Toror as shown by its author, is a fusion word us to classify languages in Western Part of Bird’ Head Peninsula of the island New Guinea (Papua). As our knowledge regarding languages in Papua are very tiny, this book will help us to know and understand what is rely this communities of Toror Languages are.

This book consisting results of languages researches and investigations, shows, that the languages are exists with its specific characteristics as known linguistically as West Papuan Phylum Languages. As it is very curios that some of the languages mentioned in Papua are in urgent situation if not handled very soon and putted seriously, may disappear, this work may a good start indeed. There should more support and political good will needed to motivate similar work in advance.

It is for this purpose we gain do appreciate Mr. Don A.L. Flasy whose was offering us chance to publish this work as recommended by Mr. Deaky Asmuruf on his position as the Provincial Secretary of Papua.

This work is to be hope may worthwhile and use for various needs if necessary.

Jakarta, November 2002
Balai Pustaka
Foreword

The present work titled "Toror: A Fusion Name Beyond Language, Social-Structure and Culture Complexes, West Doberai- Peninsula-New Guinea (West Papua)" was just but an idea where the author could got through more deeply on the previous postgraduate papers, and essays which might developed to be a Ph.D. Dissertation, yet hardly to be realized. Away from its supposing condition the author was trying to make this possible for any public consumption mainly the owner of this culture specifics and also to whom this might be used as a reference for multiple purposes. Basing on this highlight, the work had been attempted to suit possibilities and conditions as to be a textbook and where at its very least to feed the need of Ethnographic Researches founded by the Provincial and Regional Development Planning Agency of Papua (the then 40 years Irian Barat/Jaya).

The author is fully aware if his work may only became a reality of distinguish approval of The Provincial Government of Papua and District Authorities of Sorong and Fakfak. Most personally the goodwill and positive understanding of my head office, Mr. Arnold Mamipioper and Mr. William L. Ansana on their capacities as The Head of Provincial Bureau for Wealth and Spiritual Mentality, Mr. Jacob Pattip as the Chairperson of Provincial and Regional Development Planning Agency of Papua before posting the position as The Governor of The Province of Papua, and also to Mr. Esau Sesa and Mr. Fredy D. Kambuaya each on their capacities as the Chair Person of The Regional Development Planning Agency of The District of Sorong and of Fakfak.

More or less the author is deeply indebted to Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa/The Center for Language Establishment and Development, Department of Culture and Education and also to Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia/Lembaga Ekonomi dan Sosial Nasional (LIPI/LEKNAS)/The Indonesian Institute of Science by obeying the author participating in differs researches in Papua included the Toror subculture area which is the target of this written work.
The predecessor, both researchers and civilians of the late Netherlands New Guinea Government whom had been deserving us by written works a such the "overzicht verklaring"/survey reports, "memories van overgave"/memories of authorities' transfers and several many useful reports, written work and audio-visual documents which may for now a days and then, remain important sources for since and knowledge which may worth for the now a days and future interest of human development, which where more or less also inspiring the author now at presents.

Specifically my warmly respect to J. Masink, I.W.M. van der Veen, Wania and many others' worked and wrote on this specific culture area. The giant written work produced through the hand of J. Pouwer, A. van der Leeden, J. Schoorl, G.J. Held, J. van Baal, F.C. Kamma, J.E. Elmbreg, and also at the nearer last by J. Miedema, and P. Haenen in the study of anthropology. At the same rank, also to mention the linguistics researches conducted and run by J.C. Anceaux, H.K.J. Cowan, S.A. Wurm and C.L. Voorhove and also of Summer Institute of Linguistics. These all forever, remain big inspiration and awareness opener to the domestic authors on their own existence as the owner of the culture (emiej/emiecs), where on the other hand also served as social and culture researchers and civilians (ethic/ethics).

Not to be too over if the author also obliged to raise a true highly respect and thankful to Professor Dr. W.A.L. Stokhof, Dr. J. Miedema, Dr. C.L. Voorhove and Dr. G. Reesink from The State University of Leiden, and Prof. Dr. A.M. Moeliono and Dr. H. Steinhauer and staffs of Indonesian Language Development Project/ILDEP Jakarta, Dr. P.J. Sitzer and staffs of Summer Institute of Linguistics Jayapura (Port Numbay), and also to Professor Dr. J.W. Schoorl from The Royal Institute for the study of Language, Land en Folk/KITLV. By their offering of so kind attention and willingly guidance only, the author had been facilitated by materials, funds and ideas in finishing this written work.

Thanks also to be raised for all supports and firmly understanding offered and shared by Mr. H.E. Mackbon the latest Chairperson of Provincial and Regional Development Planning Agency of Papua and colleagues and staffs of the office where I am doing my duties and services as public servant
and official researcher. Where at the same case the author also want to thank Prof. Dr. Soedarto of The State University of Cenderawasih and Mrs. Mary Robson of KITLV whose willing to read and cited critical notes on the draft of the present and the previous works. This is where also when this written work was managed to become a reality by Dr. Otto Nekitel of The University of Papua New Guinea. How ever what should be acknowledge as all weakness and shortages found are all the authors own responsibility.

At least the author is so pleased if aware that only of self confidence and firmness of Yuliana Christivora Wellikin/Flasy the wife, whom had diligently taking care of our children (Rio, Olga and then the little Stefan) and managed the whole life in the family during the field work, the graduate and post graduate studies at home country or abroad. To her, my deep love and trust.

Port Numbay-Hollandia, October 2002,
The Author.
About the author

Don Augustinus Lamaech Fassy, in abbreviation formulated as Don A.L. Fassy. Born in Teminabuan, a sub-district of Sorong, western part of West New Guinea/Papua, August, 28, 1947.

The cultural background is Tehit however beginning from his young ages he had left Teminabuan since 12 year old when finishing Indigenous People Elementary School at the Village Seribau (5 km away from Teminabuan) (1954-1957) and Dutch Elementary School for male kid at Teminabuan (1957-1959).


After graduated in Bachelor of Arts sent back to Papua and work as Editor for Folklore and Costumes text at Provincial Office for Education and Culture. After two years on this duty promoted to be as Head of Cultural Section at the Social and Mental Spiritual Bureau of the Provincial Secretariat. In case of completing the graduate study, again visiting Yogyakarta in 1976 to 1979 for obtaining Doctorandus (Indonesian Master) Degree. Back to Papua, continuing working at the same post. In 1980 to 1981 went to Holland for a postgraduate program at Faculty for Literature of State University of Leiden. Back to Papua placed at the same position.

In 1984 to 1985 attending an English Course for Academic Purposes at ALC and further sent to Canberra for post graduate at Australian National University. Back to Papua 1986 replaced to Provincial Regional Development Planning Board in Port Numbay. Starting the work as Head of Physical Infrastructure Section at Research Division. In 1989 to 1991 sent to Holland for postgraduate study at State University of Leiden for an Master of Arts degree. Back to Port Numbay continuing work at the same office as the
Head of Social and Culture Section at Research Division. In the year 1994 to 1997 pointed as Head of Research Division where when finishing this written work has been replaced to the past recent duty as Secretary of The Provincial Regional Development Planning Board.

The very recent status is none for any Structural Job as a consequence his involvement in the struggle for Papua Sovereignty-Independence. If this may as a punishment, Mr. Fassy then being employing sentence before Court termination. The fact was the court had terminating Mr. Fassy and his comrades on the same case as free from charge.

However, whilst no structural job, he still have the Functional status as Researcher and Planner, which is allowing him to be as a social and general development expert for The Provincial Regional Development Planning Board.

The experiences on research work had been held since bachelor study at Yogyakarta mainly on the area of West Bird's Head (Toror). Several studies and written works had been done both individual and collaboration with other parties mainly by the guidance and supervision of Professor Doctor W.A.L. Stokhof of The State University of Leiden The Netherlands. Many of these works had been compiled as supporting ideas to the completion of the present given work. Some of titles shown as listed in Bibliography of this book.

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MARKERS, ABBREVIATIONS AND ORTHOGRAPHIES

Markers In this work, markers are used as follows:
1. Markers
   /    = or, for example tool of barter/payment
   //   = according to civilians administration for example family name:
         Qondlogit (/IKondlogit);

2. Abbreviations
   Abbreviations used in this work are:
   B    = brother;
   C    = child/children;
   Z    = sister;
   F    = father;
   M    = mother;
   REL  = relative/classificatory-;
   S    = son,
   D    = daughter
   H    = husband
   W    = wife
   y    = younger
   o    = elder
   (w)  = male/masculine for example not(w) 'male-cloth'; (m)
   (m)  = female/feminine, for example egi(m) 'female-deceased';
   /m   = male
   /f   = female
   /mC  = male child;
   /fC  = female child.

3. Orthographies
   The system used to noted the features or words in local or target languages
   is followine, the Indonesian New Spelling Order, however there are certain
   specifications of tone may faced which are:
n-g = long alveo nasal followed by velar voiced stop, for example in 'nan-qi'woman/female' (CL nan-dla 'man/male');
ngg = velar nasal for example in sa'nggir 'the third brides-wealth';
q = uvular stop (voiced/unvoiced) for example: qīy-o-se'seq 'reciprocator beneficial'

"/" = stressing
"/.."/ = similar as, same notion as, meaning for example: qo'non(m) '8 days ceremony after birth'.

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ABSTRACT

BACKGROUND

Philosophy Doctor (PhD) Dissertation on the Study of Linguistics and Culture titled “Teror” A Name Beyond Languages and Cultures Fusion being mark-up after I was graduated Master Degree in the year 1992 at the State University of Leiden The Netherlands. The programme was one of agendas ranging on the memory of understanding laid on The Co-operative Project Irian Jaya Studies (IRIS) amongst The Royal Dutch Government and The Government of The Unitary Republic of Indonesia. Getting from this opportunity, 12 persons of Papuan Indigenous with various disciplines of S1 (after Bachelor of Arts) level basing, able to obtain chance for continuing study on diverse Humanity Topics (Linguistics, Law, Anthropology, Administration etc.) but also for professionals practises such as Artist, Arts and Culture Professionals, Librarians, Office Conductors etc. Number of alumnus will prefer to arrange the Centre of Irian Jaya Studies, which is at that time only held for its preliminary phase with its first and altogether the last group.

Further the Co-operation stagnated and then totally failed to be continued mainly on Indonesian side. There were two reasons. The first one was when President Suharto’s Policy in 1993 of delaying grants and loans from IGGI which at that period were organized by the Royal Dutch Government. The second was, when there were no more aids and assistance from Netherlands but also when this Scientific Forum assisted in ambitious manner to be a part of certain people Private Foundation. This was causing among the Scientist and the Bodies of Private Foundations against each others and on both side held withdrawal and finally the Centre became nobody business. There was hard attempt however the local authority had plotted budgeted and built physical accessibilities among others Offices which are located at Waena resort closed to the Provincial Expo and also many other Scientific Tools and Equipments but the reality so far, this is remaining far for the usage.

At mine personal case, there are also two main reasons. First: In Indonesian academic and scientific system the Dutch Masters are not acceptable; Second: The fact is that since the year 1993 on to 1995 there was no more budgeting from provincial authority here for any for Doctor/PhD study programme.

Facing these matter of facts whilst there still not any way out to defending this dissertation at the academic procedures and principals, the draft being published to be text-books in 1995 in popular format as the product of Provincial...
Authority, mainly the Office of Development Planning Board as material for Papua Ethnographical Issues.

About the same year (1995) a first go world conference in the history on Languages and Linguistics of New Guinea being staged in Jayapura arranged by The State University of Cenderawasih and The University of Papua New Guinea on the title "An International Conference on New Guinea Languages and Linguistics". This considerable spectacular and extraordinary Conference was a real fact of how the indigenous people from eastern and western part of the Island New Guinea gaining chance to gather in such manner. Else, the occurrence may also an implementation of the Co-operation MOU amongst The Government of The Unitary Republic of Indonesia and the Sovereign States of Papua New Guinea in the year 1992 specifically on Academic Co-operation amongst the University of Papua New Guinea and Academics and Universities of Eastern Part of Indonesia where the State University of Cenderawasih is one amongst these.

However problems and handicaps were faced the Proceedings of this Conference can be compiled on a collaboration work by Professor Dr. Otto I.M.S. Nekitel and the author, the work can be taken to be published under the title "Proceedings of an International Conference on New Guinea Languages and Linguistics" year 2000, consisting 400 pages and by ISBN 9980-85-296-8. The book had been launched in June 20, 2001 at UPNG Campus, Waigani Port Moresby supervised by Linguistic and Modern Languages Strand, School of Humanities and Social Science Department of Language and Literature, University of Papua New Guinea.

Inspired by these kind of the co-operation and collaboration the State Academies and Universities of Sovereign State of Papua New Guinea preferred to follow-up co-operation which already held in the manner of research and training but also on the Academia and Academics manpower which for this specific doe as opportunities for the Study Programmes of Masters and PhDs and else.

Relaying the PhD programmes, Drs. Nico Yakarimilena, MA as a Lecturer of the State University Cenderawasih had getting the change, while on duty as a staff at Cultural Attaché at Indonesian Embassy for Papua New Guinea. This goodwill was an early permit bestowed to me for the completion and defending my dissertation draft at the University of Papua New Guinea to fulfill any academic conditions for PhD degree in Linguistics and Cultural Studies. The change seemingly no longer can be continuing after the death of Professor Otto Nekitel the supervisor whom was offering the change.

Regard to my dissertation draft as conditioned by several above mentioned constrains was already being published in popular format of text-book under title "Toror A Name Beyond Languages and Cultures Fusion, Doberai Peninsula New
Guinea (Irian Jaya), a preliminary draft, sponsored by The Local Authority of Irian Jaya (Research Division of BAPPEDA), 511 pages thick plus maps and tables.

As being mentioned above, opportunities may vary scanty and rare for me to defend my PhD dissertation as basing on my Netherlands Masters Degree wherever at Indonesian Academy or University not except the State University Cenderawasih neither University of Papua, Manokwari. The matter of fact is the system in Indonesia will not accepting magistrate's degree (Masters Diploma) from The Netherlands as the system not suit to. As the ideologies constrains shown such which also affecting the academic conventions so not else than I had to seek for opportunities abroad. Where, it is not even to say just by change, the University of Papua New Guinea accepts this but then the reality is not. This remains continuously not a good luck when the Local Authority of the Province of Papua redrawing the funds from the Year 2002 Budged which are being plotting for supporting my case.

THE MAIN BODY

Leading by the so called Structuralism Anthropological of Leiden Stream with her regional concept or known as Field of Study (FoS), so many researchers and scholars so far had already claimed the region of Oceania consisting of Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia to be one global field of study. Verifying these mentioned regions basing on the classifications of specific disciplines, it was discovered the Land of Papua (Papua New Guinea and West Papua) is a region of 1000 languages which is 250s are in West Papua and 750s in Papua New Guinea including islands and isles surroundings (Raja Ampat, Schouten, Yapen, Manus, New Britain, Kimam etc.).

Regardless to this, the languages being classified two big groups, each with a totally different in characteristics. These are Languages of Austroasiatic and the Non-Austroasiatic Languages. Some examples of Austroasiatic Languages are Wondama, Numfor, Onin, Anus, Ambay, Uki, Ormu, and Tahai etc. as in the same relative with the language groups of Malay, Batakese, Javanese, Gorontalo, Kei, etc. The Non-Austroasiatic or are likely to call New Guinean Languages again classified into several groups which for this purpose only to mention the domain of Trans New Guinea Languages and those of Papuan Languages. These two domains mainly spread widely onto the whole island of Papua Land on to the islands of Timor Land and Halmahera, the Moluccas. The Toror Family at western part of Doberai (Bird's Head) Peninsula which will be the target of this study is grouped as the West Papuan Phyllum Languages which still in one relative with Languages of the northern
Halmahera. There are 6 languages autonomy found in three families, which are the Family of Meybrat (Karon, Madik, Meybrat) languages, the Family of Tehit (Tehit, Kisbra, Moral) and the Family of Mool (Mool and Segot).

The concept which being digging-up and will to be build-up is the structure-linkage among substances which as not strictly seen by bare eyes, might slipped away from the sight of the outsiders (researches, scholars and even administrators and commonness). This is to mean, the inherent concept (s) or emics that is mostly hidden as covered from the outsiders' outlook and even not match to outer concept or ethics. The existing relationship is hidden. One example of this is happened to the sacred dominance of kain timur (sacral cloth) exchange with the concept of war, death, mortality, lamentation, barter, marriage and several other aspects toughing the life. This may there for to claim the existing structure is named "hidden structure".

As the ‘hidden structure’ is discovered and clear to the research and as written here by the author (this dissertation) may already be a dedication to support the theory already been built-up by several researchers among others by Fei (1979) of the closed relationship between pig(s) sweet potato and the marriage interrelationship amongst the Papua New Guinea Highlanders. This finding as many others such as that of Gerbrand (Taal van de dingen/Languages of things 1970s) may as already being predicted as to shake the common view point of Leiden Anthropological Strands of Structuralism whose claimed this FGS area as culture of "loosely-structure". The polemic had ever appearing in the year 1950s among Alexander van der Leeden whose wrote on Sarri area and Jan Pouver whose common known by the people as master of kain timur exchanges and marriage relationship at the Bird’s Head area. Even the wrong view and seemingly forcing to the corner remained until the latest year of 1900s as conducted by the successors of this society in the Bird’s Head area (Jelle Miedema on the Kbaru and Paul Hasenan on Mool).

The other defending was on the local knowledge and domestic wisdom (emics) which are almost always stagnated by the introducing knowledge (ethics) which are taken as guideline in development which cost wrong setting seemingly basing on the knowledge laid by previous scholars.

The culture that is basic of local knowledge and domestic wisdom (emics) in each specific are not one color only as derived from each significant several of background. However they are find place in the same locus of FGS. This matter of fact had encourage this author some where had ever (1983) go with the idea of making classification named Cultural Zones or Cultural Areas. These color of varieties brought nuance of a mosaic’s theory known as Papua-Melanesian total way of life and philosophy of threefold principles: One People, One Soul, One Solidarity and mercy, allegiance and honest. This is there if one of the reasons the Indonesian concept of Bhinika Tunggal Ika (Diversities in Unity) is not too easy insurfgence into this room when the entrance point is not well found. Here what will be hold is we are different from each other and remain different however we all possess
solidarity of togetherness and sharing attitude which then never to be same with the concept of ‘different but to be one’.

The concept of emic and etic ideas had declare by Kennet L. Pike (The Father of SIL) may very useful for the understanding and acknowledging and may also become reference for the theory of “hidden structure” which this author wanting bring above in this dissertation. It is that the life (in the format of a state, politics, social, economy, and what ever) spend and placed on exact circulation very understood able by each entanglement, not to be oversimplify and not to be cutoff but may leading to graduate naturally. Its rotation or whirling however lays on one axis basing but the cyclone is difference equal to each period. If as known that equilibrium synergetic of the Western World as shown by Talbot Parson (1949) is gradually upright to reach totality or equilibrium. Contrary the group mentioned in this study is basing on circular rotation or wave theory to reach equilibrium or known to cyclic equilibrium. Each rotation stipulates its changes as also known to various groups of Saireri Culture Area by the concept called “fanfanandi”. The latest then should be taken as the real one and the one, which is messiah’s credence as influenced by out side patrons (Christianity).

This is might however from its understanding-point by the growth of logic on the development concept which should exactly been done in the Land of Papua if whether this is the matter of fact. The answer is first of all, had to place the exiting development concept of changes equally with the concept of local knowledge and domestic wisdom to build sharing ideas however the growth will be distributed the target is clear cut.

However this is not each others similar, the concept of approach may could be modified with the scope of development (growth) inside this area where it will be surely soon to be build up here two giants project of LNG at Mc Cluer Bay by Beyond Petroleum, and Nickel at Gak tate by Gak Company where also rejuvenation of several other project which operating so far in this area for years such as Phillips Oil Co, Santa Fe and others which so far the concept “Community Development” remaining far from concluding the local people.

Concerning this acknowledgement it may should precisely if already discovered a method of approaching called Distributed Growth Strategy (DGS). The strategy is to get away from centralistic model of development to be spread laid on diversification of conditions and the now a days demand. It is seemingly is tendencies for Asiatic which identified as characteristic of disorder, destroyed of environment overlapping, neglecting of rules, easy for conflict risk as facing at several heterogeneity communal cities such as Timika, Sorong, Port Numbay- Hollandia, which is by the moment calls Jayapura but also at homogeneity places like Wamena in the Highland and other places throughout the Land of Papua since model of distribution and satellite system replaced by Indonesian society of desa (village) inclusive model. Taking for example as if in Hollandia we do have concentration of exclusive model, Hollandia-Bonen or Abey (Abe pura) as community centre in realistic picture has a green boundary by well handled forest to keep this away from the neighbouring suburb is no
longer exist. This also happened to other nearby suburb such Koearta but also with Yuka, Waena, Sentani, Entrop, Hamadi and the Dock resorts. In Saron now a day no longer any more real green boundary we have to be environment mark among suburbs of Klademak I, Klademak II, Klademak III, Remu, Kampus Baru etc. as before. The building of houses and others seemingly generalized in one model (inclusive), which at certain area just seen as strange structures which never and far from the usage alias useless. None the less Youtefa Protected Forest of Tourism Resort become worst one to the other day. Neither nor the Forest of Gunung Meja inside the city of Manokwari however, seemingly could not suffer from destroying. The similar worst held to Merauke where the local wise (emwics) by holding sand dike of sea bank at mBusi were continuously digging away for building materials (ethics) which will causing the none accepting disaster of flood into the city in very future. Accident is also facing to surrounding Biak, Numfor, Padado Islands and the rest of Geelvink or Sairera Bay, where the coral reef and sea beauties of biota destroyed by man bad habitual. The main core is first of all, the emwics as base principle to be understood and acknowledging before the implementation of whatever ethics conception. This is meant what is to do is, the agent of development has to participate to the views and the needs of people of the target and never think of pushing the other way around.

Port Numbay-Hollandia,
October 2002,
Author
Chapter One
INTRODUCTION
1. General

The aim of the present work is to bring forward, how the Toror people interact with each other and the rest of the world, especially to every influence from outside. This is not to mean to debate what the condition stand for or what general properties must account for. This is but to search out the frame of symbolism, name and naming processes and word-taboo to fulfill what is taken here as any cultural patterns led by the knowledge background of linguistics and social and cultural structure aspects. That is the notion of symbolism and naming need not to be further defined, but only circumscribed in the course of to show how a set of diverse phenomena may be approached to cover the philosophical back ground of the mentioned culture.

Materials used to build up this work mostly are taken from essays and assignments on linguistics and social-anthropology lectures during my graduate and postgraduate study at The Institute for Teacher and Education (IKIP) Yogyakarta, The Australian National University Canberra and at Leiden University the Netherlands. This also to mean the other reports, lectures extracts, seminar papers, books and various others written materials for dedicated likelihood or anthropology specifically on Ethnography of Papua, both at my position as social and cultural researcher and also of development planner.

Toror culture specific\(^1\) comprises the territory of two language families of the West Papuan Phylum in the Doberai (Bird's Head) Peninsula of New Guinea (Papua), which is defined as the West Doberai and the Central Doberai Families. Languages belonging to the West Doberai Family are Mooi, Seget, Morait, Klabra and Tehit. Whereas languages belong to The Central Doberai Family are Meybrat, Abun/Karon and Madik.

\(^1\) The author is a native speaker of Tehit, specifically of Tehit Jit dialect. Many data were only recorded orally, where many aspects became loose of intensity caused by the pressure of outside influences. This work had been done as a compilation of both ethics and emics attempt to the kernel point. Almost every data given here are grounding on Tehit vernaculars.
In a preliminary work on historical evidences regarding materials in Bahama and Iha languages of Trans New Guinea Phylum of Bomberai Peninsula if compared to the above-mentioned languages, it is shown many similarities in their proto form.

Language characteristics in this socio-cultural framework are in many ways different from those of any other language groups located in the southern part of Doberai Peninsula and those spread throughout the Raja Ampat Archipelago which are classified as the members of Trans New Guinea Phylum (among others the languages of Bira, Ogit, Puragi, Maya, Laganian, etc.) and which is also distinct to Austronesian languages in adjacent areas. The major significant differences are marked by lexical features, grammatical typographic and the most important is the function of pro nominal affixes. On the basis of the linguistic phenomenon just mentioned and by looking at the existing structural patterns of the life, any individual has all the information necessary and all the linkages with the wider aspects which are complex and accumulated.

From another point of view, the spread environment typographic may the main characteristics innovators, which resulted variations of socio-economic patterns integrated into socio-cultural normative including terms (lexicons) in language (notions of numbers and genders).

2. Cultural Components

Interdependency of the environment may allow freedom of movement to every Toror cultural component (individually and in-groups in the area of livelihood, social alliances, institutions, prosperity, ownership, etc.).

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2 Cognate's similarities run about 57 to 80%. Report on these languages (see Bibliography) has been given by several researches, among others by Berry and Berry (1987).

3 As an integral aspect in the culture, language in this view is accepted on its cultural-environments sight. Pike (1967:26) as being stressed by Sappier (1922:6-13), Boas (1938:9) and Molinowsky (1960:22-24, 429-463) and again formulated further by Bynon (1977:24) as an essential human being activity, language has been taken as notions marker to the knowledge of evolution which
The area in which the sources of livelihood are found in general takes the form of a marginal plateau, however there are many variations. These variables are experiencing or implementing as sources of livelihood are described as agriculture and aqua-culture as mostly of "gathering sago".

Gardens (dry-field-agricultures) are normative planted twice a year, but meanwhile there are also activities such as preparing small size reserve gardens for use if the need arises. Traditionally, there are also very specific gardens which are necessary for ritual ceremonies (recently these have been substituted by common gardens needed for social goals such as: schools, youth organizations, congregations and church gardens).

This can be viewed as a triple dimension of the goals for which gardens are needed within a whole institution scene. The last mentioned gardens are mostly communal (normative). The second will be for occasional activities (deviants), whereas the first are a necessity for existence. Taro, *Colocasia sp. variant: Colocasia antiquorum*, as is common in many other Melanesian groups and throughout several parts in (South) Pacific Islands, is the main staple food, which means it is the focus plant. Many terms and lexicons of gardens and plants including foods arise from this notion. As with taro, this source also reveals that "sago" has an important position. Taro is a human cultivated product whereas sago is provided naturally. Two different worlds are seen to meet each other here in the life of mankind, forming one unit of existing dimensions. The most common domestic animal is pig however it does not occupy a central cultural position. In many cases pigs are items of trade as well as having important role in customary and traditional exchange system. The close connection with these particular animals is based on a mystical relationship, of which people are greatly aware.

Based on its polarization and universality of socio-cultural aspects, the Toror ethnics group is divided into three groups of tribes: Mooi (Mooi and Seget), Tehit (Kalbra, Morait and Tehit) and the Meybrat (Meybrat, Abun and Madik), however arbitrariness and overlapping of distribution bears communal structure in the anatomy of culture body fitted into the reality and word adequacy.
cannot be avoided. For the last three decades the system of settlements had been changed to the Indonesian "desa" (or village) patterns, which has caused a great many cultural and linguistics interactions. This particular process, however, has led to shortages, although, in many ways this should have been very fruitful in the sense of providing accessibility for (re) unification or (re) union/formations of the important socio-cultural aspects.  

Any unit of "cultural area" here may be accepted as a minimal limitation of territory in which life and the occurrences of one characteristic of individuals and groups is integrated by mechanisms into the unit of parallel norms which are conventional, and deviance which is governed by patterns, materials and the same idealism which are continually fixed and accepted as an absolute. A socio-cultural unit is accepted not only as a loose event (aspect), but more likely as an existing totality (socio-cultural set of existence) and must bring awareness to bear on differentiating one unit of target from others, even though there is shared intelligibility.  

This is assuming absence or hidden relationship has come about as the result of historical processes. Every sub-group in integrated spreads environments has undergone differentiation and shifts of patterns and values that, from one period to another, have diverged far from the origin of the common patterns and values. In their isolation, all these differentiation have formed a recognized frame of styles, names, sorts, functions, categories, intentions, capacities, etc.  

Socio-cultural characteristics, as far as can be observed in the Toror ethnic-group have formed into a totality, which is reflected dimensionally. They move within a set pattern of rules (normative), which are accepted as

\[1\] However, as for the facts during the last three years (1999-2001) it is seemingly turning to the previous condition (before the pattern was implemented) as conduciveness forced by the desire of special-autonomy and self determination of the Papua.  

\[5\] de Saussure, as translated by Roy Harris (1972:6,7) since the beginning of new course in linguistics has noticed the close relationships between linguistics and several other disciplines, for example the practicing of linguistic theory and methodology when analyzing the social phenomena which supported by the knowing of history, ethnography and anthropology shown mankind as species.
socio-cultural aspects, which have also become units for the action system and for basic-references of existence.

3. Universality and Historical Processes

There are two major factors to be faced here, the universality and historical processes, which have caused shifts towards significant uniqueness. The dynamism of the life is impelled by several changes (deviations); however in this process in many instances the similarities to the cultural origins remain as a fact of uniformity and universality.

Differentiation among (sub-) groups vary continuously complimentary where among them patterns are able substituting each others, both internally or externally and are intrinsic in colouring the closeness and existence of the group. In many instances the flow of these linkages are hidden so they do not appear on the surface of the patterns of daily life. The system of inters linking between the element units is invisibly marked or linked by a hidden-structure. The autonomy is clear-cut, but every unit is still linked with the whole normative patterns.

Cultural characteristics of Toror, as well as those of the whole Melanesian area as a field of interest (field of study/FOS) area. That is therefore structured in a hidden pattern, which, on the surface (existent), is reflected in a sense of irregularity or what has also been termed confusing diversity.

This cultural identity is more like the diversity of overlapping display of mosaic-like boundaries (accumulated, drawn to each other and joined together but also separable). The fact is that surface appearance has many times been seriously misinterpreted by outsiders (not excepting

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6 FOS is an approach approved by Structural Anthropology of Leiden school founded by J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong (1977). Regarding New Guinea (Papua-New Guinea and West Papua) as an area of FOS there seems no specifics course or school has been conducted, however, the observing works on this particular area has been done for about two centuries (since 1828 or beforehand). The state University of Leiden in the framework of Papua Studies Center started in 1990 thematic studies on the heading Papamistik (Papua Studies: IRIS Project 1990) under project subdivision IRIS (Papua Studies for the Papuan) and ISIR (Interdisciplinary Studies on Irian Jaya/Papua for the Dutch students).
researchers), and consequently has been characterized as loose. The absence of any relationship among distinct cultural elements is indeed very marked. The aspects here do not show closed tight relationship as if compared with those noted as African models, for example that of marriage alliances (kinship).

4. Hidden Structure

The concept of hidden-structure is offered here as a methodological tool in an attempt to find a way out of this impasse. It can be applied to research what was previously carried out which so far has by no means clearly summed up the anthropology in New Guinea and the adjacent islands. This includes work done by members of "structural-anthropology" of Leiden school. The concept of "hidden-structure" contains a pattern for embracing the cultural aspects within unit of structural limitation so these can reflect the relationship both among the similar cultural units and with the other limited units.

The principal mechanism of hidden structure is cyclical equilibrium strongly characterized by monotonous. It can be open-ended or simultaneously converged towards a coma-climax (creativity). The circular relationship between the internally hidden structured (inner action) functions as a complex mediator to form the characteristic spirits of togetherness, spirits of group, and also as a spirits of competition, war as well as harmonization among the alliances, in the manner of the so called (Tchit) gyo-seseq, which is 'mutual release and offering a way out' which is accepted as approximately approaching solutions.

7 The African anthropological model of productivity is since 1960s no longer used after obtaining more actual data from Papua New Guinea. By The British Anthropology Society, the method had been adopted as more concentrated on productivity mechanism That is meant relational concept or which is caused Dutch: verwantschap is also one of productivity concept of mankind between production of wealth and idealism Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown as shown by Cohen (1974:18-22). basing the functional-structuralism on relationship among social institutions and opportunities conditional of an existence in the social system which is called as holistic approach to a society union and comparing with what will be taken as data as for social-structure.
The mechanism in the notion of *hidden-structure* is found in a form of circular equilibrium whether this is, obedience to or deviation from and may be directed towards (Tehit) *qal-e-m-a-ra-n-defaq(mh) 'a transitory end' or may be as an 'intermediate stage'. The aspects are integrated, although in the surface each appears as separate unit of individualism (autonomy).  

Individualism in the frame-work of the "hidden-structure" is not a question of personality but more like the enclosing of the entirety of existence, which therefore assumes a dual dimension.

Within the Toror ethnic-group, the socio-cultural essences are reflected and presented amongst other means by myths, beliefs, power (successions, achievements, capitalism, and big-man-ship), social alliances (kinship, junior, senior lines and allies), sacred-cloths the *kain-timur*, trading (barter, and capital-interests) etc. These are all recognized as a principle of triple dimensions i.e. production- dimensions comprising ideas, relationships and wealth. Every element is linked to and influenced by each other to liberate and create fresh opportunities (qlyo-seseq).  

The acknowledgement of the term *toror* bears witness to a triple dimension, which is based on the past (lost Toror), present-day phenomena (memorizes Toror), and the future (oriented Toror). Connected with suitability and incorrectness these ideas become the kernel of a conflict as far as possible maintained in balance. This control, besides drawing people

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8 On the relationship among structure and social action, Parson (1949:43-47) has defined action as an agent or as an actor by whom an act is oriented to reach the end which running in one situation, shows a regular repetitions or normative orientations. An action in this context may adapted as a process of efforts or as a time duration directed to the end which may becoming references of the future and which than ascribed by generation to generation, however it is belief that a certain performance is mostly depending on outs:de world, which is said the external influencing the action (internal).

9 This may one of the reasons, which is influencing word stems and cognates including vocabularies. Terms and words dealing with sea or water life environments, for example may more deliberate to the language of Seget and Klabra if comparing with Madik in this certain case. By the same way of approach, Dutton (1997:51-73) has covered the spreads vocabularies and culture-items amongst languages in Papua New Guinea.
together, also arranges the life dynamism of each individual as a member of the group within a limited space such as house, settlement-units, village, sources of livelihoods, gardens, rivers, etc. including the restricted places, the domains of natural powers and spirits, ghosts, souls and genies.

The relationship between the elements forms a total unit, which, as mentioned before, is wedged together and offers a way out glyo-seseq. Although one dies, and becomes a spirit, the integration with the system remains unchanged and continuous. It is understood that human beings have a relation with souls and spirits because through the power of lost spirits gools'ni'lre(w), animals such as pigs, crocodiles, centipedes, or whatever things threaten the tranquility of human beings whether by giving rewards or punishments.

This concept influences the whole of existence, including daily life (gathering food, hunting games, catching fish, gardening and the cyclical making of dry-filed-agriculture, and also taking care of water sources, jungles, paths, etc.). Whatever natural things, animate or inanimate, visible or invisible, apart from protecting mankind, at the same time may also present a danger to human life. According to this concept, every event therefore should each have its own linkage values (on purpose) and intentions.

5. Supernatural Trinity

The occurrence in threefold seems to be a cultural characteristic in this area as supernatural trinity, human being triple dimension, three aspects of production and three sets dependencies. Divine existence and supernatural property is viewed as light or sun. Supernatural effort to fulfill the needs of human beings is understood as a daylight labour, which begins at first light at dawn and finishes when the sun sets, whereas at night the whole process will be completed with the arresting of the evil spirits. The same pattern will be continued at the following day. The work of the Supernatural therefore is never ended, simultaneously, however, every stage is a totally rounded unit and loaded like a fully loaded canoe. It is believed that at the time of toror (ancient days) this canoe loaded with wealth and glory was rowed and floated through the air and visited human beings regularly.
The whole concept may give a view of "light" which is able to encompass the beginning and the end, created from nothingness and it assumes a new form by disappearing. Many institutions were formed to confront human beings with the Supernatural. The institution of Wuon or shamans education for instance, became an important cultural focus.

Even though this varies among the groups, basically the function of this Wuon institution is that of a mediator (of two ways communication) between human beings (in their three dimensions) and the invisible power. This cycle is continuous until human beings have received their form from nothingness and returned to nothingness, i.e. shadow or spirit, and "man" (human) three holds dimensions as a unit of completeness (being). The whole of existence is a concept, which is in a regular state of flux in a process of moving to achieve a balance and to form patterns and norms.

Not every thing allowed to be done personally. On one other hand single case, which occurs in the community is the concern of everybody and no one is left outside. Personal activities should be a continuation of the group needs. Personal performance in a particular matter must be in balance with the whole system. The concept of ownership of sources of livelihoods, jungles, soils, rivers, etc. is basically not found. The whole matter must be coordinated and talked about decisively. The forming of several institutions for organizing the tranquility and welfare, for instance Wuon, serves to promote the peacefulness and well-being of human and of the environment (cosmological interlink age) as a whole.

According to this view, universality is more like a conglomeration element-compounding concepts, which are closely related to each other. The oppositions is a clear marked, amongst others, feminine-masculine, junior-senior, taboo-permitted, visible-invisible, etc., where also understood as above earth, surface and beneath of the world. In the concept of belief for instance, there is opposition between olingadu 'the light of creating' and qoolsinele 'the spirit destroying'. The Supernatural is also recognized as two parts of a whole: tali 'sun' (Cf. tadu 'day), ngosameri 'dawning' vice qnabin 'a loaded canoe'. Cosmic dualism in the life of such a socio-cultural complexity is a simultaneous being of sub-specie aeternitatis (eternity), which is identical, an interchangeable forming the identity of a (sub-) group. The implication of element-compounding concept in the notion of
such a *specie aeternitatis* in life of Toror ethnic group becomes a symbol of extent and tightness as reflected in kinship alliances, owner and ownership, actor and actions, etc.

6. Semantic Obligations

Every manifestation (existence) in the view of the Toror ethnic group semantically oblique (however, not totally) and appears only by the addition a pro-nominal-affixes that is used when whatever thing in the cosmic order counted for using the 3rd person: -m- for 3rd person singular feminine, 3rd person singular masculine, and -y- for 3rd person plural. Where these also may hold for integrated as accepted to as partial of the wholeness see diagram.

Every concept, which has a meaning in kinship terms and social alliances, is the same notion as the inalienable concept refers to body parts (physically there are body parts everything).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prep.</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>Indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sketch 1: Pronominal Affixes in Tehit.**

This phenomenon is displayed in the important cultural themes of Toror group such as marital and kinship systems, alliances, exchange the bride-price goods of *kain-timur* ('sacred cloths'), masculine institution *wuon* ('shaman') and the *lai* or *swangi* (female witchcraft). The linkage alliances overlaps where each of them attracts benefits, therefore they almost always opposed to each other. Lines of relations can be traced back though the phenomena already mentioned above. This means, what is meant by life in the Toror group may viewed as a unit the attendance of wider concepts. This dynamism is alive, in a process, creating relations, and which result in new norms, which however still revolve in a cyclical motion, which fits the commitments.
Toror concluding remark sub-culture area at this frame sees as part of Doberai division of Doberai-Bomberai culture province. The topic given here is to discuss related concept between performances and the agent, stimulated the knowing and understanding of the global being of the culture. This cultural characteristic as widely known as still part of Papua-Melanesian Culture spread over The Eastern Indonesia and Southwestern Pacific Ocean.

Regarding cultural provinces laic to New Guinea or Papua and her adjacent archipelagos and isles, there seemed to be found eleven culture provinces or culture areas (J.G. Held, De Papoea Cultuur-improvisator/The Papuan Culture Improvisators, 1959, Don A.L. Flassy, ed., 1983), where about 5 of these are found place in (West) Papua. Each cultural province characterized by amount of cultural divisions and subdivisions.

7. Structure of Description

Further, in the presenting work the discussion is dealing with varies kind of socio-anthropological-linguistic devices. Each topic of interest in detail will be discussed in separate chapter. Each chapter shows how cases in Toror specific culture area at Doberai (Bird's Head) Peninsula of New Guinea/Papua as a Socio-Anthropological Linguistics Studies. Chapter II is on Languages in Toror consisting of linguistic aspects of phonology, morphology and language interlink age both synchronically and diachronically; Chapter III on "Symbols and Naming System and Word Taboo" where these aspects are seen as the most socio-linguistic issues experienced as human behaviour by practicing language as medium covering the philosophy of an act and the self interactions within the environment; and Chapter IV regarding Social Structure with main focus on the close relationship of each cultural aspect in some kind of structure called "hidden-structure" routing in some kind of cybernetic-cycles, which from the outside view might indicated as "loosely-structured". The work is informed by a view of socio-anthropological-linguistics of how human capabilities are determined and culturally determinant, which are not cultural variations but only cultural variability and which also constrained with human learning abilities to cope along with their life and circumstances.
This may need no more further construction of any formal arguments rather to consider the logic of linguistics and of psychology impact enter into the development are simplified. The author believes, however, the work is still lack and limited in dealing with the needs. It may cause a further systematic and theoretical depth of approach to reach these cultural patterns. Flassy, somewhere else had sorted culture specific at Papua as Tabi, Saieri, Doberai-Bomberai, Ha-Anim and Dani-Paço (Lani-É equ) culture provinces or culture areas.

The Tabi culture area covers Tami River to Mamberamo River border with Sepik culture area in the east and to Dani-Paço culture in the south. The Saieri culture area covers the Yellow Plumes Bay (Geelvink bay) or Cenderawasih gulf from western bank of Mamberamo estuary to the northern cost of Doberai (Bird's Head) Peninsula and divers islands of Raja Ampat Archipelago. Doberai-Bomberai culture area at this point covers Doberai Peninsula and Bomberai Peninsula (inland of Manokwari down to Sorong and further to Fakfak as far as in the south and reached Etna Bay). Ha-Anim culture may be said covering areas from Mimika, Asmat, Mapi, Marind to Gulf of Papua. The Muyu, Mandobo and Yaqai are also claimed to part of this culture specific. Highland culture area on the other side may be counted as covering the whole highland from Wissel lakes to X valley further bordered with Goroka to Chimbu culture area in Papua New Guinea.

\[\text{It is to be understood that each subdivision may be marked as linguistic characteristic phylum or groups, where at this point of view, there are more than 250 languages with thousand of dialects spread in this half part of convenient alike (Wurm, 1981, Voorhoeve, 1975, SIL, 1983). At a very wide eagle view, as basing on several studies mainly conducted by J.G. Held (1951), A.A. Gerbrands (1970), S.A. Wurm and Shiro Hattori (1981) and many other materials both written and audio-visualized, Don A.L. Flassy (ed, 1983).}\]
Chapter Two

TOROR LANGUAGES
§1

General

1.1. Background

It is mostly a human tendency to view oneself as distinct from the rest of the world. The whole attendance's seems to be accepted as is so obvious according to the appearances of ordinary act and the manner of behave. The differences growth to be patent and permanent characteristics institutionalises as styles and customs as well as different peoples some times with varies languages. Several realities of universality sameness seems always taken a side with a very limit interest of need to view more deeply.

In a spirit of a unit, one on itself built a process of inter linking into a common gather as family, brotherhood, group or tribe. Again each of which shows varies of specifies. Each tribe may also political and ceremonial unit with a certain distinct historical background. The arrangement requires that every one know bow to interact each other by a certain common usage of language. The present work is dealing with vocabularies and other linguistic aspects in Toror languages. They may be used to reconstruct proto-Toror forms by comparing the cognates in those word lists. As this is a preliminary study, the results may need to be modified after further investigations and should workout more professional. Further there may be also attempt to trace alternatives in having availability for a common language or calls language re-unification among these languages.

The given work is based on a wordlist consisting 150 selected items. The items were taken from a structural description worked out by Purba and Animung (1984) and also from a 200 item list by author him self.
(1987) on Mool. The Seget data were taken from a Holle list collected by Animung and the author himself (1987). The list of Morait, was adopted from a provisional SIL list filled out by Jung and Hesse and field notes of the author himself (1989). For Meybrat, Abun and Madik the data are quoted from SIL (1986 and 1989) nonetheless still not fitted to the usage.

1.2. Toror Language Group

Toror is an indigenous specific and secreted term used by the mate shaman institution for the peoples and culture specific and also languages in the western most part of the West Bird's Head or which domestically calls "Doberai" Peninsula of New Guinea.

On their work beyond these languages Voorhoeve (1975) and further Wurm (1976) and Wurm and Hattori (1991), these languages are classified as a group of language characteristic calls The West and Central Bird's Head Language Family that is part of The West Papuan Language Phylum. Languages belongs to this family are None- Austronesian or Papuan. Basing to its cultural features, these two language subfamilies can be defused into one linguistic characteristic, which is calls Toror. The language family found place in the district of Sorong, which is covering sub-district of Sorong Barat, Sorong Timur, Aymas, Batanta, Seget, Beraur, Sausapor, Morait, Teminabuan, Ayamaru. Aitinyo and Ayfat. Languages belongs to West Doberai Family are Mool, Seget, Klabra, Morait and Teheit, where those belongs to Central Doberai are Abun/Karon, Madik and Meybrat which according to the above sources also included languages of Northern Halmahera of North Moluccas.

With its limitation of data to each single language, mostly that of the Central Doberai Sub-Family, the so called Toror languages with its dialect and variants and figures of speakers showed as Sketch 2 bellow:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-Group A</th>
<th>Sub-Group B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Morait (900)</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Saluk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Saluk/(Mr1a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Sailala/(Mr1b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sayosa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Sayosa/(Mr2a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Mladofok/(Mr2b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Salqma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Welek/(Mr3a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Klamit/(Mr3b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Saimeit/Tor/(K12)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Kiabra/Ro/(K12)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>3. Tehit (8500)</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Jit/(Te1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Mlafe/(Te1a)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b. Mlaqa/(Te1b)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Mbolle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Afnya/(Te2a)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b. Gemna/(Te2b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Negna/(Te2c)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Sayfi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Seri/(Te3a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Sayfil/(Te3b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ymian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Ymian/(Te4a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Sfaden/(Te4b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sfaryere/(Te5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Fqar/(Te6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sawaiat/(Te7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GROUP II</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. Mool (4000)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Masinsa/(Mo1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Klasa/(Mo2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Segun/(Mo3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5. Seget (600)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Lemas/(Sel)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Klalip/(Scl2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sketch 2: List of Toror Languages with dialects and variants**

1. Abun (2900)
   1. Abun Tak/(At)
   2. Abun Ji/(Ajj)
   3. Abun Je/Aje)

2. Madik (1000)

3. Meybrat (20000)
   1. Asmaun/(As)
   2. Karondori/(Kar)
   3. Habib/(Hb)
   4. Introfo/(Hf)
   5. Introno/(Ino)
   6. Wayer/(Wa)
   7. Nakin/(Na)/Saman
Commentaries:
(...) Numbers of speaker's are still doubted.
1). Tehit Jit has two variant s, not been described before.
2). Genna and Neqna are only different in the way of pronunciation, vocabularies remaining same.
3). the data are too limit, the vocabularies of Group II languages are less to be analysed in this work.

As pointed out by Voorhoeve (1975:718) and further Wurm (1975:635, 1982:28), the languages of this area form a family which has been classified as the West Papuan Phylum. This Phylum comprises the languages in the central and western parts of Doberai (Bird's Head) Peninsula as well as of languages in North Halmahera the Moluccas. The languages of the West Papuan Phylum are non-Austronesia, i.e. they are not genetically related to the Austronesian languages in the area.

The Toror language group consists of eight languages, which are Mooi, Seget, Morait, Klabra and Tehit sub-grouping on one side and Meybrat, Abun/Karon and Madik on one other side. These languages share, apart from a considerable number of cognates, many linguistic features. Each of the Toror languages is spoken in a number of dialects or variants as listed in Sketch above.

1. 3. The Speakers

The speakers of languages in New Guinea are fused into three main groups which are Melano Negroid, Melano Papuan and Melano Wedoid. By searching the physical ornament of body and the culture the speakers of Toror languages may indicated as the melting characteristics of the Melano Negroid and Melano Papuan and little Melano Wedoid. These are the speakers of Austronesian language features, the Papuan of Trans. New Guinea and the West Papuan Phylum and may plausibly be also some Geelvinkbay Phylum as can be seen to the Maybrat language of Central Doberai Sub-Family.

A very preliminary description may as followings. The Melano Negroid people characteristic are mostly those of the inland of New Guinea
from Doberai to the neck through the Paniai and Bailem (Jawawijaya)/Western Highland) and to Chimbu and Mendu (Eastern Highland) where also held several overlapping with people on the north coats and south coast.

Studying Toror carefully the Melano Negroid characteristic is remaining to the Abun, Madik, Meybrat, Moraid and totally the half of Tehit speakers. The Melano Papuan People characteristic is seen to Mooi, Klabra and to small number of Tehit and some of Seget speakers. Where also Melano Wedoid scarcely are found as seen to Seget, Mooi and Tehit speakers.

1.4. Villages
Traditional villages or "kampung(s)" where the Toror group found inhabited are mostly based on land tenure and territory ownership of clan and alliances with a clear zone ion of responsibilities. As the family system is paternalistic, the male people are having right of the family, clan, and alliances ownership.

Traditionally villages are placed on riverbank or stream where water can be easily supplied where also places where trading transactions centrally found. Taking for example for the Tehit speakers big villages (of West Papua conditions) are found almost at estuary. The Weri Konda or Konda, Weri Sar, Wer Abuam or Teminbuam and Werika Srer or Seribau are the most point where contact both domestically or to the outside world had been held to the people of southern sub-districts of Sorong.

Regarding the implementation of Indonesian Decree number 5 year 1979 on the Desa Affairs (UU no 5 tahun 1979 tentang Pemerintahan Desa), several villages as known to the above categories are enlarged bay combined with one other village to be suited to desa performances. The condition had been brought up several cultural and social and linguistics improvements. If only to mention the positives of them, that the availability of government services can be easily reach community needs and for the people themselves, the easy contacts can be where among variants, dialects and languages of similar back ground (proto languages) the re-unification seemingly can be traced. Complexities still are facing at the latest situation
however the Indonesian Special Autonomy for Papua being declared in the year 2001.

1.5. Languages Boundaries

Languages of Toror Family or Group consisting four sub-family which are the Mooi, Tehit, Abun and Meybrat (see Tree Diagram in Chapter 4). The language of Mooi as an origin split to Mooi placed on the north and Seget to the south bordered by the Maya and Laganyan at the west (Austronesian languages spoken in Misool, Salawati and Batanta). To the east this is bordered with Klabra on southward and Morait in the middle and Abun on the north.

The Tehit as an origin split to Klabra, Moraid and Tehit. To the west bordered with Mooi and Seget, to the north and east bordered with Madik and Maybrat and to the south bordered with Yaban-Ogit.

The Abun or Karon, which was split to Abun and Madik, found placed as surrounded by Mooi, Tehit and Maybrat. The Meybrat placed at the central Doberai, to the west bordered with Abun and Tehit and to the east with the Meyach of East Doberai Languages Family and to the south overlapped Mugim Kais (Mugim, Yehadian).

These devices based on several wordlists produced by researches and people whose had done specific written work in this particular area. Those mentioned word lists presented several difficulties. Many items are bard to match with word in the target languages. Conjunctions such as 'and' or 'or' do not occur without pronominal affixes. This may also ha several kinds of nouns. The last mentioned two classes of word prefixes to mark subject and possessors, whereas suffixes are objects by showing its gender, size, and number.

Some field surveyors failed to see these particulars so incompleteness was hardly avoided. It is indeed not so easy to recognize how exactly a word exists, whether it is a free form or a bounded form with affixes. For example the word 'hand' has been obtained from a speaker without difference in meaning as /te'na/ or /ne'na/ and these forms have been written down. However the meaning of /te'na/ is 'my hand' but /ne'na/ is 'your hand'; the form meaning 'hand' should be written /-ena/. To this particular I should added that, contracted personal pronominal forms or
personal pronominal clitics are mostly found preceding and following specific word either as prefix or suffixes. These refer to the subject or the actor of verbs (predicates), possessor and gender of nouns. However in the recorded list(s) those markers are dropped and marked by using - (-Word).

The markers mentioned above are:

\[(p/-p) = \text{neutralized prefix/suffix;}
\]
\[(w/-w) = \text{3rd male (m) person pronominal prefix/suffix;}
\]
\[(m/-m) = \text{3rd female (f) person pronominal prefix/suffix;}
\]
\[(y/-y) = \text{3rd person plural pronominal prefix/suffix;}
\]

Finally several modifications had to make in the lists to adopt them to the cultural background of the speakers. Consequently, the (Appendix 1) is in many cases different from that of the original list(s). Eliciting the Indonesian list(s) did the recording. For this particular paper however an English translation has also been added.
§2

Language Characteristics

2.1. Phonetics

Phonology of Toror Languages stated as basing on the typical sound as indicated by its lexicons and cognates in each language. The present Chapter is then covering the similarities of lexical, phoneme distributions, phoneme correspondences, and the second level segmental sound, type of changes and syllable.

Toror phonology is significantly marked by specific phonemes or sounds identified in the vocabularies available for each language (dialect or variant). This section presents an overview of the phonetics and phonemic of the Toror languages. As mentioned in section 2, linguistic investigators in the area have made several descriptions. The author's own work on phonetics in paper (on Toror languages) is mostly based on Flassy and Stokhof (1979) on the Tehit language (see Chapter 3).

2.2. Specific Phonetic Segmentations

As most sounds are shared among these languages, special attention would be paid only to sounds or phones with language-specific characteristics. A brief description of these characteristics may be given as follows.

1). Vd. Stops /p/, /t/, /k/ and Vd. Stop /b/, /d/, /g/. show allophones in the following environments:

C/-C in Mo, Kl and Mr become:

[p] VI. Unreleased Bilabial Plosive;
[t] VI. Unreleased Apico-Alveolar Plosive;
[k] VI. Unreleased Dorso-Velar Plosive.

In the final position [-#] become:

[p'] VI. Released Bilabial Plosive;
[t'] VI. Released Apico-Alveolar Stop;
[k'] VI. Released Dorso-Velar Plosive.
All Toror languages share these but in some cases they are in free variation with Vd.Stops.

[b'] Vd. Released Bilabial Plosive in Se;
[d'] Vd Released Apico Alveolar Stop in Se and Mr;
[g'] Vd. Released Dorso-Velar Plosive in Mo and Se.

2. Vd.Stop /b/, /d/ and /g/ however are in shared by all Toror languages, in Te mostly are preceding by homo organic pre-nasal which are becoming /mb/, /nd/ and /ng/.

3. Vd.Fricative /f/ in certain environments become:
[θ] Vd.Bilabial (Slit-) Fricatives in Te;
[v] Vd.Labio-Dental Fricatives in V-V in Te;
in free variation with [pf] Vl.(Central) Labio-Dental Fricatives, esp. Mo and Se, when found in C-C;
[β] Vd.Bilabial Fricatives in Mo and Se as influenced by the Nu(m)for/Biak language, in V-V composition and in free variation with [U'/W'] Vd. Bilabial Approx. and [b] Vd. Bilabial Stop.

4. [q] Uvular Stop.
   (a) Rare in Mo, absent in Kl and Se;
   (b) In free variation with [k] Velar Dorso Velar Stop in Mo and Mr.

5. [ŋ] Vd. Dorso Velar Nasal is
   (a) Absent, except Mo and Mr in final position tʃ;
   (b) For Te only preceding [g] Vd. Dorso-Velar Stop;

6. Glottal [?] becomes:
   (a) ['] before a vowel in front position and ʃ appears in final position after a vowel.
   (b) no phonemic opposition.
   (c) absent in Te, but in other language, ['] occur only as allophone of [t] and [k] mostly in [tʃ].
2.3 Segmental phonemes

2.3.1 Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>uvular</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fric</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximants</td>
<td>w/l</td>
<td>y/l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sketch 3: Table of Consonants

Commentaries:
1. In certain environments, some consonants are ambiguous. Here they are marked phonemically in capital to indicate them as neutral forms, i.e.:
   a. /p/, /t/, /k/ are used to mark the ambiguities of phonemes /p/ or /b/, /t/ or /d/, /k/ or /g/;
   b. [U], [i] are used to mark the ambiguities of vowels and semi-vowels /u/ or /w/ and /i/ or /y/.

(1)a. [V-#]:
   Sc: /yaP/  'fire'
   Mr: /nboT/  'good'
   Mo: /rmoK/  'much, many'

b. [V-C]:
   Mr: /immaPw/  'its (f) branch (m)'
   Mo: /tebeKm/  'my shoulder (f)'
   KL: /nriTy/  'your feet'

c. [V-#]:
   Te: /woU/  'he (m)'
   KL: /rdel/  'thunder'

d. [V-Cj]:
   Mo: /ntoUK/  'your earl'
   KL: /feKni/  'we (incl.) eat'

32
2. Any non-stressed \(\tilde{i}\) and \(\tilde{u}\) however, seems also to be pronounced as /y/ and /u/ when \([-V/-V]\):

(2) Te: /blesia/ ~ /bleya/ 'a family name'
Mo: /kam"seua/ ~ /kam"sewa/ 'who'
As a result, \(\tilde{i}\) and \(\tilde{u}\) turn out to be "heavy phonemes".

3. The combining sounds /sy/ in tautosyllabic seems to be pronounced as /ys/:

(3) Te: [qas\(\tilde{i}\) ~ qas\(\tilde{u}\)] 'chopsticks' /qasy - qays/
      [qas\(\tilde{a}\)m ~ qas\(\tilde{a}\)sm] 'chopsticks (f)' /qasym - qaysm/

Cf:

Te: [s\(\tilde{i}\)s] 'pupil' /sis/
    [s\(\tilde{u}\)s] 'pupils' /sis/ but (*)/siys/
    [\(\tilde{t}z\)s ~ \(\tilde{t}z\)s] 'I go down' /tals/ but (*)/tas/

In many words containing semivowels these can be metathesis with an adjoining vowel:

y\(\tilde{u}\) \(\rightarrow\) Vy\(\tilde{u}\) \([-V/-V\].

(4) Mo: /tasa'dyin/ ~ 'my hair'
      Mr: /tasa'diyn/ ~
      Kl: /tasa'deyn/ ~ /tsa'deyn/ ~
      Te: /tasa'geyn/ ~ /tsa'geyn/

and also:

Se: /sugaam/ ~ /'sugaUm/ 'smoke'
      /tu'wot/ ~ /'touUm/ 'fire fly, star'

however:

KL: /mtyan/ 'she is heavy' \(\rightarrow\) /mtyn/ 'she is hiding'
Te: /msy\(\tilde{i}\)/ 'her elbow' \(\rightarrow\) /msiy/ 'it (f)'s sprout'
2.3.2 Vowels

Vowels or vowels can be described as follows

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-long</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>non-long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sketch 4: Table of Vowels

Commentaries

Long vowels in opposition with short vowels ordinarily have phonemic functions but sometimes vowel length is only found in stressed syllables.

1. Long and non-long vowels phonemically are different (anyhow in some cases these should not simply divide).
   (5) Mo: /moi/ 'big forest'
   /mooi/ 'village'
   Te: /msa/ 'her head'
   /m-saa/ 'unable to give birth woman'

   but
   Se: /ke'dyabu/ ~ /ke'dyaabu/ 'sand'
   /keik/ ~ /keeik/ 'house'
   KL: /boos/ ~ /boos/ 'sag', etc.

2.3.3 Supra-segmental phonemes

Phonemes which are referred to as supra-segmental or also as prosody are features of phones (sound) occur on top of at the same time as the before and after segments. They are recognized as musical accompaniment to speech, just as gesture, which are any kind of histrionic accompaniment. It is some times hard to decide where gesture stops and prosody or supra-segmental begins (Bolinger D, 1975:46-52). For the Toror cases, the followings are available.

1. /p/ and /b/, /t/ and /d/, /k/ and /g/ neutralized as:
/p/, /t/ and /k/: 
(1) ja. [-V],
see 2.3. 1) to 6).

b. [V-C]:
Mr: /mmePw/  'its(?) branch(m)'
Mo: /tkebeKm/  'my shoulder(l)'
KL: /nriTy/  'your feet'

2). /w/ and /u/, /y/ and /i/ neutralized as /u/ and /i/:
(2)a IV-#: 
Te: /'woUl/  'he'
KL: /'rdel/  'thunder'

b [V-C]:
Mo: /ntuUK/  'your ear'
KL: /'fleKnu/  'we eat something (food)'

c [#-"CI:
Se: /Usa'gin/  'his bear'
KL: /'triKy/  'their feet'

There are clear distinctions amongst (i)[C] and (ii) ["C] where (i) is standing for one morpheme (mono-morphemic) and (ii) is standing for two morphemes (bi-morphemic).

d. Te: /'ubaT/  'Carambola blimming'
   /'UbaTeT/  'he spreads'
Mo: /klaliliK/  'river branch'
   /kla'liK/  'river current'
KL: /'woqoT/  'wood, tree'
   /Uqo'yiT/  'he stuck'

3). /i/ and /a/ are unstressed (however, almost not always) where for several cases also sound as /y/ and /w/ mostly in [#-V].
(3) Te: /blesia/ ~ /blesya/  '(clan name)'
Mo: /kam'seua/ ~ /kam'seua/  'who'

In such a condition /i/ and /a/ changed to be "heavy phoneme". 35
4). Seemingly there is voice sound on the position of "solo-syllabic" or "tauto-syllabic": /sy/ to be pronounced as /ys/.

(4)a Te: [qɔxs] 'chop steak, fork' /qasy ~ qays/
[qɔxsm] 'chop steak, fork(f) /qasym ~ qaysm/,

where there also
b. Te: [sɔ] 'pupil' /sıs/
[sɔ] 'pupils' /sıs/ but (*)/sıs/

or also for:

[*'tɔ's ~ 'tɔ's] 'I am (going) down' /tals/ but (*)/tasy/

Limited variations recognized as tending to be metathesis.

c. Mo: /tsa'dyin/ 'my hair'
Mr: /tsa'dyin/
KL: /tsa'deyn ~ tsadýen/ /tsa'deyn/
Te: /tsa'gyen ~ tsał'gyen/

or also:

d. Se: /sugum ~ 'sugum' 'smoke (of fire or heath)'
/tu'wun ~ toUn/ 'firefly',

but:

e. KL: /mta'ny/ 'it (f) is heavy'
/mta'n/ 'she is running away'
Te: /msy/ 'her elbow'
/msy/ 'its (f) young shoot'

2.3.4 Distribution and Allophones

2.3.4.1 Consonants

LABIAL

1) /p/

a. [p] in [vlsC-V], [-Cvls-V]:
Te: [mrɔp̩kɔ] 'it(F) clacks' /mropka/
KL: [jap̩kən̩] 'ash' /jakbin/
Te: [mplɔs] 'she (f) drops down' /mplos/
KL: [p'trỹ] 'it (n) is straight' /ptröIr/
[p'ʃk] 'it (n) is swollen' /pfIk/

b. [P - p] in [-(^2)C]:
Mo: [Ppcre ~ pcre] 'it (n) is big' /pcre/
KL: ['Pfrzn - pfuzn] 'it (n)'s fruit' /pfu:/
Mr: ['Ppaədəm - ppaədəm] 'it (n) is swollen' /ppa'dIm/
c. [p] else, except [-#:]
  Mo: ['Upel] 'it(m) is big' /wpele/
  Mr: [wətə'pqk] 'he cuts the grass' /wetə'pqK/
  Te: [pətə] 'money' /pitis/
2) /b/ → a. [E] in [vIC-]:
  Mo: ['sIsn] 'honey, spin' /sIn/
  Mr: ['tsetbjele] 'my back' /tsebjele/
  Te: [məSbəl] 'she collect the debt' /msbəl/
  KL: ['Uqatbən] 'it (m) is short' /Uqatbən/
  b. [β] in [v-VI]:
    Mr: [nte'bet] 'your ear' /nte'bet/
    Mo: ['wraβəξ] 'his noose' /wraβa/
  c. [b] else, except [-#:]
    Se: ['wba:l] 'his neck' /wba:l/
    KL: ['tsə'bəele] 'my back' /tsə'bəele/
    Mo: ['boən] 'sand' /ba:n/
3) /p/ → [p ñ p ~ p ~ b] in
a. [-vIC]:
  Te: ['mqəpsət ~ mqəpsət ~ mqəpsəst] 'she move to evade' /mqəPsəT/
    ['mrypκα ~ mrypκα ~ mrypκa] 'its (f) rumbling' /mroPκa/
  b. [-#:]
    KL: ['tsəp ~ təsp ~ təh] 'I cure (meat)' /tsəp/
    Mo: ['nspəp ~ nspəp ~ nspəb] 'you see' /nspəp/
4) /θ/ → [v - f in
(1)a. [V-V]:
  KL: ['tθeviθ ~ tθeviθ] 'my ear' /tθeviθ/
  Se: ['svu ~ svu] 'dog' /svu/
  Te: [səvəf ~ səvəf] 'we dual' /səvəf/
  b. [-g]:
    Te: ['tθeviθ ~ tθeviθ] 'my ear' /tθeviθ/
(2) [f - f] in [#:vIC]:
  Te: ['Fpoher ~ 'fpoher] 'we (incl.) pay' /fpoher/
  Mr: [fi ~ fi] 'we (incl.) heavy' /fi/
  Mo: ['Fsedam ~ 'fs cdam] 'our (incl.) blood' /fsedam/
(3) [f] else:
  KL: ['pfuyn] 'fruit' /pfuon/
  Mo: [f¥lk] 'flower' /filiK/
  Te: [¡fof] 'mountain' /sfa/
5) /m/ ————>
(1) [M - m] in [#:C]:
  Te: [Mvök + Mvök] 'its (f) swollen' /mfuK/
  KL: [MmøIn ~ MmøIn] 'its (f) tongue' /møIn/
  Mr: [Mpe'den ~ Mpe'den] 'it (f) is heavy' /mpe'dyen/
(2) [m] else:
  Mr: [m¥hyth] 'five' /mo'/ho/T/
  KL: [mmøIn] 'my tongue' /møIn/
  Se: [kØrgim] 'maid, woman' /ka'/r'gim/
  Te: [wemt] 'female kid, girl' /we'/m/
6) /w/ ————>
(1) [W ~ U] in [C-#]:
  Te: [wetW ~ wetU] 'male kid, boy' /weTw/
  KL: ['nte'vW ~ 'nte'vU] 'a part of your ear' /nte'fiTw/
  Mr: [o'me'kW ~ o'me'kU] 'stone (s/pl)' /o'me'kW/
(2) [w] else, except in [#:V] and [V-#]:
  Mr: [wai'hu3] 'road' /wai'hu3/
  KL: [nwat3] 'you different' /nwa'T/
  Te: [so'wun] 'tomorrow, morning' /sa'/wun/
7) /U/ archiphoneme of /w/ and /u/ none-stressed in:
(1) [V-#] ————> [w - u - o]:
  Te: [w¥x ~ w¥x ~ w¥x] 'he' /woU/
  KL: [kla'w ~ kla'w ~ kla'w] 'river (m/pl)' /kla'U/
  Mr: [so'bra'w ~ so'bra'w ~ so'bra'w] 'forest (m/pl)' /sa'/bra'U/
(2) [V-C] ——→ [w ~ u]:
Te: [tɔfɔwɔk^3 ~ tɔfɔwɔk^3] 'I cut the grass' /tɔfɔk/
KL: ['mɔtɔρwɔn ~ 'mɔtɔrɔm] 'its(f) fragrant' /mɔmɔn/

(3) [θ~"CV"] ——→ [W ~ w ~ o ~ α]:
Te: [Wɔsɔ ~ Wɔsɔ ~ Wɔsɔ ~ oɔsɔ] 'its(m) head' /Wɔsɔ/
KL: ['Wɔte✈ɔl^3 ~ 'Wɔte✈ɔl^3 ~ 'Wɔte✈ɔl^3 ~ 'Wɔte✈ɔl^3] 'his ear' /Wɔte✈ɔl^3/
Mr. [Wɔpɔle ~ Wɔpɔle ~ Wɔpɔle ~ Wɔpɔle] 'it(m) is big' /Wɔpɔle/

(4) [θ~"vɔl"] ——→ [w ~ o ~ α]:
Mo: [wɔŋɔm ~ wɔŋɔm ~ oɔŋɔm] 'it(m) is dirty' /Udyum/
Se: ['wɔŋɔp^3 ~ wɔŋɔp^3 ~ oɔŋɔp^3] 'its(m) mouth' /Ugiπ/
Mr: [wɔŋɔk^3 ~ wɔŋɔk^3 ~ oɔŋɔk^3] 'it(m) is swollen' /UbiK/

ALVEOLAR

8) /t/ ——→

(1) (T ~ t) in [-"vɔl"]:
Mr: [Tpele ~ Tpele] 'I am big' /Tpele/
KL: ['Tte✈ɪt^3 ~ Tte✈ɪt^3] 'my ear' /Tte✈ɪt^3/
Mo: [Tsɔfɔx ~ Tsɔfɔx] 'my head' /Tsɔfɔx/

(2) [t] in [-ɪ]: *not appeared in 1979.
KL: [tʰɛn] 'walking stick' /tʰɛn/
Se: [tit 'nɛcɛk^3] 'my hand' /tit 'nɛtɛyεK/
Te: [qɛt^ε] 'through way' /qεt^ε/

(3) [t] else, except in the position of 9):
Mo: [tɔluK^3] 'three' /tɔluK/
Te: [pɔs] 'money' /pɔs/
Mr: [mpe'tɔdαk^3] 'it(f) is wide' /mpe'tɔdαk^3/

9) /d/ ——→

(1) [g] in [-ɪ]:
Te: [qεk^ε] 'lesson, wise' /qεk^ε/
Mr: [mpɔqɛn] 'it(f) is dirty' /mpɔqɛn/
KL: [qεn] 'rain' /qεn/

(2) [d] else, except if in the position of 9):
Mr: [dɔs] 'salt' /dɔs/
Te: [nɛsε] 'fence' /nɛsε/
KL: [εdε] 'sea' /εdε/
10/ /t/ archiphoneme of /t/ and /d/ in

(1) [t̚] ➔ [t̚ ~ t ~ d]:
Mo: [fɔt̚] ~ fɔt − fɔd] ‘four’ /faT/
Te: [wɔqlaT] ~ wɔqlaT − wɔqla'd] ‘he pays the debt’/wɔqlaT/
[th̚aT] ~ teht − tehd] ‘sea origin’ /tehT/
Mr: [tro'wɔq] ~ tro'wɔq − tre'wɔq] ‘my nose’ /tra'wɔT/
['mɔ'ʁaT] ~ 'mɔ'ʁaT − 'mɔ'ʁa'd] ‘tame’ /moralt/
(2) [-C#] if [C] is [M, W ~ U] and in:
[V-VCV] ➔ [t - d]:
Mo: [ɔ'utM − ɔ'udm] ‘tree(PL)’ /a'utM/
Se: [uxW ~ u:W] ‘curse(m)’ /uuTw/
Te: [nɔ'utU − nɔ'dU] ‘commitment’ /galTw/
(3) [-C#] if [C] in the following positions:
front of [J ~ I] ➔ [t ~ d]:
Mo: [tɔʃ][gJ ~ tɔʃ][g:d] ‘I beak tbm’ /tsi'giTy/
Mr: [tɔtʃ][b:d] − tɔtʃ][b:d] ‘my ears’ /nte'biTy/

11/ /n/ ➔

(1) [ŋ] in [−] and [−J/]:
Se: [Uŋ*a:m] ‘it(m) is narrow’ /wnyaam/
Mr: [məeq-] ‘fat’ /mneq/
Te: [ŋa:n] ‘inside’ /nya/;
[ŋa:n] ~ [ŋa:n] ‘it(pl) which is inside’ /nya/;
(2) [N - n] in [−CvJ]:
Mr: [ntʃ[tJ] ~ nʃ[tJ] ‘your ear’ /nte'biT/
Mo: [ntʃ-] ~ nʃ ‘your breast, milk’ /nsu/
Se: [nʃa:sd, ~ nʃa:sd] ‘you are ak’ /npaasdi/
(3) else:
KL: [kŋk] ‘sand’ /kinti/
Se: [wav'n] ‘smoke’ /twai'n/
Te: [nən] ‘you’ /nen/

12/ /s/ ➔

(1) [s] in [−] and [−J/]:
Te: [iɔ:] ‘who’ /syoo/
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Se</td>
<td>[ug slee]</td>
<td>'it(m) is heavy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr</td>
<td>[koo'dus]</td>
<td>'bones'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>[tou gaso]</td>
<td>'my heart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te</td>
<td>[a'zaa]</td>
<td>'sugar cane, sugar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se</td>
<td>[goa'za]</td>
<td>'salt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) [s] else:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mo</td>
<td>[si]</td>
<td>'smoke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se</td>
<td>[seleza]</td>
<td>'hear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te</td>
<td>[sers]</td>
<td>'direct'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) [l] in [V(none-front)] and [V-V]:
- Te: [mbay] | 'house' |
- Mo: ['za'] | 'two' |
- Se: [alma'mn] | 'he sleeps' |

(2) [l] else:
- Se: [ke'ble] | 'cassowary' |
- Mr: [tii] | 'sun' |
- Kl: [tou'gofalq] | 'my lips' |

(14) /r/:
- (1) [r] in [V(front)]:
- Se: [mai r] | 'she is slippery' |
- Mr: [fri] | 'mountain' |
- Te: [re'pe] | 'small canal/water way' |
- (2) [r] else:
- Mo: [tra'ka] | 'my nose' |
- Kl: [a'dir] | 'sea' |
- Te: [mar'e] | 'viper' |

**PALATAL**

(1) [w] in [C-#]:
- Mo: [tkudos] | 'my bones' |
- Se: [ka'mun] | 'bananas' |
- Te: [weTy] | 'children' |
(2) [l] in [C-V]:
Mo: [tsɛɔŋtʃin] ‘my hear’ /tsa'odynamic/
Se: [keb'c'e'] ‘as’ /keb'ye/ 
Mr: [qo'd'qaɔ'] ‘all’ /kao'dyooqa/

(3) [j] else (except in the position of 15):
Mo: [jap] ‘fire’ /jap/
Se: [yojɔp'] ‘that’ /yojop/
Mr: [tu'jak] ‘fire fly’ /tu'yuK/

16) /i/ archiphoneme /iy/ and /i/ none-stressed in:

(1) [V-#] →
[i ~ j ~ I] 
Mr: [pɔʰhɔj ~ pɔʰhɔj ~ pɔʰhɔj] ‘small’ /pɔʰ/hol/
Mo: [mɔxj ~ mɔxj ~ mɔxj] ‘wood’ /mol/
Te: [hoj ~ hoj ~ hoj] ‘no’ /hol/

(2) [V-C] →
[j ~ I] 
Mo: [baʃn ~ baʃn] ‘sand’ /baʃn/
Se: [nɛm ~ nɛm] ‘small, a little’ /nɛm/
Te: [baʃn ~ baʃn] ‘louse’ /baʃn/

(3) [j ~ j ~ j-\#] →
[j ~ j ~ j-\#] 
Mo: [jɔʃ ~ jɔʃ ~ jɔʃ ~ jɔʃ] ‘their face’ /jɔʃ/
Se: [jɔta ~ jɔta ~ jɔta ~ jɔta] ‘their noses’ /jɔta/
Mr: [jɔʃl ~ jɔʃl ~ jɔʃl ~ jɔʃl] ‘they bake’ /jɔʃl/

(4) [j-\#-vC] →
[j ~ j ~ j] 
KL: [jɛɾtʰ ~ ʃ₁tʰ ~ ʃ₁tʰ] ‘their feet’ /ʃ₁tʰ/
Mr: [ʃdfe ~ ʃdfe ~ ʃdfe'] ‘their ears’ /ʃdfe/
Mo: [ʃg p ~ ʃg p ~ ʃg p'] ‘their mouth’ /ʃg p'/

VELAR

17) /k/ →
[k] in all positions, except 19:
Mo: [kɔʃn] ‘dust’ /kɔʃn/
Se: [nεkɔm] ‘meat’ /εkɔm/
Te: [kerbɔ] ‘music tool with snares’ /kerbo/
Kl: [klen]  'bird' /klen/

18) /g/ [g] in all positions, except 19):
Mo: [g6em]  'meat' /g6em/
Se: [gɔˈsi]  'salt' /gɔˈsi/
Mr: [saˈmyxəkkɔ]  'back' /saˈmyxəkkɔ/

19) /k/ archiphoneme of /k/ and /g/ in:
(1) [θ]
[kʰ ~ k ~ g]:
Mo: [teˈvekθ ~ teˈvekθ ~ teˈvegθ]  'my kid' /teˈveKθ/
Se: [leˈleθ ~ leˈleθ ~ leˈleθ]  'thunder' /leˈleθ/
Mr: [lykθ ~ lyk ~ lygθ]  'three' /lyKθ/

(2) [-θ]
[k ~ g]:
Mo: [ttɛˈvekθ ~ ttɛˈvekθ]  'my teeth (m/pl)' /ttɛˈveKθ/
Se: [kθn̥kθ ~ kθn̥gθ]  'thorn' /kθn̥Kθ/
Te: [tɡθm ~ tɡθm]  'I scratch it(f)' /tɡθm/

20) /ŋ/ [ŋ] in all positions
Te: [ŋɡɛθ]  'nickname for juvenile during an initiation' /ŋɡɛθ/
Mr: [ʊŋ]  'cloud' /ʊŋ/
Se: [ˈməŋkɔtɔ]  'fish' /ˈməŋkɔtɔ/

UVULAR

21) /q/ [q] in [V-#]:
Mr: [tqɔq]  'my mouth' /tqɔq/
Kl: [U̇sɔmq]  'it(m) is wet' /wsmoq/
Te: [sq]  'knife' /sq/

(2) [q] in [#-V]:
Mr: [qɔˈqaθ]  'all' /qaˈqaθ/
Te: [qɔˈqaθ]  'bamboo' /qaˈqaθ/
Kl: [qɔˈqaθ]  'bone' /qaˈqaθ/

(3) /R/ in [V-V]:
Mr: [nɔˈqaθ ~ r̥]  'you all' /nɔˈqaθ/
Kl: [sqɔs]  'skull' /sqɔs/
Te: [tɔξɔ'xɔ ~ tɔrɔ'xɔ’] ‘I drink /tɔqɔ/’

(4) [G/R ~ q] in [C-C]:
Mr: [mGłh’ ~ mɛlɛ’] ‘it(f) slippery’ /mɛli/’
KL: [wGłɔx’ ~ wɛlɔx’] ‘it(m) aqueous’ /wqɔla/’
Te: [FGry’ ~ fɔqɔ’y] ‘we stand up’ /fgro/’

(5) [q] in [C-VI:
Mr: [tɔɛsamqɔ’] ‘my back’ /tɔsamq/’
KL: [tɔɛɛɛ’xɔ’] ‘my heart’ /tɔqɔ’so/’
Te: [tɔɛɛɛ’xɔ’] ‘search’ /tɔqaso/’
(6) [q] else:
Mr: [tɔbelɛ’xɔ’] ‘my back’ /tɔblq/’
Te: [qɔnɛn] ‘worm’ /qɔnyɛn/’
KL: [qɔɛ’weT] ‘a little’ /qɔwa’weT/’

GLOTTAL

22) /h/ →

[ɔ] in all positions:
Mo: [hu’buŋ] ‘wind’ /hu’buŋ/’
KL: [hɔɛ’] ‘four’ /hɔT/’
Mr: [wɔ’hu’] ‘road’ /wɔ’hu/’
Te: [Undɔ’hɔn] ‘it(m) is dirty’ /wɔnda’hɔn/’

2.3.4.2 VOCAL

HIGH

i ~ /i/ →

(1) [i ~ i] in [θ-]:
Mr: [’bɛrɔξɔ’ ~ ’bɛrɔξɔ’] ‘cloudy’ /bɛraqɔ/’
Mo: [’ɛi’ ~ ’ɛi’] ‘footprint’ /ɛi/’
Te: [’k’ ~ k] ‘cloud’ /iK/’

(2) [i ~ i] in [θ-]
Mo: [tɛsɔ’mɔ ~ tɛsɔ’mɔ] ‘my belly’ /tsi/’
Se: [’ɔli’ ~ ’ɔli’] ‘two’ /a’li/’
Mr: [b’ ~ b’] ‘soil, earth’ /bi/’

(3) [i ~ i] in [N/N-]
KL: [d’ɔnɛk’ ~ d’ɔnɛk’] ‘torn’ /dɔniK/’
Mr: [tso'dun ~ tso'dun] 'my hair' /tsa'dun/
Mo: [m̥n'gk̚ ~ m̥n'gk̚] 'vat' /m̥n'iɪk̚/
(4) [i - i] in [G/R-]
Mr: [uβ'oG̱i̱ ~ uβ'oG̱i̱] 'it(f) is slippery' /uβ'qililı̱/
Te: [t̥'G̱eq ~ t̥'G̱eq] 'hindered' /t̥'qeqı̱/
Kl: [t̥'səqG̱i ~ t̥'səqG̱i] 'challenge' /t̥'seqı̱/
(5) [ ] others:
Mr: [təq̚] 'my foot' /təq̚/,
Mo: [tk̚'d̚hu] 'my back' /tk̚č'ehu/,
Se: ['t'ug.po] 'his mouth' /wgiP/.

2) /iː/ →

(1) [iː ~ iː] in [#-]:
Mo: [tinU ~ tinU] 'feces' /tínw/.
Se: [iː ~ iː] 'sky' /iː/.
Te: [iːr ~ iːr] 'stingy' /iːr/.
[ʔiːɡn̚] 'ring' /iːɡn̚/.
(2) [iː ~ iː] in [#-]
Mr: [Kliː ~ Kliː] 'string' /kiː/.
Se: [fo'fiː ~ fo'fiː] 'yellow' /fa'fiː/.
Te: [tsiː ~ tsıː] 'my face' /tsiː/.
(3) [fː - iː] in [-N/-N-]:
Mo: [li:n ~ li:n] 'night' /liːn/.
Mr: [qəm'mi:n ~ qəm'mi:n] 'could' /qmiːn/.
Kl: [tən'meːmi:n ~ tən'meːmi:n] 'my finger' /tne'miːn/.
(4) [iː - iː] in [G/R-]:
Te: [t̥'G̱ir ~ t̥'G̱ir] 'I rasp, I file' /t̥'qeqı̱/.
Kl: [w̥'G̱i̱s ~ w̥'G̱i̱s] 'it(m) is wounded' /wgiilis/.
(5) [iː] else:
Mo: [Kı'bi:n] 'dust' /kiːbiːn/.
Se: [gi:feK̚] 'teeth' /giifeK̚/.
Te: [msiK̚] 'she plants' /msiK̚/.

3) /eː / →

(1) [e ~ e] in [#-]:
Mo: [e'ge:e ~ e'ge:e] 'soil' /e'geː/.
Mr: [e'ɾwas ~ e'ɾwas] 'fish' /eɾwas/.
KL: ['elq - elq]  "thunder" /'elq/

(2) [e~e] in [-#-]:
  Mo: [pe'le]  "wide" /pe'le/
  Se: ['Ug/Fe'~'Ug/Fe]  "his teeth" /wgiFe/
  Kl: [ms/y'Gc'~ ms/y'Gc']  "she is dirty" /maidje/

(3) [e~e] in [-N/N-]:
  Mo: [kem ~ kem]  "meat" /kem/
  Mr: [t'jen - t'jen]  "walking stick" /tjiyen/
  Kl: [tm'en - tm'en]  "tongue" /tm'en/

(4) [e~e] in [G/R-]:
  Mr: [Jsi/Ger ~ Jsi/Ger]  "they are alike" /ysiGer/
  Kl: [m.q'Gen ~ m.q'Gen]  "its(f) meat" /magn/
  Te: ['eG'cn ~ 'eG'cn]  "that is it" /eGeln/

(5) [e] else:
  Mo: [l'em]  "night, dark" /lem/
  Mr: [pe'bro']  "blue" /pe'bra/
  Kl: [ntes,]  "your ear" /ntefiT/

4) /eə/

(1) [e~e:] in [-#-]:
  Mo: ['e:ges ~ e:gos]  "soil, land, earth" /eeges/
  Te: ['e:e:nas ~ e:e:nas]  "side dishes" /eernas/
  Mr: [e:liq ~ e:liq]  "thunder" /eelq/

(2) [e~e] in [-#-]:
  Mo: [dwe:e~ dwe:e]  "sun" /dwee/
  Se: [m'e:re~ m'e:re]  "one" /me'ree/
  Te: ['e:e:se~ 'e:xe]  "that is right" /esee/

(3) [e~e] in [-N/N-]:
  Mo: [p'e:m ~ pe:m]  "(it is) red" /peem/
  Se: [n'e:gem ~ n'e:gem]  "cloud" /neegem/
  Mr: [he:m ~ he:m]  "blood" /heem/

(4) [e~e] in [G/R-J]:
  Mr: [p@Ge:dp ~ p@Ge:dp]  "middle" /pgeediP/
  Te: [wGe:nd ~ wGe:nd]  "it (m) middle" /wgeendi/

(5) [e] else:
  Mo: [t@kse:k]  "my skin" /tkeesiK/
5) /u/

(1) ["u ~ u"] in [-#]:
  Mo: ["uguk ~ uguk"] 'heart' /uguK/
  Se: ["u'nsas ~ u'nsas"] 'rain' /u'nis/
  Mr: ["u'ček ~ u'ček"] 'coarse grass' /u'dyeK/
  Te: ["ubot ~ ubot"] 'Carambola belimbing' /ubot/

(2) [u ~ u] in [-#]:
  Mo: [k'asu ~ k'asu] 'heart' /kasu/
  Se: [t'u'lo ~ t'u'lo] 'three' /tu'lo/
  Mr: [k'ædru ~ k'ædru] 'thunder' /kdru/
  Kl: [bu' ~ bu] 'smoke' /bu/

(3) [ʊ ~ u] in [-N/N-]:
  Mo: [sʊn ~ sn] 'smoke' /sun/
  Se: [sæ'muru ~ sæ'muru] 'night' /sa'muru/
  Mr: [twʊn ~ twn] 'fire-fly' /twn/

(4) [u ~ u] in [G/R-]:
  Kl: [Gubr ~ Gubr] 'turtle' /gubr/
  Mr: [wʊuGʊ ~ wʊuGʊ] 'the challenge' /wusq/
  Te: [mʊGʊ ~ mʊGʊ] 'she eats deliciously' /msq/

6) /uu/

(1) ["u ~ u"] in [-#]:
  Mo: ["u:l ~ u:l"] 'snake' /uul/
  Se: ["u'k ~ u: r"] 'louse' /uUT/
  Mr: ["u:n ~ u:n"] 'cloud' /un/

(2) [u ~ u] in [-#]:
  Mo: [msu: ~ msu:] 'she is ill' /msu/
  Se: [su'mu: ~ su'mu:] 'rotten' /su'mu/
  Kl: [bu: ~ bu:] 'smoke' /buu/
(3) [3 - u] in [-N/N-]:
Mo: ['u:m - 'um:] 'cloudy' /uum/
Se: [ku:ru:m - ku:ru:m] 'black' /ku:ruum/
Kl: [pəm'un - pəm'un] 'fragrant' /pnuun/
(4) [u - u] in [G/R-]
Mr: [pəGu: - pəGu:] 'egg' /pquu/
[by'Gu:lum ~ by'Gu:lum] 'cloud' /bu'quulum/
(5) [u] else:
Mo: [tus] 'stick' /tuus/
Se: [wur] 'suppose' /wuur/
Te: ['αμυκ'] 'night' /αμυνK/
MIDDLE
(7) /o/

(1) [χ ~ χ] in [-#-]:
Mo: ['χχk ~ χk'] 'wood' /ouK/
Se: ['χ'ka:t ~ χ'ka:t'] 'dry' /o'kaaT/
Kl: ['χtw ~ ['χtw] 'hearted' /oTl/
Te: ['χtw ~ χtw] 'triton shell trumpet' /oTl/
(2) [χ ~ χ] in [-#-]:
Mo: [su'wχ ~ su'wχ] 'eye' /su'wo/
Se: [sx'kχ ~ sx'kχ] 'white' /so'ko/
Mr: [pəd'χ ~ pəd'χ] 'flow' /pdo/
Kl: [sx' ~ sx] 'breast, milk' /syo/
(3) [ə ~ χ] in [-N/N-]:
Mo: [fən ~ fən] 'full' /fon/
Se: ['məŋkla ~ 'məŋkla'] 'fish' /məŋkla/
Mr: [be'log ~ be'log] 'meat' /be'log/
Te: [mə'lin ~ mə'lin] 'fragrant' /məlin/
(4) [o ~ χ] in [G/R-]
Kl: [si'TGo ~ si'TGo:] 'eye' /si'fo/
Mr: [Gə'nu ~ Gə'nu] 'cold' /Gə'nu/
Te: [Gə'ri ~ Gə'ri] 'pig' /Gə'riK/

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(5) [ə] else:
  Mo: [tʃuk³]  'ear' /toUK/
  Se: [dɪv'kɔk³]  'heavy' /dɪ'yaK/
  KI: [kʃ'kɔk³]  'long, far' /ko'saK/
  Te: [qʃ'ʃøn]  'mosquito' /qʊ'rin/

8) /ʊʊ/

(1) ['oː ~ oː] in [#{]:
  Mo: ['oːlʊp³ ~ oːlʊp³]  'wing' /oohlʊp/
  Se: ['oːsɔː ~ oːsɔː']  'different' /oosa/
  KI: ['oːtʰ ~ oːtʰ]  'heartedness' /oʊTʃ/
  Te: ['oːgʊjɔ ~ oːgʊjɔ']  'banana' /ooK/

(2) ['oː ~ oː] in [#{]:
  Mo: [soː ~ soː]  'white' /soo/
  Te: [tʃʊqoː ~ tʃʊqoː]  'I make a knot' /tʃʊqoʊ/

(3) [oː ~ oː] in [-N/N-]:
  Mo: [mʊː ~ mʊː]  'big forest' /mʊʊl/
  Se: [sɔ'ɡʊm ~ sɔ'ɡʊm]  'cloudy' /sa'ɡoom/
  KI: [sloːm ~ sloːm]  'morning star' /sloom/

(4) [oː ~ oː] in [G/R-]:
  Mr: [Geːmu ~ Goːmu]  'cold' /go'mu/
  Te: [Geːl ~ Goːl]  'spirit' /qool/

(5) [oː] else:
  Mo: [msoo:bɔ]  'it(f) is thick' /msoobo/
  Se: [woːr]  'dance' /woor/
  Te: [hoːk³]  'ear wax' /hooK/

LOW
9) /a/}

(1) ['aː ~ oː] in [#{]:
  Mo: ['aːŋx³ ~ aːŋx³]  'that' /a'no/
  Se: ['aːl³ ~ aːl³]  'two' /a'li/
  Mr: ['aːmek³ ~ aːmek³]  'stone' /a'mek/

(2) ['aː ~ aː] in [#{]:
  Mo: [maːl lak³ ~ maːl lak³]  'mountain' /ma'lą/
  Se: [bwaː ~ bwaː]  'tree' /bwa/
Kl: [qle]- [qlo] ‘water, river’ /qla/

(3) [a ~ a] in [-N/N-]:
Mo: [tʃfan ~ tʃfon] ‘I shoot’ /tʃfan/
Se: [mɑ'du ~ mo'du] ‘neck’ /mɑ'du/
Mr: [tʃdån ~ tʃdχn] ‘I am dirty’ /tʃdån/

(4) [a ~ a] in [G/R-]:
Kl: [tʃGa'zɑn ~ tʃGa'zɑn] ‘my stomach’ /qɑ'sin/
Mr: [qæχ'qa ~ qo'χ'qa] ‘all’ /qɑ'dyoga/]
Mo: [pGa'tbɑn ~ pGor'tbɑn] ‘short’ /wqaTbɑn/

(5) [a] else:
Mo: [sojɛm] ‘louse’ /sa'yem/
Se: [go'si] ‘salt’ /ga'si/
Kl: [tʃɔ'qɑ] ‘my mouth’ /tdyaq/

10) /aːa/ →

(1) [aː ~ aː] in [#]:
Mo: [aːh ~ aːl] ‘two’ /aːli/
Mr: [aːməq ~ aːməq] ‘stone’ /aːmq/
Kl: [aːdər ~ aːdər] ‘sea’ /aːdr/

(2) [aː ~ aː] in [#]:
Mo: [pə'wɑ ~ pə'wa] ‘yellow’ /pwaas/
Se: [kə'lɑ ~ kə'lɑ] ‘mouse, rat’ /ko'laa/
Mr: [tə'raː ~ tə'raː] ‘my nose’ /traa/

(3) [aː ~ aː] in [-N/N-]:
Se: [Mjɔwən ~ Mjɔwən] ‘its(f) uil’ /myu'waan/
Mo: [mɑːs ~ mɑːs] ‘mouse, rat’ /maa's/
Kl: [Mba:n ~ Mba:n] ‘it(f) is rotten’ /mba'an/

(4) [aː ~ aː] in [G/R-]:
Mr: [tʃGa's ~ tʃGa:s] ‘my heart’ /gaas/
Te: [tʃGa'q ~ tʃGa'q] ‘I store’ /qaaqa/

(5) [aːl else:
Te: [saːlɔm] ‘commotion’ /saalɔm/
2.4. The Bound-Clitics

Linguistic bound-clitics phenomenon known in Toror languages situated as presenting to subject and object of elements of utterances both "la parole" and "la lange". The presence of these particulars recognized in the reduced form of personal pronominal by varies functions and meaning shown in Sketch 4 bellow as known in Teit (Flassy and Stokhof, 1979:74, Flassy: 1991).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+Fr</td>
<td>-Fr</td>
<td>+Fr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1prsn</td>
<td>excl</td>
<td>tet</td>
<td>(ha/tat/lf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inct</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ha/mam/laa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>(ha/nam/laa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3prsn</td>
<td>masc</td>
<td>wow</td>
<td>(layit/joy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem</td>
<td>mom</td>
<td>m/-m</td>
<td>(layit/joy)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sketch 5: Matrix of Pronominals**

**Commentaries:**

1. A pronominal free form (+Fr) exists as non-bound form and a pronominal non-free form (-Fr) is a bound form where for each form will be measured to the word functions where it is to be bound.

2. The way to dedicate the noun/nominal is by adding suffixes of the 3rd person form to state the gender, number and measure. Some descriptions are seen as follows.

(1) gender
- wet: 'child, kid'
- wet-m: 'female kid, girl'
- wet-w: 'male kid, boy'
- mqua: 'dog'
- mqua-m: 'female dog'
- mqua-w: 'male dog', etc.

3. The non-human animate and inanimate noun/nominal on its usage of gender performs to its measurement then it is used 3rd-fsg/-f feminine/-m = 'big', and 3rd-msg/masculine/-w = 'small' for example:

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(2) measurement
a) e'ren  'fish'
e'ren-m  'big fish'
e'ren-w  'small, little fish'
b) mbol  'house'
mbol-m  'big house'
mbol-w  'small/little house'

4. Regarding inalienable noun/nominal the measure of form is stated as whole ("big") and partial ("small"). In this particular suffix 3rd-fsg is used as refers to the first and 3rd-msg is for the last mentioned, for example:

(3) format
 t-sa  'my bead'
t-sa-m  'my whole bead'
t-sa-w  'one particular part of my bead'

5. Reline with the above, however, there also kind of fish and many several beings, which always denoted male or female and big or small as basing to a certain cultural concept, for example:
     'farfari-m  'ray'
     wi'dar-w  'shark'
     sna-w  'moon'
     tali-m  'sun'

6. On its plural (pl) noun/nominal is marked by 3rdPL suffixes by the following category: 3rd-msg /-w/ for definite none-human, 3rd-fsg /-m/ for definite human and 3rdPL /y/- for human none-human indefinite.

7. The pronominal bound morphemes given above function as tight elements, described in the following detailed, see the Matrix 2 (idem: 1979:77, 1991: )
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>-H</th>
<th>-A</th>
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<tr>
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<td>+H</td>
<td>+A</td>
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<tr>
<td>marked</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>masc.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>def.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td>fem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unmarked/in-generic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sketch 6: Matrix of Pronominal Affixes**

(4) number of amount

a. mbol ‘house’
   mbol-w ‘houses (definite)’
   mbol-y ‘houses (indefinite)’

b. sika ‘cat’
   sika-w ‘cats (definite)’
   sika-y ‘cats (indefinite)’

c. na’ ‘(one) man’
   na-m ‘men, people (definite)’
   na-y ‘men, people (indefinite)’

d. guru-w w-aa ndla-w
   g 3sgm 3sgm REL male 3sgm
   ‘a male teacher’
   guru -m m-aa ndla -m m-aa roq-m

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2.5. Morphemic

2.5.1 Subject Indicators

The appearance of affixes as subject whether as actor or as possessor gives rise for deletions possibilities? In particular languages one delection aspect is only mentioned once where further tacitly or inherently acknowledging. For particular languages the appearances of subject is optional both inclusively and exclusively or may also oblique which must shown exclusively. Contrastive examples in Indonesia/IN or Malay/ML are shown together with Toror.

(1a. IN/ML: aku pergi mandi
b. ENG: I go bath 'I am going to take bath'
c. TOROR:
Te: tet t- ain t- syere
Mo: tit t- a mu t- sir(kla)
Me: tit t- a mu t- suru
1 1st sg go 1 1st sg wash

However from the construction those three languages types are each other SPO the appearances of subject is deferent. In IN/ML for instance, the subject may deleted which only mentioned once (at. the beginning). In ENG the by the support of to or to be as copula may not say as totally delection where the previous form it two continuant sentences getting from inner structure: "I go" (and) "I take bath". In Toror the appearances of subject is obliquely needed as placed initially on each expression. If typologically may be said, the languages gave above, may classified into three distinctive constructions of universally appearances of subject which as (1) deletions, (2) semi-deletions and (3) none-deletion.

2.5.2 Object Indicators

The appearance of object as indicator may be not as a universality. Only happened to the certain languages the appearances obliquely mentioned in explicit way where the structure of the language may and
accepted as cultural tools. The following examples are needed to show
languages in the similar order of construction:
(2) a. IN/ML: aku memegang buku pada tangan kanan
   b. ENG: I hold the book on the right hand
   c. TOROR:
      Se: Tit t-silik buku-m m-atu t-eekna rede
      Mr: Tet t-slun(fin) buku-m m-aq t- ena wat(m)
      Kl: Tit t-oq buku-m m-ama t- ate -m m-atu
      I 1stsg-hold book-3fsg 3fsg-on 1stsg hand 3fsg 3fsg-right

2.5.3 Deictic

The tightness of the 3rd person affixes mentioned above in some
other case are always enclosed to the demonstratives or as a special form of
deictic.

The general condition therefore is the placement of 3rd person on
the postposition of deictic that is referring to genders, measures and
numbers; see matrix in Table 5 and 6.

Demonstratives are function as modifier when run after the noun:

(3)a. wet 'child'
   wet qo-w 'this male child'
   wet qo-m 'this female child'
   or plural (+H): 'these children (definite)'
   wet qe-y 'these children (in-definite)'  
b. sika 'cat'
   sika qo-w 'this male cat'
   or plural (-H): 'these cats'
   sika qo-m 'this female cats (definite)'
   sika ge-y 'these cats (in-definite)'
   c. fan 'path'
   fan qo-w 'this small path'
   or Plural (-H): 'these paths'
   fan qo-m 'this road (definite)'
   fan ge-y 'these roads (in-definite)'

The whole basic demonstratives are as follows:
(4) wet 'child'
mentioned complexities of the above construction will be modified. The proximate form *go-/ge-* can also be used on the noun when any of the other features are predicated of the noun.

(5) *wet qo-w* 'this boy'

  *wet qo w-o'qo-w* 'the boy who is there (go from S nearer to A)'
  *wet qo w-a'na-w* 'the boy who is over there (opposite of S and A)'
  *wet qo w-ale-w* 'the boy who is over there (on the lower surface)'
  *wet qo w-ra-w* 'the boy who is outside there'
  *wet qo'w-ago-w* 'the boy who is above there'
  *wet qo'w-adi-w* 'the boy who is beneath there'
  *wet qo w-nyan-w* 'the boy who is inside there'
  *wet qo w-wqoyt-w* 'the boy who is over there; at the front'
  *wet qo(-w) w-o-w* 'the mentioned boy is coming to you; from S to A'

3. In combination with free pronominal pronouns each deistic occurs in the plural form, which consists of suffix -*y* and the vowel change for inflected forms.

(6) *tet qey* 'I here'

  *nen qey* 'you here'
  *wow qey* 'he here'
  *mom qey* 'she here'
  *mam qey* 'we(excl.) here'
  *faf qey* 'we(incl.) here'
  *nan qey* 'you here'
  *yit qey* 'they here'
  *tet adi* 'I under there'
  *wow qeit* 'he there at the front'
  *yit qeit* 'they there at the front', etc

4. Without an explicit noun or other word classes, approximate (1) can also be combined with the other deictic to form a nominal constituent:

(7) *qo-m qo-m* 'this, the one right here'

  *qo-m m-o'qo-m* 'that, right there (near A)'
  *qo-m m-a'na-m* 'she over there (the other side)'
  *qo-m m-a'le-m* 'she over there (the low surface)'
  *qo-m m-ra-m* 'she outside there'
qo-m'm-aqo-m  ‘she we already mentioned’
qo-m'm-ago-m  ‘she up there’
qo-m'm-adii-m  ‘she under there’
qo-m m-nyan-m  ‘she inside there’
qo-m m-o-m  ‘she is coming/facing you’

5. The function of declination is noun suffixes, although when the modification is found the adjectives may used at initially before the noun so the definite article then become prefix of adjectives, for example
wqoioit-m wood (F)
(8) wqoioit-m m-aa fle-m  ‘wood (which/if) is big’

6. By this example it is shown that there is one direction of construction. A structure of VP may go to NP but not if for other way around.
(9a. wet-m m-qhaq sgyeta-m
   child-3sgf 3sgf-open door 3sgf
   ‘the girl opens the door’
   b. w- sesse w-aun w-alu mbol w-efe-m
      3sgm-run 3sgm-go 3sgm-to house 3sgm-POS-3sgf
      ‘he goes (by running) to his own house’

7. Intensively static (data from whatever language):
(10a. kru:nwiyi aba utsi iku
   child took door shut
   ‘the child caused the door shut’
   the word iku ‘be broken’ is intensive static verb but can also be as
   result of depletion for aba ‘took’
   b. kuranu m-amu boit m-ana
      maid 3sgf-go foot 3pl-come
      ‘the maid caused the foot prepared’

8. The instrumental verb may caused the transitive causative verb:
(11a. t-mba + t-sgi = t-mbasgi
   1pers-hit 1pers-hide
   ‘I hide something covered’
b. t-mba + t-si = t-mbas
   1ªpers-hit 1ªprs-see
   'I am searching for (something)'
c. t-mba-w + t-syel-w = t-mbasyel-w
   1ªpers-hit-3ªsgm 1ªpers-ashenly correction-3ªsgm
   'I acclaim all his fools'
d. w-mba-m + w-lua-m = w-mbalua-m
   3rdsgm-hit-3rdsgf 3rdsgm-calmly-3rdsgf
   'He persuade her'
e. t-qoi-y + t-ryaq-y = t-qoryaq-y
   1ªpers-throw-3ªpl 1ªpers-lift-3ªpl
   'I trailing them behind'

9. SOV: accusative - nominative Ambiguities amongst subject and object before verb is seen as follows:
   (12) wet siqesik na-ndla-m  na-n  m-basyel  na-n-gi-m
        child in love man-male-3ªpl man-3ªpl 3ªpl-abuse female-3ªpl
   'Boys in love seemed to abuse the women'

10. Word order changing in comparing amongst syntactic and pragmatic.
    (13) a. na  raa  t-sot-w
         mankind which I seen-3ªsgm
der man, dem ich geschien habe 'The man that I saw'
    b. na  raa  nggroawan siwit t-sot 3-w
         mankind which yesterday evening I seen Dat-3rdsgm
der man, dem ich gestern Abend geschien habe
         'The man that I saw yesterday evening'

11. The negative construction initialled by verb and followed by noun:
    (14) a. t-sot nggaiteit nen
         l-see Neg you
         'I do not see you'
b. t-sroin nggaiteit sirot
         l-write Neg letter
         'I do not write letter'
c. t- sroin sirat nggaiteit, t- aase eri
I write letter Neg I-sleep only
'I do not write letter, I only sleep'

12. The last verbal become the dative phrase:
(15)a. t-at qa n-sya-m
I-eat taro you-gave-3™sgf
'I ate the taro you gave (it)'
b. t-at qa o-m
I-eat taro DAT-3rdSFEM
'I ate that taro (already mentioned)'
c. t-at qa raa n- sya e- m
I-eat taro DAT you-give DAT-3rdSFEM
'I eat taro that you gave'

13. The question form comparing the order or the question:
(16)a pasa qa m n-at-n >> n-at pasa qa m
rise DAT-3™sgf you-eat-3™sgf you-eat rise DAT-3™sgf
'This rice, eat it >> 'Eat this rice'

b. qa qa t-efe qa w >> t-efe qa qa w
canoe-POSS DAT-DAT-3™sgm I-POSS canoe DAT-3™sgm
'This canoe I possess it >> This (is), my canoe'

14. Semantic Serialization that is two words acts together to describe one
certain occasion: (17) the consecutive action \( v \) the retinue
action w-aín w-qyer \( v \) w-qain sira

\[ \text{w-aín w-ombit, w-qain sira} \]
\[ 3^{™}	ext{sgm-go} 3^{™}	ext{sgm-fishing} 3^{™}	ext{sgm-buy salt} \]
'He goes fishing (after that), he buy salt'

As been stated by Lees (1953:), the lexical replacement that occurs in one
speech group is static independent of the replacement that occur in a
neighbouring related group.
15. Accusative object and Declination:
   (18) a. t-iinaq nen mabot, mom yahar, yit toliq
       I-give you five, she ten, they three
   b. qorik t-at, cren t-at, ara-fombi t-qohq
       pork I-eat, fish I-eat, one which is crawl I-forbid/taboo

16. Genitive precedes the noun
   (19) wet-m/verb
       -w/-determiners adjective
       -yin-definite:

17. Compulsory subject verb phrase (SV?)
   (20) t-at ercn 'I eat fish'
       t-ak mogkla

18. Reference and Co-reference:
   (21) a. wqoit-m m-qhendi-m 'stem of wood'
   b. wqoit qendi-m 'wood stem',
       'obstacle',
       'a kind of sea shell'

   Words whose use is regarded as offensive or in inappropriate in some social contexts. Their different distribution there for appear all to be functions of the same underlying consideration, each distribution type indicating a different degree of some kind of social 'distance', the distance in this instance having to do with sex, as well as we shall see. For example: "fucus neewut" language of the men's house.

2.5.4. Morphophonemic
This section is running on assimilation phenomenon and phoneme(s) suppletion held in connecting-position among morpheme (Morpheme-Phoneme-Morpheme). The mentioned position in Toror languages is to
mean phoneme(s) amongst two morphemes combination mainly in the process of bound-morphemes and combinations held by the adding of cletic's referring to human. The phenomenon of phoneme(s) assimilation and suplition in bound-morphemes and morpheme combinations as regarding to the followings:

Vowel Change:

/i/: \[ \rightarrow \]

Mo >
Se >
Mr >
Te > [i:], [i]

wgiifotfe (wgi + ifot + fe) ‘he, the one who is trying hard but fail’
wyerwas (wsi + erwas) ‘he, the one who is starving for side dish’
msyamaqfe (msi + amag + fe) ‘she, the one who sink as stone’
wdyombit (ndi + ombit) ‘he, the one who cross through the sea’
where:
msisika (msi + sika) ‘she, the one who has eat eyes/face’
wdywqoit (wdi + wqoit) ‘he, the one who falling from the tree’
ymbifambaf (ymbi + fambaf) ‘they, which is smoke in grey

/e/:

Mo > [o]:
Se > [ j ]:
Mr >
K1 >

Te > [a]:
tslemaq (tsle + amaq) ‘I throw the store’
ndehombit (ndebe + ombit) ‘You fetch the (water)sea’
yalywoit (yalye + wqoit) ‘they mince the tree’
[æ]:
tsyeefewas (tsye + erwas) ‘I respect to the side dish’
\[a\] > [a]; and [o];

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mo</th>
<th>Se</th>
<th>Mr</th>
<th>Kl</th>
<th>Te</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsaafot (tsa + afot)</td>
<td>'carry on head on behalf'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tmброaqaq (tmб + aqaq)</td>
<td>'I break the stone'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>salmbi (sala + mbi)</td>
<td>'smoke of fire'</td>
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**Consonant Changes**

Consonant undergo suplications:

\[/p/, /t/, /k/\]

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr</td>
<td>Mr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kl</td>
<td>Kl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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\[/s/, /ɬ/, /ʃ/\]

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<th>/ɬ/</th>
<th>/ʃ/</th>
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<td>Se</td>
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<td>Mr</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kl</td>
<td>Kl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te</td>
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\[/y/, /w/, /y/\]

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<td>Mr</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kl</td>
<td>Kl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te</td>
<td>Te</td>
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</table>
§3

LANGUAGE CORRESPONDENCES

3.1. Wordlist

3.1.1 Eliciting Lists

Word lists used for this study are taken from 150 selected items from Swadesh 200 and SIL wordlists with some modifications. Indonesian-English eliciting list is seen as follows:

1. kepala  ‘head’
2. rambut  ‘hair’
3. telinga  ‘ear’
4. leber    ‘wide’
5. mulut   ‘mouth’
          suara  ‘sound’
6. gigi    ‘teeth’
7. lidah   ‘tong’
8. mata    ‘eye’
9. hidung  ‘nose’
10. tangan ‘hand’
11. kotor   ‘dirty’
12. bulu    ‘feather’
13. siku    ‘elbow’
14. jari    ‘finger’
15. kuku    ‘nail’
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>kulit</td>
<td>'skin'</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>daging</td>
<td>'meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>lemak</td>
<td>'fat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>tulang</td>
<td>'bone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>susu</td>
<td>'breast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>perut</td>
<td>'belly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>punggung</td>
<td>'back'</td>
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<td>23.</td>
<td>darah</td>
<td>'blood'</td>
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<td>jantung</td>
<td>'heart'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>hati</td>
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89. busuk
90. harum
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92. tali
93. mengikat
94. putih
95. hitam
96. merah
97. kuning
98. hijau
biru
99. burung
telur
sayap
terbang
kassuari
lalat
nyamuk
anjing
besar
kecil
ini
‘tall grass’
‘dry’
‘to clear away’
‘to clear of’
‘tree’
‘to split’
‘branch’
‘leaf’
‘spine’
‘fruit’
‘seed’
‘stink’
‘fragrant’
‘forest’
‘string’
‘to tight’
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<td>138.</td>
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manusia  'mankind'
139. laki-laki  'man'
140. perempuan  'woman'
141. suami  'husband/H'
142. isteri  'wife/W'
143. ayah  'father/F'
144. ibu  'mother/M'
145. anak  'child/C'
146. adik (f)  'yoZ'
147.  adik (m)  'yoB'
148. kakak (f)  'oIZ'
149.  kakak (m)  'oIB'
150. kakek  'grandfather'
151. nenek  'grandmother'
152. rumah  'house'
153. kampung  'village'

3.1.2 Eliciting list of 150 items in Toror Languages

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<td>si'mat</td>
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<td>mblit</td>
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<td>qfo'ria</td>
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<td>-forn</td>
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<td>-fle</td>
<td>-pe'li</td>
<td>-be'ten</td>
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<td>-wet</td>
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<td>ana'qo</td>
<td>a'nayo</td>
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<td>-s'tir</td>
<td>-sisi</td>
<td>-si'lu k</td>
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<td>-wa</td>
<td>-wat</td>
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<td>-wat'san</td>
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<td>-sulo</td>
<td>-arn</td>
<td>-e'dan</td>
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<td>e'ren</td>
<td>ko'mon</td>
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<td>dyok</td>
<td>yoq</td>
<td>me'sat</td>
<td>yuk</td>
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<td>117</td>
<td>o'um</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>ha'fin</td>
<td>sa'yam</td>
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<td>ma'qruk</td>
<td>beq</td>
<td>qo'rik</td>
<td>'bayk</td>
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<td>-fan</td>
<td>-fan</td>
<td>-han</td>
<td>-fan</td>
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<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>sman'dyar</td>
<td>sman'dyar</td>
<td>s'nan</td>
<td>se'han</td>
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</table>

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| 121. | bus'tor | bis | 'taur | bu'su | gis |
| 122. | khat | so'ln | 'qahat | so'lon | so'lon |
| 123. | hne | he'net | hmayt | hnik | du'lea |
| 124. | ln'wyu | ln'wa | qa'qnyen | qnyen | look |
| 125. | -lis | -lis | -lis(ma'net) | -wi | -ko'sak |
|      | 'lhmer |      |      |      |      |
| 126. | -qa'tben | -qa'tit | -de'ma | -ka'bu | -te'rep |
|      | -ra'mu | -qa'tben |      |      |      |
| 127. | me'dyes | -medyes | sris | na'yiis | ko'la |
|      | me'fon | -mebon | ndon'nga | me'fou | me'fon |
| 128. | -'i'gi | -a'gi | -'agi | -'igi | -'agi |
| 129. | -hon | -hon | -hon | -fon | -bu'wak |
|      |      |      |      |      |      |
| 130. | kma | ke'ma | qma | 'kema | mu |
| 131. | tit | tit | tet | tik | tit |
| 132. | in | nin | nen | nin | nin |
| 133. | ow | ow | wow | ow | gaw |
|      | om | om | mom | om | gam |
| 134. | mam | mam | mam | mam | mam |
|      | faf | faf | faf | faf | waw |
| 135. | nan | nan | nan | nan | nan |
| 136. | ey | ey | yit | ne'ye | gay |
| 137. | kam | kren | ni | kani | kam |
| 138. | na | no | na | ne | na |
|      | na'l'a | no'dla | nan'nda | ne'dela | na'nla |
|      | na'lgi | no'rit | na'ngi | ne'lagi | na'rigi |
| 141. | -smaw | -si'maw | -smaw | -se'maw | -se'maw |
| 142. | -smam | -si'mam | -smam | -se'mam | -se'mam |
| 143. | -ba | -on | 'onow | -umw | -amw |
| 144. | -mim | -em | 'emem | -a'mem | -mem |
| 145. | mya | wet | wet | mi'ye | klam |
| 146. | -a'lukw | -a'lukw | 'aiwietw | -a'lukw | -do'uw |
3.2. Proto Forms
From the above given data on proto features, a list may be given as follows:

*p  ‘(neutral for 3rd sg. affix)’
*paqos  ‘(head)skull’ (1)
*tepét ‘ear’ (3)
*puk  ‘swollen’ (27)
*palaq  ‘skin’ (16)
*pele  ‘wide, big’ (55, 107)
*pun  ‘seed, pupil’ (8, 88)
*~Buk  ‘edge, grinds stuffs’ (22, 31)
*~Bin  ‘dull’ (71)
*~Bahas  ‘middle, during, time spend’ (73)
*~Bera  ‘green, blue’ (98)
*~Bilít  ‘fly’ (104)
*ka~Bik  ‘ash, dust, smoky’ humid stuffs (37)
*to~Bat  ‘warm’ (61)
*se~Ben  ‘arrow’ (120)
*tiwen  ‘stick’ (65)
*towon  ‘fire fly’
*tiwis  ‘long’ (125)
*laluk  ‘younger, junior’ (146)
*huwa  ‘snake’ (124)
*wago  ‘horn, cape’ (9)
*wow  ‘he’

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*w(a)</td>
<td>male 3rd person pronominal affix</td>
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<tr>
<td>*hek</td>
<td>teeth (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*hem</td>
<td>blood, red (23,29)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*hak</td>
<td>'for' (45)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*hoyn</td>
<td>'dog' (168) as shown in many dialects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mehon</td>
<td>'marsupial' (126)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*hilk</td>
<td>'to fly' (102)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sa</td>
<td>'head' (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ la</td>
<td>'flame headed' ==&gt; 'fire' see (35)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*si</td>
<td>'face, tip' (9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ qon</td>
<td>'suck' ==&gt; sucked nipple 'breast' (20)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*æe</td>
<td>'liquid (water, blood)' (32)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ D'as</td>
<td>'blood' (96)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ let</td>
<td>'getting water, wet' (32)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sele</td>
<td>'digging stick' (66)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>*sela</td>
<td>'sharp' (70)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sak</td>
<td>'to clear away, to cut' (80)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sema</td>
<td>'spouse' (141, 142)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>*midis</td>
<td>'mouse'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>*lis</td>
<td>'long' (125)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*kod'os</td>
<td>'bone' (19)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*las</td>
<td>'leaf' (85)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*yak</td>
<td>'fire' (35)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*meya</td>
<td>'little, child' (48, 145)</td>
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<td>*yit</td>
<td>'they' (136)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*y(a)</td>
<td>(3rd person plural pronominal affix)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*ta</td>
<td>'noose, front' (9)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>+ *puk</td>
<td>'swollen' (27)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>*man</td>
<td>'tongue' (7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*toluk</td>
<td>'three' (44)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*hat</td>
<td>'four' (45)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mahot</td>
<td>'five' (46)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*Bet 'soil' (50)
*hotot 'narrow' (54)
*tiwen 'stick' (65)
*til(i) 'sun' (72)
*tolot 'straight' (67)
*towon 'fire fly' (76)
*sat 'to clear away' (80)
*Bilit 'fly' (103)
*wat 'different' (112)
*atan 'to bite' (114)
*towor 'string, bow, arch'

*henet 'earth worm' (123)
*sit is 'mouse' (127)
*mis 'mouse' (127)
*tit 'foot, leg, origin' (26, 131)
*yit 'they' (136)
*D'in 'hair' (2, 12)
*D'ahan 'dirty' (11)
*D'aq 'thick, wider/split' (68, 82)
*D'u 'to bake' (36)
*D'ok 'leech' (116)
*qel'ên 'rain' (58)
*koD'in 'tall grass' (79)
*qaD'a 'all' (49)
*D'in 'hair' (2, 12)
*ndahan 'dirty' (11)
*ndas 'wound' (23)
*kondak 'thick' (68)
*lende 'thin' (69)
*ndonos 'mosquito' (105)
*ndok 'leech' (116)
*nandala 'man' (139)
*kinkik 'thorn' (86)
*kelem 'bird' (99)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*kam</td>
<td>'some thing'</td>
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<td>+ wak</td>
<td>'solid, hard'</td>
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<td>=&gt;</td>
<td>'stone' (39)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*ka</td>
<td>'(prefix and possessives marker)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*loko</td>
<td>'later, junior' (146)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*ko</td>
<td>'this' (109)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*oko</td>
<td>'that' (110)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*tik</td>
<td>'I, foot' (13, 261)</td>
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<td>*ndik</td>
<td>'mouth' (5)</td>
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<td>*hak</td>
<td>'four' (45)</td>
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<td>*mohok</td>
<td>'five' (46)</td>
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<td>*maq</td>
<td>'neck' (4)</td>
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<td>*kam</td>
<td>'flesh' (17)</td>
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<td>*minik</td>
<td>'fat' (18)</td>
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<td>*meres</td>
<td>'one' (42)</td>
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<td>*mala</td>
<td>'mountains/hills edge' (56, 150)</td>
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<tr>
<td>*mofon</td>
<td>'wind' (60)</td>
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<td>*mene</td>
<td>'thin' (69)</td>
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<td>*ma</td>
<td>'branch' (84)</td>
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<td>*se</td>
<td>'liquid (water, blood)' (23, 29)</td>
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<td>*mehon</td>
<td>'marsupial' (127)</td>
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<td>*kema</td>
<td>'canoe' (130)</td>
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<td>*mo</td>
<td>'she' (133)</td>
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<td>*mam</td>
<td>'we(excl)' (134)</td>
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<td>*kam</td>
<td>'thing' (137)</td>
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<td>*sema</td>
<td>'spouse' (142)</td>
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<td>*mon</td>
<td>'father' (143)</td>
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<td>*mem</td>
<td>'mother' (144)</td>
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<td>*meya</td>
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<td>*n(a)</td>
<td>'3rd female pronominal affix'</td>
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<td>*taman</td>
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<td>*nen</td>
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<td>*senik</td>
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<td>*honum</td>
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<td>*fan</td>
<td>'path' (59)</td>
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<td>Word</td>
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<tr>
<td>*menin</td>
<td>'thin'</td>
</tr>
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<td>*donos</td>
<td>'mosquito'</td>
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<tr>
<td>*hun</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*han</td>
<td>'to shoot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*semen</td>
<td>'arrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*solon</td>
<td>'spear'</td>
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<tr>
<td>*bon</td>
<td>'full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mehun</td>
<td>'marsupial'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nin</td>
<td>'you(sing)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nan</td>
<td>'you(pl.)'</td>
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<tr>
<td>*na</td>
<td>'men, human kind'</td>
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<tr>
<td>*nandala</td>
<td>'man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nandili</td>
<td>'woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kala</td>
<td>'water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*la</td>
<td>'flame'</td>
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<tr>
<td>*kaliik</td>
<td>'two'</td>
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<td>*sele</td>
<td>'digger'</td>
</tr>
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<td>*jas</td>
<td>'leaf'</td>
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<td>*keleon</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*hulu</td>
<td>'wing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pele</td>
<td>'big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*solon</td>
<td>'spear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*lolok</td>
<td>'younger, junior'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*aluk</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mele</td>
<td>'thunder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kundulu</td>
<td>'blue/green'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bala</td>
<td>'mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kindi</td>
<td>'nail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kem</td>
<td>'flesh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*hek</td>
<td>'teeth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sendas</td>
<td>'blood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*su</td>
<td>'breast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*luwa</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*towo</td>
<td>'finger'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*kondis  ‘bone’ (19)
*mohok  ‘rive’ (46)
*tolo  ‘straight’ (66)

etc.

**Commentaries**

1). Synonymous are counted selectively as descended from (two) separate proto forms, e.g.:
*ko'ndu 'neck'(4)  =>  Te: -'ngoro
*maq  =>  Kl: -maq
    Mo: (maq + godu =>)-ma'kodu
    Se: (ma'ko)du =>)-ma'du
    ( ) => Mr: salu 'sound’ (5)
    +mbik 'fould'
    => salumbik =>salbik
    methathesized:  => sa'blik 'throat, uvula’
    => Te: sa'mblit
*kesek 'skin’(16)  =>  Mo: -'kesik
    Se: -ne'sek
*palak  =>  Mr: -pal,
    Te: -'falaq => Kl: -falq

WHERE

    Te: -qe'seq 'to peel'

2). Two (or more) words combined and appearing presently in one form of word, e.g.:
*sa 'head’(1)  =>  Mo: -sa'wa,
    Mr: -sa'pas,
*paqos 'skull’  =>  Kl: -sa'fa,
    Te: -sa'qos)
    ( ) => Se: -ta'dus (1+19 =) literally 'head's bone(s)'
    +
*ndin 'hair’(2)  =>  Kl: -sa'din,
    Te: -'sadgyeu
    ( ) => Se: -sa'las (1+85 =) literally 'head's leaves’
3. Neutral affixes /p/ and the 3rd person pronominal affixes /w/ (msg.), /m/ (fsg.) and /y/ (pl.) are bound strictly to the words they are attached to.

4. Loan words in a composition with local items are difficult to detect if etymologically each form is not known.

5) mblen 'seashore palm or nipah' (34) => traditionally its fibbers were cut into pieces and dried; when needed, some could be taken to the fire and burned totally; its salty tasted ashes can be used to spice the foods mostly that of vegetables and fruits.

(***sira (Austro) 'sail' => Te: sira
(****)garam (Malay) => KI: 'bilekseren
=> Mo: (garam + 'sira =)gasn
Se: gas

Dis 'to separate'
*awor 'to bow'
=> arch, bow (121)
(**)busur (Maley) => Mr: (busu + tar + awor=) bus'tor
KI: bis

3.3. Proto Phonemes
After having examined allophones and phonemes (4 and 5), proto phonemes may be reconstructed as follows:

* p > p * t > t * k > k * i > i * u > u
> f > d > q > e > o
> w > ? > u
* nd > d > t * o > o
> r * e > e
* mb > b * y > y > a
* m > m * n > n * a > a
> n > l > e
* w > w * s > s * h > h
> b > h > w
Commentaries:
1. Except nasalized of voiced plosives showing above, most clusters and diphthongs were absent from the proto lexicons. Some modifications are as follows:
   (1). nasalized and palatalized of homo organ phonemes:
      *p > mp
      *t > nt
      *s > sy
      *nd > d > dy
      *g > ng > g
      *k > nk > gk > g

   (2). Semi vowels /w/ and /y/ are deleted when found took place between two vowels. Consequently, those two vowels formed a diphthong:
      *i + ya = ia
      *e + yi = ei
      *u + wo = uo
      *a + yi = ai
      + ye = ae
      + wu = au
      + wo = ao

   (3). Sounds /ŋ/ : [ŋ], and /ʔ/ in many cases are not appearing solely (as found attached to another phonemes) and are not phonemically contrasts.
2). Rather to state opposite, it is noted that weakness had been held to proto phonemes.
3). Voiced plosives ordinarily were arose from nasalised homo organ plosives in proto phonemes.

3.4. Phoneme Correspondences

The variation of cognates among languages held because of the variation of phoneme(s). Any specific phoneme on a certain position may undergone variation(s) from dialect to dialect then became variation(s) among languages. Phoneme(s) in this specific some how already had undergone two conditions i.e. whether as modified or substituted by other phoneme(s). Each of both conditions described as follows:

3.4.1 The modification phoneme(s) shows:
  a). Consonant undergone labialised, palatalised or also nasalised on the post and middle position caused doubled consonants/bi-phoneme(s) or cluster(s) (where also to be noted of the adding of partitive pronominal affixes in post and the end of word (See Chapter IV, Morphosyntaxist).
  b). Vocal undergone nasalized, glottalised and uvularised how ever remain a single phoneme.

3.4.2 The substitution phoneme(s) shows:
  a). Certain Consonant(s) changed by other Consonant(s) and almost always happened is the substitution by homo organ phoneme(s).
  b). Vocal(s) changed by other Vocal; the condition on (3.6.1.a) may also shown bi-phoneme and doubled consonant together with other consonant (not only labials, palatals and nasals) because of Vocal dropped on the position as hemmed by consonants [C-C], mostly when found place at the unstressed condition. Description shown in the following section specifically on correspondences in one language and
correspondences among the target languages (of Toror 1) and other languages to which the possibly contacts has been held. References which are used for this particular are Swadesh List of 150 and 200 Words and List of SIL (West Papua) 200 Words with some adjustment.

3.4.3 Internal Correspondences

Internal correspondences in this study is of an inequity comparison among dialects within one language. The identification of phoneme(s) corresponding amongst dialects may only limit to the contrast features. Basing, on this, the intensities of description on each language may also not evenly equal.

3.4.3.1 Internal Correspondences in Mooi

(1) Masinsa (Mo-1) << Klusa (Mo-2):
1). CV.CV ~ CCV (also become Cv = CV):
  ke'la ~ kla 'water'
  se'na ~ sna 'moon'
  lu'gu ~ rgu 'thunder'
2). CCV ~ CV (CC is a modification nasal consonant):
   ma'ndek ~ ma'dek 'cloud, sky'
3). #CVC ~ #VC:
   wan ~ atan 'to beat'
   li'mok ~ limot 'many, allot'
   le ~ e'lek 'lightening'
4). CV.~ CV#:
   ka'le/bale ~ ka'bele 'cassowary'
5). CV~CVC#:
   le ~ e'lek 'lightening'
6). k ~ t:
   'ouk ~ 'out 'tree'
   'touk ~ 'tut 'ear'
to'lok ~ to'lot 'egg'
ma'fuk ~ ma'fot 'five'
l'i'mok ~ 'mot 'many, allot'
ke'wak ~ kot 'stone'
7. k ~ g
    ke'sik ~ ge'sik 'dry-field, garden'
    'k,di ~ gi'dif 'nail'
    kem ~ gem 'meat'
    k'yan ~ gam 'a little'
    'kasu ~ 'gasu 'heart'
8. g ~ d
    wgesok ~ 'wdosok 'it(m) is heavy'
9. k ~ m
    ke'bili ~ nin'lun 'cold'
10. m ~ n
    le'im ~ lin 'right'
11. g ~ dy
    go'nos ~ dyo'nof 'mosquito'
12. n ~ l
    o'wen ~ uul 'snake'
13. k ~ q
    makodu ~ maqdu 'neck'
    k'odok ~ pqodo 'thick'
14. k ~ p
    gik ~ gip 'mouth'
    yak ~ yap 'fire'
15. d ~ g
    mte'do ~ mo'go 'it(f) is narrow'
16. d ~ r
    'idin ~ 'arin 'tongue'
17. t ~ r
    'labba ~ 'raba 'nose'
    hu'gu ~ rgu 'thunder'
    ba'la ~ bra 'green/blue'
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<tr>
<td>go'nos</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>dy'o'nof</td>
<td>'mosquito'</td>
<td>'msobo</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>'ntubu</td>
<td>'it(f) is swollen'</td>
<td>me'li</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>'male</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke'sik</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>gi'sik</td>
<td>'skin'</td>
<td>pe'le</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>pe'li</td>
<td>'big'</td>
<td>me'nik</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>mi'nik</td>
<td>'fat'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ke'wak</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>kot</td>
<td>'stone'</td>
<td>ge'sok</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>'dosok</td>
<td>'heavy'</td>
<td>le'bok</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>o'bok</td>
<td>'hot, worm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le'im</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>liim</td>
<td>'night'</td>
<td>su'wo</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a'fik ~ e'fek 'teeth'

Metathesis:
yik'sun ~ si'gam 'snake'
'tiye ~ weet 'dry'

10 word difference or 92 % cognates similarities.

(2) Masinsa (Mo-1) >> Segun (Mo-3):
1). CVCV(C) ~ CV(C):
ke'lsa ~ kla 'water'
'sena ~ sna 'noon'
w'lok ~ dlok 'egg'
sa'wa ~ sfa 'head'
le'wi ~ lwe 'long, far'
ke'bili ~ ki'ilibi 'old'
de'wi ~ dwe 'sun, day'
ke'dinlas ~ kden'las 'leaf'
ma'yis ~ mays 'mouse, rat'
k'iyem ~ kym 'small, a little'

2). C'CV(C) ~ CV(C):
ney'ndik ~ da'dineyn 'all'
ma'ndek ~ ma'dek 'cloud'
bu'syu ~ bu'su 'bow'

3). CV-# ~ CV#:
'a'no ~ a'nayo 'that, there'

4). #CVC ~ #VC:
w'an ~ an 'to beat'

5). CV# ~ CV'C#:
lek ~ le 'lightening'
w'amuk ~ wa'mu 'it(m) is rotten'

6). CV'C# ~ CV#:
w'a'tu ~ wtum 'it(m) is blunt'

7). b ~ p:
'sobo ~ pagim 'swollen'
8). f ~ h:
  fak ~ hat 'four'
9). d ~ g:
  te'do ~ fgok 'narrow'
10). n ~ l:
  'limok ~ ni'mok 'many, allot'
11). k ~ p:
  yak ~ yap 'fire'
12). k ~ t:
  'kibi ~ thl 'dust'
  fak ~ hat 'four'
  ke'sik ~ 'tisik 'dry-field, garden'
  sak ~ sa'ti 'to fight'
13). k ~ q:
  do'dok ~ 'qodo 'thick'
  'siluk ~ 'sipagu 'same, equal'
  ka'bu ~ qa'biyem 'short'
14). g ~ k:
  'uuguk ~ kba 'heart'
15). g ~ d:
  ge'sok ~ 'dosok 'heavy'
16). i ~ e:
  aflik ~ efek 'teeth'
  me'li ~ me'le 'one'
  me'ni ~ me'ne 'thin'
  pe'li ~ pe'le 'big'
  ke'dinlas ~ 'kednlas 'leaf'
17). i ~ a:
  me'li ~ 'mala 'one'
18). e ~ i:
  'elik ~ 'lik 'foot/feet'
  'felik ~ 'flik 'flying'
  'menik ~ 'minik 'fat'

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19). e ~ o:
le'bak ~ lo'bak 'hot, warm'
20). e ~ a:
me'la ~ ma'la 'one'
21). u ~ i:
ka'bu ~ qa'biyem 'short'
22). u ~ o:
k' ~ ko 'this'
23). u ~ a:
ka'su ~ ka'sa 'heart'
24). o ~ u:
'o'lu ~ 'ulu 'wing'
'boluk ~ 'buluk 'fly/(flies)'
'o'fun ~ 'ufun 'dog'
'o'wan ~ 'uwun 'snake'
'toluk ~ te'luk 'three'
ma'kodu ~ ma'kudu 'neck'
'kodus ~ 'kudus 'bone'
k'o'mom ~ ko'mun 'fish'
25). o ~ u:
su'wo ~ su'wuo 'eye'
26). ou ~ u:
touk ~ tuk 'ear'
ouk ~ uk 'wood'
27). a ~ e:
kyam ~ ki'lem 'small, a little'
a'lek ~ e'lek 'teeth'
'a'ges ~ e'ges 'soil, land, earth'
ka'lem ~ ke'lem 'bird'
ka'lebele ~ ka'lebele 'cassowary'
sa'yan ~ sa'yem 'louse'
Metathesis:
ne'yendik ~ da'dineyn 'all'
te'do ~ fgok 'narrow'
ke'bili ~ pik'ilili  ‘cold’
4 words or 98% cognates similarities.

(3) Klasa (Mo-2) => Segun (Mo-3):
1). CCV ~ CV²CV²:
   rgu ~ lugu  ‘thunder’
   ma'tqdu ~ ma'kudu  ‘necce’
   sfa ~ sa  ‘head’
   bra ~ bu'la  ‘blue/green’
2). CV¹CV² ~ CCV(C):
   to'lok ~ tlok  ‘egg’
   k'bin ~ tbi  ‘dust’
3). CCV ~ CV:
   sa'dyen ~ sa'gin  ‘hair’
   n'dik ~ dadi'neyn  ‘all’
   dyo'nof ~ go'nof  ‘mosquito’
4). CV ~ CC:
   bu'su ~ bu'syu  ‘bow’
5). #CVC ~ #VC:
   dyum ~ iin  ‘dirty’
   tan ~ an  ‘to bite’
6). #VC ~ #CVC:
   i'mot ~ ni'mok  ‘many, allot’
7). CVC# ~ CV#:
   e'lek ~ le  ‘lightening’
   luk ~ lou  ‘worm, maggot’
   k'bin ~ tbi  ‘dust’
   wa'muk ~ pa'mu  ‘smelled, rotten’
   gi'dif ~ kidi  ‘finger’
   w'ilis ~ pi'si  ‘same, equal’
   win ~ wi  ‘wide’
8). CV# ~ CVC#:
   'ogo ~ fgok  ‘narrow’
   m'ti ~ turn  ‘blunt’
9). CV(C)# → CVC#:
   to     ~  'towo  'finger'
   sat    ~  'sati  'too tight'
   tus    ~  'tusu  'walking stick'

10). #CVV(C) → #CV(C):
    i'lik  ~  lik    'foot/feet'
    'uguk ~  kba    'heart'
    i'ndik ~ da'dineyn 'all'
    e'lek  ~  le    'tightening'

11). CV# → CV-#: 
    ke'bele ~ kele'bele 'assowary'
    to'klak ~ to'wokla  'finger'
    sa     ~  sfa    'head'
    tut    ~  tufuk  'ear'
    si     ~  su'wuo 'eye'
    kot    ~  ke'wak  'stone'
    gam    ~  ki'ylem 'small, a little'

13). t ~ k:
    ma'fot  ~  ma'fuk  'five'
    kot     ~  ke'wak  'stone'
    'out    ~  'ouk   'tree'
    tut     ~  'touk  'ear'
    to'lot   ~  to'lok  'egg'
    'imot   ~  ni'mok  'many, allot'
    'igit   ~  'igik  'black'

14). k ~ t:
    'kibin  ~  tbi    'dust'

15). t ~ q:
    ti'fin  ~  qa'byem  'short'

16). g ~ k:
    gi'dif  ~  'kidi   'nail'
    gem    ~  kem    'meat'
    gam    ~  ki'ylem 'a little'
    gasu   ~  'kasa   'heart' (1)
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<td>si'gam</td>
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<tr>
<td>mo'ti</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
30). u ~ i: 
   dyum ~ iin ~ 'dirty'
   'sugu ~ 'sasi ~ 'elbow'
31). i ~ ei: 
   liin ~ leim ~ 'night'
32). i ~ e: 
   'gisik ~ 'kesik ~ 'skin'
   pe'li ~ pe'le ~ 'pig'
33). e ~ i: 
   weet ~ tiye ~ 'dry'
34). i ~ o: 
   'kiwi ~ ko ~ 'this'
35). a ~ e: 
   ma'le ~ me'le ~ 'one'
   yam ~ yem ~ 'louse'
   yan ~ yen ~ 'tail'
   gam ~ ki'ym ~ 'a little'
36). e ~ a: 
   se'dam ~ sa'dam ~ 'blood, red'
37). i ~ o: 
   'kiwi ~ ko ~ 'this'
38). o ~ e: 
   kot ~ ke'wak ~ 'stone'
39). o ~ u: 
   ko'mun ~ 'kumunkla ~ 'fish'
   to'luk ~ tu'luk ~ 'three'
   ma'fot ~ ma'fuk ~ 'five'
   'ofun ~ u'fun ~ 'dog'
40). uo ~ o: 
   'wo ~ wo ~ 'path, row, road'
41). u ~ ou: 
   luk ~ louw ~ 'worm, maggot'
42). ou ~ u: 
   'oun ~ pu'wun ~ 'seed, nut'
3.4.3.2 Internal Correspondent in Seget.

1. Lame Lemas (Se-1) >> Lame Klagip (Se-2):

1. CCV(C) – CV(C) CV(C):
   - 'weemdyek ~ 'neyam ~ 'all'
   - 'korkwa ~ ka'rekwa ~ dry-field, garden'

2. CV(C) CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
   - ba'wa ~ bwa ~ wood, tree'

3. CCV ~ CV:
   - ke'bye ~ ne'be ~ 'ashes'
   - di'syok ~ gi'sok ~ 'heavy'

4. #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
   - -dal ~ -'e'dal ~ 'tongue'
   - wu'aan ~ gu'wan ~ 'tail'

5. #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
   - ne'su ~ su ~ 'breast, milk'
   - ine'gem ~ 'negem ~ 'cloud'
   - te'lebok ~ le'bok ~ 'hot, warm'
   - waka'bok ~ buk ~ 'blunt'
   - ne'lema ~ le'ma ~ 'branch'
   - ne'lass ~ las ~ 'leaf'
   - bo'lanyan ~ lam'yan ~ 'small, a little'
   - 'ayop ~ yo ~ 'that'

6. CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#:
   - su'weam ~ so'we ~ 'ill, hearted'
   - me'redis ~ me're ~ 'one'
   - ne'bonun ~ ne'bok ~ 'heart'

7. CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#:
   - si ~ si'neca ~ 'eye'
   - ta'le ~ ta'lefa ~ 'sun, day'
   - kla ~ kla'weren ~ 'water, stream, river'
6). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#:
   su'weam ~ so'we 'ill, hearted'
   me'redis ~ me're 'one'
   ne'bonun ~ ne'bok 'heart'
7). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)-#:
   si ~ si'neka 'eye'
   ta'le ~ ta'lefa 'sun, day'
   kla ~ kla'weren 'water, stream, river'
8). CV(C)# ~ CV#:
   'tok gwe ~ 'toge 'heart'
   kop ~ ko 'this'
   'ayop ~ yo 'that'
9). CV# ~ CVC#:
   'gife ~ 'oifek 'teeth/tooth'
   ne'mali ~ ne'malip 'fat'
   ne'bonun ~ ne'bok 'heart'
10). #V# ~ #CV:
    ii ~ yii 'sky'
11). by ~ b:
    ke'bye ~ ne'be 'ashes'
12). d ~ t:
    'dolot ~ 'torot 'straight'
13). d ~ g:
    di'syok ~ gi'sok 'heavy'
14). l ~ r:
    dolot ~ 'torot 'straight'
    nen'len ~ ke'remek 'elbow'
15). l ~ l:
    a'gur ~ a'lega 'sea'
16). sy ~ s:
    di'syok ~ gi'sok 'heavy'
17). i ~ e:
    ku'wi ~ ku'we 'belly, stomach'
18). e ~ o:
    te'lehok ~ lo'bok 'hot, warm'
ka'bok  ~  buk  ‘blunt’
22). a ~ e:
ko'sak  ~  ko'sek  ‘long, far’
23). a ~ o
sa'goom  ~  so'goom  ‘cloudy’
Metathesis:
a'gur  ~  a'lega  ‘sea’
su'guam  ~  sugam  ‘smoke’
bo'lanyam  ~  lam'nyaan  ‘small, a little’
8 words or 93 % cognates similarities.

3.4.3.3. Internal Correspondences in Moraid.

(1). Saluk (Mr-la) >= Sailala (Mr-lb)

1). CV.CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
nit'o'bo  ~  nit'tfo  ‘fireger’
tiye  ~  tyan  ‘heavy’
me're  ~  mre  ‘one’
tel'o  ~  tiuk  ‘three’
waba'wulo  ~  wa'hlu  ‘path, row, road’
rum'nun  ~  rno  ‘fragrant’
'sego  ~  sko  ‘this’

2). CCV(C) ~ CV.CV(C):
dhan  ~  da'ha  ‘dirty’
phym  ~  pi'hi  ‘blood, red’
tyem  ~  ta'nyip  ‘walking stick’
kdru  ~  qo'dru  ‘thunder’
plis  ~  pe'lu  ‘long, far’
phou  ~  po'bon  ‘full’

3). CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
die  ~  dyen  ‘hear, feather’
sie  ~  sya  ‘yellow’
tie  ~  tyan  ‘heavy’
bwa'da  ~  qa'dyoqa  ‘all’
bun  ~  bru  ‘heart’
re  ~  dre  ‘foot/feet’

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kdru ~ qo'dru "thunder"
plis ~ pe'lhu "long, far"
phou ~ po'bon "full"
3). CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
die ~ dyen "hear, feather"
sie ~ sya "elbow"
tie ~ tyen "heavy"
bwa'da ~ qa'dyoqa "all"
bun ~ bru "heart"
re ~ dre "foot/feet"
po'li ~ pe'qli "slippery"
4). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
tyem ~ ta'nyip "walking stick"
dyaq'bu ~ pko'do "thick"
phyem ~ pi'hi "blood, red"
kiyen ~ klen "bird"
lu'wya ~ lu'we "snake"
me'dyes ~ me'gi "mouse, rat"
sko'pu ~ so'bu "eye"
myaq ~ mi'ni "fat"
5). #CVC ~ #VC:
yu ~ ik "cloud, sky"
6). #VC ~ #CVC:
on ~ 'wenhi "mosquito"
7). CVC ~ CV#:
dhan ~ da'ha "dirty"
'kiem ~ ki "meat"
kdus ~ qo'do "bone"
dyok ~ dyu "louse"
plis ~ pe'lhu "long, far"
pqat'ben ~ pqat'mi "short"
me'dyes ~ me'gi "mouse, rat"
erwas ~ krewa "fish"
pro'hu ~ pilibi "yellow"
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<tr>
<td>sa'ma</td>
<td>ma'sak</td>
<td>'branch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sulo</td>
<td>'sulok</td>
<td>'to bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sko'pu</td>
<td>so'bo</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Jeru Language</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ple</td>
<td>ble</td>
<td>'big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>'sharp, pointed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'qo</td>
<td>bo'ho</td>
<td>'egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu'lu</td>
<td>bu'lu</td>
<td>'wing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'wa</td>
<td>bua</td>
<td>'different'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. b ~ p:</td>
<td>mpu</td>
<td>'swollen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tbu</td>
<td>mpu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. b ~ f:</td>
<td>nito'bo</td>
<td>'finger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f ~ p:</td>
<td>nito'fo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fan</td>
<td>pap</td>
<td>'to shoot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rik</td>
<td>mpu</td>
<td>'swollen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. d ~ g:</td>
<td>bwa'da</td>
<td>'all'</td>
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<tr>
<td>gas</td>
<td>das</td>
<td>'salt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. g ~ d:</td>
<td>me'dyes</td>
<td>'mouse, rat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gas</td>
<td>me'gi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. dy ~ g:</td>
<td>psi'qer</td>
<td>'same, equal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s ~ b:</td>
<td>psi'her</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. r ~ l:</td>
<td>pro'bun</td>
<td>'yellow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. k ~ g:</td>
<td>pli'bi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko'du</td>
<td>pli'bi</td>
<td>'bone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. k ~ q:</td>
<td>sent'k</td>
<td>'heart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kas</td>
<td>sent'k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kdru</td>
<td>qo'dru</td>
<td>'thunder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. q ~ k:</td>
<td>se'qo</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'qam</td>
<td>pe'ka</td>
<td>'fruit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. q ~ b:</td>
<td>bo'ho</td>
<td>'egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'go</td>
<td>bo'ho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. i ~ ie:</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>'mouth'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
23). i ~ u: 
pra'bin ~ pra'bu 'sharp, pointed'
pe'dim ~ pe'du 'dark, black'
plis ~ pe'lu 'long, far'
24). ie ~ a: 
die ~ dyen 'body hair, feather'
25). ie ~ a: 
sie ~ sya 'elbow'
26). e ~ i: 
'tyem ~ ta'nyip 'walking stick'
he ~ hi 'teeth'
k'dye ~ kdyi 'teeth rain'
pwe ~ pwi 'small, a little'
pqa'rben ~ pqa'mi 'short'
ke ~ ki 'meat'
tes ~ tis 'sea'
klyen ~ ke'li 'bird'
me'dyes ~ me'gi 'mouse, rat'
27). e ~ i:
men ~ 'kmien 'thin'
28). e ~ a:
dre'wat ~ dra'wat 'nose'
29). e ~ ai:
pro'bun ~ pli'bi 'yellow'
be ~ baim 'sand'
30). e ~ ae:
qe ~ qae 'to tight'
31). u ~ i:
yu ~ yik 'sky'
s'duta ~ s'dita 'dry-field, garden'
32). u ~ o:
su ~ syio 'breast, milk'
33). u ~ o:
pru'nun ~ rno 'fragrant'
sko'pa ~ so'ho 'eyes'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hun</th>
<th>Hon</th>
<th>&quot;Dog&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Um</td>
<td>On</td>
<td>&quot;Cloudy&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su/Lo</td>
<td>So'lok</td>
<td>&quot;To bite&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muk</td>
<td>Mok</td>
<td>&quot;Moon&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sluk</td>
<td>Slok</td>
<td>&quot;Dry&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34. u ~ uo:
| Ku       | Kuo       | "Banana" |

35. uo ~ u:
| Buom     | Bun       | "Seed, nut" |

36. o ~ i:
| To/ho    | Pa'iti    | "Narrow" |

37. o ~ e:
| Po'li    | Pe'qii    | "Slippery" |
| Ons      | Weh'ni    | "Mosquito" |

38. o ~ n:
| To       | Tu        | "Ill, hearted" |
| Pdo      | Pdun      | "Flow" |
| Me'bon   | Me'bu     | "Cassowary" |
| Dyok     | Dyu       | "Leach" |
| Mo'ho    | Un        | "Cloud" |

39. o ~ a:
| Wa'lo    | Wa'lak    | "A little" |

40. a ~ i:
| Me'nayq  | Mi'nii    | "Fat" |

41. a ~ e:
| Lu'wa    | U'wye     | "Snake" |

42. a ~ o:
| La       | Lok       | "Two" |
| Ad'qa    | An'qo     | "That" |

**Metathesis:**
| Rig      | Dre       | "Foot/feet" |
| Waha'wulo | Wahu      | "Path, row, road" |
| 'Erwas   | Karwas   | "Fish" |

10 words differences or 93% cognates similarities.
(2) Saluk (Mr-la) >> Sayosa-Sayosa (Mr-2a)

1. CV'C(C) - CCV(C):
   nito'bo ~ ni'tbu 'finger'
   ta'ba ~ tha 'hot, warm'
   til'ubla ~ tilba'la 'mid-day'
   'leleq ~ elk 'lightening'
   ru'nun ~ rnu 'fragrant'
   pe'din ~ pdin 'dark, black'
   pro'hiin ~ prhun 'yellow'
   wahal'wulo ~ wa'llhu 'path, row, road'

2. CCV(C) - CV1CV2(C):
   sko'pu ~ si'bko 'eye'
   dhan ~ da'ha 'dirty'
   'kbiak ~ ke'biyet 'asses'
   tyem ~ te'gien 'walking stick'
   dyaq'bun ~ nge'bun 'thick'
   til'ubla ~ tilbala 'mid-day'
   klyen ~ ke'lem 'bird'
   qap'ben ~ be'qati 'short'
   hme ~ he'net 'worm, maggot'

3. CCV(C) - CV(C):
   sko'pu ~ so'bu 'eye'
   thu ~ bu 'swollen'
   psul ~ su'mok 'wet'
   pdo ~ po'hala 'flow'
   ple ~ padli 'wide'
   kdru ~ dri 'thunder'
   sa'mbu ~ bu 'smoke'
   tyem ~ te'gien 'walking stick'
   phyem ~ phen 'blood, red'
   klyen ~ kelem 'bird'
   pwe ~ bo'sdik 'small, a little'
   lu'wya ~ li'yap 'snake'
   me'dyes ~ me'gis 'mice, rat'
4). CV ~ CCV:
re ~ drit 'foot/feet'
sko'pu ~ si'bko 'eye'
5). (C)V.C ~ (C)V.CC
pal ~ palk 'skin'
6). #CVC ~ #VC:
yu ~ ik 'cloud, sky'
'scanqa ~ anibo 'that'
7). CV# ~ CV#:
te'pe ~ de'pet 'ear'
t'die ~ t'dien 'body hair'
'sie ~ s'riet 'elbow'
sa'di ~ sa'din 'hair'
ke ~ ken 'meat'
re ~ dret 'foot/feet'
t'iyen ~ qen 'heavy'
p'o'li ~ po'kalit 'slippery'
m'e're ~ me'ret 'one'
be ~ bem 'sand'
te'lo ~ te'luk 'three'
yu ~ (y)ik 'sky'
qo'mu ~ qo'mun 'cold'
te'do ~ to'don 'night'
ko ~ kop 'banana'
sa ~ de'sak 'to clear away'
kku ~ kut 'wood, tree'
la ~ las 'leaf'
ba ~ ban 'smelled, rotten'
qe ~ kat 'to tight'
be'ra ~ be'nak 'blue, green'
hne ~ he'net 'worm, maggot'
lu'wya ~ l'iyap 'snake'
8). CV# ~ CV#:
dhan ~ da'ha 'dirty'
pqat'ben ~ pqa'mi 'short'
dhan ~ da'ha ‘dirty’
kdus ~ ko'du ‘bone’
9). CV# ~ CV-#:
ni'ki ~ ni'kedi ‘nail’
pdo ~ po'hala ‘flew’
psul ~ su'mok ‘wet’
ke'bi ~ ke'behir ‘dust’
pa ~ 'barsali ‘sharp, pointed’
10). CV-C ~ CV-C:
sau'waha ~ so'ha ‘many, allot’
wahal'wulo ~ wai'bu ‘path, row, road’
11). CVC ~ CV-C:
'kbiak ~ ke'biyet ‘ashes’
p'o'li ~ po'kalit ‘slippery’
mo'ho ~ bo'qulum ‘cloud’
pe'le ~ pe'lebun ‘big’
plis ~ plismark ‘long, far’
12). #CV ~ #CV:
sa'lam bu ~ bu ‘smoke’
t'ye ~ qen ‘meat’
sa'ma ~ ma ‘brunch’
'seansao ~ 'snibo ‘that’
pqart'ben ~ be'qari ‘short’
13). #CV ~ #CV:
to'ho ~ pe'tobo ‘narrow’
trot ~ pe'drot ‘straight’
sa ~ de'sak ‘to clear away’
pe'wa ~ kren'wa ‘different’
'erwas ~ 'karwas ‘fish’
14). p ~ b:
sa'pas ~ sa'bas ‘head’
sk'o'pu ~ so'kko ‘eye’
pa ~ ba'nasali ‘sharp, pointed’
pra'bin ~ bra'bin ‘blunt’
p'qam ~ bu'qan ‘fruit’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>po'qo</td>
<td>bo'qo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu'lu</td>
<td>bu'lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psi'ter</td>
<td>be'qati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pqar'ben</td>
<td>be'qati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fan</td>
<td>bis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fik</td>
<td>bik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyen</td>
<td>te'gien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hem</td>
<td>hen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'qam</td>
<td>ba'qan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'buom</td>
<td>bun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'dim</td>
<td>pdim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phyem</td>
<td>phen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klyen</td>
<td>ke'lem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'pe</td>
<td>de'pet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trot</td>
<td>pe'dro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'drawat</td>
<td>trawat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du'ta</td>
<td>'luak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du'ta</td>
<td>'luak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke'dyero</td>
<td>hgien</td>
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<tr>
<td>me'dyes</td>
<td>me'gis</td>
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<tr>
<td>dyaq'pun</td>
<td>nge'pun</td>
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<tr>
<td>ra'sle</td>
<td>ta'sle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sulo</td>
<td>ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gas</td>
<td>das</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15). f ~ b: ‘to shoot’
16). m ~ n: ‘walking stick’
17). n ~ m: ‘bird’
18). t ~ d: ‘ear’
19). d ~ t: ‘straight’
20). d ~ l: ‘nose’
21). t ~ k: ‘dry-field, garden’
22). dy ~ g: ‘dry-field, garden’
23). r ~ t: ‘horn’
24). r ~ l: ‘to bite’
25). g ~ d: ‘salt’
26. k ~ t:
   sa'blık ~ sa'blit  'neck'
   'kbiŋ ~ ke'biyet  'ashes'

27. k ~ h:
   kdy'ero ~ lgien  'rain'

28. q ~ t:
   psi'ge ~ bsi'te  'sune, equal'
   riq ~ dret  'foot/feet'

29. q ~ k:
   se'go ~ 'anikop  'this'

30. i ~ ie:
   di ~ diep  'mouth'

31. i ~ e:
   di ~ de  'mouth'
   ni ~ ne  'hand'
   m'tbo ~ m'tbo  'finger'
   ke'bi ~ ke'behir  'dust'

32. e ~ i:
   pe'hir ~ pi'hir  'to fly'
   men ~ hmin  'thin'
   me'dyes ~ me'ois  'mouse, rat'

33. e ~ ie:
   tyem ~ te'gien  'walking stick'
   'kdy'ero ~ lgien  'rain'

34. e ~ a:
   'drewat ~ 'trawat  'nose'
   'paqan ~ ba'qan  'fruit'
   qe ~ kat  'to tight'
   'erwas ~ 'karwas  'fish'

35. e ~ o:
   te'do ~ to'don  'night'

36. n ~ i:
   yu ~ ik  'sky'
   kdrui ~ dgr  'thunder'
   tu'wya ~ liyup  'snake'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>37) u ~ in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>su ~ sin</td>
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<tr>
<td>'breast, milk'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>38) u ~ o:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>um ~ on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cloudy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'ho ~ kmun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu ~ mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twun ~ ton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'animal'</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>39) o ~ a:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nito'bo ~ ne'tbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'finger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kodo ~ ko'du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'lo ~ te'luk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mos ~ mus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'string'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>40) a ~ o:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la ~ lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sau'waha ~ so'ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'many, allot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'scanqa ~ 'anibó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>41) a ~ u:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bwa'da ~ ka'du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wahaf'wulo ~ wa'hlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'path, row, road'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Metathesis:**

| wahaf'wulo ~ wa'hlu |
| 'path, row, road' |
| 'erwas ~ 'karwas   |
| 'fish' |
| pqat'ben ~ be'qati   |
| 'short' |
| pdo ~ po'hala       |
| 'flow' |

11 words differences or 93% cognates similarities.

**3) Saluk-Saluk (Mr-1a) > Sayesa-Mladifok (Mr-2b)**

1) $CV^C\cdot CV^C(C) - CCV(C)$:

<p>| te'pe ~ tbit   |
| 'ear' |
| nito'bo ~ ne'tpo |
| 'finger' |
| se'ní ~ qa'sí   |
| 'belly, stomach' |
| me're ~ mre    |
| 'one' |
| te'lo ~ tluk   |
| 'three' |
| ta'ba ~ tba   |
| 'hot, warm' |
| til'ubla ~ tilba'la |
| 'day, mid day' |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ru'nun</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>'fragrant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'din</td>
<td>pdum</td>
<td>'black'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waba'l'wulo</td>
<td>wa'lihu</td>
<td>'path, row, road'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. CCV(C) – CV^2(C):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>sko'pu</td>
<td>su'wopun</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhan</td>
<td>da'han</td>
<td>'dirty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnyaq</td>
<td>me'ni</td>
<td>'fat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kodus</td>
<td>do'kudus</td>
<td>'bone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psre</td>
<td>bse'ret</td>
<td>'wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyem</td>
<td>te'gien</td>
<td>'walking stick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kdye'ro</td>
<td>ko'dyi</td>
<td>'rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kdru</td>
<td>ku'duru</td>
<td>'thunder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twun</td>
<td>to'won</td>
<td>'fire fly, star'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>til'ubla</td>
<td>tilbala</td>
<td>'day, mid day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klyen</td>
<td>ka'lij</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwe</td>
<td>'powe</td>
<td>'small, a little'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pqa'les</td>
<td>pe'ya</td>
<td>'tail'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. CCV(C) – CV(C):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sko'pu</td>
<td>su'wopun</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'drewat</td>
<td>'rawat</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tba</td>
<td>bik</td>
<td>'swollen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kbiak</td>
<td>'biak</td>
<td>'ashes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sal'mbu</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>'smoke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyem</td>
<td>te'gin</td>
<td>'walking stick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pbyem</td>
<td>phe</td>
<td>'blood, red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klyen</td>
<td>ka'lij</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. CV ~ CCV:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Translation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>re</td>
<td>drit</td>
<td>'foot/feet'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. (C)VC ~ (C)VCC:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pal</td>
<td>balk</td>
<td>'skin'</td>
</tr>
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</table>

6. #CVC ~ #VC:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'scanaqa</td>
<td>'anabu</td>
<td>'hat'</td>
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</table>

7. #VC ~ #CVC:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ons</td>
<td>'won</td>
<td>'mosquito'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8). CV# ~ CVC#:

te'pe ~ tbit 'ear'
di ~ dyap 'mouth'
'tdie ~ 'dien 'body hair, feather'
ni'ki ~ ne'yakit 'nail'
sa'di ~ sa'din 'hair'
re ~ drit 'foot/feet'
ke ~ 'kien 'meat'
su ~ siop 'breast, milk'
to ~ tot 'ill, hearted'
be ~ bain 'sand'
'tiye ~ dyan 'heavy'
la ~ lok 'two'
te'lo ~ tluk 'three'
ha ~ hat 'four'
ma'ha ~ ma'hot 'five'
bi ~ bit 'soil, earth'
mo'ho ~ mo'hop 'wind'
qo'mu ~ be'lum 'cold'
pa ~ pak 'sharp, pointed'
te'do ~ to'don 'night'
sa'ma ~ map 'branch'
la ~ las 'leaf'
ba ~ ban 'smelled, rotten'
qe ~ 'keti 'to tight'

9). CVC# ~ CV#:

'buom ~ brit 'seed, nut'
phyem ~ phe 'blood, red'
hun ~ ho 'dog'
'erwas ~ 'krewa 'fish'

10). CV# ~ CV-#:

pal ~ balk 'skin'
ke'bi ~ ke'behir 'dust'
pe'le ~ pe'lebun 'big'
wa'lo ~ bau'sedik 'a little'
am ~ 'amek 'stone'
til ~ 'telu 'sun, day'
mos ~ 'mohlu 'string'
qe ~ ke'ti 'to tight'
11). CV-3 ~ CV#:
sau'waha ~ sa many, allot *
wahal'wulo ~ wa'lu 'path, row, road'
pqa'les ~ pe'ya 'tail'
kdy'e'ro ~ ke'dyi 'rain'
12). CVC - CV-C:
sko'pu ~ su'wopun 'eye'
n'l'ki ~ n'lyakid 'nail'
po'li ~ be'qli 'slippery'
tyem ~ ti'gin 'walking stick'
13). CV-C ~ CVC:
bum ~ pe'qam 'fruit'
phyem ~ phe 'blood, red'
pqa'les ~ pe'ya 'tail'
14). #CV ~ #CV:
'drawat ~ 'rawat 'nose'
'kbiak ~ 'biak 'asses'
'salmbu ~ bi 'smoke'
sa'ma ~ map 'branch'
'seansi ~ 'onabo 'that'
15). #CV ~ #CV:
re ~ drit 'foot/feet'
se'ni ~ qa'sni 'belly, stomach'
gas ~ brenkserm 'salt'
trot ~ po'trot 'straight'
erwas ~ krewa 'fish'
pe'wa ~ kren'wa 'different'
16). p ~ b:
sa'pas ~ sa'bas 'head'
| te'pe   | ~ de'pet | 'ear'     |
| pal    | ~ baiik | 'skin'    |
| pse   | ~ bse'ret | 'wet'     |
| po'ti  | ~ bo'gli | 'slippery' |
| pe'qam | ~ bum   | 'fruit'   |
| 17). b ~ p: nito'bo | ~ ne'tpo | 'finger' |
| 18). b ~ w: wa'lo | ~ bau'sedik | 'a little' |
| 19). f ~ p: fan | ~ pam   | 'to shoot' |
| 20). f ~ b: fik | ~ bik | 'swollen' |
| 21). m ~ n: kiem | ~ 'kiem | 'meat' |
| tyem | ~ te'gien | 'walking stick' |
| 22). n ~ m: fan | ~ Pam | 'to shoot' |
| hem | ~ Hen | 'blood, red' |
| pe'qam | ~ ba'qan | 'fruit' |
| 23). t ~ d tiye | ~ 'dian | 'heavy' |
| to'ho | ~ pa'dia | 'narrow' |
| 24). d ~ t: dyu | ~ truk | 'burn' |
| 25). d ~ l: pde | ~ blijk | 'flow' |
| 26). t ~ d: tiye | ~ 'dian | 'heavy' |
| 27). dy ~ t: dyu | ~ truk | 'burn' |
| 28). r ~ t: pra'bin | ~ pte'la | 'blunt' |
| 29). r ~ l: pro'hun | ~ ple'bi | 'yellow' |
30). d ~ dy:
di ~ dyap ‘mouth’
31). dy ~ d:
dyaq’bun ~ po’du ‘thick’
32). r ~ t:
pra’bin ~ pte’la ‘blunt’
33). l ~ t:
’sulo ~ ’ati ‘to bite’
34). s ~ r:
psi’ger ~ phi’ger ‘same, equal’
35). k ~ t:
sa’blick ~ sa’blit ‘neck’
’kbiak ~ ke’biyet ‘ashes’
36). g ~ k:
gas ~ ksern ‘salt’
37). q ~ g:
psi’ger ~ phi’ger ‘same, equal’
38). q ~ t:
riq ~ dret ‘foot/feet’
39). q ~ k:
se’qo ~ ’oniku ‘this’
40). i ~ ie:
ke ~ kien ‘meat’
41). i ~ e:
ni ~ ne ‘hand’
n’ibo ~ ne’tpo ‘finger’
42). i ~ u:
pe’dim ~ pdum ‘black’
43). i ~ a:
di ~ dyap ‘mouth’
dyu ~ truk ‘burn’
28). r ~ t:
pra’bin ~ pte’la ‘blunt’
29). r ~ l: pro'bin
       ~ ple'bi  'yellow'
30). d ~ dy: di
       ~ dyap  'mouth'
31). dy ~ d: dyaq'bin
       ~ po'du  'thick'
32). r ~ t: pra'bin
       ~ pte'la  'blunt'
33). l ~ t: 'sulo
       ~ 'ati  'to bite'
34). s ~ h: psi'ger
       ~ phi'ger  'same, equal'
35). k ~ t: sa'blak
       ~ sa'blit  'neck'
       'kbiak
       ~ ke'biyet  'ashes'
36). g ~ k: gas
       ~ kserm  'salt'
37). q ~ g: psi'ger
       ~ phi'ger  'same, equal'
38). q ~ t: riq
       ~ dret  'foot/feet'
39). q ~ k: se'qo
       ~ 'oniku  'this'
40). i ~ ie: ke
       ~ 'kien  'meat'
41). i ~ e: ni
       ~ ne  'hand'
       m'bo
       ~ ne'tpo  'finger'
42). i ~ u: pe'dim
       ~ pdum  'black'
43). i ~ a: di
       ~ dyap  'mouth'
44). e ~ i te'pe
       ~ tbit  'ear'
       pe'hir
       ~ p'hir  'flying'
| kyien    | ka'liŋ  | 'bird' |
| 'kydro    | ke'dyi  | 'rain' |
| tyen     | t'gin   | 'walking stick' |
| ke       | kien    | 'meat' |
| 'ryew    | 'rawat  | 'nose' |
| be'ra    | be'ra   | 'blue' |
| me'dyes  | ma'dyes | 'mouse, rat' |
| be       | bain    | 'sand' |
| te'do    | to'don  | 'night' |
| sa'lambu | bi      | 'smoke' |
| lu'wya   | li'wye  | 'snake' |
| pe'hir   | pe'lu   | 'flying' |
| su       | 'siop   | 'breast, milk' |
| um       | om      | 'cloudy' |
| mu       | mok     | 'moon' |
| twun     | to'won  | 'fire, fly, star' |
| nito'bo  | ne'tpo  | 'finger' |
| 'kodo    | doko'dus| 'bone' |
| te'lo    | tluk    | 'three' |
| ko       | 'kuo    | 'banana' |
| pro'buun | ple'bi  | 'yellow' |
| lu'wya   | li'wye  | 'snake' |
| la       | lok     | 'two'  |
ma'ha ~ ma'hon 'five'
Metathesis:
ko'du ~ do'kodus 'bone'
dyag'bu ~ po'du 'thick'
waha'wulo ~ wa'hu 'path, row, road'
'erwas ~ 'krewa 'fish'
18 words differences or 86% cognates similarities.

(4). Saluk-Saluk (Mr-la) >= Salqna-Welek (Mr-3a):
1). CV1CV2(C) ~ CCV(C):
t'iye ~ dyian 'heavy'
r'i'nun ~ mun 'fragrant'
tre'lij ~ t'iŋ 'forest, wood, tree'
pel'ek ~ pelk 'white'
pel'dim ~ pdiŋ 'black'
pel'wa ~ bwa 'other'
2). CCV(C) ~ CV1CV2(C):
mnyaq ~ mi'nak 'fat'
kodu ~ 'kodus 'bone'
kla ~ ka'lu 'water, river'
ple ~ ba'pili 'wide'
pere ~ bse'ret 'wet'
kdru ~ ku'duru 'thunder'
tyem ~ tiyen 'walking stick'
twun ~ tu'yok 'fire, fly, star'
slik ~ su'lu 'dry'
phyem ~ be'hen 'blood, red'
pwe ~ 'pu'ye 'small, a little'
pseri ~ pi'hi 'same, equal'
hne ~ be'nek 'worm, maggot'
lui'wa ~ lu'wiya 'snake'
pqar'ben ~ 'katebi 'short'
p'hun ~ po'hon 'full'
3). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
sko'pu ~ so'bon 'eye'
'drewat ~ 'rawada ~ 'nose'
tbu ~ nu'bu ~ 'swollen'
sal'mbu ~ nu'bu ~ 'smoke'
qdyag ~ yok ~ 'divide, split'
tre'lij ~ tlij ~ 'forest, wood, tree'
phyen ~ be'hen ~ 'blood, red'
pro'gun ~ hu'ru ~ 'yellow'
psi'ger ~ p'i'bi ~ 'same, equal'
pqar'ben ~ katebi ~ 'short'
4). CV ~ CCV:
di ~ dyaq ~ 'mouth'
be ~ hyak ~ 'tooth'
gas ~ gas ~ 'salt'
t'ye ~ dyiaq ~ 'heavy'
p'li ~ p'la'li ~ 'slippery'
trot ~ pi'ro ~ 'straight'
d'uta ~ d'uta ~ 'dry-field, garden'
ba'ra ~ hbra ~ 'blue/green'
'erwas ~ 'krewas ~ 'fish'
5). (C)VC ~ (C)VCC:
pal ~ balak ~ 'skin'
pe'leq ~ pelk ~ 'white'
6). #VC ~ #CVC:
um ~ wo'hop ~ 'cloudy'
'eleq ~ pe'lek ~ 'lightening'
7). CV~CVC#:
t'epe ~ te'bit ~ 'ear'
di ~ dyaq ~ 'mouth'
he ~ hyak ~ 'teeth'
sko'pu ~ so'bon ~ 'eye'
'die ~ 'din ~ 'bodily hair, feather'
'sie ~ sin ~ 'elbow'
kle'bu ~ si'belkoq ~ 'back'
to ~ pu'tak ~ 'ill, hearted'
pdo ~ pdol 'flow'
pse ~ bse'et 'wet'
tiye ~ 'dyiai 'heavy'
lak ~ lok 'two'
teto ~ te'lok 'three'
hak ~ hak 'four'
waflo ~ wa'lok 'a little'
yu ~ yu'k 'sky, cloud'
meho ~ mohop 'wind'
taxa ~ te'pak 'hot, warm'
qomu ~ hu'boj 'cold'
tedo ~ te'doj 'night'
mu ~ mok 'moon'
kuk ~ kuk 'tree, wood'
lak ~ las 'leaf'
ba ~ hu'baŋ 'smelled'
se'qo ~ so'qop 'this'
'sulo ~ 'suloŋ 'to bite'
hne ~ he'neŋ 'worm, maggot'

8). CVC# - CV#:

sa'blik ~ sa'blid 'neck'
'kbiak ~ kbi 'ashes'
trot ~ piti'ro 'straight'
sluk ~ su'lu 'dry'
pe'gam ~ pe'qala 'fruit'
pro'hun ~ hu'ru 'yellow'
psi'qer ~ phi 'same, equal'

9). CV(C) # - CV(C)#:
at ~ ade 'tongue'
'drewat ~ 'rawada 'nose'
'niki ~ ne'qadi 'nail'
pal ~ bal 'skin'
sal ~ sa'lep 'fire'
am ~ 'amek 'stone'
| bwa'da  | ka'duqa  | 'all' |
| um     | 'mohop   | 'wind' |
| pa     | pa'rascal | 'sharp, pointed' |
| pe'qam | pe'qala  | 'fruit' |

10. CV(C)-# ~ CV(C)#:
| kdyero | 'dying   | 'rain' |
| psi'ger| pi'h     | 'same, equal' |

11. CV-C ~ CV-C:
| pe'li  | pqa'li   | 'slippery' |
| qo'mu  | hu'bluŋ  | 'cold' |

12. CV-C ~ CV-C:
| skō'pu | so'buŋ   | 'eye' |
| mnyaq  | mi'nak  | 'fat' |
| sal'mbu| hu'bu    | 'smoke' |
| trel̄j | tliŋ     | 'forest' |
| phyem  | be'heŋ   | 'blood, red' |
| pro'hun| hu'ru    | 'yellow' |
| psi'qe | pi'hi    | 'same, equal' |

13. #-CV ~ #CV:
| 'draelat| 'rawada  | 'nose' |
| kle'bu  | si'belkoq| 'back (bone)' |
| tbu     | hu'buil  | 'swollen' |
| sal'mbu | hu'bu    | 'smoke' |
| kdyero  | 'dying   | 'rain' |
| qdyaq   | yok      | 'split, cracked' |
| sa'ma   | ma       | 'branch' |
| pro'hun | hu'ru    | 'yellow' |

14. #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
| re      | drit     | 'foot/feet' |
| kle'bu  | si'belkoq| 'beck' |
| bu      | hu'buŋ   | 'swollen' |
| bwa'da  | ka'duqa  | 'all' |
| ple     | ba'pili  | 'big' |
| 'eleq   | pe'lek   | 'white' |
trot ~ pt'ro 'straight'
ple ~ ba'pili 'wide'
'buom ~ hu'buñ 'seed, nut'
ba ~ hu'buñ 'smelled'
be'ra ~ hbra 'blue/green'
p'e'le ~ be'peli 'big'
'erwas ~ 'krewas 'fish'

15). p ~ b:
sa'pas ~ sa'bas 'head'
te'pe ~ te'bit 'ear'
sko'pu ~ so'buñ 'eye'
pal ~ balk 'skin'
psre ~ bse'ret 'wet'
phyem ~ be'heñ 'blood, red'
p'o'po ~ bo'po 'egg'
p'e'wa ~ 'bu'a 'different'

16). p ~ w:
plis ~ lwis 'long, far'

17). b ~ p:
ta'ba ~ te'pak 'hot, warm'

18). b ~ f:
sba ~ sfã 'mountain'

19). f ~ s:
fan ~ is 'to shoot'

20). f ~ h:
fik ~ hu'buñ 'swollen'

21). m ~ n:
'kien ~ 'kien 'meat'
tyen ~ ti'yen 'walking stick'

22). m ~ q:
mo'ho ~ uŋ 'cloud'
qo'mu ~ hu'bluŋ 'cold'
'buom ~ hu'buñ 'seed, nut'
p'e'dim ~ pdun 'black'
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ lok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Metathesis:
'drewat ~ 'rawada  'nose'
kle'bu ~ s'beilo  'back (bone)'
sau'waha ~ m'lsa  'many, allot'
whah'wulo ~ wal'mu  'path, row, road'
to'ho ~ hu'ye  'narrow'
tim ~ 'mohop  'cloudy'
qo'mu ~ hu'bluŋ  'cold'
t'erwas ~ krewas  'fish'
tfan ~ tis  'to shoot'
plis ~ lwis  'long, far'

10 words differences or 93% cognates similarities.

(5). Salak-Saluk (Mr-1a) >= Moraid Salqna-Klamit (Mr-3b)

1). CV.CV(C) ~ CCV(C):

se'ni ~ sni  'stomach'
ti'ye ~ dyan  'heavy'
me're ~ mre  'one'
tel'o ~ tluḳ  three''
ke'bi ~ kbi  dust''
ta'ba ~ tba  'hot, warm'
qo'mu ~ qmin  'cold'
te'do ~ tdo  'night'
ru'nun ~ mun  'fragrant'
pro'hun ~ p'e'hrun  'yellow'
be'ra ~ pe'bra  'blue/green'
p'e'hir ~ phyer  'flying'
s'e'bar ~ sbar  'fly (/flies)'
p'e'le ~ fle  'big'

2). CCV(C) ~ CV.CV(C):

kdus ~ 'kodus  'bone'
q'dyaq ~ qa'dyaq  'spit, cracked'
ple ~ p'e'le  'wide'
tyem ~ ti'yen  'walking stick'
phyem ~ pe'hen  'blood, red'
phon ~ pe'hon  'full'

123
### 3. CCVC → CV(C):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dau</th>
<th>~ Yu</th>
<th>‘burn’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>salmbu</td>
<td>~ Bi</td>
<td>‘smoke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phynu</td>
<td>~ pe’hen</td>
<td>‘blood, red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pqu’les</td>
<td>~ pi’yuj</td>
<td>‘tail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plis</td>
<td>~ lis</td>
<td>‘long, far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pqat’ben</td>
<td>~ qatebi</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4. CV → CCV:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sie</th>
<th>~ Sya</th>
<th>Elbow **</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni’ki</td>
<td>~ qdi</td>
<td>‘nail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su</td>
<td>~ syo</td>
<td>‘breast, milk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiye</td>
<td>~ dyaq</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po’li</td>
<td>~ pe’qli</td>
<td>‘slippery’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe’hir</td>
<td>~ phyer</td>
<td>‘flying’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5. (C)VCC → (C)VCC:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>At</th>
<th>~ adl</th>
<th>‘tongue’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pal</td>
<td>~ falq</td>
<td>‘skin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Am</td>
<td>~ amq</td>
<td>‘stone’ **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eleq</td>
<td>~ felq</td>
<td>‘lightening’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6. #VC → #CVC:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘eleq</th>
<th>~ felq</th>
<th>‘lightening’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Om</td>
<td>~ won</td>
<td>‘louse’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7. CV# → CVC#:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Te’pe</th>
<th>~ te’bit</th>
<th>‘ear’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Di</td>
<td>~ diak</td>
<td>‘mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>~ heq</td>
<td>‘teeth/tooth’ **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skopu</td>
<td>~ sqɕ’fʊən</td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’Die</td>
<td>~ din</td>
<td>‘body hair, feather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ke</td>
<td>~ qey</td>
<td>‘meat’ **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kodu</td>
<td>~ kodus</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pdo</td>
<td>~ fdol</td>
<td>‘flow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’Tyue</td>
<td>~ dyun</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La</td>
<td>~ lok</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te’lo</td>
<td>~ tluk</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>wa'lo</code></td>
<td><code>wa'loq</code></td>
<td>'a little'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>'moho</code></td>
<td><code>un</code></td>
<td>'cloudy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>kdye'ro</code></td>
<td><code>qdyen</code></td>
<td>'rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>qo'mu</code></td>
<td><code>qmin</code></td>
<td>'cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>yu</code></td>
<td><code>ik</code></td>
<td>'sky, cloud'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mu</code></td>
<td><code>moq</code></td>
<td>'moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ku</code></td>
<td><code>kutplome</code></td>
<td>'tree/wood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>la</code></td>
<td><code>las</code></td>
<td>'leaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ba</code></td>
<td><code>ban</code></td>
<td>'smelled'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8). CV'C ~ CV'#:  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>sar'blik</code></td>
<td><code>sar'li</code></td>
<td>'neck, throat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>'kiem</code></td>
<td><code>gei</code></td>
<td>'meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>gas</code></td>
<td><code>si'ri</code></td>
<td>'snit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>trot</code></td>
<td><code>tro</code></td>
<td>'straight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>sluk</code></td>
<td><code>slo</code></td>
<td>'dry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9). CV(C)(': CV(C)'#:  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>di</code></td>
<td><code>diak</code></td>
<td>'mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>at</code></td>
<td><code>adl</code></td>
<td>'tongue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>nito'bo</code></td>
<td><code>ntal</code></td>
<td>'finger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ni'ki</code></td>
<td><code>qdi</code></td>
<td>'nail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>pal</code></td>
<td><code>falq</code></td>
<td>'skin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>am</code></td>
<td><code>amq</code></td>
<td>'stone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>bwa'da</code></td>
<td><code>ka'dyaqa</code></td>
<td>'all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ba</code></td>
<td><code>basin</code></td>
<td>'rotten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mos</code></td>
<td><code>moslu</code></td>
<td>'string'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10). CV(C)'# ~ CV(C)'#:  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>drewat</code></td>
<td><code>tra</code></td>
<td>'nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>psl'ger</code></td>
<td><code>pi'hi</code></td>
<td>'same, equal'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11). CV'C ~ CV-C:  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>po'li</code></td>
<td><code>pe'li</code></td>
<td>'slippery'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>qo'mu</code></td>
<td><code>hur'blug</code></td>
<td>'cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>pshir</code></td>
<td><code>psyer</code></td>
<td>'flying'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12). CV-C ~ CV'C:  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>sa'mbu</code></td>
<td><code>bi</code></td>
<td>'smoke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>phyem</code></td>
<td><code>pe'hen</code></td>
<td>'blood, red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klyen</td>
<td>~ qlen</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mē'dyes</td>
<td>~ metis</td>
<td>'mouse, rat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n’ki</td>
<td>~ qdi</td>
<td>'nail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kie'bu</td>
<td>~ she’qo</td>
<td>'back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psre</td>
<td>~ sre</td>
<td>'wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa’mbu</td>
<td>~ hu’bu</td>
<td>'smoke'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa’mma</td>
<td>~ ma</td>
<td>'branch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps’qer</td>
<td>~ mre</td>
<td>'same, equal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pqa’tben</td>
<td>~ qathen</td>
<td>'shoort'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13). #CV ~ #CV:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kle’bu</td>
<td>~ she’qo</td>
<td>'back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwa’da</td>
<td>~ qa’dyoqa</td>
<td>'all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’eleq</td>
<td>~ felq</td>
<td>'lightening'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>~ dyae’men</td>
<td>'blunt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ple</td>
<td>~ bat’ili</td>
<td>'big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be’ra</td>
<td>~ pe’bra</td>
<td>'blue/green'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa’pas</td>
<td>~ sa’bas</td>
<td>'head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te’pe</td>
<td>~ te’bit</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15). p ~ b:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pal</td>
<td>~ falq</td>
<td>'skin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pdo</td>
<td>~ fdoł</td>
<td>'flow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’buom</td>
<td>~ ’fuon</td>
<td>'seed, nut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe’le</td>
<td>~ fle</td>
<td>'big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe’wa</td>
<td>~ fe’wa</td>
<td>'others'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17). b ~ f:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sba</td>
<td>~ frik</td>
<td>'mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’buom</td>
<td>~ ’fuon</td>
<td>'seed, nut'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18). f ~ s:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fan</td>
<td>~ nos</td>
<td>'to shoot'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19). m ~ n:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hem</td>
<td>~ ben</td>
<td>blood, red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo’ho</td>
<td>~ un</td>
<td>'cloud'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>um</td>
<td>~ un</td>
<td>'cloudy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tyem ~ ti'yen 'walking stick'
pe'qam ~ pe'qan 'fruit'
'buom ~ 'fuon 'seed, nut'
pê'dim ~ pe'din 'black'
phyem ~ pe'hên 'blood, red'
om ~ wou 'house'

20). œ ~ n
sko'pu ~ sqo'fuon 'eye'
ba ~ ban 'rotten'

21). n ~ l
sa'din ~ sa'dil 'hair'

22). t ~ d(y):
at ~ adi 'tongue'
'drawat ~ tra 'nose'
'tiye ~ 'dyan 'heavy'
to'ho ~ pe'tuda 'narrow'

23). s ~ sy:
su ~ 'syo 'breast, milk'

24). k ~ q:
sko'pu ~ sqo'fuon 'eyes'
ni'ki ~ qdi 'finger'
ke ~ qey 'meat'
kle'bu ~ sbe'qo 'back'
'kbiaq ~ 'qbiaq 'ashes'
ke'bi ~ qbi 'dust'
kdyêro ~ qdyên 'rain'
klîen ~ qîn 'bird'
dyok ~ dyoq 'leech'
ma'qruk ~ ma'qroq 'pig'

25). k ~ œ:
sluk ~ sio 'dry'

26). œ ~ k:
di ~ 'diak 'mouth'
lâ ~ lak 'two'
tê'lo ~ tluk 'three'

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38). u ~ o:
su ~ syo ‘breast, milk’
dyu ~ yo ‘burn’
mu ~ moq ‘moon’
twun ~ twon ‘fire fly, star’
ma'qruk ~ ma'qroq ‘pig’
39). o ~ e:
pol’i ~ po'gli ‘slippery’
pro'hun ~ pe'rhum ‘yellow’
po'qo ~ pe'qo ‘egg’
40). o ~ u
telo ~ tluk ‘three’
mo'ho ~ un ‘cloud’
41). o ~ a:
nito'b0 ~ ne'tal ‘finger’
42). a ~ i:
pg'ites ~ pi'yuj ‘tail’
43). a ~ e:
mnyaq ~ mnyeq ‘fat’
ta'ba ~ te'pak ‘hot, warm’
44). a ~ o:
la ~ lok ‘two’
'se'anqa ~ 'nanfo ‘this’
la ~ lok ‘two’
tfan ~ tnos ‘to shoot’
Metathesis:
ni'ki ~ qdi ‘nail’
kle'bu ~ sbe'lqo ‘back’
morho ~ un ‘wind’
tfan ~ tnos ‘I shoot’

10 words differences or 92 % cognates similarities.
(6). Saluk-Sailala (Mr-Ib) << Sayosa-Sayosa (Mr-2a)

1). CV(C)\# ~ CV(C)\#: 
   roq ~ so'ha 'many, allot'
   psun ~ su'mek 'wet'
   kbi ~ ke'biyet 'ashes'
   nkid ~ ne'kedi 'nail'
   pati ~ pe'to'ho 'narrow'

2). CV(C)\# ~ CV(C)\#:
   'masak ~ ma 'branch'
   qa'dyoqa ~ ka'du 'all'

3). CV\+CV\+C ~ CCV(C):
   so'bo ~ si'bko 'eye'
   pe'tero ~ pe'drot 'straight'
   ba'trasali ~ ba'trasle 'sharp, pointed'
   te'tap ~ tbla 'divide, split'
   pe'hi ~ bs'iter 'same, equal'
   pe'dim ~ pdin 'black'
   pi'hi ~ phen 'blood, red'

4). CCV(C) ~ CV\+CV\+C:
   'sankso ~ 'anibo 'that'
   sa'amu ~ mo'gok 'back'
   qa'sni ~ se'ni 'stomach'
   sli ~ se'lip burn 's
   kbi ~ ke'biyet 'shes'
   pe'qli ~ po'kalit 'slippery'
   mre ~ me'ret 'one'
   tlok ~ te'luk 'three'
   'krewa ~ 'karwas 'fish'
   bue ~ he'nnet worm, maggot 's'
   pqa'mi ~ be'qati 'short'
   ti'lbila ~ tilba'la 'day, mid day'

5). CVC\# ~ VI#:
   'diep ~ de 'mouth'
   lok ~ lo 'two'
   hat ~ ha 'four'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa'lok</td>
<td>wa'lo</td>
<td>'a little'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mok</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>'room'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'lap</td>
<td>tbla</td>
<td>'divide, split'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'sak</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>'branch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sya</td>
<td>'siet</td>
<td>'elbow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>'ken</td>
<td>'rest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sam'qu</td>
<td>mo'gok</td>
<td>'back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi</td>
<td>ben</td>
<td>'blood, red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dre</td>
<td>dret</td>
<td>'foot/feet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sli</td>
<td>se'lip</td>
<td>'burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'qli</td>
<td>po'kilit</td>
<td>'slippery'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mre</td>
<td>me'ret</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>kut</td>
<td>'wood, tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'ka</td>
<td>ba'gan</td>
<td>'fruit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'tro</td>
<td>pe'drot</td>
<td>'straight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pqa(mi)</td>
<td>be'qat(i)</td>
<td>'short'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rno</td>
<td>rmun</td>
<td>'fragrant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi'hi</td>
<td>phen</td>
<td>'blood, red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be'ra</td>
<td>be'rak</td>
<td>'green, blue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke'li</td>
<td>ke'lem</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me'bu</td>
<td>me'bon</td>
<td>'casewary'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'lebu</td>
<td>pe'lebon</td>
<td>'big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sko</td>
<td>onikop</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'krewa</td>
<td>'karwas</td>
<td>'food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyu</td>
<td>dyok</td>
<td>'leech'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'</td>
<td>om</td>
<td>'louse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbe</td>
<td>bek</td>
<td>'pig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'lue</td>
<td>lu'yap</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me'gi</td>
<td>me'gis</td>
<td>'mouse, rat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)-#:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n'kid</td>
<td>ne'kidi</td>
<td>'finger'</td>
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8). CCV(C) ~ CVC(C):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'wenhi</td>
<td>ons</td>
<td>'mosquito'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mohlu</td>
<td>mos</td>
<td>'string'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9). (C)VCC ~ (C)VCC:</td>
<td>10). (C)VCC ~ (C)VC:</td>
<td>11). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
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<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>el</td>
<td>pal</td>
<td>amq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ elk</td>
<td>~ palk</td>
<td>~ am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'white'</td>
<td>'skin'</td>
<td>'stone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12). CV# ~ CCV#:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so'bo</td>
<td>ke'di</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ sibko</td>
<td>~ 'padfi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'swollen'</td>
<td>'wide'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13). p ~ b:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mpu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ bu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'swollen'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14). f ~ b:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'tto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ ne'tbu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'finger'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15). t ~ d:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ de'la</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'teeth/tooth'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pete'to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ pe'drot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'straight'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16. d ~ t: ‘drawat ~ 'trawat ‘nouse’
17. dy ~ d: qa'dyoqa ~ ka'du ‘all’
18. dy ~ g: kdyin ~ 'hgien ‘rain’
19. l ~ n: te'dol ~ to'don ‘night’
20. r ~ s: roq ~ so'ba ‘many, allot’
21. k ~ q: pe'ka ~ ba'qan ‘fruit’
22. k ~ h: 'kmien ~ hmin ‘thin’
23. q ~ k: qa'dyoqa ~ ka'du ‘all’
    'tqae ~ tkat ‘l'tight’
24. q ~ g: sam'qu ~ mo'gok ‘back’
25. q ~ h: roq ~ so'ha ‘many, allot’
26. h ~ s: 'mohlu ~ mus ‘string’
    'wenhi ~ ons ‘mosquito’
    pe'hi ~ bsi'ter ‘same, equal’
27. h ~ k: sah ~ de'sak ‘to clear away’
28. b ~ q: bo'ho ~ bo'qo ‘egg’
29. i ~ e: ni ~ ne ‘hand’
    ki ~ ke ‘meat’
    hi ~ hen ‘blood, red’
    tis ~ tes ‘sea’
    ba'rasali ~ ba'rasle ‘sharp, pointed’
pi'hi ~ phen 'blood, red'
ke'li ~ ke'lem 'bird'
30). i ~ 3e:
ta'nyip ~ te'gien 'walking stick'
kdyn ~ 'gien 'rain'
31). i ~ 3o:
pa'ni ~ to'ho 'narrow'
pwi ~ bo'sdik 'small, a little'
pe'hi ~ bs'iter 'same, equal'
32). 3e ~ 3i:
'kmien ~ hmin 'thin'
33). 3e ~ 3e:
'diep ~ de 'mouth'
34). 3e ~ 3i:
pelu ~ pis'mark 'long, far'
pe'hi ~ bs'iter 'same, equal'
pe'hir ~ pi'hir 'flying'
35). 3e ~ 3i:
dyen ~ 'dien 'body hair, feather'
36). 3e ~ 3o:
tedol ~ to'don 'night'
'wenhi ~ ons 'mosquito'
37). 3e ~ 3a:
peka ~ ba'qan 'fruit'
krewa ~ karwas 'fish'
lue ~ liyap 'snake'
38). u ~ 3i:
qo'dru ~ dri 'thunder'
lue ~ liyap 'snake'
39). u ~ 3o:
sam'qu ~ mo'gok 'back'
t ~ to 'ill, hearted'
tun ~ ton 'fire fly, star'
psu'ko ~ ps'o'qo 'white'
me'bu ~ me'bon 'cassowary'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dyu</th>
<th>~ dyok</th>
<th>‘leech’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40). o ~ i:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so’bo</td>
<td>~ sibko</td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41). o ~ u:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n’tfo</td>
<td>~ ne’thu</td>
<td>‘finger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’godo</td>
<td>~ kodu</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syio</td>
<td>~ ‘sin’</td>
<td>‘breast, milk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tlok</td>
<td>~ te’luk</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa’dyoga</td>
<td>~ ka’du</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>~ kut</td>
<td>‘wood, tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rno</td>
<td>~ nun</td>
<td>‘fragrant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’mohlu</td>
<td>~ mus</td>
<td>‘string’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hon</td>
<td>~ hun</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42). a ~ i:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pap</td>
<td>~ bis</td>
<td>‘to shoot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43). a ~ ie:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sya</td>
<td>~ ‘siet’</td>
<td>‘elbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44). a ~ e:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa’ti</td>
<td>~ pe’toho</td>
<td>‘narrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45). ai ~ e:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’baim</td>
<td>~ bem</td>
<td>‘sand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46). ae ~ a:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’pqae</td>
<td>~ ‘pkat’</td>
<td>‘to tight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47). a ~ o:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa’lak</td>
<td>~ wa’lo</td>
<td>‘a little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metathesis:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa’lhu</td>
<td>~ wa’lhu</td>
<td>‘path, row, road’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te’lap</td>
<td>~ tbia</td>
<td>‘I divide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kre’was</td>
<td>~ kar’was</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19 words differences or 85 % cognates similarities.
(7). Saluk-Sailaia(Mr-1b) >> Sayosa-Mladofok(Mr-2b)

1). CCV(C) ~ CV(CV^2(C))
   tla ~ ta'la  'teeth'
   kdyin ~ 'kedyi  'rain'
   t'ichla ~ tilba'la  'mid day, day'
   pwi ~ po'we  'small, a little'
   sko ~ 'onikop  'this'
   'sanko ~ 'anibo  'that'
   hne ~ ha'ne  'worm, maggot'
   pqa'mi ~ po'kama  'short'

2). CV(CV^2(C)) ~ CCV(C):
   te'pe ~ thi  'ear'
   pete'ro ~ po'trot  'straight'
   'telap ~ 'tpela  'divide'
   p'h'i ~ phe  'red, blood'
   pe'h'i ~ 'phiger  'same, equal'
   ta'ba ~ tba  'hot, warm'

3). CCV(C) ~ CV(C)
   ma'qdu ~ ma'bum  'neck'
   dra'wat ~ 'rawat  'nose'
   sya ~ 'sia  'elbow'
   sa'mqu ~ sa'mut  'back'
   mpu ~ bik  'swollen'
   kbi ~ 'biak  'ashes'
   nbu ~ bi  'smoke'
   'pkodo ~ po'du  'thick'
   'kmien ~ men  'thin'
   'wenhi ~ won  'mosquito'

4). CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
   pe'lu ~ 'pullmer  'long, far'
   me'gi ~ ma'dyes  'mouse, rat'
   'lue ~ lu'wye  'snake'

5). (C)VCC ~ (C)VVC(C): amq ~ 'amek  'stone'
6). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
   sya ~ 'sia  'elbow'
   mpu ~ 'ik   'swollen'
   mbu ~ 'bi   'smoke'
   tyan ~ 'dian 'heavy'
   q'adyoga ~ ka'du  'all'
   ta'nyip ~ ti'gin  'walking stick'
7). CVC ~ CVCC:
   bal ~ balk   'skin'
8). CVCC ~ CVCV:
   amq ~ 'amek  'stone'
9). #(C)V(C) ~ #(C)V(C):
   's'yu'm ~ 'um    'dust'
   'p'kodo ~ po'du  'thick'
   'kmien ~ men    'thin'
10). #(C)V(C) ~ #(C)V(C):
    ne'kid ~ neya'kid 'finger'
    'god'o ~ do'kodus 'bone'
    un ~ mo ho  'cloud'
11). (C)V(C)-# ~ (C)V(C)-#:
    ba'rasali ~ pak   'sharp, pointed'
    pra'butiye ~ pte'la  blunt ''
    'wenhi ~ won   'mosquito'
12). (C)V(C)-# ~ (C)V(C)-#:
    so'bo ~ so'wopun 'eye'
    til ~ 'telu   'sun, day'
    'tqae ~ 'tke'    'tight'
    pe'hi ~ bsiter 'same, equal'
    'tsolik ~ 'tati 'I bite'
    'pelu ~ 'pulhmer 'long, far'
13). CV-C ~ CVC:
    'masak ~ map    'branch'
14). CVC ~ CV-C:
    tun ~ o'won    'fire fly, star'
    sko ~ 'oniko  'this'
15. CVC# ~ CV#:
kdyn ~ dyi 'rain'
iki ~ yu 'sky'
tsak ~ tsa 'clear away'
bun ~ bru 'seed, nut'
hog ~ ho 'dog'
ik ~ yu 'sky'
teplap ~ tepe 'divide'

16. CV# ~ CVC#:
tepe ~ tbit 'ear'
maq'du ~ ma'ai 'neck'
so'bo ~ su'wopun 'eye'
da'ha ~ da'hun 'dirty'
ki ~ 'kieti 'meat'
'tqodo ~ do'kodus 'bone'
hi ~ hem 'blood, red'
 dre ~ drit 'foot/feet'
mpu ~ bik 'swollen'
tu ~ tot 'ill, hearted'
ma'ha ~ mo'hut 'five'
b'i ~ bit 'soil, land, earth'
omho ~ mo'hup 'wind'
pete'ro ~ petrot 'straight'
rno ~ run 'fragrant'
sa'bra ~ sa'brap 'forest'
'qae ~ ket(i) 'to tight'
ke'li ~ kal'in 'bird'
me'bu ~ me'bon 'cassowary'
pe'lebu ~ pe'lebun 'big'
dyu ~ dyok 'beach'
o ~ om 'louse'
me'gi ~ me'dyes 'mouse, rat'
17). b ~ p:
   ba'rasali ~ pak ~ 'sharp, pointed'
   bo'ho ~ po'qo ~ 'egg'
   bu'lu ~ pe'lu ~ 'wing'
18). p ~ b:
   sa'pas ~ sa'bas ~ 'head'
   te'pe ~ thit ~ 'ear'
   pal ~ bal ~ 'skin'
   mpu ~ bik ~ 'swollen'
   psuŋ ~ bse'ret ~ 'wet'
   pe'qli ~ be'qli ~ 'slippery'
   pe'ka ~ bum ~ 'forest'
19). m ~ n:
   'baim ~ 'bain ~ 'sand'
20). t ~ d:
   tis ~ a'dru ~ 'sea'
   tyan ~ d'ian ~ 'heavy'
   pa'fi ~ pa'dia ~ 'narrow'
21). d ~ b:
   maq'du ~ ma'bun ~ 'neck'
22). d ~ dy:
   'dief ~ dyap ~ 'mouth'
23). l ~ ŋ:
   te'dol ~ 'to'don ~ 'night'
24). y ~ i:
   sya ~ 'sia ~ 'elbow'
   tyan ~ 'dian ~ 'heavy'
25). g ~ dy:
   me'gi ~ me'dyes ~ 'mouse, rat'
26). g ~ k:
   'godo ~ do'kodu ~ 'bone'
27). ŋ ~ n:
   tur ~ to'won ~ 'fire fly, star'
   po'boŋ ~ po'bon ~ 'full'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>28.</th>
<th>q ~ m:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>og</td>
<td>~ om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be'lonj</td>
<td>~ be'lonj</td>
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<th>29.</th>
<th>q ~ g:</th>
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<td>qa'sni</td>
<td>~ qa'sni</td>
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<th>q ~ k:</th>
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<td>amq</td>
<td>~ amq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qo'dru</td>
<td>~ ku'dru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pqa'mi</td>
<td>~ po'kamo</td>
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<tr>
<th>31.</th>
<th>h ~ q:</th>
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<td>bo'ho</td>
<td>~ bo'ho</td>
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<tr>
<th>32.</th>
<th>i ~ y:</th>
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<td>'diep</td>
<td>~ dyap</td>
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<th>i ~ e:</th>
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<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>~ kien</td>
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<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>~ ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'tfo</td>
<td>~ ne'tpo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi'nì</td>
<td>~ me'nì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi</td>
<td>~ hem</td>
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<tr>
<td>prhi</td>
<td>~ phe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'ya</td>
<td>~ pe'ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me'gi</td>
<td>~ me'dyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwi</td>
<td>~ po'we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pribi</td>
<td>~ ple'bi</td>
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<tr>
<td>til</td>
<td>~ telu</td>
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<tr>
<th>35.</th>
<th>i ~ ia:</th>
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<tr>
<td>pa'ti</td>
<td>~ pa'lia</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>36.</th>
<th>i ~ u:</th>
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<tr>
<td>'dita</td>
<td>~ 'duta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pdim</td>
<td>~ pdum</td>
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<tr>
<th>37.</th>
<th>i ~ o:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pqa'mi</td>
<td>~ poka'mo</td>
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</tbody>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>38.</th>
<th>ie ~ i:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'kmien</td>
<td>~ men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
39). e ~ i:
  te'pe   ~ thit  'ear'
  dre    ~ drit  'foot/feet'
  pe'hir ~ pi'hir  'to fly'
40). e ~ a:
  'diep  ~ dyap  'mouth'
  ka'li  ~ ka'lij  'bird'
  me'gi  ~ ma'dyes  'mouse, rat'
41). e ~ o:
  pete'ro  ~ po'trot  'straight'
  te'dol  ~ to'don  'night'
  'wenhi  ~ won  'mosquito'
42). u ~ i:
  mpu    ~ bik  'swollen'
  mbu    ~ bi  'smoke'
43). u ~ e:
  pra'butiye  ~ p'tela  'blunt'
  bu'lu  ~ pe'lu  'wing'
44). u ~ o:
  tu    ~ tot  'ill, hearted'
  un    ~ mo'ho  'cloudy'
  tun    ~ to'won  'fire fly, star'
  me'bu  ~ me'bon  'cassowary'
  dyu    ~ dyok  'leech'
45). o ~ e:
  po'bon ~ pe'hon  'full'
46). o ~ u:
  so'bo  ~ su'wopun  'eye'
  tlok  ~ thuk  'three'
  qa'dyoqa  ~ ka'du  'all'
  be'lot  ~ be'lum  'cold'
  qo'dru  ~ ku'dru  'thunder'
  pko'do  ~ 'podu  'thick'
  sko    ~ 'oniku  'this'
47). a ~ o:

ma'ba ~ ma'hot 'five'
Metathesis
'te'la ~ 'the'la 'I divide'

12 words differences or 96% cognate similarities.

(8). Saluk-Sailala (Mrilib) >> Salqua-Pasir Putih (Mrl3a)

1). CV.CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
da'ha ~ da'ha 'dirty'
ne'kid ~ qdl 'nail'
be'laq ~ hu'bluq 'cold'
pete'ro ~ pit'ro 'straight'
pë'du ~ pë'du 'black, dark'
bë'ra ~ hbra blue/green 'blue'
pë'ya ~ pë'ya 'tail'
pë'lu ~ pë'lu 'long, far'

2). CCV(C) ~ CV.CV(C):
të'si ~ tse'lip 'I burn'
amq ~ 'amek 'some'
ka'la ~ ka'la 'water, river'
mre ~ me'ri 'one'
tlo'k ~ te'luq 'three'
ko'dru ~ ko'duru 'thunder'
pwi ~ pu'ye 'small, a little'
so'ko ~ so'gop 'this'
pë'ni ~ 'katebi 'short'
ble ~ ba'pi 'wide'
slo ~ su'lu 'dry'
ne ~ he'nek 'worm, maggot'

3). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
'drawat ~ 'rawada 'nose'
dret ~ rik 'foot/feet'
mpu ~ hu'buq 'swollen'
mbu ~ hu'bu 'smoke''
| qa'dyoqa       | ka'duaqa | 'tll'         |
| kdyin         | 'dyun    | 'rain'        |
| 'wenhi        | ons      | 'mosquito'    |
| pqa'rimi      | 'katebi  | 'short'       |
| 4). CV(C) ~ CCV(C): ~' |
| 'diep         | dyaq     | 'south'       |
| das           | gyas     | 'salt'        |
| 'dita         | 'dyuta   | 'dry field, garden' |
| nte'lap       | ntyoq    | 'you divide'  |
| ba'ra         | hbra     | 'blue/green'  |
| ke'li         | ka'leyen | 'bird'        |
| pe'lu         | lwis     | 'long, far'   |
| me'gi         | me'dyis  | 'mouse, rat'  |
| 5). (C)VCC ~ (C)VCVC: |
| amq           | 'amek    | 'stone'       |
| 6). CVC ~ CVCC: |
| bal           | balk     | 'skin'        |
| 7). CCV(C) ~ CV(C): |
| mpu           | hu'buñ   | 'swollen'     |
| sya           | sin      | 'elbow'       |
| nbu           | bu'bu    | 'smoke'       |
| qa'dyoqa      | ka'duaqa | 'all'         |
| asyum         | as       | 'smelt'       |
| ta'nyip       | tîyen    | 'walking stick' |
| 8). CV(C) ~ CCV(C): |
| 'diep         | dyaq     | 'south'       |
| das           | gyas     | 'salt'        |
| 'duta         | 'dyita   | 'dry field, garden' |
| ke'li         | ka'leyen | 'bird'        |
| me'gi         | me'dyis  | 'mouse, rat'  |
| el            | pelik    | 'lightening'  |
| 9). (C)VC(C) ~ (C)V(C): |
| asyum         | as       | 'smelt'       |
| 'mohlu        | mos      | string '"'    |
| 'wenhi        | ons      | 'mosquito'    |

143
10. #(C)V(C) ~ #(C)V(C):
   mo'qobua ~ bua "different"
   kdyin ~ dyiun "rain"
   dra'wat ~ ra'wada "nose"
   dre ~ rik "foot/feet"
   qa'sni ~ sini "stomach"
   'wenhi ~ ons "mosquito"
11. #(C)V(C) ~ #(C)V(C):
    ba ~ hibaŋ "rotten"
12. (C)V(C)# ~ (C)V(C)#:
    ba ~ hibaŋ "rotten"
    dra'wat ~ ra'wada "nose"
    ne'kid ~ na'gadi "finger"
    pe'ka ~ pe'qala "forest"
    ke'li ~ ka'liyen "bird"
    lue ~ lu'wiya "snake"
    sal ~ sa'lep "fire"
13. (C)V(C)V(C)~ ~ (C)V(C)V(C):
    pra'butye ~ pra'bun "blunt"
14. #(C)V(C) ~ #(C)V(C):
    ne'kid ~ ne'gadi "finger"
    lue ~ lu'wiya "snake"
    pqa'mi ~ ka'tebi "short"
    el ~ pe'lek "lightening"
15. CV# ~ CV#: 
    te'pe ~ te'bit "ear"
    so'bo ~ so'bun "eye"
    da'ha ~ da'han "dirty"
    ki ~ ki'en "meat"
    mi'ni ~ mi'nak "fat"
    'godø ~ 'kodus "bone"
    hi ~ heem "blood"
    dre ~ rik "foot"
    mpu ~ hibun "swollen"
tu ~ pu'tuk 'ill, hearted'
sli ~ se'lip 'burn'
'mohoe ~ 'mohop 'wind'
t'a'ba ~ te'pak hot, warm '
p'ra'bu ~ pra'buŋ 'blunt'
ko ~ kuk 'wood, tree'
ba ~ hu'baŋ 'rotten'
rno ~ run 'fragrant'
p'i'hi ~ be'nheŋ 'red'
ke'li ~ ka'lyeŋ 'bird'
bu'lu ~ pe'liŋ 'wing'
me'bu ~ me'buŋ 'cassowary'
sko ~ so'gop 'this'
'krewa ~ 'krewas 'fish'
dyu ~ dyak 'beech'
o ~ oŋ 'bouse'
hne ~ he'nek 'worm, maggot'
'pelu ~ lwis 'long, far'
me'gi ~ me'dyis 'mouse, rat'

16). CVC# ~ CV#: tun ~ to 'fire fly, star'
pro'huŋ ~ hu'ru 'yellow'
17). #VC ~ #CVC: el ~ pe'lek 'lightening'
ik ~ yuk 'cloud'
18). p ~ b: sa'pas ~ sa'bas 'head'
te'pe ~ te'bit 'ear'
mpu ~ hu'buŋ 'swollen'
pal ~ baŋ 'skin'
pe'lebu ~ be'pe'li 'big'
p'i'hi ~ be'hen 'red'
19). p ~ w: 'pelu ~ lwis 'long, far'
<table>
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Word 1</th>
<th>Word 2</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td><code>p ~ q:</code></td>
<td>~ dyaq</td>
<td>'mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td><code>diep</code></td>
<td>~ pa'raseli</td>
<td>'sharp, pointed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b ~ p:</td>
<td>~ pe'lu</td>
<td>'wing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ba'rasali</td>
<td>~ be'peli</td>
<td>'big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>w ~ y:</td>
<td>~ pu'ye</td>
<td>'small, a little'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>f ~ p:</td>
<td>~ ne'tpo</td>
<td>'finger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>n ~ t:</td>
<td>~ pdun</td>
<td>'black, dark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>m ~ q:</td>
<td>~ dyi'an</td>
<td>'heavy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pdim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>t ~ k:</td>
<td>~ hak</td>
<td>'four'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tyan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>d ~ dy:</td>
<td>~ dyaq</td>
<td>'mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'diep'</td>
<td>~ 'dyuta'</td>
<td>'dry field, garden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'dita'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>d ~ gy:</td>
<td>~ gyas</td>
<td>'salt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>das</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>dy ~ d</td>
<td>~ din</td>
<td>'hair, feather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dyen</td>
<td>~ ka'duaqa</td>
<td>'all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q'dyoga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>l ~ p:</td>
<td>~ te'donj</td>
<td>'night'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>te'dol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>s ~ s:</td>
<td>~ sin</td>
<td>'elbow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sya</td>
<td>~ as</td>
<td>'smelt'</td>
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<td>a'syum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>n ~ l:</td>
<td>~ sa'dili</td>
<td>'hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sa'din</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>n ~ q:</td>
<td>~ un</td>
<td>~ dyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>un</td>
<td>~ dyin</td>
<td>'rain'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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| 34) y ~ i: | ~ 'sin  | 'elbow' |
| sya      | ~ na'gadi | 'nail' |
| 35) k ~ g: | ~ so'gop  | 'this' |
| n'kid    | ~ pe'qala | 'forest' |
| sko      | ~ soq     | 'coarse grass' |
| 36) k ~ q: | ~ 'sanko  | 'that' |
| pe'ka    | ~ 'so'qna | 'that' |
| sok      | ~ 'sulonj | 'to bite' |
| 37) k ~ ny: | ~ 'sulonj | 'to bite' |
| 'solok   | ~ me'gi   | 'mouse, rat' |
| 38) g ~ dy: | ~ 'godu   | 'bone' |
| 'godu    | ~ ka'duaqa | 'all' |
| 39) g ~ k: | ~ 'godyoga| 'all' |
| 40) g ~ q: | ~ po'hon  | 'full' |
| 'qal     | ~ po'hon  | 'full' |
| 41) ny ~ n: | ~ po'hon  | 'full' |
| 42) ny ~ n: | ~ pdol    | 'flow' |
| 43) ny ~ l: | ~ qas     | 'heart' |
| 'qal     | ~ 'amek   | 'stone' |
| 44) q ~ k: | ~ 'kdyoga | 'all' |
| 'qal     | ~ 'ko'dru | 'thunder' |
| 45) q ~ g: | ~ 'ke     | 'night' |
| 'qal     | ~ 'katebi | 'short' |
| 46) q ~ g: | ~ pa'li   | 'slippery' |
| 48) h ~ s: | ~ ons     | 'mosquito' |
'mohlu ~ mos ~ 'string'
49). b ~ q:
bo'ho ~ bo'go ~ 'egg'
50). i ~ y:
'diep ~ dyap ~ 'mouth'
51). i ~ ie:
ki ~ 'kien ~ 'meat'
ke'li ~ ke'lyien ~ 'bird'
52). i ~ e:
n'tfo ~ neto'bo ~ 'inger'
p'ihi ~ be'hen ~ 'red'
ta'nyip ~ t'yen ~ 'walking stick'
pwi ~ pu'ye ~ 'small, a little'
53). i ~ ee:
hi ~ heem ~ 'blood'
54). i ~ ie:
ki ~ 'kien ~ 'meat'
ke'li ~ ka'lyien ~ 'bird'
55). i ~ iu:
kdyn ~ kdyiuŋ ~ 'rain'
56). 1 ~ u:
ik ~ yuŋ ~ 'sky'
'dita ~ dyuta ~ 'dry field, garden'
pdim ~ pdutŋ ~ 'black, dark'
57). i ~ a:
n'kid ~ na'gadi ~ 'finger'
m'ni ~ mi'nak ~ 'fat'
58). e ~ i:
me'ri ~ me't ~ 'one'
te'pe ~ te'bit ~ 'ear'
dre ~ rik ~ 'foot/feet'
ble ~ ba'pili ~ 'wide'
pe'tro ~ pt'ro ~ 'straight'
p'hir ~ pihir ~ 'to fly'
p'hi ~ pih ~ 'same, equal'
| lue ~ li’wiya | 'snake' |
| 'wenti ~ ons | 'mosquito' |
| 'diup ~ dyaq | 'mouth' |
| ke’li ~ k’liyen | 'bird' |
| pe’lebu ~ be’peli | 'big' |
| lu’e ~ li’wiya | 'snake' |
| pe’lu ~ lwis | 'long, far' |
| bu’lu ~ pe’lup | 'wing' |
| dyu ~ dyak | 'leech' |
| pdun ~ pdol | 'flow' |
| tun ~ to’won | 'fire fly, star' |
| pro’bun ~ hu’ru | 'yellow' |
| ku’o ~ ko | 'banana' |
| so’bo ~ so’bun | 'eye' |
| ‘godo ~ ‘kodus | 'bone' |
| ‘syio ~ ‘syin | 'breast, milk' |
| tlo’k ~ te’luk | 'three' |
| qa’dyoqa ~ ka’duqa | 'all' |
| be’loq ~ hu’bluq | 'cold' |
| slo ~ su’lu | 'dry' |
| ko ~ kuk | 'wood, tree' |
| rno ~ rnu | 'fragrant' |
| hon ~ hu’ | 'dog' |
| ‘tsolok ~ ‘tsuloq | 'I bite' |
| sya ~ sin | 'elbow' |
| ta’nyip ~ triyen | 'walking stick' |
68). a ~ ia:

- tyan ~ dyi'an 'heavy'

69). a ~ e:

- ba'rasali ~ pa'raseli 'sharp, pointed'

70). ae ~ e:

- tqa ~ tke 'tight'

71). a ~ o:

- 'sanko ~ so'onqa 'that'

Metathesis:

- ní'kid ~ na'gadi 'rail'
- wa'lu ~ wa'mu 'path, row, road'
- on ~ 'mohop 'wind'
- ta'nyip ~ ti'yen 'walking stick'
- pe'lebu ~ be'pel 'big'
- pe'lu ~ lwis 'long, far'

22 words differences or 83 % cognates similarities.

(9) Saluk-Sailala(Mr-1b) > Salqma-Klamit (Mr-3b)

1). CV(C) ~ CV.CV(C):

- ní'tfo ~ ne'tal 'finger'
- ble ~ pe'le 'big'
- tlubla ~ tibula 'day, mid day'
- dink ~ 'dinik 'thorn'
- be'ra ~ pe'bra 'blue'
- pdim ~ pe'dun 'black, dark'

2). CV.CV(C) ~ CCV(C):

- pa'ti ~ pe'tda 'narrow'
- da'ha ~ dhan 'dirty'
- mîni ~ mnyeq 'fat'
- qo'mu ~ qmin 'cold'
- ta'ba ~ tba 'hot, warm'
- pete'ro ~ pt'ro 'straight'
- ba'rasali ~ rasle 'sharp, pointed'
- te'dol ~ tdo 'night'
- ke'li ~ qlen 'bird'

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| pe'hir   | phyer  | 'flying'          |
| se'bar   | sbar   | 'fly (/flies)'   |
| be'ra    | pe'bra | 'green'          |
| pe'lebu  | fle    | 'big'            |
|          |        |                  |
| dyen     | din    | 'hair, feather'  |
| dre      | ri     | 'foot/feet'      |
| mpu      | fik    | 'swollen'        |
| mbu      | bi     | 'smoke'          |
| pw'i     | we     | 'small, a little'|
| sko      | qo     | 'this'           |
| 'krewa   | 'erwas | 'fish'           |
| ta'nyip  | t'fyen | 'walking stick'  |
|          |        |                  |
| s'o'bo   | sq'o'fon | 'eye'     |
| da'ha    | dhan   | 'dry'           |
| pa'ti    | pe'tda | 'narrow'        |
| tun      | twon   | 'fire fly, star' |
|          |        |                  |
| pal      | falk   | 'skin'          |
|          |        |                  |
| mpu      | fik    | 'swollen'       |
| mbu      | bi     | 'smoke'         |
|          |        |                  |
| pe'hir   | phyer  | 'to fly'        |
| 'lue     | lu'wya | 'snake'         |
| mi'ni    | mneyeq | 'fat'           |
| 'pkodo   | dyaq'hun | 'thick'   |
|          |        |                  |
| 'wenhi   | ons    | 'mosquito'      |
| 'masak   | ma     | 'branch'        |
|          |        |                  |
| n'kid    | qd     | 'nail'          |
| qa'sni   | sni    | 'stomach'       |
| pete'reo | tro    | 'straight'      |

151
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba'rasali</td>
<td>'rascal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kede'las</td>
<td>'leaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'qobua</td>
<td>'different'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'lu</td>
<td>'louse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>'long, far'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dre</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wenhi</td>
<td>'mosquito'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'krewa</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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10. (C)(V)(C)# ~ (C)(V)(C)-#:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'tsolok</td>
<td>'to bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne'kid</td>
<td>'finger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'lue</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa'ti</td>
<td>'narrow'</td>
</tr>
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11. CV(C)-# ~ CV(C)#:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maq'du</td>
<td>'neck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'drawat</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'lebu</td>
<td>'big'</td>
</tr>
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</table>

12. (C)(V)(C)# ~ (C)(V)(C)-#:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'lue</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pq'a'mi</td>
<td>'short'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa'ti</td>
<td>'narrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>el</td>
<td>'lightening'</td>
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13. CV# ~ CV#:
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te'pe</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so'bo</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'ha</td>
<td>'dirty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi'ni</td>
<td>'fat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'godo</td>
<td>'bone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi</td>
<td>'blood, red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mpu</td>
<td>'swollen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'ka</td>
<td>'fruit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>'wood, tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba</td>
<td>'rotten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mno</td>
<td>'fragrant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prihi</td>
<td>'red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke'li</td>
<td>~ qlen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me'bu</td>
<td>~ me'bon</td>
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<td>~ pi'yuj</td>
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<td>~ 'erwas</td>
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<tr>
<td>dyu</td>
<td>~ dyoq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>~ woŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pelu</td>
<td>~ lis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me'gi</td>
<td>~ me'tis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14). CVC-# ~ CV#:  
| 'drawat | ~ tra  | 'nose'       |
| te'dol  | ~ tdo  | 'right'      |
| 'masak  | ~ ma   | 'branch'     |
| sab     | ~ sa   | 'clear a away' |

15). #VC ~ #CVC:  
| ik     | ~ yuk  | 'loud'       |

16). CV(C) ~ CCV(C):  
| pa'ti  | ~ pe'tda | 'narrow'   |
| mo'ho  | ~ qnin  | 'wind'      |

17). (C)VCh ~ CVCC#:  
| pal    | ~ falq  | 'skin'      |
| el     | ~ felq  | 'tightening'|

18). p ~ b:  
| sa'pas | ~ sa'bas | 'head'      |
| te'pe  | ~ te'bit | 'ear'       |

19). p ~ f:  
| pal    | ~ falq  | 'skin'      |
| mpu    | ~ fik   | 'swollen'   |
| pdol   | ~ fdol  | 'flow'      |
| pe'lebu| ~ fle   | 'big'       |
| te'lap | ~ tko'fa | 'I divide'  |

20). p ~ k:  
| 'diep  | ~ 'diak | 'mouth'     |

21). mp ~ f:  
| mpu    | ~ fik   | 'swollen'   |
22). mb ~ b:
    mbu ~ bi ‘smoke’
23). b ~ p:
    bo'bo ~ pe'qo ‘egg’
    bu'lu ~ pe'lu ‘wing’
24). b ~ f:
    so'bo ~ sce'fuon ‘eye’
    pe'lebu ~ fle ‘big’
    bug ~ f'ion ‘fruit’
    mo'qobua ~ fe'wa ‘different’
25). m ~ n:
    pdim ~ pe'dun ‘black, dark’
26). f ~ l:
    ni'lofo ~ ne'tal ‘finger’
27). t ~ d:
    tyan ~ dyan ‘heavy’
28). d ~ dy:
    'pkodo ~ dyaq'bin ‘thick’
29). dy ~ d:
    dyen ~ din ‘hair, feather’
30). n ~ l:
    sa'din ~ sa'dil ‘hair’
31). k ~ f:
    'sanko ~ 'nanfo ‘that’
32). k ~ g:
    ki ~ gey ‘meat’
33). k ~ q:
    ni'kid ~ qdi ‘nail’
    wa'kak ~ wa'loq ‘a little’
    kdyin ~ qdyen ‘rain’
    mok ~ moq ‘moon’
    sok ~ soq ‘coarse grass’
    sko ~ qo ‘this’
    pe'ka ~ pe'qan ‘forest’
    ke'li ~ qlen ‘bird’
pu'ku ~ pe'qo  'egg'
34).  g ~ t:  
me'gi ~ me'tis  'mouse, rat'
35).  g ~ k:  
'godo ~ 'kodus  'bone'
36).  g ~ q:  
qa'dyoga ~ ka'dyoqa  'all'
37).  n ~ n:  
tun ~ twon  'fly, fly, star'
oq ~ on  'cloudy'
po'hon ~ pe'hon  'full'
38).  n ~ l:  
pduŋ ~ fdol  'flow'
39).  q ~ k:  
t'qe  
'te  'I tight'
40).  h ~ s:  
'mohlu  
'wenhi  
'moslo  'string'
'ons  'mosquito'
41).  h ~ q:  
bo'ho  
po'o  'egg'
42).  i ~ e:  
'itfo  
m'ni  
m'nal  'finger'
mnyeq  'fat'
hi  
hen  'blood, red'
k'dyin  
q'dyen  'rain'
ta'nyip  
t'i'yen  'walking stick'
ba'rasi  
'rasle  'sharp, pointed'
p'bi  
pe'hen  'blood, red'
ke'li  
qlen  'bird'
pwi  
we  'small, a little'
43).  i ~ e:  
ki  
'gei  'meat'
44).  i ~ a:  
p'atti  
pe'tda  'narrow'
| 45). lo ~ o: | syio | syo | 'breast, milk' |
| 46). e ~ i: | te'pe | te'bit | 'ear' |
| | dre | ri | 'foot/feeth' |
| 47). e ~ o: | 'wenhi | ons | 'mosquito' |
| 48). e ~ a: | 'diep | 'diak | 'mouth' |
| 49). u ~ i: | mpu | 'fik | 'swollen' |
| | mbu | bi | 'smoke' |
| | pe'lu | lis | 'long, far' |
| 50). u ~ e: | bu'lu | pe'lu | 'wing' |
| 51). u ~ a: | buŋ | ban | 'rotten' |
| 52). u ~ o: | tu | to | 'ill, hearted' |
| | tur | ton | 'fire fly, star' |
| | 'moblu | 'moslo | 'string' |
| | me'bo | me'bon | 'cassowary' |
| | dyu | dyoq | 'leech' |
| 53). u ~ uo: | bun | buon | 'seed, nut' |
| 54). o ~ e: | po'hoŋ | pe'hoŋ | 'full' |
| 56). o ~ u: | 'godo | 'kodus | 'bone' |
| | tlok | thuk | 'three' |
| | ko | kut'plome | 'wood' |
| | rno | mun | 'fragrant' |
| | hon | buŋ | 'dog' |
| 57). o ~ uo: | so'bo | sqofuon | 'eye' |
58). a ~ i:
  ta'nyip ~ ti'yen 'walking stick'
59). a ~ ia:
  tyan ~ dy'i'an 'heavy'
60). a ~ e:
  ba'rasi'li ~ pa'raseli 'sharp, pointed'
  a'ti ~ pe'tda 'narrow''
  wa'lak ~ wa'loq 'a little'
61). a ~ o:
  wa'lak ~ wa'loq 'a little'
62). a ~ u:
  pi'ya ~ pi'yun 'tail'
63). a ~ u:
  t'qae ~ tke 'I tight'

Metathesis:
  ni'kid ~ gdi 'nail'
  'tilubla ~ 'tibula 'day, mid day'
  te'lap ~ tgo'la 'I divide'
  pqa'le ~ pi'yun 'tail'
  'krewa ~ 'kerwas 'fish'

23 words differences or 85% cognate similarities.

(10). Sayosa-Sayosa(Mr2a) >> Sayosa-Mladofo(Mr2b)

1). CCV(C) ~ CV^2CV(C):
  si'bko ~ su'wupun 'eyes''
  tbla ~ tpe'la 'I divide'
  'karwas ~ 'krewa 'fish'

2). CV^2CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
  de'pet ~ thit 'ear'
  se'ni ~ qa'smi 'stomach'
  po'halu ~ blik 'flow'
  po'kalit ~ be'qili 'slippery'
  me'ret ~ mre 'one'
  te'lu' ~ thuk ""
3). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
   si'bkø ~ su'wopun 'eye'
   'trawat ~ 'rawat 'nose'
   'hgien ~ ke'dyì 'rain'
   kmun ~ mo'hop 'wind'
   hmin ~ men 'thin'
   pqa'les ~ pe'ya 'tail'
4). CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
   de ~ dyap 'mouth'
   po'balà ~ biìk 'flow'
   bun ~ bru 'seed, nut'
   mus ~ 'mohlu 'string'
   bek ~ mbe 'pig'
   'liyap ~ 'luwe 'snake'
   'pismark ~ 'pu'lumer 'long, far'
   me'gis ~ ma'dyes 'mouse, rat'
5). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
   nge'bun ~ po'du 'thick'
6). CV(C) ~ C'C(CV(C):
   de ~ dyap 'mouth'
   'hgien ~ ke'dyì 'rain'
   bek ~ mbe 'pig'
   'liyap ~ 'luwe 'snake'
   me'gis ~ ma'dyes 'mouse, rat'
7). (C)VC(#) ~ (C)VC(#):
   ne'kedi ~ neya'kid 'nail'
   ba'qan ~ bum 'forest'
   pe'toho ~ pa'dia 'narrow'
8). CV(C#) ~ CV(C#):
   ne'kedi ~ neya'kid 'nail'
   qo'mun ~ be'lum 'cold'
   bun ~ bru 'seed, nut'
   ton ~ to'won 'fire, fly, star'
9). CV-C# ~ CVC#:
   po'balà ~ biìk 'flow'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bo'qolum</td>
<td>cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se'ni</td>
<td>stomach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke'biet</td>
<td>ashes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qo'hum</td>
<td>cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kmun</td>
<td>wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nge'buun</td>
<td>thick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hmin</td>
<td>thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'trawat</td>
<td>nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de'sak</td>
<td>to clear a away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mus</td>
<td>string</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ttar</td>
<td>'I bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>til</td>
<td>'sun, day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba'rasali</td>
<td>sharp, pointed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'balia</td>
<td>flow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons</td>
<td>mosquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pqa'les</td>
<td>tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'liyap</td>
<td>snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko'du</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dri</td>
<td>thunder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons</td>
<td>mosquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hek</td>
<td>'pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siet</td>
<td>elbow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik</td>
<td>cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kop</td>
<td>banana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de'sak</td>
<td>clear a away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kut</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bun</td>
<td>'seed, nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phen</td>
<td>'red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be'ra</td>
<td>'blue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. CV(C) ~ CV(C): 
11. CV(C)# ~ CV(C)-#: 
12. CV(C)- ~ CV(C): 
13. #CVC(# ~ #CVC(#): 
14. #CV(C) ~ #CV(C): 
15. CVC# ~ CV#: 

159
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Form</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hun</td>
<td>ho</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar</td>
<td>tati</td>
<td>'to bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pqa'les</td>
<td>pe'ya</td>
<td>'tail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'karwas</td>
<td>'krewa</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'onikop</td>
<td>'oniku</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bek</td>
<td>mbe</td>
<td>pig &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'net</td>
<td>ha'ne</td>
<td>'worm, maggot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'liyap</td>
<td>'luwy'e</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16). CV# ~ CVC#:

<table>
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<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>dyap</td>
<td>'mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si'ko</td>
<td>su'wopun</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'ha</td>
<td>da'han</td>
<td>'dirty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kodu</td>
<td>do'kodus</td>
<td>'bone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sin</td>
<td>'siop</td>
<td>'breast, milk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu</td>
<td>bik</td>
<td>'swollen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>tot</td>
<td>'ill, hearted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'bal</td>
<td>blink</td>
<td>'flow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo</td>
<td>lok</td>
<td>'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>hat</td>
<td>'four'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi</td>
<td>bit</td>
<td>'soil, land, earth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo</td>
<td>mok</td>
<td>'moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>map</td>
<td>'branch'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

17). #V(C) ~ #CV(C):

<table>
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<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ik</td>
<td>yu</td>
<td>'cloud'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ons</td>
<td>wou</td>
<td>'mosquito'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18). #CV(C) ~ #CCV(C):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Form</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>dyap</td>
<td>'mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'hala</td>
<td>blink</td>
<td>'black, dark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bun</td>
<td>bru</td>
<td>'seed, nut'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19). #CCV(C) ~ #CV(C):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Form</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pqa'les</td>
<td>pe'ya</td>
<td>'tail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kmun</td>
<td>mo'hop</td>
<td>'wind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hmin</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>'thin'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20). (C)VCC# ~ (C)VVC#:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'elk</td>
<td>el</td>
<td>'lightening'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ons ~ won ‘mosquito’
21). p ~ b:
de'pet ~ thit ‘ear’
pal ‘skin’
p'o'hala ~ bli ‘flow’
p'o'kalit ~ be'qli ‘slippery’
22). b ~ p:
si'kko ~ su'wopun ‘eye’
ne'tbu ~ ne'tpo ‘finger’
nge'buun ~ po'du ‘thick’
b'a'rasle ~ pak ‘sharp, pointed’
br'a'bin ~ pte'la ‘bunt’
tb ~ tpela ‘I divide’
b'o'qo ~ po'qo ‘egg’
b'u'lu ~ pe'lu ‘wing’
b'osdik ~ 'poe ‘small, a little’
b'ster ~ 'phiqer ‘same, equal’
b'e'qati ~ po'kamo ‘short’
23). w ~ b:
wa'lo ~ bu'sedik ‘a little’
24). m ~ n:
bem ~ ba'in ‘sand’
26). m ~ n:
ka'lem ~ ka'lij ‘bird’
27). t ~ d:
p'e'tho ~ pa'dia ‘narrow’
p'e'tes ~ pe'de ‘dry’
28). t ~ k:
ke'biyet ~ 'biak ‘ashes’
29). t ~ g:
be'ter ~ phi'ger ‘same, equal’
30). d ~ t:
de'pet ~ thit ‘ear’
de ~ 'tala ‘teeth’
pe'drot ~ po'trot ‘straight’
<p>| 31). d ~ dy: | de | ~ dyap | 'mouth' |
| 32). r ~ t: | tar | ~ 'tati' | 'bite' |
| 33). s ~ h: | mus | ~ 'mohlu' | 'string' |
| | bs'ter | ~ 'ph'ger | 'same, equal' |
| | 'pismark | ~ 'pullmer' | 'long, far' |
| 34). n ~ m: | hem | ~ 'hem' | 'blood, red' |
| | qo'mun | ~ 'be'lum' | 'cold' |
| | ba'qan | ~ 'bum' | 'forest' |
| | pdin | ~ 'pdu'm | 'black, dark' |
| 35). n ~ q: | me'bon | ~ me'boj | 'cassowary' |
| | to'don | ~ to'don | 'night' |
| 36). k ~ q: | po'kalit | ~ be'qli | 'slippery' |
| 37). g ~ d: | gen | ~ 'dian' | 'heavy' |
| | nge'burn | ~ po'du | 'thick' |
| 38). g ~ dy: | 'hgien | ~ 'kedyi' | 'rain' |
| | me'gi | ~ me'dyes | 'mouse, rat' |
| 39). q ~ k: | be'qati | ~ po'kamo | 'short' |
| | psoll | ~ psu'ko | 'white' |
| 40). q ~ h: | bo'qulum | ~ mo'ho | 'cloud' |
| 41). i ~ e: | hmin | ~ men | 'thin' |
| | tif | ~ 'telu' | 'sun, day' |
| | me'gis | ~ ma'dyes | 'mouse, rat' |
| 42). ie ~ i: | hgien | ~ 'kedyi' | 'rain' |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>43)</th>
<th>i ~ u:</th>
<th>~</th>
<th>su'wopun</th>
<th>'eye'</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ik</td>
<td>~</td>
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<td>dri</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>dru</td>
<td>'thunder'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pdum</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>pdum</td>
<td>'black, dark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>liyap</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>'luwe</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pismark</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>'pullhmer'</td>
<td>'long, far'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44)</td>
<td>i ~ a:</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>'onibu</td>
<td>'that'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>'antibo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>45)</td>
<td>ie ~ i:</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>ti'gin</td>
<td>'walking stick'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>te'gien</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>46)</td>
<td>e ~ i:</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>ti'gin</td>
<td>'walking stick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ti'gin</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>de'pet</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>tbit</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dret</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>dri</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
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<td>ke'lem</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>ka'lim</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>te'gien</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>ti'gin</td>
<td>'walking stick'</td>
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<td>47)</td>
<td>e ~ ie:</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>'kien</td>
<td>'meat'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ken</td>
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<td>48)</td>
<td>e ~ ia:</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>'dian</td>
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<td>gen</td>
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<td>~</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pe'drot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>be'qati</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>po'kamo</td>
<td>'short'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>be'qati</td>
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<tr>
<td>50)</td>
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<td>~</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>de</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>ta'la</td>
<td>'teeth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ke'lem</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>ka'lii</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pe'to'bo</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>pa'dia</td>
<td>'narrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gen</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>'dian</td>
<td>'heavy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pqa'les</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>pe'ya</td>
<td>'tsil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>he'ne</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>ha'ne</td>
<td>'worm, maggot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>me'gis</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>ma'dyes</td>
<td>'mouse, rat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51)</td>
<td>e ~ ai:</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>'bain</td>
<td>'sand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
53). u ~ i:
  bu  ~ bik  'swollen'
  bu  ~ bi  'smoke'
54). u ~ e:
  bu'lu  ~ pe'lu  'wing'
55). u ~ o:
  ne'tbu  ~ ne'tpo  'finger'
  sin  ~ siop  'breast, milk'
  bo'qolum  ~ mo'ho  'cloud'
  kmun  ~ mo'hop  'wind'
  kut  ~ ko  'wood'
  mus  ~ 'mohlu  'string'
  hun  ~ ho  'dog'
56). o ~ ia:
  pe'tobu  ~ pa'dia  'narrow'
57). o ~ e:
  po'hoj  ~ pe'hon  'full'
  po'kalit  ~ be'qli  'slippery'
  so'ha  ~ sa  'many, allot'
58). o ~ u:
  pso'qo  ~ psu'ko  'white'
  lonkop  ~ 'oniku  'this'
  anibo  ~ 'onabu  'that'
59). o ~ uo:
  kop  ~ 'kuo  'banana'
60). a ~ e:
  pqa'les  ~ pe'ya  'tail'
  tkat  ~ -tketi  'I tight'
  bra'bin  ~ pte'lu  'blunt'
  'pismark  ~ pulhmer  'long, far'
61). a ~ o:
  'anibo  ~ 'onabu  'that'
  ma'ha  ~ ma'hot  'five'
62). Metathesis:
  ko'dus  ~ do'kodus  'bone'
bo'qulum ~ 'mohob "cloud"
kmun ~ mo'hop "wind"
qo'mun ~ be'luum "cold"
'pismark ~ 'pulhmer "long, far"

22 words differences or 85% cognates similarities.

(11). Sayosa-Sayosa (Mr-2a) >> Salqma-Welek (Mr-3a)

1). CCV(C) – CV.CV(C):
   si'bko ~ so'bu "eye"
   kla ~ ka'la "water"
   tba ~ te'pak "hot, warm"
   dri ~ ko'duru "thunder"
   pe'drot ~ pti'ro "straight"
   tiiba'la ~ ti'lubla "day, mid day"
   phen ~ be'hen "red"
   prhun ~ hu'ru "yellow"
   karwas ~ krewas "fish"

2). CV.CV(C) – CCV(C):
   da'ha ~ dhan "dirty"
   ka'sini ~ tse'ni "heart"
   po'hala ~ pdol "flow"
   ke'biyet ~ kbi "ashes"
   po'kalit ~ pga'lii "slippery"
   pe'drot ~ pti'ro "straight"
   tiiba'la ~ ti'lubla "day, mid day"
   be'raik ~ hbra "green"
   'anibo ~ so'onqa "that"
   'karwas ~ krewas "fish"

3). CCV(C) – CV(C):
   si'bko ~ su'wopun "eye"
   'trawat ~ rawada "nose"
   dret ~ riik "foot"
   'padlii ~ ba'pili "big"
   'hgien ~ 'dyiup "rain"
   kmun ~ 'mobop "wind"
4). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
- 'sibko ~ 'so'bu 'n 'eye'
- 'trawat ~ 'rawada 'nose'
- 'bsiter ~ 'pihi 'same, equal'
- kmun ~ mo'hop 'wind'

5). CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
- de ~ dyaq 'mouth'
- das ~ gyas 'salt'
- gen ~ dyan 'heavy'
- kalem ~ ka'lyien 'bird'
- me'gis ~ me'dyis 'mouse, rat'
- po'ha antiquated form for po'hata
- be'rak ~ hbra 'blue'
- 'pis'mark ~ lwis 'long, far'
- 'siu ~ 'syiu 'breast, milk'
- 'hgien ~ 'dyiun 'rain'

6). (C)V(C)-# ~ (C)V(C)-#:
- pis'mark ~ lwis 'long, far'
- ke'biyet ~ kbi 'ashes'

7). (C)V(C)-# ~ (C)V(C)-#:
- 'trawat ~ 'rawada 'nose'
- ton ~ to'yoq 'fire fly, star'
- ba'qan ~ pe'qala 'forest'
- ka'du ~ ka'du'aqa 'all'
- on ~ mo'bop 'cloudy'
- hu ~ 'hubuŋ 'swollen'

8). CV(C) ~ CV-C#:
- par'dli ~ ba'pili 'wide'
- qo'man ~ hu'blun 'cold'
- ton ~ to'won 'fire fly, star'

9). CV-C# ~ CV-C#:
- tre'liŋ ~ tilŋ 'forest, wood'
- po'hata ~ pdot 'flow'
10). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
   prhun ~ hu'ru 'yellow'
   bo'qulum ~ uj 'cloud'
   pe'toho ~ bu'ye 'narrow'
   kmun ~ mo'hop 'wind'
   'trawat ~ 'rawada 'nose'

11). CV(C)-# ~ CV(C)#:
   bs'iter ~ pi'tbi 'same, equal'
   ke'biet ~ kbi 'ashes'
   po'balu ~ pdol 'flow'

12). #(C)V(C) ~ N(C)V(C):
   li'fap ~ li'wiya 'snake'

13). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
   dri ~ ko'duru 'thunder'
   be'rak ~ hbra 'blue'
   bun ~ bu'bu'n 'seed, nut'

14). CVC# ~ CV#:
   sa'blit ~ sa'bli 'neck'
   po'kalit ~ pga'li 'slippery'
   me'ret ~ me'ri 'one'
   pe'drot ~ pti'ro 'straight'
   kop ~ ko 'banana'
   tkat ~ tke 'I tight'
   prhun ~ hu'ru 'yellow'
   be'rak ~ hbra 'blue'
   li'fap ~ li'wiya 'snake'

15). CV# ~ CVC#:
   de ~ dyaq 'mouth'
   da'ha ~ dhaq 'dirty'
   'kodu ~ 'kodus 'bone'
   bu ~ hu'bu'n 'swollen'
   to ~ pu'tuk 'ili, hearted'
   po'kalit ~ pqa'li 'slippery'
   lo ~ lok 'two'
   ha ~ hak 'four'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa'lo</td>
<td>~ wa'lak</td>
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<tr>
<td>tba</td>
<td>~ te'pak</td>
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<tr>
<td>mo</td>
<td>~ mok</td>
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<tr>
<td>bu'lu</td>
<td>~ pe'lup</td>
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<td>bis</td>
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<td>p ~ b:</td>
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<td>de'pet</td>
<td>~ te'bit</td>
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<td>palk</td>
<td>~ balk</td>
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<td>~ 'bapili</td>
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<td>phen</td>
<td>~ be'hen</td>
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<td>pe'lebu</td>
<td>~ be'peli</td>
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<td>19). p ~ w:</td>
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<td>~ lwis</td>
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<td>ba'rasle</td>
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<tr>
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<td>~ pra'bin</td>
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<tr>
<td>gge'bu</td>
<td>~ be'peti</td>
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<tr>
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<td>~ pe'qala</td>
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<td>~ pe'lup</td>
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<td>~ pu'ye</td>
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<td>'bsiter</td>
<td>~ pi'hi</td>
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<td>ka'lem</td>
<td>~ ka'lyen</td>
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<td>bo'qolum</td>
<td>~ un</td>
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<tr>
<td>om</td>
<td>~ on</td>
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<td>tra'wat</td>
<td>~ ra'wada</td>
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<td>23). t ~ k:</td>
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<tr>
<td>dret</td>
<td>~ rik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'net</td>
<td>~ he'nek</td>
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<tr>
<td>kut</td>
<td>~ kuk</td>
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`a little'  
`hot, warm'  
`moon'  
`wing'  
`cloud'  
`lightening'  
`to shoot'  
`ear'  
`skin'  
`big'  
`red'  
`big'  
`long, far'  
'sharp, pointed'  
`blunt'  
`thick'  
`forest'  
`wing'  
`small, a little'  
`same, equal'  
`bird'  
`cloud'  
`louse'  
`nose'  
`foot'  
`worm, maggot'  
`wood'
24). d ~ t:  
de'pet ~ te'bit 'ear'  
pe'drot ~ pi'tro 'straight'  
25). d ~ dy:  
de ~ dyaq 'mouth'  
26). s ~ sy:  
siu ~ 'syiu 'breast, milk'  
27). s ~ h:  
bsi'ter ~ pi'hi 'same, equal'  
28). h ~ s:  
s'o'ha ~ mi'sa 'many, allot'  
29). n ~ m:  
hen ~ heem 'blood, red'  
30). n ~ l:  
sa'din ~ sa'dil 'hair'  
b'a'gan ~ pe'qala 'forest'  
31). n ~ g:  
'gien ~ 'dyiun 'nin'  
qo'mun ~ hu'bluq 'cold'  
to'don ~ te'don 'right'  
hun ~ huq 'dog'  
bra'bin ~ pra'buq 'blunt'  
bun ~ hu'buq 'seed, nut'  
ban ~ hu'baq 'smelled'  
pdin ~ pduq 'black, dark'  
phen ~ be'hen 'red'  
32). l ~ ly:  
ke'lem ~ ka'lyien 'bird'  
33). k ~ t:  
ka'sini ~ tseni 'heart'  
34). k ~ g:  
po'kalit ~ pga'li 'squirrely'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>35)</td>
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<td>~ so'qop</td>
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<td>mo'gok</td>
<td>~ si'belkoq</td>
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<td>po'kalit</td>
<td>~ pq'e'li</td>
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<td>gen</td>
<td>~ 'dyan</td>
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<td>~ 'dyaun</td>
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<td>be'qati</td>
<td>~ 'katebi</td>
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<td>qo'mun</td>
<td>~ hu'bluŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td>41)</td>
<td>h ~ s:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so'ha</td>
<td>~ mi'sa</td>
</tr>
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<td>42)</td>
<td>i ~ e:</td>
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<td>~ 'tseni</td>
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<td>~ be</td>
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<td>i ~ o:</td>
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<td>~ so'bun</td>
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<td>i ~ u:</td>
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<tr>
<td>ik</td>
<td>~ yuk</td>
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<tr>
<td>dri</td>
<td>~ ko'duru</td>
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<tr>
<td>bra'bin</td>
<td>~ pra'buŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pdin</td>
<td>~ pdůŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td>'anibo</td>
<td>~ 'onabu</td>
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<td>46)</td>
<td>ie ~ e:</td>
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<tr>
<td>te'gien</td>
<td>~ tiyen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47)</td>
<td>ie ~ i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dien</td>
<td>~ din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'stet</td>
<td>~ sin</td>
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48). e ~ i:
  de'pet ~ te'bit ‘ear’
  ne ~ ni ‘hand’
  dret ~ rik ‘foot’
  'seni ~ 'sini ‘stomach’
  te'gien ~ t'yen ‘walking stick’
  me'ret ~ me'ri ‘axe’
  tes ~ tis ‘sea’
  ba'rasle ~ pa'raseli ‘sharp pointed’
  ta'sle ~ bi'sli ‘thorn’
  pe'lebun ~ be'peli ‘big’
  be'qati ~ 'katebi ‘short’

49). e ~ ie:
  ken ~ 'kien ‘meat’
  ke'lem ~ ka'lyien ‘bird’

50). e ~ ie:
  gen ~ 'dyian ‘heavy’

51). e ~ u:
  'hgien ~ 'dyuuj ‘ruin’

52). e ~ a:
  de ~ dyaq ‘mouth’
  ne'kedii ~ na'gadi ‘hand’
  ke'lem ~ ka'lyien ‘bird’

53). u ~ e:
  bu'lu ~ pe'lyup ‘wing’

54). u ~ o:
  'netbu ~ 'netebo ‘finger’
  bo'golum ~ mo'ho ‘cloud’
  kmun ~ mohop ‘wind’
  mus ~ mos ‘string’

55). o ~ e:
  to'don ~ te'don ‘night’

56). o ~ a:
  dyok ~ dyak ‘leech’
(12). Sayosa-Sayosa(Mr-2a) >> Sakma-Klamit(Mr-3b)
1). CCV(C) ~ CV.CV²(C):
sībko ~ sō' bun 'eye'
pe'tohō ~ hu'yē 'narrow'
qo'mun ~ hu'bun 'cold'
me'bon ~ me'bun 'cassowary'
bo'sdik ~ pu'yē 'small, a little'
pē'tohō ~ hu'yē 'narrow'

57). o ~ u:
sībko ~ sō' bun 'eye'
to ~ pu'tuk 'ill, hearted'
pe'tohō ~ hu'yē 'narrow'
qo'mun ~ hu'bun 'cold'
me'bon ~ me'bun 'cassowary'
bo'sdik ~ pu'yē 'small, a little'
pē'tohō ~ hu'yē 'narrow'

58). a ~ e:
ba'qan ~ pe'qala 'forest'
tkat ~ tke 'to tight'
k'arwas ~ k'rawas 'fish'

59). a ~ o:
'ani'bo ~ so'o'na 'that'

Metathesis:
pē'tohō ~ hu'yē 'narrow'

om ~ 'mohop 'cloudy'
prhun ~ hu'ru 'yellow'

17 words differences or 87 % cognates similarities.
me'ret ~ mre  'one'
t'e'luk ~ tlu~k  'three'
ke'behir ~ qbi  'dust'
p'e'tobo ~ pe'tda  'narrow'
t'o'don ~ tdo  'night'
qo'mun ~ qmin  'cold'
b'erak ~ pe'bra  'green/blue'
ke'lem ~ qlen  'bird'
p'i'hir ~ phyer  'to fly'
p'e'lebun ~ fle  'big'
't'anibo ~ 'manfo  'that'
he'net ~ hne  'worm, maggot'
be'qati ~ 'qatben  'short'
3). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
  si'blo ~ sqo'fion  'eye'
  ne'tbu ~ ne'tal  'finger'
  dret ~ ri  'foot'
  'padli ~ pe'le  'wide'
  kren'wa ~ fe'wa  'fish'
4). CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
  'siet ~ sya  'elbow'
  'siu ~ syo  'breast, milk'
  gen ~ dyan  'heavy'
  po'hala ~ f'zol  'flow'
  ka'du ~ qa'dyoqa  'all'
  pe'toho ~ pe'tda  'narrow'
  'lqien ~ qdyen  'rain'
  p'i'hir ~ phyer  'yellow'
  l'lyap ~ l'wywa  'snake'
5). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#:
  ke'behir ~ qbi  'dust'
  pe'lebun ~ fle  'big'
  pis'mark ~ lis  'long, far'
6). (C)V(C)# ~ (C)V(C)#:
  ka'du ~ qa'dyoqa  all
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kut</td>
<td>kut'polme</td>
<td>'wood, tree'</td>
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<tr>
<td>mus</td>
<td>'moslo</td>
<td>'string'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar</td>
<td>tarti</td>
<td>'I bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'ba:la</td>
<td>fdol</td>
<td>'flow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke'biyet</td>
<td>'qbiaq</td>
<td>'ashes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ton</td>
<td>twon</td>
<td>'fire fly, star'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ban</td>
<td>ba'sin</td>
<td>'smelled, rotten'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ne'tbu</td>
<td>ne'tal</td>
<td>'finger'</td>
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<td>po'hata</td>
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<td>ne'kedi</td>
<td>qdi</td>
<td>'nail'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ka'sini</td>
<td>sni</td>
<td>'stomach'</td>
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<tr>
<td>drot</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
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<tr>
<td>bo'qolum</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>'cloud'</td>
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<tr>
<td>pe'drot</td>
<td>tro</td>
<td>'straight'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ba'rasle</td>
<td>'rasle</td>
<td>'sharp, pointed'</td>
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<tr>
<td>tde'sak</td>
<td>rsa</td>
<td>'I clear a away'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'onikop</td>
<td>qa</td>
<td>'this'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'karwas</td>
<td>'erwas</td>
<td>'fish'</td>
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<tr>
<td>tbla</td>
<td>tq'o'fla</td>
<td>'I divide'</td>
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<tr>
<td>be'rak</td>
<td>pe'bra</td>
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<td>'nanfo</td>
<td>'that'</td>
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<td>bo'qolum</td>
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<td>'erwas</td>
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<tr>
<td>ken</td>
<td>'gei</td>
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<td>pe'qili</td>
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<tr>
<td>me'ret</td>
<td>mre</td>
<td>'one'</td>
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<tr>
<td>pe'drot</td>
<td>~ tro</td>
<td>'straight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'don</td>
<td>~ tdo</td>
<td>'night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kop</td>
<td>~ ko</td>
<td>'banana'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tkat</td>
<td>~ tke</td>
<td>'right'</td>
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<tr>
<td>be' rak</td>
<td>~ pe' bra</td>
<td>'blue'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'onikop</td>
<td>~ qo</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'net</td>
<td>~ hne</td>
<td>'worm, maggot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fi' yap</td>
<td>~ lu'wya</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
</tr>
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</table>

14). CV# – CVC#:
| de | ~ 'diak | 'mouth' |
| da'ha | ~ dhan | 'dirty' |
| 'kodu | ~ 'kodus | 'bone' |
| bu | ~ fik | 'swollen' |
| lo | ~ lok | 'two' |
| wa'lo | ~ wa'loq | 'a little' |
| mo | ~ moq | 'moon' |

15). p – b:
| de'pet | ~ te'bit | 'ear' |

16). p ~ f:
| palk | ~ falq | 'skin' |
| po'bala | ~ f dol | 'flow' |
| pe'lebun | ~ fle | 'big' |

17). b ~ p:
| ba'qan | ~ pe'qan | 'forest' |
| bu'lu | ~ pe'lu | 'wing' |

18). b ~ f:
| tbla | ~ tقو'fفا | 'I divide' |
| bun | ~ tu/on | 'seed, nut' |

19). m ~ n:
| bo'qolum | ~ un | 'cloud' |
| om | ~ un | 'cloudy' |
| ke'lenn | ~ glen | 'bird' |
| oun | ~ won | 'louse' |

20). t ~ q:
| ke'biyet | ~ 'qbiaq | 'ashes' |

175
<table>
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<tr>
<td>de‘pet</td>
<td>pe‘drot</td>
<td>ka‘du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ te‘bit</td>
<td>~ tro</td>
<td>~ qa‘dyoqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ear’</td>
<td>‘straight’</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24). n ~ o:</td>
<td>25). n ~ l:</td>
<td>26). y ~ q:</td>
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<td>ken</td>
<td>sa‘din</td>
<td>ke‘biyet</td>
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<tr>
<td>~ ‘gei</td>
<td>~ ‘gei</td>
<td>~ ‘qbiaq</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘meat’</td>
<td>‘meat’</td>
<td>‘ashes’</td>
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<td>to‘don</td>
<td>~ sa‘dil</td>
<td>~ ‘gei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ tdo</td>
<td>‘hair’</td>
<td>‘meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘night’</td>
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<td>27). k ~ g:</td>
<td>28). k ~ q:</td>
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<tr>
<td>ken</td>
<td>s‘hko</td>
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<tr>
<td>~ ‘gei</td>
<td>~ sqa‘fuon</td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
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<td>~ fa‘lq</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>‘ashes’</td>
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<tr>
<td>29). g ~ dy:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>~ ‘dyan</td>
<td>‘hgiem</td>
<td>‘rain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
<td>~ ‘qdyen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘njo‘bun</td>
<td>‘thick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ dya‘q‘bun</td>
<td></td>
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<td>30). g ~ t:</td>
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<td>me‘gis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ me‘tis</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘mouse, rat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
31). g ~ q:
   mo'gok  ~ sbel'qo  'back'
32). h ~ d:
   po'hala  ~ fidol  'flow'
   pe'toho  ~ pe'lda  'dust'
33). h ~ ~ q:
   'gqyen  ~ qdyen  'rain'
34). h ~ hy:
   phir  ~ phyer  'to fly'
35). i ~ e:
   bi  ~ be  'soil, land, earth'
   'padli  ~ pe'le  'wide'
   hmin  ~ dyaq'men  'blunt'
   phir  ~ phyer  'to fly'
36). i ~ u:
   lyap  ~ lu'wya  'snake'
37). i ~ o:
   tbs  ~ tnos  'I shoot'
38). ie ~ i:
   'dien  ~ din  'hair, feather'
39). ie ~ e:
   'gqyen  ~ qdyen  'rain'
40). ie ~ a:
   siet  ~ sya  elbow '
41). iu ~ o:
   'siu  ~ syo  'breast, milk'
42). e ~ i:
   de'pet  ~ te'bit  'ear'
   ne  ~ ni  'hand'
   dret  ~ ri  'foot'
   tes  ~ tis  'sea'
   ke'behir  ~ qbi  'dust'
   te'gqyen  ~ tliyen  'walking stick'
43). e ~ ei:
   ken  ~ gei  'meat'
<table>
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<th>44). e ~ ia:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>~ 'diak</td>
<td>'mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td>~ 'dyan</td>
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<td>~ pe'qan</td>
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<td>tilbala</td>
<td>~ til'bula</td>
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<td>st'o'ko</td>
<td>~ sqo'fuo</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
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178
(13). Sayosa–Mladofo(Mr-2b) <= Salqma–Welek(Mr-3a):

1). CV(C) – CV'CV'(C):
   tbit ~ te'bit 'ear'
   ne'tpo ~ nete'bo 'finger'
   qa'sni ~ 'si 'stomach'
   be'qili ~ pqa'li 'slippery'
   mre ~ me'ri 'one'
   tluk ~ te'luk 'three'
   ku'dru ~ ko'duru 'thunder'
   po'trot ~ pti'ro 'straight'
   tilba'la ~ ti'lubla 'day, mid day'
   phe ~ be'heq 'red'
   lu'wy ~ l'i'wy 'snake'

2). CV'CV'(C) – CCV(C):
   da'ha ~ dhan 'dirty'
   ka'sini ~ 'seni 'heart'
   be'qili ~ pga'li 'slippery'
   be'fum ~ hu'blun 'cold'
   po'trot ~ pti'ro 'straight'
   tilba'la ~ ti'lubla 'day, mid day'
   ba'ra ~ hbra 'green/blue'

3). CCV(C) – CV(C):
   drit ~ rik 'foot'
   e'dru ~ 'is 'sea'
   bru ~ hu'rubun 'seed, nut'
   mohlu ~ mos 'string'

4). CV(C) – CCV(C):
   'siop ~ 'syin 'breast, milk'
   'biak ~ kbi 'shes'
   'dian ~ 'dyian 'heavy'
5. CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#:

ba'ra ~ hbra ~ 'blue/green'
'mohlu ~ mos ~ 'string'
'tketi ~ tke ~ 'tight'
'phiqer ~ phihi ~ 'same, equal'
pullmer ~ lwis ~ 'long, far'

6. (C)V(C)# ~ (C)V(C)#:

'rawal ~ 'rawada ~ 'nose'
'ka'du ~ ka'duqa ~ 'all'
'om ~ mo'hop ~ 'cloudy'
pak ~ pa'raseli ~ 'sharp, pointed'
pe'ya ~ pqala ~ 'tail'

7. CVC# ~ CV-C#:

bum ~ pe'qala ~ 'forest'

8. CV-C# ~ CV-C#:

eyakid ~ negadi ~ 'nail'

9. #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):

dokodus ~ 'kodus ~ 'bone'
'ga'ni ~ 'sini ~ 'stomach'
drit ~ rik ~ 'foot'
a'dru ~ tis ~ 'sea'
'blen'ksern ~ gyas ~ 'salt'

10. #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):

bik ~ hu'bug ~ 'swollen'
tot ~ pu'uk ~ 'ill, hearted'
bru ~ hu'bu'bug ~ 'seed, mat'
ban ~ hu'bag ~ 'smelled, rotten'
onahu ~ so'onqa ~ 'that'

11. CVC-CV#:

'biak ~ kbi ~ 'ashes'
'ma'hot ~ maha ~ 'five'
bit ~ be ~ 'soil, land, earth'
potrot ~ ptiro ~ 'straight'
map ~ ma ~ 'branch'
bym ~ pe'qala ~ 'forest'
12). CV# - CVC#:
sia ~ sin 'elbow'
me’ni ~ mi’nak 'fat'
’adru ~ tis 'sea'
’biak ~ kbi 'ashes'
yu ~ yuk 'sky'
tba ~ tepak 'hot, warm'
ko ~ kuk 'tree, wood'
bru ~ hu’buñ 'seed, nut'
phe ~ be’he 'red'
p’e’lu ~ pe’lup 'wing'
ho ~ hug 'dog'
’onioko ~ so’gop 'this'
’krewa ~ ’krewas 'fish'
ha’ne ~ he’ne’k 'worm, maggot'

13). #V(C) - #CV(C):
elk ~ pe’lek 'lightening'
’onioko ~ so’gop 'this'
’onabu ~ so’onqa 'that'

14). #CV(C) - #V(C):
mor’ho ~ ung 'cloud'
won ~ ons 'mosquito'
 tpam ~ tis 'I shoot'

15). p ~ b:
su’wopun ~ so’bun 'eye'
n’e’tpo ~ net’bo 'finger'
phe ~ be’henj 'red'
polqo ~ bo’qo 'egg'
p’e’lebun ~ be’peli 'big'
p’okamo ~ ka’tebi 'short'

16). p ~ q:
dyap ~ dyaq 'mouth'

17). b ~ p:
bun ~ be’qalan 'forest'
18). m ~ n:
'toom ~ 'ouŋ 'louse'
mo'ho ~ un 'cloud'
be'lum ~ hu'bluŋ 'cold'
pdum ~ pduŋ 'black, dark'
19). t ~ o:
bit ~ be 'soil, land, earth'
p'trotn ~ p'tiro 'straight'
20). t ~ k:
drit ~ rik 'foot'
tot ~ pu'tuk 'ill, hearted'
hat ~ hak 'four'
21). d ~ dy:
'dian ~ 'dyan 'heavy'
'duta ~ 'dyuta 'dry-field, garden'
22). s ~ sy:
'siop ~ 'syin 'breast, milk'
23). n ~ l:
'sa'din ~ sa'dil 'hair'
24). y ~ q:
pe'ya ~ pqa'les 'tail'
25). k ~ o:
ke'dyi ~ 'dyiŋ 'rain'
pak ~ pa'raseli 'sharp, pointed'
26). k ~ g:
ney'kid ~ na'gadi 'nail'
'blenksenn ~ gyas 'salt'
'oniku ~ so'gop 'this'
27). k ~ n:
hik ~ hu'buŋ 'swollen'
28). k ~ q:
sok ~ soq 'coarse grass'
29). g ~ k:
gas ~ kas 'heart'
30). ɳ ~ n:
  me'boŋ ~ me'bon "cassowary"

31). ɡ ~ y:
  t'ɡin ~ t'ɡen "walking stick"

32). q ~ g:
  be'qli ~ pga'li "slippery"
  ka'qyu ~ qa'dyoqa "all"
  kmun ~ qmn "wind"

33). h ~ s:
  'mohlu ~ mos "string"
  pu'lhmər ~ lwis "long, far"

34). i ~ ie:
  ka'liŋ ~ ka'liyieŋ "bird"

35). i ~ iu:
  ke'dyi ~ 'dyiŋ "rain"

36). i ~ e:
  bit ~ be "soil, land, earth"
  t'ɡin ~ t'ɡen "walking stick"

37). i ~ u:
  bik ~ hu'buŋ "swollen"
  bi ~ hu'bu "smoke"

38). i ~ a:
  ne'yakid ~ ne'gadi "tail"
  me'ni ~ mi'nak "fat"

39). ia ~ i:
  'sia ~ sin "elbow"
  'biak ~ bi "smoke"

40). e ~ i:
  ne ~ ni "hand"
  me'ni ~ mi'nak "fat"
  'telu ~ til "sun, day"
  ma'dyes ~ me'dyis "mouse, rat"

41). e ~ o:
  pe'bon ~ po'hon "full"
42). $u \sim i$:
- lu'wye $\sim$ l'wiya 'snake'
- pu'lhmer $\sim$ lwis 'long, far'

43). $u \sim o$:
- bum $\sim$ pe'qala 'forest'
- su'wopun $\sim$ so'ban 'eye'
- ko'dru $\sim$ ko'dru 'thunder'

45). $uo \sim o$:
- 'kuo $\sim$ ko 'banana'
- 'oniku $\sim$ so'gop 'that'
- to'don $\sim$ te'don 'dark'

47). $o \sim u$:
- 'siop $\sim$ 'siiu 'breast, milk'
- tot $\sim$ pu'tuk 'ill, hearted'
- mo'hoh $\sim$ un 'cloud'
- ko $\sim$ kuk 'tree, wood'
- me'boj $\sim$ me'buŋ 'cassowary'
- ho $\sim$ hun 'dog'
- po'we $\sim$ pu'ye 'small, a little'

48). $a \sim i$:
- tpam $\sim$ tis 'I shot'

49). $a \sim e$:
- ha'ne $\sim$ he'nek 'worm, maggot'
- ma'dyes $\sim$ me'dysis 'mouse, rat'

Metathesis:
- 'biak $\sim$ kbi 'smoke'
- 'mohoh $\sim$ un 'cloud'
- pu'lhmer $\sim$ lwis 'long, far'

22 word differences or 83% cognates similarities.
(14). Sayosa-Mladofok(Mr-2b) >> Salqma-Klamit(Mr-3b)

1). CCV(C) ~ CV(C) CV(C):
   tbit ~ te'bit 'ear'
   dink ~ di'nik 'thor'
   pdum ~ pe'din 'black, dark'
   phe ~ pe'hen 'red'

2). CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
   ha'ne ~ hne 'worm, maggot'
   da'han ~ dhan 'dirty'
   neya'kid ~ qdi 'nail'
   ga'sni ~ sni 'stomach'
   'amek ~ amq 'stone'
   to'don ~ tdo 'night, dark'
   'tpela ~ tqp'la 'I divide'
   ba'ra ~ pebra 'green, blue'
   ka'lej ~ qlen 'bird'
   pr'hir ~ phyer 'flying'
   se'bar ~ sbar 'fly/flies'
   pe'lebun ~ fle 'big'
   'onabu ~ sanfo 'that'
   ha'ne ~ hne 'worm, maggot'

3). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
   dyap ~ diak 'mouth'
   netpo ~ netal 'finger'
   drit ~ ri 'foot'
   bse'ret ~ src 'wet'
   a'dru ~ tis 'sea'
   'bienksen ~ sira 'salt'
   bru ~ 'fuo 'seed, nut'
   krewa ~ kerwas 'fish'
   pul'hem ~ lis 'long, far'

4). CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
   su'wopun ~ sqo'fuo 'eye'
   'rawat ~ tra 'nose'
   'sia ~ sya 'elbow'

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| me'ni  | ~ myaq | 'fat'  |
| 'siop | ~ syo  | 'breast, milk' |
| 'biak | ~ qbiaq | 'ashes' |
| 'dian | ~ dyan | 'heavy' |
| ka'du | ~ ka'dyoqa | 'all' |
| pa'dia | ~ pe'tda | 'narrow' |
| p'hir | ~ p'yer | 'to fly' |
| 'tati | ~ 'tarti | 'bite' |
| el    | ~ felq  | 'lightening' |

5). CV(C)~ CV(C)~:

| mar'run | ~ maq  | 'neck' |
| 'rawat | ~ tra  | 'rose' |
| bse'ret | ~ sre  | 'wet' |
| mo'ho  | ~ un   | 'cloud' |
| 'scele | ~ sel  | 'digging stick' |
| 'telu  | ~ til  | 'sun, day' |
| 'tketi | ~ tke  | 'i tight' |
| pe'lebun | ~ fle | 'big' |
| pu'lmner | ~ lis  | 'long, far' |

6). CV(C)~ CV(C)~:

| ko   | ~ kut'polme | 'tree, wood' |
| k'a'du | ~ qa'dyoqa | 'all' |

7). CV(C)~ CV(C)~:

| su'wupun | ~ sqo'fuon | 'eye' |
| pa'dia | ~ pa'da  | 'narrow' |
| bum | ~ pe'qan  | 'forest' |
| ban | ~ ba'sin  | 'smelled, rotten' |

8). CV(C)~ CV(C)~:

| ne'pdu  | ~ ne'tal | 'finger' |

9). #CV(C)~ #CV(C):

<p>| ney'akid | ~ qdi | 'nail' |
| qa'sni | ~ sni  | 'stomach' |
| drit  | ~ ri   | 'foot' |
| do'kodus | ~ 'kodus | 'bone' |
| a'dru | ~ tis  | 'sea' |</p>
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<td>'blejksern</td>
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<tr>
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<td>tum</td>
<td>'path, row, road'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>po'trot</td>
<td>tro</td>
<td>'straight'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'we</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>'small, a little'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'oniku</td>
<td>qo</td>
<td>'this'</td>
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10). #CV(C) ~ #V(C):
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<td>tqaľła</td>
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<td>pehra</td>
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11). #V(C) ~ #CV(C):
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12). #CV(C) ~ #V(C):
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<td>ons</td>
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13). CVC# ~ CV#:
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<td>syo</td>
<td>'breast, milk'</td>
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<td>ri</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
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<td>to</td>
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<td>sa'brap</td>
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14). CV# ~ CVC#:
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<td>'flow'</td>
<td>blik</td>
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<tr>
<td>'seed, nut'</td>
<td>bru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>'that'</td>
<td>'onabu</td>
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<tr>
<td>'blood, red'</td>
<td>hem</td>
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<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<tr>
<td>mo'ho</td>
<td>~ un</td>
<td>'cloud'</td>
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<tr>
<td>om</td>
<td>~ un</td>
<td>'cloudy'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>bum</td>
<td>~ pe'qan</td>
<td>'forest'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pdum</td>
<td>~ pe'din</td>
<td>'black, dark'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'oum</td>
<td>~ won</td>
<td>'louse'</td>
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<tr>
<td>tpam</td>
<td>~ tnos</td>
<td>'I shoot'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>po'kamo</td>
<td>~ qatben</td>
<td>'short'</td>
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<tr>
<td>22). t - et:</td>
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<tr>
<td>'rawat</td>
<td>~ tra</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drit</td>
<td>~ ri</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ttot</td>
<td>~ tte</td>
<td>'I am ill'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>bse'ret</td>
<td>~ sre</td>
<td>'wet'</td>
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<td>hat</td>
<td>~ ha</td>
<td>'four'</td>
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<tr>
<td>mo'hot</td>
<td>~ ma'ha</td>
<td>'five'</td>
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<td>bit</td>
<td>~ be</td>
<td>'soil, land, earth'</td>
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<tr>
<td>po'torot</td>
<td>~ tro</td>
<td>'straight'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tke'ti</td>
<td>~ tke</td>
<td>'tight'</td>
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<td>23). d - t:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pa'dia</td>
<td>~ pe'tda</td>
<td>'narrow'</td>
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<td>24). d - dy:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>'dian</td>
<td>~ dyan</td>
<td>'heavy'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ka'du</td>
<td>~ qa'dyoqa</td>
<td>'all'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>po'du</td>
<td>~ dyaq'buq</td>
<td>'thick'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>25). dy - t:</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>me'dyis</td>
<td>~ me'tis</td>
<td>'mouse, rat'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26). s - sy:</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sin</td>
<td>~ sya</td>
<td>'elbow'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sin</td>
<td>~ syo</td>
<td>'breast, milk'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>27). n - o:</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kien</td>
<td>~ 'gei</td>
<td>'meat'</td>
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<tr>
<td>28). n - ny:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>me'ni</td>
<td>~ mnyeq</td>
<td>'fat'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'blykserm</td>
<td>~ 'sira</td>
<td>'salt'</td>
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<tr>
<td>29). n - l:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa'din</td>
<td>~ sa'dil</td>
<td>'hair'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
30). k ~ ø:
  ka'sini  ~ sni  'heart'
31). k ~ g:
  'kien  ~ 'gei  'meat'
32). k ~ q:
  neya'kid  ~ qdi  'nail'
  balq  ~ falq  'skin'
  'biak  ~ 'qbiaq  'ashes'
  ka'du  ~ qa'dyqqa  'all'
  mok  ~ moq  'moon'
  ke'dyi  ~ qdyen  'rain'
  ka'linq  ~ qlen  'bird'
  'oniq  ~ qo  'this'
  dyok  ~ dyoq  'leech'
  po'kamo  ~ 'qatben  'short'
33). g ~ y:
  ti'gin  ~ ti'yen  'walking stick'
34). η ~ ø:
  to'dog  ~ tdo  'night'
35). η ~ n:
  ka'linq  ~ qlen  'bird'
36). h ~ hy:
  pr'hir  ~ phyer  'to fly'
37). h ~ s:
  'mohlu  ~ 'moslu  'string'
  pu'hlmer  ~ lis  'long, far'
38). i ~ e:
  meni  ~ mneyeq  'fat'
  bit  ~ be  'soil, land, earth'
  ke'dyi  ~ qdyen  'rain'
  ti'gin  ~ ti'yen  'walking stick'
  ka'linq  ~ qlen  'bird'
  pr'hir  ~ phyer  'to fly'
39). i ~ u:
  li'yap  ~ lu'wya  'snake'
40). i ~ o:
  blik ~ fdol 'flow'
41). iu ~ o:
  sin ~ syo 'breast, milk'
42). ia ~ a:
  'dian ~ dyan 'heavy'
  pa'dia ~ pe'tda 'narrow'
43). ie ~ i:
  'dien ~ din 'hair, feather'
44). ie ~ ei:
  'kien ~ 'gei 'meat'
45). io ~ o:
  'siop ~ syo 'breast, milk'
46). ia ~ a:
  'siat ~ sya 'elbow'
  'dian ~ dyan 'heavy'
  pa'dia ~ pe'tda 'narrow'
47). e ~ i:
  ne ~ ni 'hand'
  'blenksern ~ sira 'salt'
  'telu ~ til 'sun, day'
  pe'ya ~ pri'yun 'tail'
  ma'dyes ~ me'tis 'mouse, rat'
48). e ~ a:
  lu'wy ~ lu'wya 'snake'
49). u ~ i
  p'dum ~ pe'din 'black, dark'
  a'dru ~ tis 'sea'
  yu ~ ik 'sky'
  du'ta ~ di'ta 'dry-field, garden'
  pu'ilmer ~ lis 'long, far'
50). u ~ e:
  bum ~ pe'qan 'forest'
51). u ~ uo:  
bru ~ 'fuon  'seed, nut'
52). n ~ o:  
ka'du ~ qa'dyoqa  'all'
ko ~ kutsopolme  'tree, wood'
'mohlu ~ 'moslo  'string'
'oniku ~ qo  'this'
'onabi ~ 'nanfo  'that'
53). uo ~ o:  
'kuo ~ ko  'banana'
54). o ~ e:  
p'o'go ~ pe'go  'egg'
p'kamo ~ 'qatben  'short'
55). o ~ u:  
m'ho ~ un  'cloud'
om ~ un  'cloudy'
p'o'du ~ dyaq'bun  'thick'
ho ~ hun  'dog'
56). o ~ a:  
m'o'hot ~ ma'ha  'five'
57). ou ~ o:  
ouj ~ won  'louse'
58). a ~ i:  
'iyap ~ 'diak  'mouth'
59). a ~ e:  
p'a'dia ~ pe'tda  'narrow'
ma'dyes ~ me'tis  'mouse, rat'
60). a ~ u:  
p'eya ~ pi'yun  'tail'
tilba'la ~ tilbu'la  'day, mid day'
61). a ~ o:  
'tpam ~ tnos  'I shoot'
Metathesis:  
'trawat ~ tra  'nose'
do'kodus ~ 'kodus  'bone'
mo'ho ~ un 'cloud'
po'du ~ dyaq'bu'n 'thick'
'trewa ~ 'erwas 'fish'
pul'hmer ~ lis 'long, far'
pok'ame ~ 'qatben 'short'

17 words differences or 87% cognates similarities.

(15). Salqma–Welek(Mr-3a) >> Salqma–Klamit(Mr-3b):
1). CCV(C) ~ CV'CV(C)
pga'li ~ pe'qli 'slippery'
gyas ~ s'i'a 'salt'
pelk ~ pe'leq 'white'
pduq ~ pe'din 'black, dark'
pqa'ilm ~ pi'yuti 'tail'

2). CV'CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
'adel ~ adl 'tongue'
'trawada ~ tra 'nose'
ne'gadi ~ qdi 'nail'
m'i'nak ~ mnyeq 'fat'
'sini ~ sni 'stomach'
si'belkoq ~ sbel'oq 'back'
'tseni ~ sni 'heart'
ka'la ~ kla 'water'
bes'ret ~ sre 'wet'
'amek ~ amq 'stone'
pqa'li ~ pe'qli 'slippery'
me'ri ~ mre 'one'
te'luk ~ tluk 'three'
hu'ye ~ pe'tda 'narrow'
te'pak ~ th'a 'hot, warm'
pe'lek ~ felq 'lightening'
phi'ro ~ tro 'straight'
pa'raseli ~ 'rasle 'sharp, pointed'
t'ilubla ~ ti'lubula 'day, mid day'
t'o'doq ~ to do 'night'

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to'yuk ~ twou 'fire fly, star'
su'lu ~ slo 'dry'
hu'ru ~ pe'hrun 'yellow'
ke'lyien ~ qlen 'bird'
phir ~ phyer 'to fly'
se'bar ~ sbar 'fly (flies)'
bepeli ~ fle 'big'
eh'nek ~ hne 'worm, maggot'
lu'wya ~ lu'wya 'snake'
katebi ~ qutben 'short'

3). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
gyas ~ 'sira 'salt'
p'tro ~ tro 'straight'
dyuta ~ dita 'dry-field, garden'
habra ~ pe'bra 'blue/green'
krewa ~ 'erwas 'fish'
lwis ~ lis 'long, far'
me'dyis ~ metsis 'mouse, rat'

4). CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
si'ban ~ sqo'fuon 'eye'
'traw ada ~ tra 'nose'
sin ~ sya 'elbow'
o'wal ~ qwal 'sand'
ka'duwaq ~ ka'dyoqa 'all'
hu'ye ~ pe'da 'narrow'
'dyiun ~ qyuen 'rain'
lk ~ tqa'dyaq 'I divide'
phir ~ phyer 'to fly'

5). CV(C)-# ~ CV(C)-#
'traw ada ~ tra 'nose'
nete'bo ~ netal 'finger'
sal ~ sal 'fire'
mo'hop ~ un 'cloudy'
p'e'qala ~ pe'qan 'fruit'
pqa'les ~ pi'yunt 'tail'
6). CV(C)N ~ CV(C)-#:
   kbi ~ 'qbiaq "ashes"
   kuk ~ ku'polme "tree, wood"
   sfa ~ frik "mountain"
   mos ~ 'moslo "string"

7). CVC# ~ CV-C#:
   so'bur ~ sqo'fion "eye"
   mi'nak ~ mnuyeq "fat"
   ka'duaqa ~ qa'dyqaq "all"
   pi'hir ~ phyer "to fly"

8). CV-C# ~ CV-C#:
   ne'tbu ~ ne'aal "finger"
   hu'bluŋ ~ qmin "cold"
   ka'lyien ~ qlen "bird"

9). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
   na'gadi ~ qdi "rail"
   tseni ~ sni "heart"
   pu'uka ~ to "ill, hearted"
   bse'ret ~ 'sre "wet"
   a'dru ~ tis "sea"
   gyas ~ 'sira "salt"
   hu'bu ~ bi "smoke"
   wa'amu ~ tum "path, row, road"
   ba'pili ~ pe'le "wide"
   pt'i'ro ~ tro "straight"
   pa'raseli ~ rasie "sharp, pointed"
   hu'buŋ ~ 'fuon "seed, nut"
   be'pehi ~ fle "big"
   pu'ye ~ pwe "small, a little"
   so'goŋ ~ go "this"
   so'onoqa ~ 'nanafo "that"
   'krewas ~ 'erwas "fish"

10). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
   o'wal ~ qwal "sand"
   'dyun ~ q'dyen "rain"
hu'ru ~ poc'hun 'yellow'
hbra ~ peb'ra 'blue/green'
'buu ~ fe'wa 'small, a little'
tyok ~ qqa'dyaq 'I divide'

11). #V(C) ~ #CVC:
'owal ~ qwal 'sand'
'oun ~ won 'louse'

12). #CV(C) ~ #V(C):
tis ~ tnos 'I shoot'
yuk ~ ik 'sky'
'mohop ~ un 'cloudy'
'krewas ~ 'crwas 'fish'

13). CVC# ~ CV#:
sin ~ sya 'slbow'
'kien ~ 'gei 'meat'
rik ~ ri 'foot'
pur'tuk ~ to 'ill, hearted'
bse'ret ~ sre 'wet'
gyas ~ 'sira 'salt'
hak ~ 'ha 'four'
te'pak ~ tha 'hot, warm'
te'don ~ tdo 'night'
pur'tup ~ plu 'wing'
so'gop ~ qo 'this'
h'e'nek ~ lhe 'worm, maggot'

14). CV# ~ CVC#:
ki ~ 'qbiaq 'ashes'
pe'qala ~ pe'qan 'forest'
hu'ru ~ pe'ruh 'yellow'
'katebi ~ 'katben 'short'

15). p ~ b:
te'pak ~ tha 'hot, warm'

16). p ~ f:
qdol ~ fdol 'flow'
p'nala ~ f'ndol 'flow'
pe'lek ~ felq 'lightening'
be'pel ~ fle 'big'
17). b ~ p:
bo'qo ~ pe'qo 'egg'
18). b ~ f:
balk ~ falq 'skin'
u'buq ~ fuon 'seed, nut'
bua ~ fe'wa 'small, a little'
19). m ~ n:
heem ~ hen 'blood, red'
'mobop ~ un 'cloudy'
20). dy ~ t:
me'dyis ~ me'tis 'mouse, rat'
21). d ~ dy:
dyaq ~ 'diak 'mouth'
ka'duaqa ~ qa'dyoqa 'all'
22). dy ~ d:
'dyuta ~ 'dita 'dry-field, garden'
23). dy ~ t:
ma'dyis ~ me'tis 'mouse, rat'
24). s ~ sy:
sin ~ sya 'elbow'
25). n ~ s:
sin ~ sya 'elbow'
'kien ~ 'gei 'meet'
to'don ~ tdo 'night'
26). o ~ n:
u'ru ~ pe'rhun 'yellow'
'katebi ~ qa'tben 'short'
27). k ~ q:
'kien ~ 'gei 'meat'
28). k ~ q:
dyaq ~ 'diak 'mouth'
hyak ~ heq 'teeth'
balk ~ falq 'skin'

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi'nak</td>
<td>&quot;fat&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si'belkoq</td>
<td>&quot;back&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kas</td>
<td>&quot;heart&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kbi</td>
<td>&quot;ashes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'amek</td>
<td>&quot;stone&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>wa'loq</td>
<td>&quot;a little&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'duaqa</td>
<td>&quot;all&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'lek</td>
<td>&quot;lightening&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelk</td>
<td>&quot;lightening&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tyok</td>
<td>&quot;divide&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kar'lyej</td>
<td>&quot;bird&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyak</td>
<td>&quot;teeth&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29) q ~ q:  
na'qadi | "nail"  
pqa'li | "slippery"  
'sogop | "this"  

30) n ~ n:  
dhan | "dirty"  
dyian | "heavy"  
dyien | "rain"  
hu'ban | "seed, nut"  
hu'ban | "smelled, rotten"  
pden | "black, dark"  
beheq | "blood, red"  
kar'lyej | "bird"  
hun | "dog"  
ouj | "house"  

31) d ~ d:  
pe'tohe | "dust"  
uye | "narrow"  

32) hy ~ hy:  
p'hir | "to fly"  

33) e ~ e:  
'bapili | "wide"  
hmin | "blunt"
piθir  ~ pʰyeɾ  'to fly'
34). i ~ u  ~ lu'wya  'snake'
35). i ~ o:
  this  ~ tnos  'I shoot'
36). i ~ ia:
  kbi  ~ 'qbiaq  'ashes'
37). i ~ a:
  sin  ~ sya  'elbow'
38). ie ~ e:
  kaɬ'yienɬ  ~ qlen  'bird'
39). ie ~ ei:
  'kien  ~ gei  'treat'
40). iu ~ e:
  'dyiɬum  ~ qdyen  'rain'
41). iu ~ o:
  syu  ~ syo  'breast, milk'
42). ia ~ a:
  'dyati  ~ 'dyan  'heavy'
43). u ~ i:
  hu'buɬ  ~ fik  'swollen'
  hu'bu  ~ bi  'smoke'
  yuk  ~ ik  'sky'
  'dyuta  ~ 'dita  'dry field, garden'
  pduɬ  ~ pɛ́din  'black, dark'
44). u ~ uo:
  soɬuɬ  ~ sqo'fuon  'eye'
  hu'buɬ  ~ 'fuon  'seed, nut'
45). u ~ o:
  kaɬ'uqaɬ  ~ qa'dyoqa  'all'
  pu'tuɬ  ~ to  'ill, hearted'
  to'yuk  ~ twon  'fire fly, star'
  su'lů  ~ slo  'dry'
  me'bul  ~ mebon  'cassowary'
  ma'qrap  ~ ma'qroq  'pig'
46. o ~ e:
   bo'qo  ~ pe'qo  'egg'
   po'lon  ~ pe'hon  'full'

47. o ~ u:
   'mohop  ~ un  'cloudy'

48. ou ~ o:
   ouje  ~ won  'louse'

49. o ~ a:
   tyok  ~ tq'adyaq  'I divide'

50. a ~ i:
   sfj  ~ frik  'mountain'

51. a ~ ia:
   dyak  ~ 'diak  'mouth'

52. a ~ e:
   hyak  ~ heq  'teeth'

Metathesis:
   'rawada  ~ tra  'nose'
   gyas  ~ 'sira  'salt'
   sfj  ~ frik  'mountain'
   hu'rj  ~ pe'rhn  'yellow'

11 words differences or 93% cognates similarities.

3.4.3.4. Internal Correspondences in Klabra:
(I).  To (KI-1) >> Tro (KII-2):
1. CV CV ~ CCV (also may as Ce=CV):
   te'lt  ~ tfit  'ear'
   'faleq  ~ falq  'skin'
   a'dir  ~ adr  'sea'
   'amaq  ~ amq  'stone'
   to'lik  ~ tuk  'three'
   ma'hot  ~ mhut  'five'
   qo'min  ~ qmun  'wind'
   to'won  ~ twon  'fire fly, star'
   si'nan  ~ 'sandyar  'arrow'
2). CCV(C) ~ CV¹CV²(C):
  mnyeq ~ m‘nyaq  ‘fat’
  form ~ ‘qforin  ‘mosquito’
  hnayt ~ he’nhet  ‘worm, maggot’

3). CV(C)-# ~ CV(C)#:
  sa’faqos ~ sa’fas  ‘head’
  ’tawado ~ ’rawat  ‘nose’
  qan’foqot ~ qen  ‘meat’
  ’kinti ~ kit  ‘sand’
  ga’dyoqat ~ qayde  ‘ill’
  ’hrotot ~ sa’hrot  ‘narrow’
  ’odyo ~ o  ‘banana’
  ’qaso ~ qas  ‘heart’
  ’mene ~ pmen  ‘thin’

4). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)-#:  
  si’fouan ~ si’fro  ‘eye’
  na ~ ’nodo  ‘hand’
  tot ~ to’to  ‘I am ill’
  si’n'unan ~ snan’dyar  ‘arrow’

5). #--CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
  wqoyt ~ kut  ‘tree’
  o’mos ~ ’muos  ‘string’

6). #CV(C) ~ --#CV(C):
  sla ~ pra’sle  ‘sharp, pointed’
  ta’bin ~ pra’bin  ‘bunt’
  slo ~ psal  ‘dy’
  las ~ las  ‘leaf’
  qan ~ pcan  ‘forest’
  fuon ~ ’pfuon  ‘seed, nut’
  ’moun ~ prunun  ‘fragrant’
  hen ~ phen  ‘blood, red’
  bra ~ pbra  ‘blue, green’
  form ~ ’qforin  ‘mosquito’
  fle ~ ple  ‘big’
  wet ~ pwet  ‘small, a little’
  qo ~ so’qa  ‘this’

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qe'les ~ pqales ~ tail'
qnyen ~ qa'qnyen ~ 'worm, maggot'
lis ~ plis ~ 'long, far'
7). CV(C)-C ~ CV(C):
'qayt ~ tqat ~ 'tight'
hnayt ~ he'net ~ 'worm, maggot'
'qayben ~ 'pquatben ~ 'short'
hon ~ phon ~ 'full'
8). #CV(C) ~ #V(C):
'sinap ~ ons ~ 'mosquito'
9). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
'sayden ~ s'din ~ 'hair'
dyen ~ din ~ 'body hair, feather'
qdi ~ kid ~ 'nail'
qbyaq ~ 'qbuq ~ 'ashes'
10). CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
'dahan ~ s'dye ~ 'dirty'
lek ~ plik ~ 'flow'
'sira ~ blej'kseren ~ 'salt'
tyan ~ ptyan ~ 'heavy'
qyen ~ q'dyen ~ 'rain'
'mene ~ pmen ~ 'thin'
11). CVCC ~ CV:
teyt ~ rid ~ 'foot'
12). #V(C) ~ #CV(C):
e'leq ~ pe'leq ~ 'white'
c'din ~ pdin ~ 'black, dark'
'ooli ~ plu ~ 'wing'
er'nbayt ~ kl'nek ~ 'fish'
13). CV# ~ CV#:
sif'un ~ sif'qo ~ 'eye'
da'hun ~ s'idye ~ 'dirty'
14). CV# ~ CV#
'sira ~ blej'kseren ~ 'salt'
sis ~ s'itir ~ 'same, equal'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Type 1</th>
<th>Type 2</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>t ~ d:</td>
<td>~ rid</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'kinti'</td>
<td>~ kid</td>
<td>'sand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tyan</td>
<td>~ pdyan</td>
<td>'heavy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>t ~ r:</td>
<td>~ 'rawat'</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teyt</td>
<td>~ rid</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ta'bin</td>
<td>~ pra'bin</td>
<td>'bunt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ta'tan</td>
<td>~ tarn</td>
<td>'I sat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>dy ~ d:</td>
<td>~ sa'din</td>
<td>'hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dyen</td>
<td>~ din</td>
<td>'hair, feather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qa'dyoqat</td>
<td>~ 'qayde'</td>
<td>'all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>dy ~ sy:</td>
<td>~ sya</td>
<td>'elbow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dyas</td>
<td>~ fal</td>
<td>'path, row, road'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>n ~ l:</td>
<td>~ s'isi</td>
<td>'same, equal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fan</td>
<td>~ s'tir</td>
<td>'same, equal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>s ~ t:</td>
<td>~ loq</td>
<td>'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>k ~ q:</td>
<td>~ kid</td>
<td>'nail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lak</td>
<td>~ moq</td>
<td>moon ''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wqoyt</td>
<td>~ kut</td>
<td>'tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>q ~ k:</td>
<td>~ prnun</td>
<td>'fingrant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>nj ~ n:</td>
<td>~ qyen</td>
<td>'rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>than</td>
<td>~ tfan</td>
<td>'I shoot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>y ~ dy:</td>
<td>~ qdyen</td>
<td>'rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>h ~ f:</td>
<td>~ s'idue</td>
<td>'dirty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>h ~ s:</td>
<td>~ s'ilde</td>
<td>'dirty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>i ~ e:</td>
<td>~ s'ira</td>
<td>'salt'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
28). i ~ u:
bi ~ bu 'smoke'
thik ~ tlu 'three'
qbi ~ qbu 'dust'
qo'min ~ qmun 'wind'
tarbin ~ pra'bun 'blunt'
'ooli ~ plu 'wing'
'sinas ~ ons 'mosquito'

30). e ~ i:
sa'dyen ~ sa'din 'hair'
dyen ~ din 'hair, feather'
teyt ~ rid 'foot'
lek ~ plik 'flow'

31). o ~ e:
qa'dyoqat ~ qayde 'all'

32). o ~ u:
wqoqt ~ kut 'tree'

33). o ~ a:
sto ~ psal 'dry'
qo ~ so'qa 'this'

34). uo ~ o:
sif'ion ~ siq'po 'eye'
'prouq ~ prnum 'fragrant'

35). a ~ e:
mayn ~ men 'tongue'
na ~ 'neto 'hand'
't'dahan ~ si'dye 'dirty'
qu'fooqot ~ qen 'meat'
mnyaq ~ mi'nyaq 'fat'
sla ~ pra'sle 'sharp, pointed'
hnayt ~ he'net 'worm, maggot'

36). a ~ uo:
qbyaq ~ qbu 'ashes'

37). a ~ o:
lak ~ loq 'two'
sak ~ sok 'coarse grass'
3.4.3.5 Internal Correspondent in Tehit

(1) Tehit Jit (Te-1) >< Mbolile-Gemma (Te-2a):

1. CV.CV(O) ~ CCV(C):
   naki’ndi ~ na’qndi ‘trail’

2. CCV(C) ~ CV.CV(C):
   rgi ~ ri’gi ‘thunder’

3. CV(C)-# ~ CV(C)#
   ‘sfuon ~ si ‘eye’
   ‘qanfoqot ~ qan ‘meat’

4. CVC ~ CVCC:
   tqa’ki ~ tqa’t ‘tight’

5. CVCC ~ CVC:
   na’sya ~ na’si ‘elbow’

6. #~CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
   qmbu ~ mbi ‘dast’

7. d ~ t:
   ta ~ da ‘nose’
   ‘doro ~ tlor ‘heart, sorrow’
   da’sla ~ ta’sla ‘sharp, pointed’
   da’mhin ~ ta’mhin ‘bunt’
   qdy’dan ~ gya’tan ‘branch’
   ta’dan ~ ta’tan ‘l vite’

8. dy ~ y:
   qdy’dan ~ gya’tan ‘branch’

9. sy ~ s:
   na’sya ~ na’si ‘elbow’

16 words differences or 87 % cognates similarities.
10). k ~ i:
   qa'ki ~ 'tqayt 'I tight'
11). k ~ q:
   na'kindi ~ na'qndi 'nail'
12). q ~ g:
   qdy'and ~ gya'tan 'branch'
13). i ~ u:
   o'mbit ~ o'mbut 'sea'
   si'wan ~ su'wan 'sea,ocean'
14). e ~ a:
   fé'fal ~ fá'fal 'coarse grass'
15). a ~ i:
   na'sya ~ na'si 'elbow'
16). a ~ e:
   'falaq ~ 'faleq 'skin'
17). a ~ u:
   to'won ~ tu'won 'fire fly, star'

6 words differences or 96% cognates similarities.

(2). Tehit Jit (Te-1) >> Mbolflle-Afya/Neqna (Te-2b):
1). CV¹CV²(C) ~ CCV(C):
   nak'ndi ~ na'qndu 'nail'
2). CCV(C) ~ CV¹CV²(C):
   rgi ~ ru'gu 'thunder'
   qmbi ~ qa'mbuk 'dust'
3). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#:
   'sifoon ~ su 'eye'
   'qanfoqot ~ qan 'meat'
4). CV'C ~ CV'C:
   qa'ki ~ 'tqayt 'I tight'
5). CV# ~ CV#:
   qmbi ~ qa'mbuk 'dust'
6). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
   qdy'a'and ~ dya'dan 'branch'

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7). \(d \sim t:\)

- da ~ ta  
- nda'han ~ na'han  
- nda'ryen ~ na'ryen  
- deyt ~ teyt  
- 'odot ~ 'otot  
- 'doro ~ 'toro  
- k'i'ndi ~ ku'n'tu  
- da'sla ~ ta'sra  
- da'mbin ~ ta'mbun  
- qdy'a'dan ~ gya'tan  

8). dy ~ y:

- qdy'a'dan ~ gya'tan  

9). sy ~ s:

- na'sya ~ na'syu  

10). s ~ sy:

- s'i'mbyele ~ syu'mbere  

11). l ~ r:

- s'i'mbyele ~ syu'mbere  
- mal ~ mar  
- nda'ryen ~ na'ryen  
- 'falaq ~ 'fa'req  
- 'fras ~ 'fraras  

(etc. complementary distribution)

12). k~ t:

- t'qayt ~ 'ti'ght  

13). k ~ q:

- na'kindi ~ na'qndu  

14). y ~ u:

- mnoyn ~ m'noun  
- wqoyt ~ wqout  

15). i ~ u:

- 'defit ~ 'defut  
- nak'ndi ~ naku'ndu  
- fik ~ fuk  

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ki'ndi ~ ku'antu ~ 'sand'  
(etc. except for -d, complementary distribution)
16). e ~ o:
fe'far ~ fo'far ~ 'coarse grass'
17). a ~ u:
na'sya ~ na'syu ~ 'elbow'
18). a ~ e:
fi'far ~ 'fireq ~ 'skin'
19). o ~ u:
tu'won ~ tu'won ~ 'fire fly, star'  
Metathesis:
tqyom ~ qyen ~ 'rain'  
8 words differences or 95% cognates similarities.

(3). Tchit Jit (Te-1) => Sayfi-Srer (Te-3a):
1). CV'CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
tu'won ~ twon ~ 'fire fly, star'
2). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
'ggoro ~ 'goro ~ 'neck'
nda'han ~ da'han ~ 'dirty'
nak'ndi ~ nak'di ~ 'nail'
si'bele ~ si'bele ~ 'back'
nda'lyen ~ da'lyen ~ 'lungs'
qmbi'aq ~ 'bi'aq ~ 'ashes'
qmbi ~ 'biaq ~ 'dust'
le'ngo ~ le'ge ~ 'thin'
'ganan ~ gya'nan ~ 'cold'
le'ngo ~ le'ge ~ 'thin'
sa'guqat ~ sa'gvyat ~ 'all'
mhbas ~ bhas ~ 'day, mid day'
qa'ki ~ qa'dyi ~ 'to tight'
mbara ~ bra ~ 'blue, green'
mblit ~ blit ~ 'fly (/flies)'
a'nndla ~ na'dla ~ 'man'
mbol ~ bol ~ 'house'
2). CVV(C) ~ CV(C):
   sa'guoqat ~ sa'gyoqat 'all'
3). #-CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
   t'qoyn ~ qyen 'rain'
4). CV# ~ CVC#:
   na'xya ~ na'dyas 'elbow'
5). b ~ p:
   mbet ~ mpet 'soil, land, earth'
   t'ombi ~ t'ompi 'land'
   qmbi ~ qmpii 'dest'
   mbyas ~ mpyas 'cloudy'
   da'mbin ~ ta'mpin 'blunt'
   ta'mbra ~ ta'mpra 'forest'
6). w ~ y:
   ti'wen ~ tyen walking stick '
8). t ~ y:
   yit ~ yiy they '
9). d ~ t:
   dyen ~ tyen 'heavy'
   da'mbin ~ ta'mpin 'blunt'
   qda'am ~ qa'tan 'branch'
   hro'dot ~ hro'ot 'narrow'
   drot ~ trot 'straight'
   qa'daq ~ ta'na 'wide'
   ta'dan ~ ta'tan 'l.bite'
   ndon'gra ~ nton'gra 'bandicoot'
   ta'de ~ ta'te 'grand parent'
   k'ndi ~ k'nti 'sand'
10). s ~ d:
    na'xya ~ na'dyas 'elbow'
11). k ~ d:
    qa'ki ~ qa'dyi 'to tight'
12). g ~ k:
    gyet ~ kyet 'mouth'
    gyen ~ kyen 'hair, feather'
    rgi ~ rki 'thunder'
o'guo  ~ o'kuo  "banana"

15. q ~ ?

qa'so  ~ qa'so  "heart"
qo'so  ~ qa'so  "ill, hearted"
'afoq  ~ 'afo  "swollen"

(etc. complementary distribution)

Metathesis

 btcyn  ~ 'yen  "rain"

3 words differences or 98% cognates similarities.

(4). Tehit Jit (Te-1) >> Sayfl-Sayfl (Te-3b):

1. CV.CV(C) ~ CCV(C)

tu'won  ~ twon  "fire fly, star"

2. CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#

da  ~ ta'wadyo  "nose"

3. CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#:

'qyamre  ~ qa'yay  "a little"
'sa'guoqat  ~ qa'yoy  "all"
'hro'dot  ~ ro  "narrow"

4. CVC ~ CV-C:

'sfuon  ~ si'qo  "eye"

5. CV(C) ~ CCV(C):

'si'mbyele  ~ syi'mpyele  "back"

6. CCV(C) ~ CV(C):

nda'han  ~ ta'han  "dirty"
mbi  ~ bi  "smoke"
qmbr'aq  ~ byaq  "ashes"
mbe't  ~ bet  "soil, land, earth"
mbyas  ~ byas  "cloudy"
'fombi  ~ 'fobi  "land"
qmbr  ~ qbi  "dust"
'nganan  ~ 'ganan  "cold"
'qondo  ~ qodo  "thick"
'da'mbin  ~ ta'bin  "blunt"
mhbas  ~ mhas  "day, mid day"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'mbyele</td>
<td>'dry-field, garden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'mbra</td>
<td>'forest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndon'jgra</td>
<td>'bandicoot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sfo'ou</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'owo'uo</td>
<td>'burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa'guoqat</td>
<td>'all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'guo</td>
<td>'banana'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ayt</td>
<td>'tight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qyen</td>
<td>'rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro</td>
<td>'narrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'f'op</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
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<td>s'iompyele</td>
<td>'back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'mpit</td>
<td>'sea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mpri</td>
<td>'blue, green'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mplit</td>
<td>'fly (/flies)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mpol</td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'owo'uo</td>
<td>'burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'i'yen</td>
<td>'walking stick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiy</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fetit</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'wadyo</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te'yt</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'otot</td>
<td>'ill, hearted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'toro</td>
<td>'hearted, sorrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naki'nti</td>
<td>'nail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nta'lyen</td>
<td>'lung'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ini</td>
<td>'sand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'yan</td>
<td>'heavy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(etc. except for #, complementary distribution)

15. n ~ l:
   na'ngi ~ na'likī 'maid, woman'

16. g ~ d:
   o'gin ~ o'din 'black, dark'

17. g ~ d:
   gyet ~ dyet 'mouth'
   gyen ~ dyen 'hair, feather'
   sa'guoqt ~ qa'dyoqt 'all'
   o'guo ~ o'dyoou 'banana'

18. g ~ k:
   na'ngi ~ nu'likī 'maid, woman'
   rgi ~ rki 'thunder'

19. gg ~ dy:
   'ngoro ~ 'dyoro 'neck'

20. i ~ y:
   qmbi'aq ~ byaq 'dust'
   qa'ki ~ qayt 'to tight'

21. o ~ e:
   tqoyn ~ qyen 'train'

Metathesis:
   qa'ki ~ qayt 'to tight'

10 words differences or 93 % cognates similarities.

(5). Tehit Jit (Te-l) << Ymian–Ymiandi (Te-4a):

1. CV.CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
   naki'ndi ~ na'qclear 'finger'
   s'imbyele ~ s'dyele 'back'
   tu'won ~ twon 'fire fly, star'
   qo'min ~ kmun 'cold'

2. CCV(C) ~ CV.CV(C):
   'sfuon ~ si'fon 'eye'

3. CV(C)# ~ CV(C)-#:
   da ~ ta'wadyo 'nose'
   fan ~ fan'hoy 'path, row, road'
qa'fa ~ qa'fha ‘divide’
qayn ~ qa'les ‘tail’
qa'ki ~ qa'tyi ‘to tight’
4). CV(C)-# ~ CV(C)#:
'doro ~ tor ‘hearted, sorrow’
5). CCV(C) - CV(C):
'sagyn ~ sa'gin ‘hair’
nda'hah ~ 'da'han ‘dirty’
nak'ndi ~ na'qdi ‘nail’
si'mbyele ~ sbyele ‘back’
qmb'i'aq ~ 'qbiyaq ‘ashes’
mbi ~ bi ‘smoke’
mbet ~ bet ‘soil, land, earth’
'tombi ~ 'tobi ‘land, country’
mbyas ~ byas ‘cloudy’
'tondo ~ 'tendo ‘thick’
le'nge ~ le'de ‘thin’
da'mbin ~ ta'bin ‘blunt’
mhbas ~ bhas ‘day, mid day’
mbyle ~ 'byele ‘dry-field, garden’
ta'mbra ~ ta'bra ‘forest’
mbra ~ bra ‘blue, green’
n'a'ndla ~ na'dla ‘male, man’
ndon'ngra ~ donma'hon ‘bandicoot’
mbol ~ bol ‘house’
6). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
ho'dot ~ 'rorot ‘narrow’
'tqyon ~ qyen ‘rein’
qliik ~ lu'wa ‘snake’
fr'a'las ~ las ‘leaf’
7). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)-#:
qliik ~ lu'wa ‘snake’
qayn ~ qa'les ‘tail’
'doro ~ tor ‘hearted, sorrow’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>sris</td>
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<tr>
<td>'sisi</td>
<td>'loqisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qlik</td>
<td>lu'wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yit</td>
<td>ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'mbit</td>
<td>o'mpit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'mbyele</td>
<td>s'byele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qmbiyaq</td>
<td>qbiyaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbi</td>
<td>bi</td>
</tr>
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<td>bet</td>
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<td>'tobi</td>
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<td>byas</td>
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<td>'byele</td>
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<td>ta'bra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbhas</td>
<td>bhas</td>
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<td>bra</td>
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<tr>
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<td>'odot</td>
<td>'otot</td>
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<tr>
<td>'doro</td>
<td>tor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'indi</td>
<td>kinti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dyan ~ tyan 'heavy'
qafaq ~ qaqaq 'wide'
drot ~ trot 'straight'
dla ~ tla 'seed, nut'
a'dan ~ a'tan 'to bite'
da'sla ~ ta'sla 'straight'
da'mbin ~ ta'bin 'blunt'
a'de ~ a'te 'grandparent'

(etc. except for -#, complementary distribution)

16). d ~ r:
bro'dot ~ ro'rot 'narrow'

17). nd ~ d:
nda'hán ~ da'hán 'dirty'
nak'ñidi ~ na'qdi 'finger'
nda'lyen ~ dalen 'lung'
qondo ~ qodo 'thick'
ndon'ngra ~ donnahon 'bandicoot'
nna'ndia ~ na'dia 'male, man'

18). n ~ l:
qayn ~ qa'les 'tail'
nna'ngi ~ na'lgi 'naid, woman'

19). k ~ t:
q'kí ~ qa'łyi 'to tight'

20). k ~ q:
nak'ñidi ~ na'qdi 'tail'

21). g ~ dy:
sa'guoqat ~ sa'dyoqat 'all'

22). g ~ k:
gyet ~ kyet 'mouth'

23). gy ~ g:
'sagyen ~ sa'gin 'hair'

24). gg ~ d:
le'ngge ~ le'de 'thin'

25). gg ~ dy:
'ggooro ~ 'dyoro 'neck'
26). i - y:
qbi'aq ~ byaq 'dust'
ha'ìn ~ hayn 'louse'
27). y ~ i:
'sagyen ~ sa'gin 'hair'
da'lyn ~ da'len 'heart'
28). i ~ e:
'falaq ~ 'faleq 'skin'
29). i ~ u:
qiiik ~ lu'wa 'snake'
30). e ~ i:
sa'gyen ~ sa'gin 'hair'
yit ~ ey 'they'
31). uo ~ o
sfu'oi ~ si'fon 'eye'
o'wuo ~ 'oyo 'burn, bake'
sa'guoquant ~ qa'dyoqa 'all'
o'guo ~ o'go 'banana'
32). o ~ e:
tqoyii ~ qyen 'rain'

Metathesis:
qaki ~ qay'ti 'to tight'

22 words differences or 85 % cognates similarities.

(6). Tehit Jit (Te-l) > Ymian–Ymianra (Te-4b):
1). CV1CV2(C) ~ CCV(C):
nak'ndi ~ na'kdi 'nail'
qo'min ~ kmun 'cold'
tu'won ~ twon 'fire fly, star'
si'nan ~ snan 'arrow'
2). CCV(C) ~ CV1CV2(C):
'sfuoq ~ si'fon 'eye'
mnyleq ~ me'nlyaq 'fat'
3). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)-#:
da ~ ta'wadyi 'nose'
7). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)-#:
qayn ~ ka'les ‘tail’
qliik ~ lu'wa ‘snake’
8). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)-C#
qa'ki ~ qa'yti ‘to tight’
9). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
qdyå'dan ~ sa'gyatan ‘branch’
'sisi ~ sa'sisi ‘same, equal’
10). CV(C)# ~ CV#:
qliik ~ lu'wa ‘snake’
11). #CV(C) ~ #V(C):
yit ~ iy ‘they’
12). mb ~ mp:
o'mbit ~ o'mpit ‘sea’
13). mb ~ b:
sîmbyele ~ sîbyeleko ‘back’
qmbr'aq ~ 'qbiyaq ‘ashes’
mbi ~ bi ‘smoke’
mbet ~ bet ‘soil, land, earth’
'tombi ~ 'tobi ‘land, country’
mbyas ~ byas ‘cloudy’
da'mbin ~ tabin ‘blunt’
'mbyele ~ 'byele ‘dry-field, garden’
ta'omba ~ ta'bra ‘forest’
mbhas ~ bhas ‘day, mid day’
mbra ~ bra ‘blue, green’
mbol ~ bol ‘house’
14). w ~ y:
'oowo ~ 'oyo ‘burn’
tîwen ~ ti'yen ‘walking stick’
15). t ~ y:
yit ~ iy ‘they’
16). d ~ t:
'tefit ~ 'tefit ‘ear’
da ~ ta'wadyi ‘nose’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nado'fo</td>
<td>finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deyt</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'otot</td>
<td>ill, hearted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'doro</td>
<td>hearted, sorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ind</td>
<td>sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyan</td>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'qadaq</td>
<td>wide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drot</td>
<td>straight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'sla</td>
<td>sharp, pointed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'mbin</td>
<td>blunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'dan</td>
<td>to bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'de</td>
<td>grand parents</td>
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<tr>
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<td>narrow</td>
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<tr>
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<td>dirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nak'indi</td>
<td>finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nda'lyen</td>
<td>lung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'qondo</td>
<td>thick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'n'dla</td>
<td>male, man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qayn</td>
<td>tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'ngi</td>
<td>maid, woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'ki</td>
<td>to tight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'nik</td>
<td>thorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa'guoqt</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gyen</td>
<td>hair, feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le'ngge</td>
<td>thin</td>
</tr>
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</table>

(etc. except for -#, complementary distribution)

17). d ~ r:
18). nd ~ d:
19). n ~ t:
20). k ~ t:
21). k ~ g:
22). g ~ dy:
23). gy ~ g:
24). ng ~ d:
25). q ~ k:
qan ~ kan  ‘meat’
qa'so ~ kas  ‘heart’
qa'tmre ~ kya'tmre  ‘a little’
qadaq ~ 'kataq  ‘wide’
26). q ~ y:
qbi'aq ~ byaq  ‘dust’
ha'in ~ hayn  ‘louse’
27). y ~ ɵ:
gyen ~ gen  ‘hair, feather’
si'mbyele ~ si'beleko  ‘back’
da'lyen ~ da'lyen  ‘heart’
28). i ~ u:
qliik ~ lu'wa  ‘snake’
29). ou ~ o:
'sfjon ~ si'fon  ‘eye’
'owuo ~ 'oyo  ‘burn’
sa'guoqat ~ ka'dyo  ‘all’
c'guo ~ c'go  ‘banana’
30). o ~ e:
tqyn ~ qyen  ‘rain’
31). a ~ e:
'falaq ~ 'faleq  ‘skin’
Metathesis:
qa'ki ~ qay'ti  ‘to tight’
tqyn ~ qyen  ‘rain’
25 words differences or 83 % cognates similarities.

(7). Tehit Jit (Te-1) >> Sfaryere (Te-5):
1). CV.CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
nak'ndi ~ na'qdi  ‘nail’
2). CCV(C) ~ CV.CV² (C):
'sfjon ~ si'fon  ‘eye’
'qmniaq ~ qa'byaq  ‘ashes’
<table>
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<tr>
<td>qa'fa</td>
<td>~ qo'fa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qayn</td>
<td>~ qa'les</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tqa'qo</td>
<td>~ qoq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gyet</td>
<td>~ get</td>
</tr>
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<td>~ 'dahans</td>
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<tr>
<td>nak'indi</td>
<td>~ na'qdi</td>
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<td>~ qa'byaq</td>
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<tr>
<td>mbi</td>
<td>~ bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbet</td>
<td>~ bet</td>
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<tr>
<td>'fombi</td>
<td>~ 'fobi</td>
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<tr>
<td>'qondo</td>
<td>~ qo'do</td>
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<td>le'ge</td>
<td>~ le'de</td>
</tr>
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<td>da'ambin</td>
<td>~ ta'bin</td>
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<tr>
<td>mbhas</td>
<td>~ bhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'myele</td>
<td>~ 'byele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'mbra</td>
<td>~ ta'bra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbra</td>
<td>~ bra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'ndla</td>
<td>~ na'dla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbol</td>
<td>~ bol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qan'foqot</td>
<td>~ 'fogot</td>
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<tr>
<td>qdy'sdan</td>
<td>~ qa'tan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fralas</td>
<td>~ las</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'goyn</td>
<td>~ qyen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qayn</td>
<td>~ qa'les</td>
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<tr>
<td>wow</td>
<td>~ ow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mom</td>
<td>~ om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yit</td>
<td>~ iy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9). mb – b:
si'mbyele ~ si'byele back ‘’
mbi ~ bi 'smoke'
mbet ~ bet 'soil, land, earth'
fô'mbi ~ fo'bi 'land, country'
qmbi ~ ki'bi 'dust'
da'mbin ~ ta'bin 'blunt'
mbhas ~ bbas 'day, niid day'
'mbyele ~ 'byele 'dry-field, garden'
ta'mbra ~ ta'bra 'forest'
mbra ~ bra 'blue, green'
mbol ~ bol 'house'

(etc. except for -l, complementary distribution)

11). w ~ y:
'owuo ~ 'oyo 'burn'
ti'wen ~ ti'yen 'walking stick'

12). t ~ y:
yt ~ iy 'they'

13). d ~ t:
'defit ~ 'efit 'ear'
da ~ ta 'nose'
nado'fo ~ nato'fo 'finger'
deyt ~ teyt 'foot'
'odot ~ 'otot 'ill, hearted'
'doro ~ 'taro 'hearted, sorrow'
ki'ndi ~ 'kinti 'sand'
dyan ~ tyan 'heavy'
qa'daq ~ qa'taq 'wide'
drot ~ trot 'straight'
da'sla ~ ta'sla 'pointed'
da'mbin ~ ta'bin 'blunt'
da ~ tla 'seed, nut'
a'dan ~ a'tan 'to bite'
ta'de ~ ta'te 'my grand parent'

(etc. except for -l, complementary distribution)
14). *nd ~ d:  
   nda'han  ~ da'hān  'dirty'
   nak'ndi  ~ na'qdī  'finger'
   'qondo  ~ 'qodo  'thick'
   na'ndla  ~ na'dīla  'nale, man'
   (etc. except for -d, complementary distribution)
15). *n ~ l:  
   qa'yin  ~ qa'les  'tail'
   na'ngi  ~ na'lgī  'maid, woman'
16). *k ~ t:  
   qa'ki  ~ qa'tī  'to tight'
17). *k ~ q:  
   nak'ndi  ~ na'qdī  'finge'
18). *g ~ d:  
   rgi  ~ rdi  'thunder'
19). *g ~ d~y:  
   sa'guqat  ~ qdyqat  'ail'
20). *g ~ k:  
   o'guo  ~ o'kuo  'banana'
21). *ng ~ d(y):  
   'ggoan  ~ 'dyanan  'cold'
   le'ngge  ~ le'de  'thin'
22). *o ~ y:  
   qmbr'aq  ~ byaq  'dast'
23). *y ~ o:  
   'sagvan  ~ sa'gen  'hast'
   gyet  ~ get  'mouth'
   gyen  ~ gen  'hsir, feather'
   rnoyn  ~ rno'ən  'fragrant'
23). *i ~ y:  
   ha'im  ~ hayn  'louse'
24). *i ~ u:  
   fik  ~ fuk  'swollen'
   qo'rık  ~ qo'rük  'pig'
   qliık  ~ qloık  'snake'
25). e ~ a:
- mayeq ~ mnyaq  ‘fat’
- fefal ~ fafal  ‘coarse grass’

26). u ~ i:
- a'muk ~ a'mik  ‘night’

27). uo ~ o:
- 'sfoon ~ si'fon  ‘eye’
- 'owo ~ 'oyo  ‘burn’
- sa'guoqat ~ qdyoqat  ‘all’

28). o ~ e:
- tqoyn ~ qyen  ‘rain’

29). a ~ e:
- 'falaq ~ 'faleq  ‘skin’

30). a ~ o:
- qa'fa ~ qofla  ‘divide’

29 words differences or 81% cognates similarities.

(8). Tshit Jit (Te-1) >> Fqar (Te-6):
1). CV.CV²(C) ~ CCV(C):
- na'dofo ~ ne'tfo  ‘finger’
- nak'indi ~ ne'qdi  ‘nail’
- 'honi ~ hnu  ‘bone’
- se'le ~ sle  ‘digging stick’
- 'qondo ~ qdo  ‘thick’
- to'wom ~ twon  ‘fire fly, star’
- ki'nik ~ gnik  ‘thorn’

2). CCV(C) ~ CV.CV²(C):
- qmbi'aq ~ qa'biaq  ‘ashes’
- rgi ~ ra'ku  ‘thunder’

3). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)-#:
- fan ~ 'fanrik  ‘path, row, road’
- qo ~ 'qomare  ‘this’

4). CV(C)-# ~ CV(C)#:
- qa'so ~ qos  ‘heart’
| 'doro | ~ tor | 'hearted, sorrow' |
| 'sala | ~ sal | 'fire' |
| hro'dot | ~ ro | 'narrow' |
| 'folo | ~ fol | 'to clear away' |
| 5). #V(C) ~ #CV(C): |
| ik | ~ yuk | 'sky' |
| 6). #CV(C) ~ #V(C): |
| y'it | ~ iy | 'they' |
| ha'in | ~ o'an | 'louse' |
| 7). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C): |
| qan'yoqot | ~ f'ogot | 'meat' |
| hro'dot | ~ ro | 'thin' |
| 'toyn | ~ qyen | 'tain' |
| o'guo | ~ guo | 'banana' |
| e'fik | ~ fuk | 'to clear away' |
| qdy'a'dan | ~ gya'tan | 'branch' |
| fra'las | ~ las | 'leaf' |
| o'mos | ~ mos | 'string' |
| 8). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C): |
| qo | ~ f'ao | 'this' |
| 9). CCV(C) ~ CV(C): |
| nda'han | ~ 'daha | 'dirty' |
| naki'ndi | ~ ne'qdi | 'sail' |
| si'mbyele | ~ si'biqot | 'back' |
| qmbi'aq | ~ qu'biqot | 'ashes' |
| nbet | ~ bet | 'soil, land, earth' |
| fo'mbi | ~ fo'bu | 'land, country' |
| qmbi | ~ bi | 'dust' |
| 'qondo | ~ qdo | 'thick' |
| le'gge | ~ le'ge | 'thin' |
| da'mbin | ~ ra'bun | 'blunt' |
| mbhas | ~ bhas | 'day, mid day' |
| ta'mbra | ~ sa'bra | 'forest' |
| mbra | ~ bra | 'blue, green' |
| na'nsla | ~ na'dla | 'male, man' |
mbol ~ bol 'house'

10). CCVCC ~ CV(C):
qayn ~ qey 'tail'
hnayt ~ hnît 'worm, maggot'

11). mb ~ b:
simbyele ~ si'blot 'back'
qmbi'aq ~ qa'biaq 'ashes'
mbet ~ bet 'soil, land, earth'
fo'mbi ~ fo'bu 'land, country'
qmbi ~ bi 'dust'
da'mbin ~ ra'bun 'blunt'
bhbas ~ bbas 'day, mid day'
ta'mbra ~ sa'bra 'forest'
mbra ~ bra 'blue, green'
mbol ~ bol 'house'
etc. except for -#, complementary distribution

12). w ~ y:
'owuo ~ yo 'burn'
ti'wen ~ ti'yen 'walking stick'

23). k ~ q:
nak'ndi ~ ne'qdi 'finger'

24). g ~ d:
saq'qoqat ~ qa'dyoqat 'all'

25). g ~ k:
rqi ~ ru'ku 'thunder'

26). ng ~ d:
le'ge ~ le'de 'thin'

27). q ~ k:
qo'rjk ~ ku'rük 'pig'

28). ø ~ y:
ik ~ yuq 'sky'

29). y ~ ø:
simbyele ~ si'blot 'back'
qa'nyi ~ qo'nu 'ill, hearted'
moyn ~ mno'ün 'fragrant'
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hnyt</td>
<td>~ hnit</td>
<td>‘worm, maggot’</td>
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<tr>
<td>30). i ~ e:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>si'wan</td>
<td>~ se'wen</td>
<td>‘sea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31). i ~ u:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>'honi</td>
<td>~ hnu</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fik</td>
<td>~ fuk</td>
<td>‘swollen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qli</td>
<td>~ qlu</td>
<td>‘slippery’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'lik</td>
<td>~ to'lik</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
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<tr>
<td>f'mbi</td>
<td>~ fo'bu</td>
<td>‘soil, land, earth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik</td>
<td>~ yuk</td>
<td>‘sky’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rgi</td>
<td>~ ru'ku</td>
<td>‘thunder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dambin</td>
<td>~ ra'bu</td>
<td>‘blunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'fik</td>
<td>~ e'fuk</td>
<td>‘to clear away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'gin</td>
<td>~ o'gun</td>
<td>‘black, dark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'oli</td>
<td>~ o'lu</td>
<td>‘wing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'in</td>
<td>~ 'oun</td>
<td>‘louse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qo'rik</td>
<td>~ ku'ruk</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lis</td>
<td>~ lus</td>
<td>‘long, far’</td>
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<td>32). e ~ a:</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnyeq</td>
<td>~ mnyaq</td>
<td>‘fat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'fa</td>
<td>~ qo'fa</td>
<td>‘to divide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fe'fal</td>
<td>~ fa'fal</td>
<td>‘coarse grass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33). uo ~ o:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'owuo</td>
<td>~ yo</td>
<td>‘to bake, to burn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa'guoqat</td>
<td>~ qa'dyoqat</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tquyn</td>
<td>~ qyen</td>
<td>‘rain’</td>
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<td>35). o ~ a:</td>
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<td>ma'hot</td>
<td>~ ma'hat</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
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<td>36). a ~ i:</td>
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<td>na</td>
<td>~ ne</td>
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<td>na'sya</td>
<td>~ ne'sye</td>
<td>‘elbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nado'fo</td>
<td>~ ne'tfo</td>
<td>‘finger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Equivalent</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<tr>
<td>nak`ndi</td>
<td>ne'qdi</td>
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<tr>
<td>'falaq</td>
<td>fa'leq</td>
<td>'skin'</td>
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<td>si'wan</td>
<td>se'wen</td>
<td>'ocean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'sla</td>
<td>ra'sle</td>
<td>'sharp, pointed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sna</td>
<td>sne</td>
<td>'moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni'sla</td>
<td>ni'sle</td>
<td>'thorn'</td>
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<tr>
<td>qa'ki</td>
<td>qeyt</td>
<td>'to tight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qayn</td>
<td>qey</td>
<td>'tail'</td>
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38. a ~ o

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>qos</td>
<td>'heart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'nyi</td>
<td>qo'ni</td>
<td>'ill, hearted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'fa</td>
<td>qo'fla</td>
<td>'to divide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'in</td>
<td>o'un</td>
<td>'louse'</td>
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Metathesis:

<table>
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<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'tali</td>
<td>'tei</td>
<td>'sun, day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talimbhas</td>
<td>'teilbhas</td>
<td>'day, mid day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'ki</td>
<td>qeyt</td>
<td>'to tight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qiiik</td>
<td>lu'we</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38 words differences or 75% cognates similarities.

(9). Tehit Jit (Te-1) => Sawiat (Te-7):

1. CV.CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
   - nak`ndi ~ na'qdi ~ 'nail'
   - to'won ~ twon ~ 'fire fly, star'

2. CCV(C) ~ CV.CV(C):
   - 'sfuon ~ sfuon ~ 'eye'
   - qmbi`aq ~ qa'bi`yaq ~ 'ashes'

3. CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
   - nda'han ~ 'daha ~ 'dirty'
   - nak`ndi ~ na'qdu ~ 'nail'
   - si'mbyele ~ si'byele ~ 'back'
   - qmbi`aq ~ qa'bi`yaq ~ 'ashes'
   - mbi ~ bu ~ 'smoke'
   - mbet ~ but ~ 'soil, land, earth'
   - 'tombi ~ 'fobu ~ 'land, country'
'qondo ~ go'do 'thick'
le'ngge ~ le'de 'thin'
da'mbin ~ ta'bun 'bunt'
tqoyn ~ qyen 'rain'
mbhas ~ bhas 'day, mid day'
'mbyele ~ byele 'dry-field, garden'
ta'mbra ~ ta'bra 'forest'
mbra ~ bra 'blue, green'
ma'ndla ~ ma'dla 'male, man'
mbol ~ bol 'house'

4). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
qan'foqot ~ foqot 'meat'
'owuo ~ yo 'to bake, to burn'
qdy='dan ~ qya'tan 'branch'
'tralas ~ las 'leaf'

5). #CV(C) ~ #V(C):
wow ~ ow 'he'
mom ~ om 'she'
yit ~ iy 'they'

6). CV# ~ CV#:
da'han ~ daha 'dirty'
mbyas ~ bya 'cloudy'

7). CV-C ~ CVC:
sa'guqat ~ syo'qat 'all'

8). w ~ y:
'owuo ~ yo 'to bake, to burn'
tiwen ~ tîyen 'walking stick'

9). t ~ y:
yit ~ iy 'they'

10). d ~ t:
'tefit ~ tefit 'ear'
da ~ ta 'nose'
nado'fo ~ nato'fo 'finger'
deyt ~ teyt 'foot'
'odot ~ otot 'ill, hearted'
'doro ~ toro 'hearted, sorrow'

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ki'ndi ~ 'kuntu 'sand'
dyan ~ tyan 'heavy'
'qadaq ~ qa'taq 'wide'
drot ~ troq 'straight'
da'sla ~ ta'sla 'straight'
da 'mbin ~ ta'bun 'blunt'
dla ~ tla 'seed, nut'
a'dan ~ a'tan 'to bite'
a'de- ~ a'ce- 'grand parent'

(etc. except for -$i$, complementary distribution)

11). n ~ l:
qayn ~ qa'les 'tail'
n'a'ngi ~ n'a'dlu 'maid, woman'
12). k ~ t:
qa'ki ~ qayt 'to tight'
13). k ~ q:
nak'ndi ~ n'a'qdu 'finger'
14). g ~ dy:
sa'guoqat ~ qdyo'qat 'all'
'ganan ~ 'dyanan 'cold'
15). ē ~ i:
qmb'iaq ~ byaq 'dust'
16). y ~ ē:
nda'lyen ~ de'len heart '
moyn ~ mo'un 'fragrant'
'qanyi ~ qa'ni 'ill, hearted'
17). y ~ u:
moyn ~ mo'un 'fragrant'
18). i ~ y:
qa'ki ~ qayt 'to tight'
ha'in ~ hayn 'louse'
hnayt ~ hnit 'worm, maggot'
19). i ~ n:
'tefut ~ 'er'
nak'ndi ~ n'a'qdu 'nail'
'hooni ~ ho'nu 'bone'
'fik ~ fuk 'swollen'
k'i'ndi ~ ku'ntu 'sand'
t'o'lik ~ to'luk 'three'
f'o'mbi ~ fo'bu 'land, country'
'o'li ~ o'lu 'wing'
q'o'rik ~ qo'ruk 'pig'
qliik ~ qluuk 'snake'
a'n'gi ~ na'dlu 'maid, woman'

20). e ~ a:
fe'fal ~ fa'fal 'coarse grass'

21). ao ~ o:
'o'wuao ~ yo 'to bake, to burn'
sa'guoqat ~ syo'qat 'all'

22). o ~ e:
tqoyn ~ qyen 'rain'

23). a ~ e:
'falaq ~ fa'leq 'skin'
da'lyen ~ de'len 'heart'
si'wan ~ se'wen 'ocean'

26 words differences or 83% cognates similarities.

(10). Mbolofle-Gemna (Te-2a) >> Mbolofle-Afsya/Neqna (Te-2b):
1). CV.CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
sa'guoqat ~ kdo'yoy 'all'

2). #CVC ~ #CVC:
n'a ~ e'na 'hand'
na'si ~ ena'syu 'elbow'
mbi ~ ga'mbuk 'dust'

3). CV ~ CCV:
na'si ~ ena'syu 'elbow'
si'mbyele ~ syu'mbere 'back'

4). CCV ~ CV:
si'mbyele ~ syu'mbere 'back'

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5). VCC# ~ VVC#:
   rnoyn ~ rno\^un fragrant **
6). VVC# ~ VCC#:
   ha\'^in ~ hayn 'louse'
7). d ~ t:
   nda\'han ~ nta\'han 'dirty'
   na\'ndi ~ na\'qnu\^t 'nail'
   nda\'\^yen ~ nta\'\^yen 'heart'
   deyt ~ teyt 'foot'
   k\'\^ndi ~ ku\'\^ntu 'sand'
   'otot ~ o\'tot 'ill, hearted'
   'ndoggra ~ nion\^gra 'bandicoot'
   na\'n\^la ~ na\'fra 'male, man'
8). l ~ r:
   mal ~ mar 'tongue'
   lak ~ rak 'two'
   to\'lik ~ to\'\^ruk 'three'
9). g ~ dy:
   qdy\'^tan ~ dya\'^tan 'branch'
10). y ~ u:
   rnoyn ~ r\'^un fragrant **
11). i ~ u:
   fik ~ fik 'swollen'
   k\'\^ndi ~ ku\'\^ntu 'sand'
   ik ~ uk 'sky'
   etc., except:
   o\'^mbut ~ o\'^mbut 'sea'
   su\'wan ~ su\'\^wan 'ocean'
4 words differences or 97 % cognates similarities.

(11). Mbolfle-Gemna (Te-2a) > Sayfi-Srer (Te-3a):
1). CV\^CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
   tu\'w\^on ~ twon 'fire fly, star'
   ri\'gi ~ rki 'thunder'
2). CCVC ~ CV1CV2(C):
na'gni ~ naki'di "nail"
3). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)-#:
si ~ si'fgo "eye"
4). CCV ~ CV:
dsa'han ~ da'han "dirty"
sri'mbyele ~ si'byele "back"
da'lyen ~ da'lyen "heart"
qmbi'aq ~ ?gbiaq "ashes"
tganan ~ gyanan "cold"
le'ge ~ le'ge "thin"
'qondo ~ 'qodo "thick"
mbhas ~ bhas "day, mid day"
mbra ~ bra "blue"
mbol ~ bol "house"
5). b ~ p:
mbi ~ mpi "smoke"
mbet ~ mpet "soil, land, earth"
'tombi ~ 'tompi "land, country"
mbi ~ ?mpi "dust"
mbyas ~ mpyas "cloudy"
'tambin ~ 'tampin "blunt"
ta'mbra ~ ta'mpra "forest"
6). w ~ y:
t'wen ~ t'yen "walking stick"
7). t ~ d:
ta ~ da "nose"
t'oro ~ 'doro hearted, sorrow"
ta'sla ~ da'sla "sharp, pointed"
ta'mbin ~ da'mbin "blunt"
8). d ~ t:
dyan ~ tyan "heavy"
'tro'dot ~ tro'tot "narrow"
'qadaq ~ ?ata 'wide'
'qondo ~ ?onto "thick"
ndon'qgra ~ nton'qgra ‘bandicoot’
a'de- ~ a'ete- ‘grand parent’
(etc. except for -ll, complementary distribution)

9). g ~ k:
gyet ~ kyet ‘mouth’
gyen ~ kyen ‘hair, feather’
o'guo ~ o'kuo ‘banana’

10). q ~ ?’:
heq ~ he’ ‘teeth’
qan ~ ?an ‘meat’
qmat ~ ?mat ‘stomach’
wqoyt ~ w?oyt ‘wood, tree’
o'mbut ~ oinbit ‘sea’
su'wan ~ si'wan ‘ocean’

12). uo ~ o
sa'goqat ~ sa'gyoqat ‘all’

13). o ~ e:
tqoyn ~ ?yen ‘rain’

10 words differences or 93 % cognates similarities.

(12). Mbolfle-Gemna (Te-2a) > Sayfi-Sayfi (Te-3b):
1). CV.CV(C) ~ CC(C):
   ri'gi ~ rki ‘thunder’
   tu'wen ~ twen ‘fire fly, star’

2). CV(C)~CV(C)-#
   si ~ si'fjo ‘eye’
   ta ~ ta'wadyo ‘nose’
   qan ~ qan'foqot ‘meat’

3). CV(C)-# ~ CV(C) #
   qyam ~ qay ‘a little’
   sa'goqat ~ qa'yoy ‘all’
   hr'odot ~ ro ‘narrow’

4). CV(C) ~ CV.CV(C):
   si'mbyele ~ syi'mpyele ‘back’
4). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
- nda'han ~ ta'ban  'dirty'
- mbi ~ bi  'smoke'
- qmbi'aq ~ byaq  'ashes'
- mbet ~ bet  'soil, land, earth'
- mbi ~ qbi  'dust'
- 'fombi ~ 'fobi  'land, country'
- mbyas ~ byas  'cloudy'
- 'ganan ~ 'ganan  'cold'
- 'qondo ~ qo'do  'thick'
- ta'mbin ~ ta'bin  'blunt'
- mbbas ~ mhas  'day, mid day'
- ta'mbra ~ ta'bra  'forest'
- ndon'ggra ~ ndon'ggra  'bandicoot'

6). CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
- na'si ~ na'sya  'elbow'
- si'mbyele ~ syi'mpele  'back'
- o'guo ~ o'dyo  'banana'

7). CVV(C) ~ CV(C):
- 'sfuon ~ 'sifqo  'eye'
- 'owuo ~ 'oyo  'to bake, to burn'
- sa'guoqat ~ qa'dyoqa  'all'
- o'guo ~ o'dyo  'banana'

8). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
- 'toqyn ~ 'qyen  'rain'
- hro'dot ~ ro  'narrow'

9). CVC# ~ CV#:
- 'qyamre ~ qyay  'a little'

10). b ~ p:
- si'mbyele ~ syi'mpele  'back'
- o'mbut ~ o'mpit  'sea'
- mbra ~ mpra  'blue, green'
- mbult ~ mplit  'fly (/flies)'
- mbol ~ mpol  'house'
11). w ~ y:
'towo ~ 'oyo 'to bake, to burn'
t'wen ~ t'yen 'walking stick'

12). t ~ y:
yit ~ yiy 'they'

13). d ~ t:
'defit ~ 'tefit 'ear'
da ~ ta'wadyo 'nose'
nda'h'an ~ nta'h'an 'dirty'
na'qndi ~ naki'nti 'nail'
nda'lyen ~ nta'lyen 'lung'
deyt ~ teyt 'foot'
'odot ~ 'otot 'ill, hearted'
'doro ~ 'toro 'hearted, sorrow'
k'indi ~ ki'nti 'sand'
dyan ~ tyan 'heavy'
'qadaq ~ 'qataq 'wide'
a'dan ~ a'tan 'to bite'
sla ~ tla 'seed, nut'
da'mbin ~ ta'mpin 'blunt'
ndon'gra ~ nton'gra 'bandicoot'
'dema ~ te'ma 'short'
ta'de ~ ta'te 'my grandparents'
a'nda ~ na'tla 'male, man'

etc. except for #, complementary distribution

14). n ~ l:
a'ngi ~ na'uki 'maid, woman'

15). k ~ d:
k'inik ~ d'inik 'thorn'

16). g ~ d:
'sagye ~ 'sadye 'hair'
o'gin ~ o'din 'black, dark'
gyet ~ dyet 'mouth'
gyen ~ dyen 'hair, feather'
sa'guoqat ~ qa'dyoqat 'all'
o'guo ~ o'dyuo 'banana'
17). g ~ k:
na'ngi ~ na'liki ‘maid, woman’
rgi ~ rki ‘thunder’
18). i ~ y:
mb'aq ~ byaq ‘dust’
19). o ~ e:
tqoyn ~ qyen ‘rain’
16 words differences or 89 % cognates similarities.

(13). Mbolfe-Gemna (Te2a) >> Ymian-Ymiandi (Te4a):
1). CVICV2(C) ~ CCV(C):
sirmbyele ~ 'sbyele back ‘’
qo'min ~ kmun ‘cold’
tu'won ~ twon ‘fire fly, star’
2). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
'sagyen ~ sa'gin ‘hair’
nd'han ~ 'dahan ‘dirty’
nak'ndi ~ 'ndqi ‘nail’
sirmbyele ~ 'sbyele ‘tail’
nd'lyen ~ 'dalen ‘lung’
qmb'aq ~ 'qiyaq ‘ashes’
mbi ~ bi ‘smoëxe’
mbet ~ bet ‘soil, land, earth’
fombi ~ 'fobi ‘land, country’
mbyas ~ byas ‘cloudy’
sa'guoqat ~ qa'dyqat ‘all’
'qondo ~ 'qodo ‘thick’
le'gye ~ 'de ‘thin’
ta'mbing ~ ta'bin ‘blunt’
mhbas ~ bhas ‘day, mid day’
ta'mbra ~ ta'bra ‘forest’
mbra ~ bra ‘blue, green’
ndon'ngra ~ donma'ho ‘bandicoot’
nan'dla ~ na'dla ‘male, man’
mbol ~ bol ‘house’

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3). CW(C) ~ CV(C):
'sfuon ~ sìfön  ‘eye’
'oowo ~ 'oyo  ‘to bake, to burn’
sa'guoqat ~ qa'dyoqat  ‘all’
o'guo ~ o'go  ‘banana’
4). CV(C) ~ CCVC(C):
sa'guoqat ~ qa'dyoqat  ‘all’
'sagyen ~ sa'gin  ‘hair’
qb'aq ~ byaq  ‘dust’
5). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#:
si ~ sìfön  ‘eye’
ta ~ ta'wadyo  ‘nose’
qan ~ gar'foqot  ‘meat’
fân ~ fan'hoyyn  ‘path, row, road’
qa'fa ~ qa'fya  ‘divide’
qayn ~ qa'les  ‘tail’
qayt ~ qatyi  ‘to tight’
6). $#CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
hr'ot ~ 'rot  ‘narrow’
tqoyn ~ qyen  ‘rain’
fr'las ~ las  ‘leaf’
qlik ~ lu'wa  ‘snake’
7). CV(C)-# ~ CV(C)-#:
'doro ~ tor  ‘hearted, sorrow’
8). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
'sisi ~ loq'sisi  ‘same, equal’
sris ~ don'sris  ‘bandicoot’
9). CV(C)# ~ CV#:
qlik ~ lu'wa  ‘snake’
10). #CV (C) ~ #V(C):
yit ~ ey  ‘they’
11). b ~ p:
o'mbut ~ o'mpit  ‘sea’
12). w ~ y:
oowo ~ 'oyo  ‘to bake, to burn’
tween ~ tiyen 'walking stick'
13). t ~ y:
yit ~ ey 'they'
14). d ~ t:
'defit ~ 'tefit 'ear'
ndofo ~ natofo 'finger'
deyt ~ teyt 'foot'
'odot ~ 'otot 'ill, hearted'
'doro ~ tor 'hearted, sorrow'
koti ~ 'ki nti 'sard'
dyan ~ tyan 'heavy'
'qadaq ~ qaqaq 'wide'
dla ~ tla 'seed, nut'
ta'de ~ ta'ae 'my grand parent'
(etc. except for -, complementary distribution)
15). d ~ r
hro'dot ~ 'rorot 'narrow'
16). n ~ l:
quyn ~ qa'les 'tail'
na'ngi ~ na'ggi 'mad, woman'
17). s ~ g:
sa'guoqat ~ qa'dyoqat 'all'
18). k ~ t
qa'ki ~ qa'tyi 'to tight'
19). k ~ q:
nak'indi ~ na'qdi 'nai'
20). g ~ d:
sa'guoqat ~ qa'dyoqat 'all'
21). g ~ k:
gyet ~ kyet 'mouth'
gyen ~ kyen 'hair, feather'
22). ng ~ d:
le'gge ~ le'de 'thir'
23). i ~ y:
ha'in ~ hayn 'louse'

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24). i ~ u:

qliik ~ lu'wa ‘snake’

25). e ~ i:

’sagyen ~ sa'gin ‘hair’
yit ~ ey ‘they’

26). o ~ e:

tqoyn ~ qyen ‘rain’

Metathesis:

qa'ki ~ qay'ti ‘to tight’

31 words differences or 79 % cognates similarities.

(14). Mbofle-Gemna (Te-2a) >> Ymian-Ymianra (Te-4b)

1). CV.CV(C) ~ CCV(C):

qo'min ~ kmun ‘cold’
ta'won ~ twon ‘firefly, star’
si'nan ~ snan ‘arrow’

2). CCV(C) ~ CV.CV(C):

mnyeq ~ me'nyak ‘fat’

3). CV(C)~ CV(C)~:

si ~ si'fom ‘eye’
ta ~ ta'wadyi ‘nose’
qan ~ kan'fokot ‘meat’
si'mbyele ~ si'beleko ‘back’
fan ~ fan'hoyn ‘path, row, road’
gya'tan ~ sa'gyatun ‘branch’
qa'fa ~ ka'fa ‘to divide’
qayn ~ ka'les ‘tail’
qa'ki ~ ka'yti ‘to tight’
qliik ~ lu'wa ‘snake’

4). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#:

qa'so ~ kas ‘heart’
'doro ~ tor ‘hearted, sorrow’

sa'guoqat ~ ka'dyo ‘all’

5). #-CV(C) ~ #-CV(C):

hro'dot ~ rorot ‘narrow’

tqoyn ~ kyen ‘rain’
| fra'las  | ~ | las | 'leaf' |
| qliik   | ~ | lu'wa | 'snake' |

6). **CCV(C) ~ CV(C):**
- nda'han  ~ 'dahan | 'dirty'
- sa'gyen  ~ sa'gen | 'hair'
- gyen    ~ gen      | 'hair; feather'
- na'qndi  ~ na'kdi   | 'nail'
- si'mbyele ~ si'beleko | 'back'
- nda'iyen ~ 'da'len | 'heart'
- qmbi'aq  ~ 'qhibaq | 'ashes'
- mbi     ~ bi        | 'smoke'
- mbet    ~ bet       | 'soil, land, earth'
- 'omboi   ~ 'fobi    | 'land, country'
- mbyas   ~ byas      | 'cloudy'
- qbf'aq   ~ byaq     | 'dust'
- qondo   ~ qodo      | 'thick'
- le'ège   ~ le'de    | 'thin'
- ta'mbin  ~ ta'bin   | 'blind'
- mbhas   ~ bhas      | 'day, mid day'
- ta'mbra  ~ ta'bra   | 'forest'
- mbra    ~ bra       | 'blue, green'
- na'ndla  ~ na'dla   | 'male, man'
- mbol    ~ bol       | 'house'

7). **CV(C) ~ CCV:**
- qa'aki    ~ qa'yri  | 'to tight'
- qa'fa     ~ qa'fla  | 'to divide'
- sa'guoqat ~ ka'dyo  | 'all'

8). **#CV(C) ~ #CV(C):**
- qey'dan   ~ sa'gyatan | 'branch'
- sisi     ~ sa'sisi   | 'same, equal'

9). **CV(C) ~ #V(C):**
- yit      ~ iy       | 'they'

10). **CW(C) ~ CV(C):**
- 'sfuon   ~ s'fon     | 'eye'
- 'owuo    ~ 'ooyo    | 'to bake, to burn'
sa'guoqat ~ ka'dyo 'all'
o'guo ~ o'go 'banana'
11). b ~ p:
o'mbut ~ o'mpit 'sea'
12). w ~ y:
'oowo ~ o'yo 'to bake, to burn'
t'iwen ~ t'i'yen 'walking stick'
13). t ~ y:
yit ~ iy 'they'
14). d ~ t:
'defit ~ 'tefit 'ear'
nado'fo ~ nato'fo 'finger'
deyt ~ teyt 'foot'
o'dot ~ otot 'ill, hearted'
k'iindi ~ kinti 'sand'
dyan ~ tyan 'heavy'
'qadaq ~ qa'taq 'wide'
drot ~ trot 'straight'
d'a'mbin ~ ta'bin 'blunt'
a'dan ~ ta'lan 'to bite'
t'a'de ~ ta'te 'my grand parents'
(etc. except #, complementary distribution)
15). d ~ r:
hror'ot ~ rorot 'narrow'
16). n ~ l:
qayn ~ ka'les 'tail'
na'ngi ~ na'ngi 'maid, woman'
17). k ~ t:
r'ki ~ qa'yi 'to tight'
18). k ~ g:
k'nik ~ gi'nik 'thorn'
19). g ~ d:
sa'guoqat ~ ka'dyo 'all'
le'ngge ~ le'de 'thin'
20). q ~ k:
quan ~ kan ‘meat’
qa’so ~ kas ‘heart’
qya’mre ~ kya’mre ‘a little’
'qadaq ~ 'kataq ‘wide’
(etc. except for #i, complementary distribution)

21). i ~ y:
ha’iin ~ hayn ‘louse’

22). i ~ u:
qiliik ~ li’wa ‘snake’

23). o ~ e:
tqoyn ~ kyen ‘train’

24). a ~ e:
’filaq ~ ’falek ‘skin’

Metrothesis:
qa’ki ~ qay’ti ‘too tight’

31 words differences or 79% cognates similarities.

(15). Mboffe-Gemna (Te-2a) >> Sfaryere (Te-5)
1). CV.CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
sa’guoqat ~ qdyo’qat ‘all’

2). CCV(C) ~ CV.CV(C):
qmbi’aq ~ qa’byaq ‘ashes’
qmbi ~ kr’bi ‘dust’

3). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#:
qa’la ~ qo’lla ‘to divide’
qo’qo ~ qoq ‘ill, hearted’

4). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#:
si ~ si’fon ‘eye’
qayn ~ qa’les ‘tail’

5). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
mbi ~ kr’bi ‘dust’

6). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
’tfiras ~ las ‘leaf’
tqoyn ~ qyen ‘rain’
7). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)-#:
si ~ si'fun 'eye'
qayn ~ qu'les 'tail'
8). #CV(C) ~ #V(C):
wow ~ ow 'he'
mom ~ om 'she'
9). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
sa'gyen ~ sa'gen 'hair'
gyet ~ get 'mouth'
gyen ~ gen 'hair, feather'
nda'han ~ da'han 'dirty'
nak'iindi ~ na'qiidi 'nail'
si'mbyele ~ si'byele 'back'
qmbi'aq ~ qa'byaq 'ashes'
mbi ~ bi 'smoke'
mbet ~ bet 'soil, land, earth'
'fo'mbi ~ 'fo'bi 'land, country'
mbi ~ ki'bi 'dust'
hr'o'dot ~ 'rorot 'arrow'
'qondo ~ qo'do 'thick'
le'nge ~ le'de 'thin'
ta'mbin ~ ta'bin 'blunt'
mbhas ~ bhas 'day, mid day'
ta'mbra ~ ta'bra 'forest'
mbra ~ bra 'blue, green'
ndou'ggra ~ domo'hon 'bandicoot'
n'a'ndia ~ n'a'dia 'male, man'
mbol ~ bol 'house'
10). CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
na'si ~ na'sya 'elbow'
11). CV(C) ~ CV#:
yit ~ yi 'they'
12). CVCC ~ CVVC:
moyn ~ mo'yn 'fragrant'
13). CVV(C) ~ CV(C):
'owuo ~ 'oyo 'to bake, to burn'
sa'guoqat ~ qdyo'qat "all"
14). w ~ y:
'owuo ~ 'oyo "burn"
ti'wen ~ ti'yen "walking stick"
15). t ~ y:
yt ~ iy "they"
16). d ~ t:
'defit ~ 'tefit "ear"
nado'fo ~ nato'fo "finger"
deyt ~ teyt "foot"
'odot ~ 'otot "ill, hearted"
'doro ~ 'toro "hearted, sorrow"
k'indi ~ 'kinti "sand"
dyan ~ tyan "heavy"
'qadaq ~ qa'taq "wide"
drot ~ trot "straight"
dla ~ tla "seed, nut"
as'dan ~ as'tan "to bite"
ta'de ~ ta'te "grand parent"
(etc. except -#, complementary distribution)
17). n ~ l:
qayn ~ qa'les "tail"
ra'ngi ~ ra'ngi "maid, woman"
18). g ~ d:
rgi ~ rdi "thunder"
'aguoqat ~ qdyo'qat "all"
'nayan ~ 'dyan "cood"
le'gge ~ le'de "thin"
19). g ~ k:
o'guo ~ o'kuo "banana"
20). y ~ l:
qayt ~ qa'ti "to sight"
21). y ~ u:
moyn ~ mo'un "fragrant"
22). i ~ y:
qbi'aq ~ byaq "dust"
har'in ~ hayn "loose"
23). i ~ u:
   tik   ~  fuk       'swollen'
   qo'rik ~ qo'ruck   'pig'
   qilik  ~  qlik     'snake'

24). e ~ a:
   mneyq   ~  mnyaq     'fat'

25). u ~ i:
   o'mbut   ~  'ombit    'sea'
   a'muk    ~  a'mik     'night'

26). o ~ e:
   tquyn   ~  qyen      'rain'

27). a ~ o
   qa'fa    ~  qo'fla    'to divide'

Metathesis:
   qayt    ~  qa'ti      'to tight'

31 words differences or 79 % cognates similarities.

(16). Mbolfe-Gemna (Te-2a) << Fqar (Te-6):

1). CV'C^C(C) ~ CCV(C):
   nado'ofo ~ ne'tiffo    'finger'
   'boni    ~  hun       'bone'
   se'le    ~  sle        'digging stick'
   'qondo   ~  qdo        'thick'
   to'wen   ~  twon       'fire fly, star'
   k'i'nik  ~  gmik       'thorn'

2). CCV(C) ~ CV'C^C(C):
   qomb'iaq ~ qa'biq    'ashes'
   rgi      ~  ru'ku      'thunder'

3). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)-#:
   si       ~  'siuon      'eye'
   fan      ~  'fanrik     'path, row, road'
   qo       ~  'qomre     'this'

4). CV(C)-# ~ CV(C)#:
   qa'so    ~  qos         'heart'
   'toro    ~  tor         'hearted, sorrow'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'sala</td>
<td>'fire'</td>
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<tr>
<td>hr'o'dot</td>
<td>'narrow'</td>
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<td>'folo</td>
<td>'to clear away'</td>
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<td>ik</td>
<td>'sky'</td>
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<td>'they'</td>
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<td>o'mos</td>
<td>'string'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qliik</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go'</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nda'han</td>
<td>'dirty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nak'îndi</td>
<td>'tail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si'mbyele</td>
<td>'back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'nyi</td>
<td>'ill, hearted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qmb'iaq</td>
<td>'ashes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbet</td>
<td>'soil, land, earth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fo'mbi</td>
<td>'land, country'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qmbi</td>
<td>'dust'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'qondo</td>
<td>'thick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le'ngge</td>
<td>'thin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'nbin</td>
<td>'blunt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbhas</td>
<td>'day, mid day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'mbra</td>
<td>'forest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbra</td>
<td>'blue, green'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hmait</td>
<td>hmit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nau'dia</td>
<td>na'dla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mboi</td>
<td>bol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gayn</td>
<td>qey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rnoyn</td>
<td>mo'un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hmait</td>
<td>hmit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ou'wo</td>
<td>yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa'guoqat</td>
<td>qa'dyoqat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ou'wo</td>
<td>yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti'wen</td>
<td>ti'yen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'mbra</td>
<td>sa'bra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yit</td>
<td>iy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. d ~ t:
- 'defit ~ tefit 'ear'
- nado'fo ~ ne'tfo 'finger'
- deyt ~ teyt 'foot'
- t'o'o ~ 'toro' 'hearted, sorrow'
- dy'an ~ ty'en 'heavy'
- 'qadaq ~ qa'taq 'wide'
- t'a'de ~ t'a'te 'my grand parent'

(etc. except ~i, complementary distribution)

16. t ~ r:
- ta ~ ra 'forest '
- 'tasla ~ ra'sle 'sharp, pointed'
- tambin ~ ra'bun 'blunt'
- qa'tan ~ qa'ten 'branch'

17. d ~ r:
- deyt ~ rit 'foot'
- 'odot ~ o'rot 'ill, hearted'

18. n ~ l:
- na'ngi ~ na'lgu 'maid, woman'
19), s ~ q: sa'guoqat ~ qa'dyoqat 'all'
20), k ~ g: ki'nik ~ gnik 'thorn'
21), (n)g ~ d: sa'guoqat ~ qa'dyoqat 'all'
le'ghe ~ le'de 'thin'
22), g ~ k: rgi ~ ru'ku 'thunder'
12), w ~ y: 'owuo ~ yo 'to bake, to burn'
ti'wen ~ ti'yen 'walking stick'
13), t ~ s: 'ta'mbra ~ sa'bra 'forest'
14), t ~ y: yit ~ iy 'they'
15), d ~ t: 'defit ~ te'fit 'ear'
nado'fo ~ net'fo 'finger'
deyt ~ teyt 'foot'
d'oro ~ toro 'hearted, sorrow'
dyan ~ tyen 'heavy'
'qadaq ~ qa'taq 'wide'
ta'dew ~ ta'tew 'garnd parent'
(etc. except #, complementary distribution)
16), t ~ r: ta ~ ra 'forest'
'tasla ~ ra'sle 'sharp, pointed'
'tambin ~ ra'bun 'blunt'
qyo'tan ~ qyot'en 'branch'
17), d ~ r: deyt ~ rit 'foot'
'odot ~ o'rot 'ill, hearted'
18), n ~ l: na'ngi ~ na'lgu 'maid, woman'
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19). s ~ q:</td>
<td>sa'gucox</td>
<td>~ qa’dyoxqat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20). k ~ g:</td>
<td>k'nik</td>
<td>~ gnik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21). g ~ d:</td>
<td>sa'gucox</td>
<td>~ qa’dyoxqat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>le'ngel</td>
<td>~ le’del</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22). g ~ k:</td>
<td>rgi</td>
<td>~ ru'kul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23). q ~ k:</td>
<td>qo'rik</td>
<td>~ ku'ruk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24). y ~ i:</td>
<td>hnoiyt</td>
<td>~ hnit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25). y ~ u:</td>
<td>rnoiyn</td>
<td>~ rno'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qa'n'yi</td>
<td>~ qo'nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26). u ~ e:</td>
<td>su'wan</td>
<td>~ se'wen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27). i ~ u:</td>
<td>honi</td>
<td>~ hun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fik</td>
<td>~ fuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qa'n'yi</td>
<td>~ qo'nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qli</td>
<td>~ qlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>te'lilk</td>
<td>~ to'luk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fo'mbi</td>
<td>~ fo'bu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ik</td>
<td>~ yuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rgi</td>
<td>~ ru'kul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'dambin</td>
<td>~ ra'burn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e'fik</td>
<td>~ e'fuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o'gin</td>
<td>~ o'gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oli</td>
<td>~ o'lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ha'rin</td>
<td>~ oun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qo'rik</td>
<td>~ ku'ruk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qililik</td>
<td>~ lu'we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lis</td>
<td>~ lus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
28). e ~ a:
   mnyeq ~ mnyaq ‘fat’
29). o ~ e:
   tçoyn ~ qyen ‘rain’
30). o ~ a:
   ma’hot ~ ma’ha’ ‘five’
31). a ~ i:
   ḥnayt ~ ḫnit ‘worm, maggot’
32). a ~ e:
   na ~ ne ‘hand’
   na’sya ~ ne’sye ‘elbow’
   nad’fo ~ ne’tfo ‘finger’
   nak’ndi ~ ne’qdi ‘nail’
   ‘falaq ~ fa’leq ‘skir’
   si’wan ~ se’wan ‘ocean’
   da’sla ~ ra’sle ‘sharp, pointed’
   sna ~ sne ‘moon’
   ni’sla ~ ni’sle ‘thom’
   qayt ~ qeyt ‘to tight’
   qeyn ~ qey ‘tail’
33). a ~ o:
   qa’so ~ qos ‘heart’
   qa’n’i ~ qo’n’u ‘ill, hearted’
   qa’fa ~ qo’fa ‘to divide’
   ha’in ~ o’un ‘louse’

Metathesis:
   ‘tali ~ ‘til ‘sun, day’
   ‘taiṃbhas ~ ‘teilbhas ‘day, mid day’
   qliik ~ lu’we ‘snake’
   qa’so ~ qos ‘heart’

48 words differences or 70 % cognates similarities.

(17). Mbolfe-Gemna (Te-2a) >> Sawiat (Te-7):
1). CV.CV(0) ~ CCV(C):
   sa’guoqt ~ syo’qat ‘all’
2). CCV(C) ~ CV¹CV²(C):
   qmbi'aq ~ qa'byaq 'ashes'
3). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#: si ~ sf'tuon 'eye'
4). CVC ~ CV-C:
   qbi'aq ~ qa'byaq 'dust'
5). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
   'fralas ~ las 'leaf'
   tqoyn ~ qyen 'rain'
6). #CV(C) ~ #V(C):
   wow ~ ow 'he'
   mom ~ om 'she'
   yit ~ iy 'they'
7). CCVC(C) ~ CV(C):
   nda'han ~ 'daha 'dirty'
   s'o'mbyele ~ s'o'byele 'back'
   qmbi'aq ~ qa'byaq 'smoke'
   mbet ~ bet 'soil, land, earth'
   'fombi ~ 'fobi 'land, country'
   'qondo ~ qo'do 'thick'
   le'qge ~ le'de 'thin'
   ta'mbin ~ ta'bun 'blunt'
   mbhas ~ bhas 'day, mid day'
   ta'mbra ~ ta'bra 'forest'
   mbra ~ bra 'blue, green'
   ndon'ngra ~ donnu'hon 'bandicoot'
   na'n'dla ~ na'dla 'male, man'
   mbol ~ bol 'house'
8). CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
   na'si ~ na'sya 'elbow'
   s'o'mbyele ~ s'o'byele 'back'
9). CV'C# ~ CV#:
   yit ~ yi 'they'
10). CVCC ~ CVVC:
    moyn ~ mo'un 'fragrant'
11). CVV(C) ~ CV(C):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sa'guqat</th>
<th>syo'qat</th>
<th>'all'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'owoq</td>
<td>yo</td>
<td>'to bake, to burn'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12). w ~ y:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'owoq</th>
<th>yo</th>
<th>'to bake, to burn'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ti'wen</td>
<td>ti'yen</td>
<td>'walking stick'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13). t ~ y:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yit</th>
<th>iy</th>
<th>'they'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

14). d ~ t:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'defit</th>
<th>tefit</th>
<th>'ear'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nadotofo</td>
<td>natofo</td>
<td>'finger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deyt</td>
<td>tety</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'otot</td>
<td>'otot</td>
<td>'ill, hearted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'toto</td>
<td>'toto</td>
<td>'hearted, sorrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki'ndi</td>
<td>kuntu</td>
<td>'sand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'qadaq</td>
<td>'qa'aq</td>
<td>'wide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drot</td>
<td>trot</td>
<td>'straight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dla</td>
<td>tla</td>
<td>'seed, nut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'dan</td>
<td>a'tan</td>
<td>'to bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'de</td>
<td>ta'te</td>
<td>'my grand parent'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(etc. except -#, complimentary distribution)

15). n ~ l:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>na'ngi</th>
<th>na'dlu</th>
<th>'ma'd, woman'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

16). k ~ g:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ki'nik</th>
<th>'ginik</th>
<th>'thorn'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

17). (g)g ~ d:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nganan</th>
<th>dyaman</th>
<th>'cold'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>le'nge</td>
<td>le'nde</td>
<td>'thin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'ngi</td>
<td>na'dlu</td>
<td>'maid, woman'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18). y ~ u:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meyn</th>
<th>mo'un</th>
<th>'fragrant'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

19). y ~ i:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hnyat</th>
<th>hnit</th>
<th>'worn, maggot'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

20). i ~ y:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ha'inn</th>
<th>hayn</th>
<th>'louse'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

21). i ~ n:
honí ~ ho'nu ~ 'bone'
fik ~ fuk ~ 'swollen'
mbi ~ bu ~ 'smoke'
mbet ~ but ~ 'soil, land, earth'
fo'mbi ~ fo'bu ~ 'land, country'
ta'mbin ~ ta'bun ~ 'blunt'
ri ~ ru ~ 'yellow'
'olí ~ o'lu ~ 'wing'
'sisí ~ su'su ~ 'same, equal'
qo'rík ~ qo'ruk ~ 'pig'
qlik ~ qluk ~ 'snake'
lís ~ lus ~ 'long, far'
ná'ngí ~ na'dlu ~ 'maid, woman'

22). e ~ a:

mnyeq ~ mnyaq ~ 'fat'

23). u ~ e:

su'wan ~ se'wen ~ 'ocean'

24). o ~ e:

tqyyn ~ qyen ~ 'rain'

25). a ~ e:

nda'lyen ~ de'len ~ 'lung'
su'wan ~ se'wen ~ 'ocean'

27 words differences or 82% cognates similarities.

18). Mbólfe-Afsya (Te-2b) >> Sayfi-Srer (Te-3a):

1). CV.CV(C) ~ CCV(C):

tuwon ~ twon ~ 'fire fly, star'
ru'gu ~ rki ~ 'thunder'

2). CCV(C) ~ CV.CV (C):

na'qntu ~ naki'di ~ 'nail'
kdyo ~ ?a'dyo'at ~ 'all'

3). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#:

su ~ 'sfluon ~ 'eye'

4). CCV ~ CV:

su'mbyere ~ si'byele ~ 'back'
nta'hanc ~ d'a'hanc "dirty"
na'qndu ~ naka'di "finger"
nta'ryen ~ da'lyen "heart"
qmbo'aq ~ qbraq "ashes"
'qganan ~ qyanan "cold"
re'qe ~ le'ge "thin"
'qondo ~ qodo "thick"
mmbbas ~ bbas "gray, mid day"
mbara ~ bra "blue"
mbar ~ bol "house"

5). CCVVC ~ CVC:
'tnoun ~ moyn "fragrant"

6). b ~ p:
mbe ~ mpi "stone"
mbet ~ mpet "soil, land, earth"
'tombu ~ tompi "land, country"
qmmbuk ~ qmpi "dust"
mbyas ~ npyas "cloudy"
'tambun ~ t'impin "blunt"
-ta'mbra ~ ta'mpra "forest"

7). w ~ y:
'tu'wen ~ ti'yen "walking stick"

8). t ~ d:
ta ~ da "nose"
nta'hanc ~ d'a'hanc "dirty"
nta'ryen ~ da'lyen "heart"
teyt ~ deyt "foot"
'totot ~ 'odot "ill, hearted"
'toro ~ 'doro "hearted, sorrow"
ka'ntu ~ khadi "sand"
ta'sla ~ da'sla "sharp, pointed"
ta'mbin ~ da'mbin "blunt"

9). d ~ t:
dyan ~ tyan "heavy"
hro'dot ~ hrw'rot "narrow"
'qadaq ~ ?ata’ ‘wide’
'qondo ~ ?onto ‘thick’
ndon'gra ~ nton'gra ‘bandicoot’
ta’de ~ ta’te ‘my grand parent’
10). r ~ l:
re'nge ~ le'nge ‘thin’
'sara ~ 'sala ‘fire’
se're ~ se'le digging stick”
fo'far ~ fe'fal ‘tall grass’
(etc., complementary distribution)
11). g ~ k:
gyet ~ kyet ‘mouth’
gyen ~ kyen ‘hair, feathe’
o'guo ~ o'kuo ‘banana’
12). q ~ ?:
beq ~ he’ ‘teeth’
qan ~ ?an ‘meat’
qmat ~ ~?mat ‘stomach’
wqoyt ~ w?oyt ‘wood, tree’
(etc., complementary distribution)
13). u ~ i:
o'mbut ~ o'mbit ‘sea’
fuk ~ fik ‘swollen’
su’wan ~ si’wan ‘ocean’
(etc., complementary distribution)
14). o ~ e:
tapyn ~ ?yen rain “
10 words differences or 93 % cognates similarities.

(19). Mboflfe-Gemna (Te-2a) << Sayfi-Sayfi (Te-3b):
1). CV.CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
r'gu ~ rki ‘thunder’
tu’won ~ twon ‘fire fly, star’

256
2). CCV(C) → CV^1CV^2(C):
   kdyo → qā'yoy "tall"
3). CV(C)# → CV(C)#:
   su → sīfqo "eye"
   ta → ta'wadyo "nose"
   qan → qan'fqoqot "meat"
4). CV(C)# → CV(C)#:
   'ena → na "hand"
   'qamre → qay "a little"
   hro'dot → ro "narrow"
5). CV(C) → CCV(C):
   su'mbyere → sy'impele "back"
6). CCV(C) → CV(C):
   nta'han → ta'han "dirty"
   mbu → bi "smoke"
   qmbu'aq → byaq "ashes"
   mbet → bet "soil, land, earth"
   'qambuk → qbi "dust"
   'fombu → 'fobi "land, country"
   mbyas → byas "cloudy"
   'nganan → 'ganan "cold"
   'qondo → 'qodo "thick"
   ta'mbun → ta'bin "blist"t
   mbbas → mhas "day, mid day"
   ta'mbra → ta'bra "forest"
   ndon'ggra → don'ggra "baardicoot"
   mbrut → mplit "fly (/flies)"
   mbor → bol "house"
7). CV(C) → CCV(C):
   na'su → na'sya "elbow"
   su'mbyere → sy'impele "back"
   o'guo → o'gyo "banana"
8). CVV(C) → CV(C):
   'sfuon → 'sifqo "eye"
   'o'wao → 'oyo "to bake, to burn"
   qmbu'aq → byaq "ashes"
o'guo ~ o'dyo "banana"
mo'ün ~ moyn "fragrant"
9), #-CV(C)~ #CV(C):
tqyn ~ qyen "rain"
bro'dot ~ ro "narrow"
10), CV# ~ CV'C#:
kdyo ~ qa'yoy "all"
'uyamre ~ qayy "a little"
bro'dot ~ ro "narrow"
11), b ~ p:
su'mbyere ~ sy'impyle "back"
o'mbut ~ o'mpit "sea"
mbrara ~ mprra "blue, green"
mbrut ~ mplit "fly (flies)"
mbror ~ mpol "house"
12). w ~ y:
'towuo ~ 'oyo "to bake, to burn"
tu'wen ~ tu'yen "walking stick"
13). t ~ y:
yut ~ yiy "they" "
14). d ~ t:
'defut ~ 'tefit "ear"
na'ndi ~ nski'nti "nail"
nra'lyen ~ nta'lyen "lung"
de't ~ teyt "foot"
'odot ~ otot "ill, hearted"
'doro ~ toro "hearted, sorrow"
k'i'ndi ~ ki'nti "sand"
dyan ~ tyan "heavy"
'qadaq ~ qataq "wide"
a'dan ~ a'tan "to bite"
dra ~ tla "seed, nut"
dya'dan ~ dy'a'tan "branch"
da'enbin ~ ta'mpin "blunt"
ndon'ngra ~ nton'ngra "bandicoot"
'dem' ~ te'ma 'short'
ta'de ~ ta'te 'my grand parent'
nan'dra ~ na'nla 'male, man'
15). r ~ l:
na'riingi ~ na'iki 'maid, woman'
se're ~ se'le 'digging stick'
lak ~ rak 'two'
mbor ~ mbol 'house'
(etc., complementary distribution)
16). k ~ d
ku'nuk ~ di'nik 'thorn'
17). k ~ q:
k'dyoqat ~ qa'dyoqat 'all'
18). g ~ d:
sagyen ~ 'sadyen 'hair'
o'gun ~ o'din 'black dark'
gyet ~ dyet 'mouth'
gyen ~ dyen 'hair, feather'
o'guo ~ o'dyuu 'banana '
19). g ~ k:
nar'ngu ~ na'iki 'maid, woman'
r'guu ~ rki 'thunder'
20). e ~ a
'fareq ~ 'falaq 'skin'
21). u ~ a:
en'a'syu ~ ena'sya 'elbow'
22). u ~ i:
su ~ si'fo 'eye'
nag'ndu ~ naki'nti 'nail'
uk ~ ik 'sky, cloud'
(etc., complementary distribution)
23). u ~ y:
qmbu'aq ~ byaq 'dust'
mo'on ~ moyn 'fragrant'
24). o ~ e:
tqoyh ~ qyen 'rah
Metathesis:

qayt ~ qa'tyi ‘to tight’

20 words differences or 87% cognates similarities.

(20) Mbolfle-Afsya (Te-2b) => Ymian-Ymiandi (Te-4a):

1. CV'CVC(C) => CCV(C):
   ru'gu ~ rgi ‘thunder’
   su'mbyere ~ 'shyele ‘back’
   qo'mun ~ kmun ‘cold’
   tu'won ~ twon ‘fire fly, star’

2. CCV(C) => CV(C):
   'sagyen ~ sa'gin ‘hair’
   nta'han ~ 'dahan ‘dirty’
   na'qndu ~ na'qdi ‘nail’
   su'mbyere ~ 'shyele ‘tail’
   nta'ryen ~ 'dalen ‘lung’
   qmbu'aq ~ 'qbiyaq ‘ashes’
   mbu ~ bi ‘smoke’
   mbet ~ bet ‘soil, land, earth’
   'fombu ~ 'fobi ‘land, country’
   mbyas ~ byas ‘cloudy’
   kdyo'qat ~ qa'dyoqat ‘all’
   'qondo ~ 'qodo ‘thick’
   re'gge ~ le'de ‘thin’
   ta'mbun ~ ta'bin ‘blunt’
   mhabas ~ bhas ‘day, mid day’
   ta'brapia ~ ta'bra ‘forest’
   mbra ~ bra ‘blue, green’
   qruuk ~ lu'wa ‘snake’
   ndon'ggra ~ donna'hon ‘bandicoot’
   na'ndra ~ na'dla ‘male, man’
   na'rngu ~ na'ngi ‘maid, woman’
   mbor ~ bol ‘house’

3. CV(C) => CCV(C):
   qbu'aq ~ byaq ‘dust’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CV(C)</th>
<th>CV(C)#</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'owo'</td>
<td>'o'</td>
<td>'burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'guo</td>
<td>o'go</td>
<td>'banana'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ro'un</td>
<td>royn</td>
<td>'fragrant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su</td>
<td>st'fon</td>
<td>'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta'wadyo</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qan</td>
<td>qan'foqot</td>
<td>'meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fan</td>
<td>fan'hoy</td>
<td>'path, row, road'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'fa</td>
<td>qa'fla</td>
<td>'to divide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qayn</td>
<td>qa'les</td>
<td>'tail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qayt</td>
<td>qa'tyi</td>
<td>'to tight'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**

1. ro'un is similar to 'moyn.
2. ro'un is similar to moyn.
3. mo'un is similar to royn.
4. ro'un is similar to royn.
5. ro'un is similar to royn.
6. ro'un is similar to royn.
7. ro'un is similar to royn.
8. ro'un is similar to royn.
9. ro'un is similar to royn.
10. ro'un is similar to royn.
11. ro'un is similar to royn.
12. ro'un is similar to royn.
13. ro'un is similar to royn.
14. ro'un is similar to royn.
14). d ~ t:
    'defut ~ 'tefit 'ear'
    dyan ~ tyan 'heavy'
    'qadaq ~ qa'taq 'wide'
    dra ~ tla 'seed, nut'
    a'dan ~ a'tan 'to bite'
    ta'dew ~ ta'tew 'my grand parent'  
(etc., except #, complimentary distribution)  
15). d ~ r:
    hro'dot ~ ro'rot 'narrow'
16). n ~ l:
    qayn ~ qa'les 'tail'
17). r ~ l:
    lak ~ rak 'two'
    na'ngu ~ na'lgi 'maid, woman'
    fa'req ~ fa'laq 'skin'
    mbor ~ mbol 'house'
(etc., complimentary distribution)  
18). g ~ k:
    gyet ~ kyet 'mouth'
19). g ~ d:
    re'ngge ~ le'de 'thin'
20). q ~ k:
    qo'mun ~ kmun 'cold'
21). e ~ i:
    'sagwen ~ sa'gin 'hair'
22). u ~ i:
    uk ~ ik 'skry'
    yut ~ iy 'they'
    'taru ~ ta'li 'sun, day'
(etc., complimentary distribution)  
23). u ~ y:
    mnou'n ~ mnou'n 'fragrant'
24). o ~ e:
    tqoyn ~ qyen 'rain'

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Metathesis:
qayt ~ qa'yi "to tight"
32 words differences or 79% cognates similarities.

(21). Mbolfle-Afsya (Te-2b) >> Ymian-Ymianra (Te-4b):

1). CV\CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
   ru'gu ~ rdi "thunder"
   qo'mun ~ kmun "cold"
   tu'won ~ twon "fire fly, star"
   su'nan ~ san "arrow"
   kdo'yo ~ ka'dyo "all"

2). CCV(C) ~ CV\CV(C):
   mnyeq ~ me'nyak "fat"
   kdo'yo ~ ka'dyo "all"

3). CV(C)\# ~ CV(C)\#:
   su ~ si'fon "eye"
   ta ~ ta'wadyi "rose"
   qan ~ kan'okot "neat"
   su'mbyere ~ si'beleko "back"
   fan ~ fan'boyn "path, row, road"
   qa'fa ~ ka'fli "to divide"
   qayn ~ ka'les "tail"
   qayt ~ ka'yti "to tight"
   qruuk ~ lu'wa "snake"

4). CV(C)\# ~ CV(C)\#:
   qa'so ~ kas "heart"
   'toro ~ tor "hearted, sorrow"
   sa'goqat ~ ka'dyo "all"

5). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
   dya'dan ~ sa'gyatan "branch"

6). #-CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
   bdrodot ~ torot "narrow"
   'tqoyn ~ kyen "rain"
   fra'las ~ las "leaf"
   qruuk ~ lu'wa "snake"
7). CV(C) ~ CV(C):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nta'han</td>
<td>'dahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gyen</td>
<td>gen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'qndu</td>
<td>na'kdi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su'mbere</td>
<td>si'beleko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nta'ryen</td>
<td>da'len</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qmbu'aq</td>
<td>'kbiyaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbu</td>
<td>bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbet</td>
<td>bet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fombu</td>
<td>'fobi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbyas</td>
<td>byas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'qondo</td>
<td>'qodo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re'enge</td>
<td>le'de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'mbun</td>
<td>ta'bin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kdo'ye</td>
<td>ka'dyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbhbas</td>
<td>bhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'mbra</td>
<td>ta'bra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbra</td>
<td>bra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'ndra</td>
<td>na'dla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'ngu</td>
<td>na'dli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbor</td>
<td>bol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8). CV(C) ~ CCV:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qalifa</td>
<td>qa'fla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qdya'dan</td>
<td>sa'gyatan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'susu</td>
<td>sa'sisi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10). #CV(C) ~ #V(C):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yut</td>
<td>iy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11). CVV(C) ~ CV(C):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'owo</td>
<td>'ooyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'guo</td>
<td>o'go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12). b ~ p:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o'mbut</td>
<td>o'mpit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13). w ~ y:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'owo</td>
<td>'ooyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu'wen</td>
<td>ti'yen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14). t ~ d:
   nta'han ~ da'han 'dirty'
   nta'ren ~ da'len 'heart'
15). t ~ y:
   yut ~ iy 'they'
16). d ~ t
   'defut ~ 'tefit 'ear'
   dyan ~ tyan 'heavy'
   'qadaq ~ qa'taq 'wide'
   qdy'a'dan ~ sa'gyatan 'branch'
   a'dan ~ a'tan 'to bite'
   a'dew ~ a'tew 'grand father'
   a'dem ~ a'tem 'grand mother'
17). d ~ r:
   hro'dot ~ 'rorot 'narrow'
18). n ~ l:
   qayn ~ ka'les 'tail'
19). r ~ l:
   rak ~ lak 'two'
   to'ruck ~ to'lik 'three'
   na'ngu ~ na'ligi 'maid, woman'
   nbor ~ mbol 'house'
   (etc., complementary distribution)
20). k ~ g
   ku'nuk ~ gi'nik 'thorn'
21). g ~ d:
   re'gge ~ le'de 'thin'
22). q ~ k:
   qan ~ kan 'meat'
   o'qo ~ o'ko 'banana'
   qya'mre ~ kya'mre 'a little'
   'qadaq ~ 'katak 'wide'
   (etc., complementary distribution)
23). e ~ a:
    mmyeq ~ me'n'yaq 'fat'
24). u ~ i:
    uk ~ ik 'sky'
    su'wan ~ si'wan 'sea'
    ta'ru ~ ta'li 'sun, day'
    (etc., complementary distribution)
25). o ~ e:
    tqa'n ~ kyen 'rain'
26). a ~ e:
    'farq ~ 'falek 'skin'
'Metathesis:
    qayt ~ qay'ti 'to tight'
31 words differences or 79% cognates similarities.

(22). Mbolfe-Afsya (Te-2b) >> Sfaryere (Te-5):
1). CV.CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
    ru'gu ~ rdi 'thunder'
    ku'nuk ~ knik 'thorn'
2). CCV(C) ~ CV.CV(C):
    qmbu'aq ~ qa'byaq 'ashes'
3). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)-#:
    su ~ si'lon 'eye'
    qayn ~ qa'les 'tail'
    qa'fa ~ qa'fla 'to divide'
    qayn ~ qa'les 'tail'
4). CV(C)-# ~ CV(C)-#
    qa'qo ~ qaq 'ill, hearted'
5). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
    e'na ~ na 'hand'
    ena'syu ~ na'sya 'elbow'
    'fralas ~ las 'leaf'
    'tqayn ~ qyen 'rain'
6). #CV(C) ~ #V(C):
    wow ~ ow 'he'
    mom ~ om 'she'

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7). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):

sa'gen ~ sa'gen 'hair'
gyet ~ get 'mouth'
gyen ~ gen 'hair, feather'
nta'han ~ 'dahan 'dirty'
en'aqdi ~ na'qdi 'nail'
si'byele ~ si'byele 'back'
qmbu'aq ~ qa'byaq 'ashes'
mbu ~ bi 'smoke'
mbet ~ bet 'soil, land, earth'
'tombu ~ 'tobi 'land, country'
'qondo ~ qo'do 'thick'
re'nde ~ le'de 'thin'
ta'mbun ~ ta'bin 'blunt'
mhbas ~ bhas 'day, mid day'
ta'mbra ~ ta'bra 'forest'
mbra ~ bra 'blue, green'
ndou'gra ~ donno'hon 'bandicoot'
nal'a ~ na'dala 'male, man'
mhor ~ bol 'house'

8). CV(C) ~ CCVC:
en'a ~ na'sya 'elbow'

9). CV'C# ~ CV#:

yit ~ yi 'they'

10). CVC ~ CVCC:

qmbu'aq ~ qa'byaq 'ashes'
mo'un ~ moyn 'fragrant'

11). CVV(C) ~ CV(C):

'o'u ~ 'oyo 'burn'
qmbu'aq ~ qmbu'aq 'ashes'
o'u ~ 'oyo 'to bake, to burn'

12). CV'C# ~ CV#:

qayn ~ qa'les 'tail'

13). w ~ y:

'o'u ~ 'oyo 'to bake, to burn'
tu'wen ~ ti'yen 'walking stick'

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14). t ~ y:
    yut ~ iy 'they'
15). d ~ t:
    'defut ~ 'tefit 'ear'
    dyan ~ tyan 'heavy'
    'qadaq ~ qa'laq 'wide'
    dra ~ da 'seed, nut'
    a'dan ~ a'tan 'to bite'
    ta'de ~ ta'te 'my grand parent'
    (etc., except #, complementary distribution)
16). r ~ l:
    rak ~ lak 'two'
    to'rak ~ to'lik 'three'
    fra'ras ~ fra'las 'leaf'
    fo'far ~ fa'fal 'coarse grass'
    (etc., complementary distribution)
17). g ~ k:
    o'guo ~ o'kuo 'banana'
18). g ~ d:
    ru'gu ~ rdi 'thunder'
    'nganan ~ 'dyanan 'cold'
    re'ge ~ le'de 'thin'
19). g ~ k:
    o'guo ~ o'kuo 'banana'
20). y ~ i:
    qayt ~ qu'ti 'to tight'
21). u ~ y:
    qbu'aq ~ byaq 'dust'
22). u ~ i:
    uk ~ ik 'sky'
    'sura ~ 'sira 'salt'
    tu'wen ~ ti'yen 'walking stick'
    (etc., complementary distribution)
23). e ~ a:
    mneyeq ~ mnyaq 'fat'
24). u ~ a:
  ena'syu  ~ na'sya  'elbow'
25). u ~ o:
  tu'won  ~ to'won  'fire fly, star'
26). o ~ e:
  tقوین  ~ qyen  'rain'
27). a ~ o:
  qa'fa  ~ qo'fra  'to divide'
Metathesis:
  qayt  ~ qa'ti  'to fight'
33 words differences or 78 % cognates similarities.

(23). Mbolfe-Afsya (Te-2b) >> Fqar (Te-6):
1). CV.CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
  'honu  ~ hun  'bone'
  se're ~ sle  'digging stick'
  'qondo  ~ qdo  'thick'
  to'won  ~ twon  'fire fly, star'
  ku'nuk  ~ gnik  'thorn'
2). CVC(C) ~ CV.CV(C):
  qmbu'aq  ~ qa'biaq  'ashes'
3). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#:
  su  ~ sf'oun  'eye'
  fan  ~ 'fanrik  'path, row, road'
  o'qo  ~ qo'mre  'that'
4). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
  qo  ~ f'ao  'this'
  uk  ~ yuk  'sky'
5). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
  yit  ~ iy  'they'
  hayn  ~ o'un  'louse'
6). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#:
  qa'so  ~ qos  'heart'
  'toro  ~ tor  'heated, sorrow'
  'sara  ~ sal  'fire'
  hro'dot  ~ ro  'narrow'
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7). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):

- hro'dot ~ ro
- tguyn ~ gyen
- o'guo ~ guo
- e'fuk ~ fuk
- qly'a'dan ~ gya'tan
- fra'ras ~ las
- o'mos ~ mos
- qruuk ~ lu'wa

   'foro ~ fôl
   'to clear a away'

8). CV(C) ~ CV(C):

- nta'han ~ 'daha
- na'qndu ~ ne'qndi
- su'mbyre ~ si'blot
- qan'yu ~ qo'nu
- qambru'aq ~ qa'bi'aq
- mbe't ~ bet
- fo'mbu ~ fo'bu
- qa'am'buk ~ bi
- qondo ~ qdo
- re'gge ~ le'de
- ta'mbun ~ ra'bun
- mbhas ~ bhas
- ta'mbra ~ sa'bra
- mbra ~ bra
- hna'yt ~ hnit
- na'nda'ra ~ na'dla
- mbör ~ bol

   nta'han ~ 'daha
   'dirty'
   na'qndu ~ ne'qndi
   'nail'
   su'mbyre ~ si'blot
   'back'
   qan'yu ~ qo'nu
   'ill, hearted'
   qambru'aq ~ qa'bi'aq
   'ashes'
   mbe't ~ bet
   'soil, land, earth'
   fo'mbu ~ fo'bu
   'land, country'
   qa'am'buk ~ bi
   'dust'
   qondo ~ qdo
   'thick'
   re'gge ~ le'de
   'thin'
   ta'mbun ~ ra'bun
   'blunt'
   mbhas ~ bhas
   'day, mid day'
   ta'mbra ~ sa'bra
   'forest'
   mbra ~ bra
   'blue, green'
   hna'yt ~ hnit
   'worm, maggot'
   na'nda'ra ~ na'dla
   'male, man'
   mbör ~ bol
   'house'

9). CVCC ~ CVC:

- gayn ~ qey
- hna'yt ~ hnit

   gayn ~ qey
   'tail'
   hna'yt ~ hnit
   'worm, maggot'

10). CVV(C) ~ CV(C):

- 'owuo ~ yo

   'owuo ~ yo
   'to bake, to burn'

11). w ~ y:

   'owuo ~ yo
   'to bake, to burn'
   tu'wen ~ ti'yen
   'walking stick'
12. t – s:  
  ta'mbra ~ sa'bra ‘foest’
13. t – y:  
  yut ~ iy ‘they’
14. d – t:  
  'defut ~ 'tefit ‘ear’
  nado'fo ~ ne'tfo ‘finger’
  deyt ~ teyt ‘foot’
  'doro ~ to'ro ‘hearted, sorrow’
  dyan ~ tyen ‘heavy’
  'qadaq ~ qa'taq ‘wide’
  ta'de ~ ta'te ‘my grand parent’
(etc. except -#, complimentary distribution)
15. t – r:  
  ta ~ ra ‘nose’
  'tasra ~ ra'sle ‘sharp, pointed’
  'tambun ~ ra'bus ‘blunt’
  dya'dan ~ qya'ren ‘branch’
  teyt ~ rit ‘foot’
  'oott ~ o'rot ‘ill, hearted’
16. r – l:  
  rak ~ laka ‘two’
  to'ruck ~ to'lik ‘three’
  se're ~ sle ‘digging stick’
  fo'far ~ fa'far ‘coarse grass’
17. k – g:  
  ku'nuk ~ gnik ‘thorn’
18. g – d:  
  re'gyge ~ le'de ‘thin’
19. g – k:  
  ru'gu ~ ru'ku ‘thunder’
20. q – k:  
  go'ruk ~ ku'ruk ‘pig’
21. e – o:  
  su'mbyere ~ si'hlot ‘back’
22). e ~ a:
  mnyeq  ~ mnyaq  'fat'
23). u ~ e:
  su'wan  ~ se'wen  'ocean'
24). o ~ e:
  təqyn  ~ qyen  'rain'
25). a ~ e:
  ma'hat  ~ ma'hat  'five'
  hnyt  ~ hnit  'worm, maggot'
27). a ~ e:
  na  ~ ne  'hand'
  na'sya  ~ ne'sye  'elbow'
  na'qndu  ~ ne'qdi  'nail'
  'faraq  ~ fa'leq  'skin'
  su'wan  ~ se'wen  'ocean'
  da'sra  ~ ra'sle  'sharp, pointed'
  snu  ~ snu  'moon'
  nu'sra  ~ ni'sle  'thorn'
  qayt  ~ qeyt  'to tight'
  qayn  ~ qey  'tail'
28). a ~ o:
  qa'so  ~ qos  'heart'
  qa'nyu  ~ qo'nu  'ill, hearted '''
  qa'fà  ~ qo'fla  'to divide'
 Metathesis:
  'taru  ~ 'teil 'sun, day''
  'tarumbhas  ~ 'teilbhas  'day, mid day''
45 words differences or 70% cognates similarities.

(24). Mbolle-Afsya (Te-2b) >> Sawiat (Te-7):
1). CV.CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
  nul'gu  ~ rgu  'thunder'
  tu'won  ~ twon  'fire fly, star'
2). CCV(C) ~ CV.CV(C):
  qmbu'aq  ~ qa'biyaq  'ashes'
3. CV(C)# ~ CV(C)-#
   su ~ s'f'uhn 'eye'
4. #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
   a'naq ~ maq 'neck'
   fraras ~ las 'leaf'
   teqyon ~ qyen 'rain'
   o'nuo ~ yo 'burn'
5. #CV(C) ~ #V(C):
   wow ~ ow 'he'
   mom ~ om 'she'
   yut ~ iy 'they'
6. CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
   nta'han ~ 'daha 'dirty'
   su'mbye ~ s'bylele 'back'
   qmbu'aq ~ qa'byaq 'ashes'
   mbu ~ bu 'smoke'
   mbet ~ bet 'soil, land, earth'
   'fombu ~ 'fobi 'land, country'
   'qondo ~ qo'do 'thick'
   re'ge ~ le'de 'thin'
   ta'mbun ~ ta'bun 'blunt'
   mbhas ~ bhas 'day, mid day'
   ta'mbra ~ ta'bra 'forest'
   mbra ~ bra 'blue, green'
   ndon'tgra ~ don'mhon 'bandicoot'
   na'nda ~ na'dla 'male, man'
   mbor ~ bol 'house'
7. CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
   ena'su ~ na'sya 'elbow'
   su'mbye ~ sy'bylele 'back'
8. CVC# ~ CV#:
   yut ~ yi 'they'
9. CVCC ~ CVC:
   hnayt ~ hnit 'worm, maggot'
10. CVV(C) ~ CV(C):
   sa'goqat  ~  syo'qat  'all'
   'owuo   ~  yo      'to bake, to burn'

11. w ~ y:
   'owuo   ~  yo      'to bake, to burn'
   tu'wen  ~  ti'wen  'walking stick'

12. t ~ y:
   yut     ~  iy      'they'

13. d ~ t:
   'defut  ~  'tefit  'ear'
   'doro   ~  'toro   'hearted, sorrow'
   'qadaq  ~  qa'taq  'wide'
   dra     ~  tla     'seed, nut'
   a'dan   ~  a'tan   'to bite'
   ta'de   ~  ta'te   'my grand parent'
   (etc., except -# complementarity distribution)

14. r ~ l:
   na'rgu  ~  na'dlu  'maid, woman'
   'sara   ~  sa'la   fire"
   rak     ~  lak     'two'
   fo'far  ~  fa'far  'coarse grass'
   (etc., complementary distribution)

15. k ~ g:
   ku'nuk  ~  'ginik  'thorn'

16. (g)g ~ d(y):
   'nganan  ~  dy'a'han 'cold'
   re'ge    ~  le'he   'thin'

17. e ~ a:
   mnyeq   ~  mnyaq  'fat'

18. u ~ e:
   su'wan  ~  se'wen  'ocean'

19. o ~ e:
   tqoyn   ~  qven   'rain'

20. a ~ i:
   hnayt   ~  hnit   'worm, maggot'
21). a ~ e:
   nda'lyen ~ de'len 'lung'
su'wan ~ se'wen 'ocean'

Metathesis:
   'kdoyo ~ syo'qat 'all'

31 words differences or 79 cognates similarities.

(25) Sayfi-Sayfi (Te-3a) >= Sayfi-Srer (Te-3b):
1). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#:
   da ~ ta'wadyo 'nose'

2). CV(C)# ~ CV(C)#:
   'qmre ~ qayay 'a little'
   ?bi'aq ~ qbi 'ashes'
   hro'tot ~ ro 'narrow'

3). CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
   si'byele ~ syi'mpyele 'back'

4). CCV(C) ~ CV(C):
   mpi ~ bi 'smoke'
   mpet ~ bet 'soil, land, earth'
   mpi ~ qbi 'dust'
   'fombi ~ 'robi 'land, country'
   mpyas ~ byas 'cloudy'
   gya'nan ~ 'ganan 'cold'
   'qonto ~ 'qodo 'thick'
   ta'mpin ~ ta'bin 'blunt'
   ta'mpra ~ ta'bra 'forest '
   nton'gra ~ don'gyra 'broadfoot '
   mpo ~ bol 'house'

5). CV(C) ~ CCV(C):
   si'byele ~ syi'mpele 'back'
   o'guo ~ o'dyo 'banana'

6). CVV(C) ~ CV(C):
   'sfuon ~ 'sifqo 'eye'
   'owao ~ 'oyo 'to burn'
   qmbu'aq ~ byaq 'ashes'

275
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o'guo</td>
<td>o'dyö</td>
<td>'banana'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'tan</td>
<td>noyin</td>
<td>'fragrant'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7). #CV(C) ~ #CV(C):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tqoyn</td>
<td>qyen</td>
<td>'rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hro'dot</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td>'narrow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8). CV# ~ CVC#:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kdyo</td>
<td>qa'oy</td>
<td>'all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'qyamre</td>
<td>qay</td>
<td>a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hro'dot</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td>'narrow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9). b ~ p:
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>syi'byele</td>
<td>syi'mpyele</td>
<td>'back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'bit</td>
<td>o'mpit</td>
<td>'sea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bra</td>
<td>mpra</td>
<td>'blue, green'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bit</td>
<td>mplit</td>
<td>'fly (/flies)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bol</td>
<td>mpol</td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10). w ~ y:
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'owo'qo</td>
<td>'oyo'</td>
<td>'burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti'wen</td>
<td>t'iyen</td>
<td>'walking stick'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11). t ~ y:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yit</td>
<td>yi'iy</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12). d ~ t:
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<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'defit</td>
<td>'difit</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'qi'iqi</td>
<td>na'iqi</td>
<td>'nail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nda'lyen</td>
<td>nta'lyen</td>
<td>'heart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deyt</td>
<td>teyt</td>
<td>'foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'odot</td>
<td>'otot</td>
<td>'ill, hearted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'doro'</td>
<td>'toro</td>
<td>'hearted, sorrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki'di</td>
<td>k'i'iti</td>
<td>'sand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyan</td>
<td>tyan</td>
<td>'heavy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'qadaq</td>
<td>'qataq</td>
<td>'wide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'dan</td>
<td>a'tan</td>
<td>'bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dia</td>
<td>ila</td>
<td>'seed, nut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyd'an</td>
<td>dyd'tan</td>
<td>'branch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'mbin</td>
<td>ta'mpin</td>
<td>'blunt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndon'ngra</td>
<td>nton'ngra</td>
<td>'bandicoot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dema</td>
<td>te'ma</td>
<td>short</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ta'dew ~ ta'tew  ‘my grand father’
ta'dem ~ ta'tem  ‘my grand mother’
na'dla ~ na'ntla  ‘male, man’

(etc., complementary distribution)

13), k ~ d:
k'i'nuk ~ di'nik  ‘thorn’

14), k ~ q:
q'dyoqat ~ qa'dyoqat  ‘all’

15), g ~ d:
'sagyen ~ sadyen  ‘hair’
o'gun ~ o'din  ‘black, dark’
gyet ~ dyet  ‘mouth’
gyen ~ dyen  ‘hair, feather’
o'guo ~ o'dyuo  ‘banana’

16), g ~ k:
na'nggu ~ na'ngki  ‘maid, woman’
'trugu ~ rki  ‘thunder’

17), e ~ a:
'fareq ~ falaq  ‘skin’

18), u ~ a:
en'a'yu ~ ena'ya  ‘elbow’

19), u ~ i:
su ~ si'fço  ‘eye’
nak'ndu ~ nak'nti  ‘nail’
uk ~ ik  ‘sky, cloud’

(etc., complementary distribution)

20), u ~ y:
qmbr'aq ~ byaq  ‘dust’
mo'un ~ moyyn  ‘fragrant’

21), o ~ e:
tqoy ~ qyem  ‘rain’

Metathesis:
quyt ~ qa'tyi  ‘too tight’

20 words differences or 87% cognates similarities.
3.5 Cognates Relationships

The Figures is presented to show cognates percentages. Table 7a is on internal correspondences among dialects/variants within one language. Further, cognate percentages between representative dialects (variants) of languages within Tcor language group are shown in Table 7b.

1). MORAIT
   | Mr-1a | Mr-1b | Mr-2a | Mr-2b | Mr-3a | Mr-3b |
   | 93    | 87    | 85    | 85    | 93    | 93    |

2). KLABRA
   | Kl-1  | Kl-2  |
   | 89    |       |

3). TEHIT
   | Te-1 | Te-2a | Te-2b | Te-3a | Te-3b | Te-4a | Te-4b | Te-5 | Te-6 | Te-7 |
   | 96   | 97    | 93    | 92    | 87    | 92    | 87    | 83   | 83   | 89   |
   | 95   | 93    | 93    | 85    | 85    | 89    | 92    | 87   | 83   |       |
   | 98   | 93    | 89    | 79    | 81    | 79    | 86    | 87   | 83   |       |
   | 93   | 87    | 79    | 84    | 81    | 79    | 87    | 83   | 88   |       |
   | 85   | 85    | 78    | 78    | 81    | 78    | 87    | 83   | 89   |       |
   | 83   | 81    | 79    | 79    | 81    | 79    | 87    | 83   | 89   |       |
   | 81   | 81    | 79    | 79    | 81    | 79    | 87    | 83   | 89   |       |
   | 75   | 79    | 70    | 79    | 79    | 79    | 87    | 83   | 89   |       |
   | 83   | 82    | 82    | 79    | 79    | 79    | 87    | 83   | 89   |       |

4). MOO1
   | Mo-1 | Mo-2 | Mo-3 |
   | 92   | 88   |     |
   | 98   | 88   |     |

5). SEGET
   | Se-1 | Se-2 |
   | 93   |      |

Sketch 7a: Dialects Internal Cognates in Sub-group I
Sketch 7b: Cognates among Sub-group I Languages.

3.6 Tree Diagram

Tree Diagram of Language Relationships can be teased out after having identified sets of probable cognates. The further step is to show how these languages are related to each other. Once the features in skets are available, a tree diagram may be drawn as follows.

Sketch 8: Toror Language Tree Diagram
Chapter Three

NAME, SYMBOLS AND
WORD-TABOO IN TOROR

11 The given volume was appeared for the first time on the same title as an essay for graduate study in linguistics and culture at Australian National University, Canberra, 1985.
§1
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Mutual Intelligible

When looking at the relationship between names and process of naming, is seemingly we are dealing with the most basic relationship in the language. The conceptual-dependency relationship serves as the connecting link between the physical organism and the concept of that organism (Bennet, 1976: 3), creating a view of world that is based upon shared behaviour and experiences. For example, when a speaker of a language (L) uses a term X, he assumes the hearer to know what it meant by X, that is 'what X stands for' or 'what X exits for'. It is taken for granted that the term X and the experience of X are common knowledge for both the speaker and the hearer (language and concept compounding are in one relevance acquisition principally). The linguistic form X is, therefore, the name of a concept, which is necessary to bring forth the related ideas. The name remains. This is to indicate the arrangements of both imaginary and real (or appropriate) referent of data. This in many cases can establish the fact that there are some restricted points in linguistic evidences (Chomsky, 1969: 4). A name, according to this model, would be expressed as son (S) of father (F), designating a traditional- patriarchy-lineage function. For naming to take place successfully within a cultural context, the following conditions are necessary, which are abilities to distinguish significant distinctions, a relevant code, and the categories of sign and symbol. The ability to distinguish significant distinctions, for example between objects or between relationships, underlies and makes possible the recognition of the responses to the stimulus (what it meant).

The code is a system, which potentially supplies the understanding of the relationship and the responses to the stimulus. The sign is the manifestation of concept or stimulus; whereas the symbol is the common
message which contains the meaning (Mead, 197: 17; Sperber, 1974: 6) and therefore can be arbitrary. The concept and the name do not have to be in one-to-one relationship. When at name or a term is shared by different people or things, this means that it is not used to refer to the same concept of thing. The name of a concept sometimes varies within a cultural sharing group, which uses different linguistic codes (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968)\(^{12}\) In such a case there may be discrete names for the same concept in each language. Additionally, the social-cultural context of behaviour may involve ceremonial codes, which recognise stimuli along different lines (Geertz, 1975: 55-83). It is accepted that the people who share the same material culture may also share several terms, which can sometimes be used differently in clarifying any of the concepts. Names therefore vary although they are mutually intelligible within the same culture context\(^{13}\).

1.2. Linguistics and Cultural Characteristics

Languages uttering by people and tribes spread about central and west Doberai are Mooi, Seget, Klabra, Moraid, Tehit, Abun, Madik and Meybrat which are classified as Papuan (Non-Austronesian) languages of West Papuan Phylum which is also included languages located at Northern-Halmahera off the Moluccas (Voorhoeve, 1975:47,117). The languages mentioned here nonetheless having a specific characteristic which is more like to say a transitional linguistic features among languages classified as

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\(^{12}\) For Javanese languages, there are three levels of social variants in speech interaction: *tara* 'high', *madja* 'middle', and *mgoko* 'low'. However for the Tehit and the rest of Toror, no social variants may consist. There seems to be only a such condition that the members of nuclear family (F, M, C) will called by using a different names when a member of the family died.

\(^{13}\) Among Toror communities, there are cases indicating, the usage of *kain -timur*. They are varies in name, gender, status, and grade. For example, a *toba* is the name of a kind of cloth which is female cloth with certain major status and grade in Mooi and Seget whereas in Tehit and the remaining tribes the same cloth can be named in a totally different way. However, the name, gender, status and grade off cloth named as such may always used in the very similar way.
belongs to Austronesian characteristic and that of Papuan of Trains New Guinea Phylum (Wurm, 1981; Wurm and Hattori, ed. 1983).

Locally, the group is called Toror, where together with the rest of Doberai Peninsula and Bomberai Peninsula a specific culture-province has been formed (Karet/Kambu and Wanane in Flassy, ed.)

The speakers of these languages inhabit an area, which covers both dry/fast, and swampy land, with a height varies among 5 to 1500 meters above sea level. The people living inland and upland (hilly land) most are cultivating crops while those on the river-slopes and swampy land on the lowland and near the coast substituted gathering sago.

As well as common sharing characteristics in the shared institutions for example, kain timur (payment in woven cloth) complexity, woon (shaman) education, hadar (maturity) initiation, in lineage relationship, and the roll of lait or suangi, which is the witchcraft and lengget, lilin, bombo or nigohoq, which is the poison.

The aim of this part is to analyse in a preliminary way the names and symbols and their relationships to the speakers of these languages, in order to throw additional light on the characteristics of this cultural group. This is therefore it may deal with Names, process of Naming, Disjunction between Names and Concept, and Concluding Remarks.
§2

NAMES

Everyone who belongs to the Toror tribes and ethnic-group related tribe has at least three personal names (that is, after excluding also land name, a baptismal (Christian) name, and the clan name. Clans are sometimes also called fam, which is a corrupted form of the Dutch word famillie 'family'. The further features given here are more basing on Tehit.

In Tehit a clan name is called qendi olo (q = name, o = trunk, stem) or also qendi fam. Every person in the culture area acquires this name as his/her traditional patriarchy-lineage name. If one would try to find the meaning of these clan names one might fail to do so. The fact is that most clan names cannot be explained.

Elmberg (1968) in his work on this culture area has recorded several folk tales containing the origin of particular clan names. However the meaning of these names is still a mystery. Most of the names appearing here derived from the ancient period of migration from adoption and from recurring fission, or fusion of new members.

The multiplying of clan names flow from the F to S, and from F to SS changing relationship. The younger generations often split from the origin family and their segmentation (Elmberg, 1968: 253-81) is reflected in their names. This may very from one to the others. The very common one is the clan were more deliberately expanded by the younger brother/yB, where as the elder brother/eB and father/F are static. This is to be understood as we may presume that the yB often depend on the heterogeneous groups (relatives, non relatives and bound in a companionship) rather than F and eB, and this can cause conflicts and contradictions finally result in discourse dances and separations (Elmberg, 1966:48). A person outside the lineage may include in the kin groups by various grounds. The most common one is, that one adopts one's sister child/ZC, if the husband/H is not able to pay the bride price. Another method is the social father, who annexed persons by giving them aid to pay off the bride price they are not able to pay themselves. The other natural way is to adopt a child from the wife/W's clan if the W is unable to give birth. One other common case is people
sometimes change their clan names as a result of particular quarrels and other tensions within a clan. The process has many variations, figured out in the following diagrams and illustrative example.

Sketch. 9: Diagrams of clan splitting (examples from Tehiti)
Experiencing as follows:

(1) TESIA: // or also Thesia//

   a. F --- Thesia-drar (old or stem)
   b. S --- Thesia-fle (prime, first, big or elder)
   c. S --- Thesia-yf (new, sprout or younger)
      |
      d. SS --- Thesia-srit (separated and settled at Srit)
      e. SS --- Tessia-mlaqa (separated and settled at Mlaqa)
      f. SS --- Tesia-wamban (descended from Wamban (X) fused with Tesia but later separated and again fused with the Wamban clan)

(2) MOMOT:

   a. F --- Momot-drar (old or stem)
   |
   b. S --- Momot-flesa (prime, first or eldest)
   c. S --- Momot-yf (new, sprout or younger)
      |
   d. SS --- Momot-rik (light, ripe or yellow skin)
   e. SS --- Momot-ogin (dark or black)
      |
   f. SS --- Momot-san (delivered or adopted)

(3) SESAFLEDRAR ←→ a. S --- Safledrar (main, elder or earlier)

   b. F --- Sarefe (the redheaded or the bloodied head)
   c. F --- Saflembo (the black ant)
   d. F --- Sesa
   S --- Sesafle (prime, first or elder)
(4)a. F --- qonjol //Konjol/
b. F --- Flaysiy //Flassy ----→ e. S --- Mdiwet//Duit/
d. S
f. S
c. F --- Saflafo
g. S --- Kambuaya

(5) SALMBO: //Salabauw/
F --- Salmbo

| S

(6) F --- Flaysiyfle (prime, first, elder, earlier)

| a. S --- Flaysiy-gemma (settled in Genna area)
| b. S --- Sqeiteles (the inheritance) //Skeiteles/

/ c. F --- Flaysiy-qarin (emerged from mud)
d. F --- Flaysi-sao (stately, settler of hilly rocky dry-field)
e. F --- Flassy-refe-drar (first possessor) descended from 5.
f. F --- Flassy-refe-yfi (the new possessor) descended from 1c.
g. F --- Flassy-hne (the restful one)

| S (separated to 4e)

(7) a. F --- Kambu

| S

b. F → Kambuaya descended from 4b1 as adopted by the Kanbu //Kambu and settled near the "aya" water (lake side) called Kanbuaya //Kambuaya.

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Explanations:

--- = biological father-lineage;

---> = adopted and companionship or fusion;

<---> = the same name;

// = as registered by authorities (churches and government agencies).

Additionally, married women will be counted to belong to her H when he gave the bride price. She will get her F's clan name back (including every thing she might have as the member of F's clan) immediately after her H's death. She will be called by adding her clan name to her status of *semit'* widow/widower.

Examples

-Semit Sablebolom (the widow origin from Sablebololo clan); -
Semit Momotim (the widow origin from Momot clan); - Semit Testim (the widow origin from Tesia clan), etc.
§3

PROCESSES OF NAMING

Personal Proper Names are attached to the traditional father-lineage or clan names. In this section we will more concern with the nama tanah (n = name; t = land, area). This may also commonly called nama kafir (k = heathen) by the Christian of East Indonesia to distinguish it from the nama kristen or nama baptis (k = Christian; b = baptismal)\textsuperscript{14}.

To compare with clan names, personal proper names mostly are explainable. The personal proper names are alluding to local mythical and cosmological categories, apparently expressing solidarity with these or an emotion experienced at a particular accuses.

The giving of names in Tehit (and thus in the whole Teror sub-culture areas) seemed be unrestricted. Since the introducing of Christianity (1920s), names alluding to the old stories or myths have become unexplainable to most people, except the very old man the representatives of the groups or the clans. Such a name may therefore be accepted only as just a name, which can be shared freely among the people. For example, we may possibly be facing many people (young and middle aged) called Namba, where this is no relationship of thought any more to namba wirin (the fish demon at Qohoin Stream). The name probably was given after Nicholas Nambevirin Tesa as one of the top figures in the society to younger ones born after him. Name giving according to this method is termed - waq 'to give one's name'. The expression of the idiom waq beside to mean 'I name you or I give you a name, this also meant to address one's name sake'; To make this clear, the following examples are available.

\textsuperscript{14} W.A.L. Stokhof (1983) reports on how the baptismal names are practised in Woiaaka-Alor. This may also necessary for the other parts of Eastern Indonesia including Papua which where normally reached by Dutch missionaries administrator. For the Tehit whose however taken a service by Baptist Church, which only serves the baptise to the adults however for any special cases may also due to the infants.

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(1). A man called by the name Nikolas Nambawirin Tesia ($T = $clan name). The word $nambawirin$ consists two concepts: $namba$ (a kind of fish) believed to control all fish in the Qebuin stream and the estuary upper course of Kaibus river. To keep the first letter of the name, Namba then was given the baptismal name Nikolas' Nicholas'.

(2). A women by the name Salomina Smbewin Flassy ($F = $clan name). Coordination with the first letter of her land - name she was given the baptismal name Salomina 'Salome. The land-name Smbewin is the name of the place where she was born. On her marriage to a man from Tesia (or some other clan) she will automatically change her F clan name to her H clan name. When her H divorced her or when H dies she will be called again by her father-lineage name (however this is not officially according to the authority's registration).

(3). A man was given a name according to the place he was born, Syorgaga. It is a compound form of 'syorog' to stab, to stick' and qa'a 'buttock'. The concept expressed by this word refers to a story of years before. That is, a clan was ordered to pay a lot of woven cloth (the $kain timur$) as fines from a bad deed of one of its members. The person had tried to persuade a woman to have intercourse with him by sticking a long stick through the floor from under the house (originally houses in this area were built on poles). Because it was night he was unable to recognise the proper place, and he stuck it at the place where the mother of the woman slept. The mother woke up and shouted causing all other people to wake up and the man was caught. Consequently, the man and his clan members had to wipe out the shame. Unfortunately there was a quarrel during which the whole clan of the man left the place and went to the other garden (crops field). Meanwhile, the originally form was syor-qa'a means with each other supporting on taking and giving help mostly in the payment of bride price. The baby Syorgaga after that was given the name Qardrin by his mother's relatives, which means 'the bake taro'. That is the name was given as an emotional reaction of the mother's relative to the father's relative who disagreed with the marriage of the father and the mother. The mother was called less-skill, women who did not know how to cook.
except for baking taro. The baby then was named 'Lemeq pound especially for sago', a name commonly shared as a token of friendship among the people of the Tesia clan and the people of the Qondlogiti/Kondologiti/clan. Afterwards, he was given the baptismal (Christian) name Augustinus according to the month (August) he was born. The whole name therefore is Augustinus Lemeq qadrin Syurqapa Tesia. The name Lemeq is mostly used in the household whereas in the school environment the name Tinus or sometimes Agus (extract from the name Augustinus) is used.

(4) A women called Katerina Mahot Beroq Tesia (T = clan name). She was named by one of her father's relative's wife. The word 'mahot five' reminded the name giver of the money she received as a present from the name receiver's father which is only five guilder (The Netherlands New Guinea currency), less than if the name receiver's father gave to the others. The word 'beroq the blue greenish beetle (which is also a symbol of 'lover') is the favourite name of the name giver. The baptismal name Katerina 'Chatrine' was the name of her father's mother; and consequently she was also called by the 'Nene' (Malay/Indonesian) grand mother.

(5) A woman, Marlina, sometimes also called by the name Mofsa. The name was given after a female relative who had this name.

(6) Markus Makasar Grimadi //Krimadi (Q/K = clan name) is a male. The name Makasar was given in remembrance of one of his uncles/MB who died in prison at Macassar South Celebes-Indonesia. The uncle was captive as a rebel by Dutch settlers after a revolutionary attack called Qhan Eles or Eles War 1930s.

(7) Two women called Erar Skeitles //Skeitles or Segeeteles. To avoid confusion when addressing them, they were distinguished by the colour of their skin, i.e. Erar-ririk 'light/yellow' and Erar-o'gin 'dark/black'. The baptismal names therefore are also different: Henderdeta is given to Erar-ririk whereas Erar-o'gin is named Agustina.

(8) There are two men called Augus Tesia (see number 3); two avoid confusion they are distinguished by adding the originator of clan: Agus-wa-drar (elder) refers to Tesia-drar and Agus-wa-yfi (younger) refers to
Tesia-yfi (see figure 1 (1)) or in Malay/Indonesian: Agus Tesia-tua and Agus Tesia-muda.

(9) The two women mentioned in number (5), may also be distinguished by calling them Marlina-copen (c = small, little) and Marlina-beten (b = big).

Land names are ceremonially given 8 days after the birth of the baby, however, names, which are given as an explanation of particular emotion are mostly conceived after received information about a birth somewhere. The giver of this kind of names will give the name to the baby by offering the child a piece of cloth (some times that of woven cloth or kain-timur) or some money, or goods. Other names (non-emotional) are given later mostly after the qomon 'the 8 days celebration' where the mother is allowed to take baths by herself and perform her normal daily duties.

The baby itself then baptized by an old man (sometimes a shaman) this ceremony which is attended by relatives and other guests. On this feast the bride-given will receive the witwaq 'the portion of birth given'.

The rule and domains of naming process in Tehit or say Toror and my for the related tribes commonly based on mythical (clan myths and sharing myths), emotional (irritation and solidarity), companionship (sharing), place of birth and the nowadays trend of date of birth (as introduced by Christianity). These are usually completed with duration (younger, elder or junior and senior), colour (light and dark) and shape (short, high or fat and skinny).

---

15 Liquid used for this kind of baptism may very from se-'qohogq 'sacred water' and fu-'qohogq 'sacred sago juice' is used. Notice also that the Christian baptism is performed mostly after the baby lost its umbilical cord,

16 Such a gift is compulsory with every given birth. From the fabric to which almost always are added one or two pieces of medium-class of traditional woven cloth (kain timur).
§4

DISJUNCTION BETWEEN NAMES AND CONCEPT

4.1. General

Not all proper names and related tribes can be traced back to specific concepts. The clan names for example, may only be understood by sorting out their consistent forms: -drar 'old, stem'; -fle 'prime, big, first'; -fi 'new, young, sprout, later'; -ogin 'dark, black'; -ririk 'light, yellow', etc.

As already being knew, the personal proper names mostly the non-baptismal names or the land names are originated from mythical, place and current period most are only shared as just a name without any specific according to his/her personal experience and appearance. The meaning of this kind of names, which could term labels, may sometimes vary but most are mutually understood.

To have any clear idea of the disjunction between names and their concepts the following domains may be necessary: Personal Pronouns, Totems, Kin terms, Honorific, and colour terms. Most domains in this subculture area provide suggestive terms or may be names, which play the role of replacing personal proper names. This related to focalisation or displacement of attention rather than to evocation, which relies on memory (Sperber, 1974: 119-29).

This is to say; we can only refer to the present data without marking any intellectual understanding of why they are called so. How ever it should no be biological to do more of this.

4.2. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns or pro-nominal in Tehit (and related neighbouring) have a significant role in manifesting the meaning of the world (forms). Words are mostly bound morphemes, which still need modifiers to clarify certain aspects of their meanings. The modifiers are the construction forms of the personal pronouns, which put to a word as pro-
clitics or prefixes and as post-clitics or suffixes. With respect to the personal proper names we may have the followings.

Yuli  '(an unspecified proper name);
but: Yulim  '(a female proper name from "Yuliana")'
Yulw  '(a male proper name from "Yulian")'

Sasa  '(an unspecified proper name);
but: Sasam  '(a female proper name')
Sasaw  '(a male proper name from "Wuon Sasa")'

The set of identifying features may not always be used in the same way to all other languages (or tribes). In Mooi for example, almost all vocatives use the -w form:

Yulim  'Juliana' (female);
Tehit: Yulim-o  'hi, Juliana'
Mooi: Yulw-o  'hi, Juliana'
or can also be:  'hi, Julius' (male)

Compare also:
Tehit: temem 'my mother' may become:
Mooi: temew-o or tew-o

When focusing on the linguistic phenomenon of name and related ideals, it is important to examine the semantic content and function inherent in these pronouns construction forms, which are understood to reflect the whole life-system in the sub-culture area.

Features may commonly exist as part of the whole, which may also refer to in individual. Consider the word `-defit 'ear' which will evoke in the language user a projection of (a manifestation of) the meaning 'ear' and, when necessary, he will be able to identify its appropriate referent (Levi-Strauss, 1966:937-40; Leach, 1976:31).

The form `-defit again, refers to more than one concept. While to mean 'ear' and 'side of some thing (inanimate)' it is also to evoke a person 'who has no clear ear to hear' or 'the dove one': `wdefit 'hi, the male deaf one', `mdefit 'hi, the female deaf one'. As for the other cases, this may see as
lineage and non-lineage or lineal and non-lineal ideas. So, if this is to mean the male deaf one or the female deaf one for 'mdefti and 'wdefti are link to more complex ideas if to mean a person called by the name as such. Further if applying this to 'sfuon 'eye', the word 'msfuon may use to call a greedy female one etc.

So far we have considered how the contracted form of personal pronouns serves as set-identifying features to these languages. Their main function, as we noticed, is to identify the candidate words (which are marked) as nominal or more specifically as definite nominal. Continuing this method of approach we are able to classify the nominal as feminine or masculine, big or small, and static or non-static.

With regard to the last mentioned contrast we are able to say, these people customary classify the part of the cosmos into static non-static categories as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATIC</th>
<th>NON-STATIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'fombim</td>
<td>'earth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snaw</td>
<td>'moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbeim</td>
<td>'soil, land'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikw</td>
<td>'sky'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'talim</td>
<td>'sun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'talim</td>
<td>'day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tasim</td>
<td>'village'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mbyelew</td>
<td>'crop field, garden'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The supervisory powers may also be classified accordingly, example:

| qelm            | 'wild spirit'       |
| Na-'agow        |                     |
| erom            | 'spirit of sin'     |
| tal'ëngomeri    | 'heaven gods'       |
| egim            | 'spirit of death'   |
| tal'qahinw      |                     |
| romm            | 'spirit of life'    |
| 'glembetw       | 'devil'             |

Sometimes the meaning of a word change according to the attached suffix:

| qhanm           | 'war'               |
| qhanw           | 'stigma'            |
| 'mbyelem        | 'taro plant'        |
| 'mbyelew        | 'crop field, garden'|
| ofirm           | 'massage'           |
| ofirm           | 'shell'             |

4.3. Totems

There is no clear explanation of how the -gendj 'names' are related to the ni-a'defi 'totem' or 'sacred'. Many of the clans however accepted
themselves as having both share totems. This is easily observed when
people are invoking (or swearing): ('ifafa) ta'dem 'I swear in the shake of
my grand parent', rarely or rather than using: ('ifafa) 'temem or ('ifafa)
'tonow 'I swear in the sake of) my mother' or 'I swear in the sake of) my
father'.

Totem, which refers to one's mother, show a person's mother
descends from or mother's clan totem. If one person swears 'teme 'gloinm
(q = female demon of the Qohoin stream/waterfall), this may show that the
person's swear by using the totem Tesia or Momot clan. For any reason one
may also swear by using the totem of the grandmother's clan glen aweit(m)
'the cockatoo' beside gien wir(w) 'the parrot' this may indicate that, the
grandmother and the ancestors descended from the Tesia (drar) or the
Salambauw clan. The cockatoo is the totem of the Salambauw clan whereas
the parrot is the totem of the Tesia (drar) clan. The cockatoo is also a
sharing totem of the Salambauw and the Flasyao clan which also used to the
whole Tehit people indicated these two clan may be the oldest bride givers
from whom all other clans got their offspring.

A totem object is taboo to eat or even to keep domestically. The
people from the Tesia (yfi) clan for example are restricted by taboo from
eating the mno 'handanus fruit', which is the totem of the Momot (Jesa)
clan's totem. If taboo is more commonly shared by clans and should be
related the belief system, totem is more an individual sharing may related
the myths or traditional stories. Thus, taboo besides being link to the clan
totem they are also known as common taboos which are more connected
with beliefs which effecting every day life. For example, a cockatoo, which
is a totem, can be used as name or personal referent, but the use of words
for snake (and thus, all reptiles and amphibians) a totally taboo and if used
can cause serious group conflict. Similarly taboos applying to prevent
against to witchcraft in the family or clan to multiple-child births and to
intercourse with people of the same sex or with the non-humans. The stigma
attached to these of these taboo referents brings shame to the whole clan,
generation to generation.
4.4. Kinship

If we can try to present a formal-semantic analysis of kin types in Tehit and related neighbourhood, we may probably fail to show a fully characterised meaning of the kinship terms. The fact is both parenthood and marriage phenomena are equal as seen reflected by kinship terms. When attempting to have them in a general dimension of semantic contrast in order to clarify the disjunction between names and meaning we may only be able to trace each of these components to their original relationships. Clearly this may seen in a hypothesis (Burling, 1970:24) of -the grand generation ($G^2$), the genealogical equal ($G^3$), -the plus one generation ($G^4$), and -the mines one generation ($G^5$).

Concerning ascending and descending lineage ($G^5$), a male individual in Tehit, may only can accountable for maternal lineage. Beyond this he is free from persecution as an individual however as a member of his clan he may also take responsibility for any cases, which are from this kind of violation. While for the ($G^3$), which in a people in the same generation with the Ego are named by particular terms based on the level or status within the family where seniority may be a central point. When referring or addressing by using particular terms, one has to clarify someone's status as eldest/e or youngest.

On this basis of these data we can see that it is hard to avoid polysemy of kin terms in this language culture as most of the terms are not purely kin terms. They are substantially free of biological roots, but can also have terms by saying: "the apparent and the first mentioned term is adequate while the rest of given sets are only labels of a concept". Yet this guideline is to solve the problem, yet difficulties remain. How do we term for example S and BS, or FeDH and FeBDH differently where as these various concepts are termed in Tehit by using the same name?

Some possible clue, which may be offered to these particulars, is that we should adhere to the following: sex (male, female), status (senior, junior), addresses (evoke-able, non-evoke-able), and class of generation ($G^2$, $G^3$, $G^4$, $G^5$). Hence this criterion would be semantic rather than grammatical although it may also permit a speaker to decide which term would be used to address particular kinsmen or refer to a concept symbolised by a name. To trace particular linguistic phenomenon
(contrasting words and their appearances) by having the above categories mutates mutandis, as an approach to kin system analysis may be possible for this culture area.

By applying these categories with genealogical and affinity lines, we can develop the following comprehensive tabulations of names/symbols.

Things to be discussed here are the suggestive terms or names, which are sometimes used to replace a particular common term or name. The focus of this subsection is on honorific and colours. In fact, the Personal Pronouns, Totems, and Kinship terms are also counted into this discussion. The only reason to treat them separately was based on their intensity; however they are predominantly the same.

4.5. Substitutions Features

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names &amp; symbols</th>
<th>Concept</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Generation</td>
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<tr>
<td>KIN TERMS</td>
<td>G¹ G² G³⁺ G⁴⁺</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. a'nggeit</td>
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<td>2. 'tw dani</td>
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<td>3. imbo lion</td>
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<td>4. ko'gos</td>
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<td>5. ta'de</td>
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<td>6. ta'mon</td>
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<td>7. baffe</td>
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<td>8. ta'wiet</td>
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<td>9. theno</td>
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<td>11. tngay</td>
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<td>17. 'teme</td>
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<tr>
<td>18. imbe'ie</td>
<td>- + - - + + + + + - - - -</td>
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</tbody>
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### Sketch 10: Comprehensive tabulation of Kinship (terms in Tchit)

#### Additional Notes:
1. Ego calls F or M if F or M died;
2. The +s are unusual to call so, unless having a standard level of social status;
3. If ego married he can also call FeD, FeBD, MBD, McZD like this;
4. If H or W died Ego calls W or H’s sibling with this term;
5. SW or DH adult sibling;
6. Ego can call MBD with this term;
7. HeB, HF, eSW;
8. HeB, HF, eSW;
9. WeB, WeZ, WM;
10. YZH, DH;
11. FBZS or D and S or D;
12. WZH, MFZS or D and MBDS or D.

#### 4.6. Social label

There are three most common uses of social labels:

a. labels bestowed on someone as solidarity with the deceased.

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<td>24.</td>
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<td>27.</td>
<td>tgon'xyfo</td>
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</table>
b. bond and corporate group;
c. social status.

To the earlier mentioned one, a label is given to a person, adding to or replacing his name in relation to the death of a person in the nuclear family only. There are cases where most labels carried along the life but there are also others, which may, changeable.

Sometimes more than one term can be used to address one person, e.g. semit-sambur for somebody who lost her/his spouse and adult married child. It is remarked that honorific labels being related to the partner/spouse always are evoked first, before the others.

So, if some body called by: semit-ergant-mamres (m)/swamres (w) that is to address to a female/male person whose had her/his spouse, adult non-married child, and sister/brother death. For some other facts, terms which referring to marriage lineage is also placed initially. The next possibility is including: t-gombon-semit-ergant-mamresm/swamresw ‘my death spouse’s sister/brother who’s had her/his spouse, adult-non-married child, and sister/brother death or also for to call’ my death sister’s/brother’s spouse who’s had her/his adult-none-married child and sister/brother death.

As already mentioned before, a married woman should get or evoked by using her paternal clan’s name soon after the death of her husband. Mean while, there also cases, a label should give to a person on bestowed on his/her as solidarity, indicates the special characteristics of the deceased. As matter of fact we may face with terms like:

- **Semit-sikola(m)** ‘the widow of an educated man’
- **Semit-kota(m)** ‘the widow of a city administrator’
- **Erga-nipon(m/w)** ‘a person whose her/his adult-non-married child killed during Japanese invasion in the World War II.

By using these labels, personal proper names are sometimes totally absent. When more than one honorific applies, they occur in the following order: kin term (K), spouse (/S), child(C), parent(P), sister/brother (/R), Paternal clan name (/F), which may formulated as "K+S+C+P+R+(+F)".

Besides those labels, a person may also called by using terms which referring to his/her bond or corporate to the addressee. The bond is not
wholly based on any particular genealogical or marital connection. By this system the linkage among several clans can also be seen. The development of this system based mostly on traditional institution such as: kain timur 'the complexity of payment in) woven cloth', tribal war (in the older days), descent of origin, etc.

Further, however, the social status is real; this may not determine any use of social variant. Addressing a person by using his social status can only be practised when a very special occasion is held. That is to evoke the addressee at his position in administration roles, status as functionaries in. additionally, in certain situation a person may only be addressed by using deictic as well as personal pronominal.

4.7. Colour Terms

The discussion of this section is limit to how many colours is role related to names and processes of naming. Looking at this point we can have the following examples:

1. Clan names:
   Momot-ririk  'the light-skinned Momot'
   Momot-ogin  'the dark-skinned Momot',
   Whereas the other colour terms are not used.

2. Personal proper names:
   Erar-ririk  'the light-skinned Erar'
   Erar-ogin  'the dark-skinned Erar'
   Whereas the other colour terms are also not used. It is clear that only these two colours -ririk 'light, white' and -ogin 'dark, black' are really used to distinguish two similar names by basing the distinction on skin colour. In the case of proper names this distinction may be factual, while in the case of clan names it is not, which meant not all members of Momot-ririk have light skins.

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3. **Personal real names**

   Even though there also exist cases where colour terms can be used as real personal proper names which are merely not just as substitution, for example;

   *Welom Wahlen Skeiteles*  
   *Moginadi Sagisolo*  
   *Eleipa Sagisolo*  
   *Sindri Sesa*, etc.;

   Which is:
   - *-hen* 'red',
   - *-ogin* 'dark', black,'
   - *-eleq* 'white',
   - *-ri* 'yellow, albino'.

4. **Irritation terms:**

   *Amus-eleq* 'the awful Amos (male)'
   *Semit-eleq* 'the skin-diseased widow'
   *Wsa-eleq* 'the white/blank-headed one, stupid (male)'
   *Wdla-ri* 'the diseased one, sick person (male)', etc.,

5. **Evoke terms**

   *Wsi-ogin* 'the blackout one (male)'
   *Msi-ogin* 'the blackout one (female)'
   *Msi-eleq* 'the easy going one, the lazy one (female)'
   *Wsi-mbra* 'the grey/blue-eyed one, the unsuccessful one (male)'
   *Msi-hen* 'the reddish-faced one, the beautiful one (female)',
   *Msi-ri* 'the yellowish-faced one, the tame one (female)', etc.

   While *msa'ririk* is doubled in meaning, 'the yellow-headed one (female) if to call an albino and 'the grey haired one one' if used for an old aged woman or can also being more confuse if for addressing 'a grey haired old albino women one'.
4.8. Taxonomies.

Names known as taxonomy are generally not cultural specific to this group. These names growth large mostly since 1960’s (when Indonesia government increased its control here in the land of Papua (since the name was Irian Barat or Irian Jaya). The names used to address some one based on what his kin relationship to a child:

Rio-w-ono 'Rio's (male) father'
Rio-w-emee 'Rio’s (male) mother'
Ria-m-ono 'Ria's (female) father'
Ria-m-adem 'Ria's (female) grand-ma', etc.

As happened to the non-Papuan family or especially those who are not having clan names. On the other side semantic splitting also happened as consequence of this which using his father’s personal name (mostly the baptismal one), occupation, and other honorific names can address a child. Let us consider the following examples:

- Paul Penias       'Paul, the sun of Penias'
- Martin Hanok      'Martin, the sun of Enoch'
- Hengki Rukun      'Henry, the sun of village administrator'
- Martin Kapala     'Martin, the sun of village head'
- Markus Penatua    'Marcus, the sun of church cloister',
- Maria Kapala      'Mary, the daughter of village administrator',
- Maria Hanok        'Mary, the daughter of Enoch', etc.

As is usually due, forms based on his occupation, his appearance or some impressive event with which he has had can also call a person been connected with.

Relying to this, it is remain also a confuse if some one called by using the name of his/her spouse after the word (Indonesia) bapak and ibu 'father/Mr.' And ‘mother/Madame’, as such:
Pak Rio can be ‘the father of some one named by Rio’ or ‘the address himself name is Rio’.
Bu Joko can be the mother of some one named by Joko or this may also the wife of Mr. Joko
Where could also be the child named Joko

Although for sure it might never the name of the lady herself as is known, the name Joko is a Javanese name referring to a male.
4.9. Shaman Names

In a specific category there also terms or names which indicate a relationship between the addressee and the \textit{wuon} aluminise of shaman institution' these name can also substitute the personal names. Regarding the topic on \textit{wuon}, a specific work should run afterwards. Rank and hierarchy of names mentioned are shown as follows.

\textit{s\text{q}olo}

= the headmen or senate members in the traditional/shaman institution.

Each of these members caused a new shaman institution can be established. People in this senate based on their level undergo the further classified as;

\textit{s\text{q}olo(-)wawo}

= the head master/principle

\textit{s\text{q}olo(-)bri}

= the vice principle

\textit{s\text{q}olo(-)msewe\text{t}}

= the assistant

\textit{wuon}

= teachers in subjects given at the shaman institution (school).

Several of subject's give arises the following terms;

\textit{\text{w} (t)\text{\text{u}}(n)s\text{\text{f}}\text{\text{e}}-bri}

= teacher of skills and practical subjects;

which again based on each specialisation, this may divided as;

\textit{\text{w} (t)\text{\text{u}}(n)\text{q}\text{\text{e}}\text{\text{q}} (?)},
\textit{\text{w} (t)\text{\text{u}}(n)\text{l}\text{\text{a}} (?)},
\textit{\text{w} (t)\text{\text{u}}(n)s\text{s}\text{\text{a}} (?)}

\textit{wuon\text{\text{sana}}}

= the pupils/students.

Based on their grade they are distinguished as follows;

\textit{wuong\text{\text{g}}\text{\text{\text{r}}}\text{\text{g}}\text{\text{n}}\text{\text{a}}\text{\text{n}}\text{\text{e}}} or \textit{wuong\text{\text{g}}\text{\text{\text{g}}\text{\text{g}}\text{\text{g}}\text{\text{g}}\text{\text{g}}\text{\text{e}}} = the beginners'
wuon her
= the intermediates
'dridqoin
= the advance or the new wuon.

People outside this institution are called simbosi 'the layman', or 'unspecified'. To state a tree diagram of members in this shaman institution we may have the following figure:

Sketch 11: Diagram of The Wuon Hierarchical Structure
The above mentioned shaman terms and names in the old time strictly not publicly used or evoked in wrong manner where only used as name which is addressed to the alumnus of the wuon institution. Spend of time when the outside influences forced into the life habitual of the Toror people originally practised this culture specifics, code switching had been held. The terms and names nonetheless can also used by the people who not wuon institution aluminises.

This is however the baptismal or Christian names is given, the shaman names the remaining holding to the person. The placements of the names are seemingly formulated as: baptismal name, shaman name and the family or clan name (B+S+F). The following examples are given to have more clear idea on these two kinds of usage.

1. The non shaman aluminise
   Tontje Wolas Krenak
   Daan Woqleq Flassy
   Maklom Wouther Seregea, etc.

2. The shaman aluminise
   Daud Qbofe Sereffe
   Gustaf Woundiwet Kolongea
   Wellem Wogleq Karsao, etc.

To have any distinguish on them it is only by searching the age or physical appearances. The oldest people are believed ordinary shaman where the youngest are not. And accordingly the male people taken to be shaman who is the sis may only held to sub-tribes out side the Tehit Jit. So when a Tehit Jit male (Daan Woqleq Flassy mentioned above) carrying the shaman name must not to be not a real shaman alumn. This might also in formed here that since Christian belief being introduced, church and government during the colonial period restrict this institution forbid. At present day however the change is freely open people are still not dare to rebuild this institution.

4.10. Kin and Alliances

Instead evoke a person by his/her personal proper name the kin and alliances terms are used. This is to pay more intimate relation with the
addressee. Both are inanimate, therefore should always related to the person these terms are relying to. There are more than 32 kin terms, which can be, used (Figure 3). Regarding the alliance terms the favourite one is anaq 'friend' (where tanaq 'my friend', nanaq 'your friend', etc.). When looking from the Tehit Jit point of view, the following terms may directivity capable.

- ta'naq 'my friend to any body
- 'tamble 'my friend' to particular people when to put down
- tfain 'my friend' my bride giver/receiver' to the Ogit tribe.
- 'tasqan 'my friend, my young brother, my alliance' to any non-
  Tehit Jit Jit and the Meyibrat, Abun and Madik people.
- tba 'my friend, my old relative' to Moei, Seget, Klabra,
  Morait people.
- 'tgiani 'my friend, my land sake, my country mate' to Papua or
  people with black skin or and cruelly hared both
  originally to Bombermi/Fakfa, Kokas people.

4.11. Appellation

Names to which a person is addressed sometimes varies more than what a speaker refers to. Names reflex the personality and the existence of a person, which therefore seemed to be a shadow or an image of a personality. However as we may notice, not all names can be evoked freely. There are particular rules or situation where a person can be addressed by using a certain terms or (social) labels. If used not in an appropriate condition these will be odd or may sometimes unacceptable. By this we may state that this selectively uses names in this cultural group. That is the speaker is aware about the condition where a name or a (social) label can be used. General features of how names can be applied are as:

a) personal proper names
   (land and baptismal names):
   - by or in the authorities register;
   - friend to friend since childhood;
   - spouse to spouse;
   - high to low
   - low to low.

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b). clan names:
   - in a formal situation;
   - the addressed has an occupation;
   - high to high;
   - low to high.

c). labels
   - social status
   - low to high;
   - official;
   - high to high
   - junior to senior in kin lineage;
   - kin term
   - child to parents;
   - junior to senior;
   - sister to brother, vice versa;
   - grand parent to grand child, vice versa;
   - term bestowed to a person caused by the death of a member in the nuclear family
   - every one to the members in the family.

d). taxonomy
   - occupation
   - every one;
   - low to high
   - friend to friend
   - body appearance
   - every one;
   - friend to friend;
   - high to low; etc.
§5

WORD TABOOS

5.1. General

It is commonly known, taboos or at this particular word-taboos are very common language usage throughout the world. Although its purposes and intentions are varied, the whole ideas are clear. The awareness of avoiding certain words or expressions from the common natural utterances to various language communities seems to indicate word-taboo as to be universal tendency. The way to mark a such behaviourist habitual is based on not less than a dozen attitudes. The more seldom are the attitude of beliefs, customs, and habits. These basic phenomena of mankind behaviour standardised in social status, which is viewed as instances of morality and immorality. This may however for many reasons totally are para-lingual features.

This chapter is aimed to go along about how word-taboos found and played roles among language communicators (speakers) and the related concept (participators).

5.2. Language Distinctiveness

Although the concept regarding word-taboos was taken in thought as play more roles outside the linguistic evidences, it is clearly accepted as one of language variation. It is more likely to think about as a "word bearing concept" which is inhereing in several "hidden meanings". Regarding the concept of word as a whole, Breal (Semantics, pp.171-172) ones has shown as mentioned in Ogden and Richard (1972:3) more or less is as substantive occurring as sign attached to things. They contain exactly amount of truths, borne in such medium (utterance, name and nomenclature) of an amount necessity small in proportion to the reality of the objects.

There are accepted by a tacit consent of which we are not even conscious. The following questions by no means should arise: What exactly to be made of substantives which "contain" truth, "that amount of which can
be contained by name"? How can 'all that is found in the idea be also found in the word'?

The conception of words, based on these is stated as compelled to choose "an idea", and there by creating "a name (or such a similarity)" which is not belong in becoming a sign. Where "accuracy" and "harmony" no more than only the need of elucidation when applied to naming and to the relation between sign and thing signified respectively. The major important is therefore, "what is the object at once integral and concrete of linguistics?"

This inspires thought of "la langue" as a set of events. Its sounds imply movements of speech, and both as instruments of thought, imply ideas. Looking at this, "la langue" therefore is only a determinate part of the whole essential of the truth. It is at once social product of adopted by the social body to allow the exercises of this faculty as any individual expression.

However, as one may concern, it is by itself growth to form a totally whole in a principle of classification. Here by, our mind of word-taboo as a substantive may be directed. From this point of view, word-taboo is regarded as a distinctive feature from a common natural form (not just "la langue"). What is then understood by word-taboo is as a unit of idea brought several differs in minds not as thought in language common usage.

That is: what X stand for or X exist for rather what X experienced for. There is the fact that many linguistic restricted evidences are facing beyond (Chomsky, 1969:4). Again, word-taboo in some instances push for such code switching. Those may an extraordinary word potential, which is having an ability of supplying the understanding of the relations and the responses to the stimulus. However, the code is a (natural) common language universal phenomenon such as linguistic features of phoneme and grammar components of noun, verb, etc. (Mead, 1971:107; Sperber, 1974:6). The code is therefore arbitrary.

5.3. Category of Expressions

On its arbitrariness, word-taboo for each language community are very whether in small scale (locally) or wide range level (universals). The speakers of Bahaam and the related Papuan languages of Trans New Guinea Phylum in Bomberai Peninsula (west New Guinea) for example, it is very
clear of using alternative of synonymy for one particular word. Some evidence is shown in the Sketch 12 below.

These alternatives appear too particular devises. The usage of these Bahaam specifics is ratified by awareness as it is referring to divers scale of a comparative attitude of animate-inanimate, human-non-human, and polite impoliteness. Each are dated as undergo certain switching. For any other language communities, the evocations of personal names are definitely taboo in particular cases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPEAKERS</th>
<th>ADDRESSER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ANIMATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 'long' we'yoos | + | + | - | + | - |
| 'ne'raa | - | - | + | - | + |
| 'young' ta'mbiri | + | + | - | + | - |
| ka'nggoori | - | - | + | - | + |
| 'to eat' 'newa | + | - | - | + | - |
| ra'qebye | - | + | + | - | + |
| 'pregnant' me'yangguun | + | - | - | + | - |
| ki'qgis | - | + | + | - | + |
| 'die' ki'yprwil | + | - | - | + | - |
| ne'yaat | - | + | + | - | + |
| 'foot' phweyt | + | - | - | + | - |
| 'cwoon | - | - | + | - | + |
| mbro | - | - | + | - | + |
| 'to have a SXL intercourse' 'naataduk | + | - | - | + | - |
| 'ndaqet | - | + | - | - | + |

**Sketch 12: Table of Code Switching in Bahaam.**

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The speakers of Tehit and related West Papuan Languages in Dobrani Peninsula, New Guinea (Bahaam as presented above), we ought to learn one other specific case. Here, personal names and proper names are restricted as relate to the belief of supernatural world.

| SPEAKERS using the term to call the nuclear family members of the deceased | THE FAMILY RELYING TO THE DECEASED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CHILD | BRETHERS | PARENTS | TIME/DURATION |
| Yng | Ed-Med | Ed+Med | Broth | Sistr | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | S | L |
| PARENTS: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 'qmoras | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | | | | | | |
| 'erqat | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | | | | | | |
| sa'mbaru | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | | | | | |
| BRETHERN: | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 'wamres | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | | | | | |
| 'namres | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | | | | | |
| sa'diul | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | | | | | |
| ndhol | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | | | | | |
| CHILD | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 'pudoin | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + |
| 'nfolqei | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| 'fiaq | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | - |
| SPOUSE | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| se'muit | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | | |

Sketch 13: Table of Tehit addressing terms towards the family relying the deceased

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The death of a member in a nuclear family may cause taboo for evoking regular names of people in that family. As had been noted before, in Tehit, a person is duty to carry several names from it's born up until after its death besides the original (proper) personal name (S). A specific unique here is, in Tehit, taboo is pledged to avoid personal names and carrying names of lamenting expression terms. It is as belief, concerning traditional view of mankind as comprises two dimensions of existences, which are visible and invisible beings.

The evoking of name by using lamenting expression terms is to mean, besides as sympathy to the addressee it is also more to fulfil the inner concept of beings. The ghost of deceased will feel peaceful in its world when the family are evoked by lamentation expression terms (see sketch 13). Where in the other side the family may not have difficulties caused by the ghost of the deceased. From the viewpoint or Ego, the terms is only switching if used for evoking the left behind parent. Here the term *t-emw* 'my mother' and *t-ono* 'my father' is replaced to *t-aede* 'my grant pa/ma'. For the same case, it is also inclusively counted for about 35 terms (Flashy, 1991) relying the membership of Ego to the namesake who's name is similar to the deceased. The using of a certain secrete language mostly is crossed to the belief or Eco-cosmological confess. Mostly of the Melanesian societies, special vernacular is appeared not only in one single occasion. This is particular events such as clearing ground for new garden, throwing poison in a river stream to catch fish, on a hunting game etc.

From the viewpoint of Ego, the terms are only switching if used for evoking the left behind parent. Here the term *t-emw* 'my mother' and *t-ono* 'my father' is replaced to be *t-aede* 'my grant parent (ma/pa)*. Where for the same case
§ 6

ULTIMATE REMARKS

This linguistic analysis had throw e view a view of assertion that the 'self' may only exist through interrelation with the surrounding world. Any personal proper name is the essence of the human individual (the surrounding world) characterized by symbolic interactions. Every social symbol therefore can also termed as a social labels. Names as the whole must be seen as part of the complexity of social interaction, where details of explanation why they exist, considered in isolation, are as meaningless as isolation letters of the alphabet.

The personal proper names (land and baptism names), clan names and labels (kinship, honorific, personal pronouns, deities, etc.) indicate a mutual relationship, however only the social labels can be substituted for one other two names and not vice versa. The substitution names or terms, by their vary concepts, are able to modify the existence of an individual by reference giving rise to personal proper names and clan names. The disjunction between names and concepts therefore become complex. The linking of social labels and personal names can be understood only by dipping our understanding of their relationships and the spiritual cultural heritage of the tribe. We cannot interpret these complex names literally because this process of correlation is determined by the socio-cultural system and the individual’s relationship to it. It is inventible, therefore, that the names evolve to embody a person’s life experience. A person is indicated by is name and the related concept.

This is to show how the self as reflection of the relationships between his personal internal world and the external world where he exists, the interdependency relationship determined the development of the self. By using symbols around him the individual is able to use this interdependency relationship to place him self appropriately. The society in which each self takes form on the other hand can develop harmoniously because common emotions elicit common responses in every self that is in every member of society.

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The integrity of a language and, in particular, of names and naming symbols relies on the integrity of the culture. In any aspect of culture changes to disturb its harmony as if kinship and the "kain timur" complexes as well as some other institutions are destroyed, the naming system will break down. Names and naming symbols would lose their nuances.
Chapter Four

SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN TOROR
§1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. General

Description on social-culture in this written work, the author is meant as an other portion of linguistic description on language family spread in west and central "Bird's Head" which is afterwards to be used "Doberai" Peninsula New Guinea (Papua). The languages consisting two sub-families which are Mooi, Seget, Morait, Klabra and Tehit in one side as one sub-family calls West Doberai (/Bird's Head)Family and Meybrat, Abun (/Karon) and Madik on the other side as one sub-family calls The Central Doberai (/Bird's Head) Family. Together with the language family of East Doberai (Kebar-Amberbaken sub - family) these languages form a distinguish language phyllum separate from the whole New Guinea, calls The West Papuan Phyllum where also included languages of Northern Halmehera of North Moluccas (Voorhoeve, 1975; Wurm, 1981 etc.)17. At the essence of lexicon and its typology, these languages sharing many similarities mainly in word formation (dominated by pronominal affixes), and the sentence formation (SPO). However there are many similarities and cultural sharing patterns (further in this work) the central and the western

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16 The author is a native speaker of Tehit language, especially of Thet Jit dialect. Several data, the author only gained from the oral stories that are because several aspects were disappeared and went by the time. The given work on its future attempt may possible to be as an equal compilation of the ethic and emic point of view. The whole description may therefore in many ways basing on Tehit out look.

17 The sharing of cognates goes around 57 to 80 %; at the time when the work done, the author is also preparing a historical linguistic analysis entitled "Findings in Toror Languages Doberai Peninsula, New Guinea (West Papau)". Several works has been initiated on this specific topic amongst the target languages as preliminary works (see Bibliography). One of those which is seemingly a complete study done by Bery and Bery (1987).
part of the language phylum is marked apparently as one social-culture area which may introduce by as Toror (Further discussion on Toror in §3).

In the linguistic devices, what is meant by kin or according to linguistic limitation shown before, the speakers of Meybrat language whose are in a cultural lineage's closely tight to the speakers of Tehit language for example may seen as not counted as members in one same language family.

When apt to define the term family or kin according to linguistic limitation shown before, the speakers of Meybrat language whose are in a cultural lineage's closely tight to the speakers of Tehit language. It is for example may see as not counted as sharing members of the rest of Toror cultural community. And this also happened to the speakers of Karon language when across to the speakers of Mooi and Morait.

The linkages are reflected in the daily life, facing in the way of communication (exchange of kinship, trade and alliances). This is also due held for many certain other customs and traditional institutions which are highlighting by kinship system and ceremonial houses. These are among others: he'dar, tohmi, samu mos, or kek seba and many others included the practice of male magic of ras'mne and bu'fili (both are mixed practices of chemistry and magic), and also that of female witchcraft la'lit, khesfa'ne or suangi and so forth. Also included to these, the complexities of the distribution system and payment currency of the secret cloth not-hog or kain-timur as an important tool in culture, which is function as a tool of the life control. Where also included tales of origination.

Linkages shown before, passing over language boundaries within West Papuan Phylum (for Northern Halmahera no single information beyond) throughout west, central and east Doberai Peninsula (New Guinea/ Papua). The ethnic groups in this area are sharing a specific social and cultural heritage marked by wide range cultural and linguistic aspects (For the further discussion the followings sources are available: Held, 1951:18, Gerbrands, 1979:13, Voorhoevee, 1975; Wurm, 1977:613; Flassy ed. 1983:7-8, 92-93).

By having knowing of the social and culture patterns in this particular, may function to fulfill the background of knowledge regarding the life of target language proponents. That is there for social and cultural approach may useful as the gate to go closer to dig up several internal views as reflected through the practice of their language system. Knowledge may
also be an opportunity to build up the perception on the language spread area as unit within the culture. As culture aspects, language may date its reflections through reciprocity influences to and from the culture coverage. Basing to this assumption, the Chapter 1 of this volume may deals with the empires and field of research, adequacy of the Data, Social-Geographical Description included Environmental Arrangement, Means of Livelihoods and Demographically Distribution. Specific problematic deals with perceptions emerge in Chapter 2 on PROBLEMATIC covering Perception and Typology, Alternatives Approaches, some Hypothesis, Loosey and Hidden Structure, Equilibrium System, Centre-Periphery Conflict. After the given features in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, the Chapter 3 wills deal with a description on social ard culture in Toror. This will covering the name of Toror and Myths, Religion, Basic Considerations, Taboos, Institutions, Kinship and Social Alliances, Marriage and Bride-Wealth, Marriage and Alliances, Conglomeration, Sacred Cloth "keintumur" Complexes, Contacts and Influences (Domestic Contacts, Outside Contacts), Conflicts and Realities, Linguistic Aspects, Lingua-franca and Uniform. By means Chapter 4 which is the ending of this volume, may deals with summary insisting characteristics and universal view shown in Toror social and culture features mention in Cultural Characteristics, Dimensions and Perspectives.

1.2. Procedures and the Collecting of Data

The problem is too general which the author (see note 1) faced in the field and which will be described here may cause many none-definable

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18 As an integrated part within the culture, a language is marked on its unit of cultural-environment-sight; Pike (1967:26), as highlighted by Sapir (1922:6-13), Boas (1938:9) and Mollnowsky (1960:22-24, 429-463) and further also by Bynon (1977:24), language is an essential mankind activity, had been taken as the notion marking, towards the the knowledge of developmental process (evolution) which must be searched inside the global statement (arbitrarily compulsory) reigned the attitude of mankind experiences insisted communal structure within the cultural developmental-structure (anatomy) along side with the present life (reality) and its terminology (adequate).
of certain cases. This may happen there are important sights, maybe, which ought to take in main attention in the implementation of social-culture however with no purpose been covered by the author. One important aspect for example is on comparative data amongst group of speakers and group in ethnic, which may only described in a preliminary way very broadly including the discussion on references. From this reality may surely happened that a detail comparative might not able to reach. It is to mean the given work should be limited to the author desire of to bring above specific social-cultural aspects within the ethnic groups in Toror to be as research potentials for the further detail studies. The social-cultural data given here are too descriptive however it may able to bring a clear mind as supporting prescriptive analysis of language relation within Toror culture area reigned in cultural universality. The author aims are to show lines to trace about the questioning of "Is the language relationship possible to be any indications to the cultural sight of Toror?"

1.2.1. Empiricist and Field of Research

Separate from linguistic aspects as the main course of this study, data collections also had been run to social-cultural data. In this specific besides digging the empirical experiences, the author also exerted to be considered to variability's and also change beyond.

The visit to target area in the meaning of "doing research", had been started since 1978/1979 when the author was about the end of academic study at the Institute Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan/Institute for Teacher and Education Yogyakarta all at once also doing a language field research on Tehit which its a project division sponsored by Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa/The Center for Language Establishment and

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19 de Saussure (Ferdinand), as translated by Roy Harris (1972:6-7) from its early time of the new course in linguistics (Structural Linguistics) already been transparently acknowledging the tight correlation amongst languages and several many other disciplines, as for example the making used of linguistic in studying the social phenomena among others the history, ethnography and anthropology which is ought to study the mankind as a species.
Development, Departement of culture and Education located at Yogyakarta headed by Dr. Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo.

As result of this Preliminary language field research had been compiled a series of report consisting the following: (1) Struktur Bahasa Tehid (The Structure of Tehit Language), (2) Kosa kata (Word list), (3) Folklore, and (4) Analisis Struktur Bahasa Tehit dalam kaitannya dengan Pengajaran Bahasa Indonesia di Sekolah (The analysis on the structure of Tehid language in connection with the lesson of Bahasa Indonesia in the school). One other change was, when the author took part in the social and cultural research lead by the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia/ Lembaga Ekonomi dan Sosial Nasional or LIPI/LEKNAS (The Indonesia Institute of Science) on Mollucaas and Irian Jaya in the year 1980/1981. Simultaneously, the author was stimulating to do the research on Phonology of Mooli Language, which was then became a field research report brought to the Ambon Seminar in the year 1982. Again in the year 1986/1987s other occasion held, when doing a collaboration research with Lisidius Animung on the language structure of Seget by the sponsorship of the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa/Centre for Language Attorney and Development, Department of Culture and Education. Besides that some looses written work on the target area also been done mostly as seminar papers. Having a guidance from Prof. Dr. W.A.L. Stokhof, some more articles been written as a collaboration work as well as individual's appears in NUSA and Pacific Linguistics (see Bibliography).

Several other visits are besides that of family returning (mudik) also of officials and services at the capacity of development planner on Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Provinsi Daerah Tingkat I (Provincial Office of Regional Development Planning Board) of Irian Jaya (Papua). At what ever occasion when visiting the target are, the author had been intended to collect new data and renew the information beyond which had been covered before.

1.2.2. Adequacy of Data

From what had been learn before, which is also completed by library studies, lectures and the implementing of theories, the author is committed to be as possible could clarifying several essence of social and culture adequacies which are so far marked as not revealed able. Those

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certain constraints besides caused by introvert behaving of the owner of the culture, may mostly also caused by the differences of nuances among the research (s) and the owner of the culture. Having the knowledge from several studies beyond, and as people (member) originating conceptions of the owner of the owner of the culture 'That is to say "mankind and its environment" as a single totality, not only if it is ranging widely but also intact, interrelated, mutually released and brought empty into divers possibilities. On the surface of each aspect may raise autonomous however in its inner-structure covered as part of dominations.

By experiencing the just mentioned fact, diverse nuances may brought a re-turning of several information (knowledge) so far had been knowledge by the scientists and the predecessor researchers in New Guinea (Papua mainly in the case of anthropological conception called loosely structure (see 2.1). The concept of loosely-structure in decade of 1950s was detected by the member of Leiden School of Structural Anthropology to the kinship relation of tribes in the Netherlands New Guinea (Papua) as a research territory of interest (field of study/FOS).

The theory was basing on African model of kinship which then been left after in the decade 1960s when varies data from Papua New Guinea (east of Papua) were published by members of British Anthropology.

Regarding the conception of loosely structure as stated by A. van der Leeden (1960:121) "...is refers to the variability of individual behavior and to cultural integration, not to cultural contents...", further, "......looseness is connected with process of change..." etc. however from it scarceness of interrelations J. van Baal (1954: 439-441 and personal consultation 1990) pronounced as individualism, G.J. Held (1951: 53) improviser of culture, where from the other sides J. Power (1955 :24) as started from the kinship which is indicated as linearity-union inclined to

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20 To gain the opinion the author had replaced him self balance into both dimension which infects totally distinct from each other which is emic as the owner of the culture an ethic as researcher, there may possibly any gab or space in between which by the author not on purpose had been made which then bearing a condition of not liberate from the scientific adequacies.
acclaiming not stated as open-ended in an invisible interrelation or calls hidden-structure. The conception of hidden-structure from this methodology may equal with J.van Baal (1981:151, 153-156 etc.), intentionally or of J.W. Schoorl (1957:34): open asymmetrical system and E.C.Kamma (1975:5) hidden meaning. The founding of A.van der Leeden, 1956, based on his research amongst tribes somewhere inland Sarmi, Northern Coast of New Guinea (West Papua) which then poured out in his written work titled *Hoofdrekken der sociale structuur in het Westelijke binnenland van Sarmi* (Principal trait of social structure at the western part of inland Sarmi). His work had became a stage of lateness polemics amongst himself (1966:119-149) and Power (1960: 110-168) (see notes 3).

As had been mentioned before, language as an integral aspect in the culture may not apart from the interrelation within diverse social and cultural aspects. This is to mean to build up the incomprehensible amongst the language basing on real elements and units, which are able to bring this, appears (Goodenough, 1970:106-109). The real characteristics of culture Toror, which are relay prominent as been mentioned before, may as social-cultural aspects understanding which by the given work should plausibly functioned to clarify divers linguistic phenomena of Toror sub-culture.21

Maybe the way of approach mentioned above, ought to be any other method offered to run the similar studies across amount of language families in New Guinea area and the adjacent island as a boundary unit of Field of Study (FOS)22.

21 The forth coming work is being prepared, titled "Development and Standardization of related languages within Toror group. The central and western part of Doberai Peninsula (West) Papua".

22 FOS is an approach in structural Anthropology Leiden founded by J.P.B. de Jossolin do Jong (1977), regarding New Guinea (Papua-New Guinea and West Papua) as a regional of FOS as known so far there still no any specific scientific institution. That is intact several studies sporadically and limit interest already been held since the year 1820. The State University of Leiden in the frame work a cooperative work between the "Pusat Studi Irian Jaya"/Irian Jaya Study Centre since 1990 had initiating a thematically studies on the head "Papuanisitck" (Irian Jaya Studies -IRIS Project 1990).
1.3. Socio-Geographical Description

The environment plays a very important role in controlling and determining life structure (existence and characteristics) as physical continuation and the psychical processes (see 1.3.1). Both emic and ethic approach bears demanding the understanding of socio-geographic surrounding the spread area of (speakers of) languages of research targeting.

1.3.1. Environmental Arrangement

Toror ethnic groups are traditionally inhabit the spread area covering west to south west Doberai which is amongst 130 grade east, 2 grade west and 5 grade south. The climate is not too different than many parts west-warded of West New Guinea (West Papua) which is unpredictable condition of wet and dry days. It is stated that wet days are often experiencing in October to January where dry days in June to September, however this stating limit goes miss, when the wet days dominating too long again unpredictable. Statistic figures dated by Meteorology and Geophysics Division of Irian Jaya area (1988), shows, rainfall vary between 3.00 and 6.00 mm. The longest dry days can be due for 2 to 3 months.

Natural typology shows a surface of (1) swampy lands and river slopes, (2) Slid lands up to (3) Hilly land and limestone mountains with a height of 700 to 1000 m and also (4) Coastal area and island mostly that of Raja Ampat Archipelago. Environment typology of spread area being determiner varieties of livelihoods and its implementation in the manner of economic and social-cultural dimensions and characteristics included words and terms in a language29. In a wide concept on a such process on the environment, Bodley (1975:4) sets forth, that the inhabitant (tribe) in a certain area tend to life equally to the environment in built up its culture

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29 One of the reasons which motivated the 'word-stems' and "cognates" included vocabularies. The terms and words towards the natural life of sea and water for example may more intense in usage as shown in the vernacular of Klabra if comparing with that of Madik.
towards a stability height (cultural pick). The system may create conditions of environment needs and environment dependencies. As matter of fact, the group (ethnic) of Toror brought up less tightness of movement in a limitation of livelihoods range (area) encouraging the interrelation of members in the societies to be in a format of socio-equilibrium. This is meant the equality of conditions in the social system may refer ring to internal-balance amongst the system and environment.

Regarding the thought of this kind, however it is seemingly too tentative, the experiments which is run, there is tendency of interrelation amongst nature and environment with mechanism of the nature of thought and actions of a person. A.J.P. Brock, (1923:163-233) once had initiate an experiment on the value of IQ which is in correlation with the skull size and the environment of several tribes of the Melanesian-Papuan Ethnic basing on the theory of *exind cephalicus* which is then comparing its result with the Schwalbe's of endocrine or also to Sarasin's *variant*. J.P. Kleivig de Zwaan had also done the similar scientific work, 1925, which is reported at 'The Papuan of Dutch New Guinea' "A Physico-anthropological survey" in *Antiquity and Survival*, 5:321-124.

Environment of what ever as shown, could color and determining mankind characteristics both physically and psychically. D.K. Feil (1987:12-38) with a conviction on the ecological influences on life structure, had tempted to correlate the variables of inhabitant at Papua New Guinea highland (west, centre and east). J.F.Weiner, (1988) however not at the same opinion with a such generalization stated by Feil, shows that there is an equality of environment specific and life specific or the life specific which is having conceptions of environment however the varieties are maintained.

1.3.2. Means of Livelihoods

Traditionally, livelihoods are tight to typology of the area of spreading. The inhabitant of swampy lands and river slopes are fully depending on gathering sago, catching fish and often doing hunting game. If the any cultivation activities the number is too limit. The same value, which
is also experiencing by people, inhabited the islands. And coastal areas however the specification still is counted. Sago palm or *Metroxylon palmae* and ownership conflict as been described. forced the Beteuw groups whom originally migrated from Numfoor and other parts in the Yellow finch/Geelvink or Saereri bay to over-come the claim of the Maya, Laganyam and Mooi people whom are the original inhabitant of Raja Ampat Archipelago. The migrant by this fact intended to grow them self's sago. Where the cultivated sago, grown by these migrant bears more flour then those naturally grows as spread by birds, floods etc.

The habitants of hilly and (mountain like) high lands are substituting agriculture. Where those at the slide or flat lands (marginal) are mainly acknowledge as skill to practice both swampy lands and river slopes or of coastal area and islands and that of hilly and mountain like lands livelihoods patterns. Thus besides gathering sago and catching fish or running hunting games, also laying the dry field agriculture (Haan, 1958:161-168). The activities of farming or the better word to use, husbandry, which is keeping animal, is too limited25.

The keeping of pigs is not for the owner consumption whether more as commerce trade of tradition and customary linkage26. The other keeping animal is dog. As informed by several myths (Kafiar, et al., 1983), the animal seemed much closed to mankind history of Toror ethnic groups. Traditionally, dogs (either domestic or introduced/imported) are kept for very limitation needs mostly of laying agriculture or gardening, twice each year. It is noted that amongst those twice occurring, there is a in between

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24 Mambrasar (1983), shows the struggle of Beteuw people who were migrated from Numfoor and other parts along the Saereri or Yellow feathers (Geelvink) Bay to ever come the claim made by the Maya, Laganyam and Mooi people who are the indigenous of the Raja Ampat Archipelago. The migrants therefore had planted their own sago.  

25 The goodwill of the authorities since the year 1950s never had been successfully which is never bearing any thought of plus from husbandry or say keeping of animal.  

26 Miedema (1986:6) noted the “ikan mas” (Cyprinus carpio) also being the new trade tools for the Meybrat people surrounding the Lake of Ayamatu.
activity which is by needs. Such garden is needed for growing seasonal plants such as vegetables, beans and peas, bananas and cassava, sugar cane and also much kind of plants, which are not main (staple) plants. In the old time there also found special gardens allocated for magic and ritual ceremonies such as initiation and also of the replacement of skull and the skeleton of death body, etc. (see 2.1, 2.2, 2.3).

In the further description shall be found such dimension of productions also emerge to several cultural aspects. By a comprehension that gardens needed as magic and ritual tools are communal activities (normative), the third garden which is the in between garden may accepted as bridging assessment of the aloofness or looseness (deviation) off the second classification gardens laid twice a year (which is some amount of full-moon) which are the needs of present day (existence). The main (staple) cultivation to this ethnic is taro of *Colocasia sp.* variant *Colocasia antiquorum*.

Cultivation system practiced here is dry field agriculture (moving gardening from place to place) by a cyclic method basing on the belief of to offer possibilities of time for the creator (supernatural) to restore the fertility and to re-stimulate the soil before reused. The method is in the modern conception known as the phase of fertility processing. The method of cyclical moving known here up to now still tolerated when taken in mind that the soil condition is poor. By an understanding of, if any intensive agriculture would be forced to, may only done by a stimulation of high technology (plugging and irrigation system).

Since the government of Nederland's-New Guinea and also the last almost thirty decades some commodity plants had been introduced however it remain far from the target. Specific commodity plants still be hold are ground nut, green bean and onion, however the cultivation system and its process still is very simple. Besides that in about the last decade the government had introduced cows to the people to be developed but again this is filed to be successes. The fact is facing mostly because the people are not prepared to adapt the new skill and also that the new introduction husbandry having a less support to the cultural values. One or two (kernel) families also keeping goat but never help at all for supporting the life. The animal just leaves away a round, destroy garden and contaminating the water sources etc. because the animal tent wounded or the owner became
object of curses. Besides that chicken also kept in limit number (not in stall) for a very limit need. By statistics the system of farming or keeping animal and the production are too low. The condition may had happened end cause by the reachable distance of the fulfillment of consumption from the sea, river or lake or from the forest and the orchard (here not only fruits but also several forest products including sago) and the closed by hunting field influencing the life is too friendly to the environment. By only little activities the daily life needs are provided.

To some other inhabitants whose, are rarely substituting sago as food, taro may become staple food. Besides being staple food also become ceremonial articles. Mice (time duration of growth two to three months) may also plant in the same garden with taro but for several social reasons always planted in a special garden mostly as exchange crops. Plants such as banana, sweet potato of Ipomea batata, yam of Dioscera and cassava of Colocasia sp., gourd, cucumber, papaya, bean and pie, certain varies of vegetables and sugar cane mostly ar by plant. The very famous vegetable is Abelmedius manihot or domestically known as gedi (Papuan-Maley) which, is a kind of trunk (small tree/perdu) its leaves are phlegm when cooked. Some other famous are several kinds of amaranths and four-sided beans, gray haired beans (Tehiti: gambet and ryemen) and also trubus or Saccharum officiale a kind of cane with eatable fronts or cabbages. Vegetables gathered from the forest vary in many kinds such of fern, genemon or Gnetum gnemon (leaf and seeds), front of bamboo and several many others, which are easily found whatever time. This is also to mention many kind of fruits which are seasonally found each year such as breadfruits, Langsiam, jackfruit, Nutmeg, Pandanus and also tens of others which not been covered in Indonesian or English (only having domestics names). The hunting animal limit to pigs, kangaroo, marsupial, mice like ground mammal of Burremyidae and ekidna where also several kind of (eatable) birds. Wild and dangerous animals limit to snakes (Poisonous), scorpions, centipedes and the water and sea crocodiles, shark, torn fish (Poisonous) etc. (see 2.3).

The keeping of pigs is worth besides bringing the capital such as cloths or cottons or of money also playing a role of payment tools (transaction, fines or compensations). Cloths or cottons which are expected mostly that of not hen 'Kain Merah' or reddish/light categorized fabrics,
which are cloths or cottons bought from the store, but some times also that of kain timur 'sacred cloth' of the lowest class categories. A pig may paid by the kain timur of middle class categories if the one whose bargaining to gain the (Te: qorik sambanan 'the head of the pig' is the qaban 'female whom caused the bride-prices are bringing in which is father daughters (FD), father sisters (FZ), also father's sister's daughters (FZD) and father brothers daughters (FBD). The prestige of pig amongst people in this ethnic group however differs from each others however the goal remains the same which is to multiply the ownership of cloth/cotton which is the most capital goods (see 4.1, 4.3).

By comparing J.F. Weiner, (1948, ed) in Mountain Papuans: Historical and Comparative Perspectives from New Guinea Fringe Highlands Societies, stating that the Central Highland communities (among others: Yali, Dani, Ekari, Moni, and Damal at the western part and Enga, Chimbu, at the eastern part) pigs is having a role of gathered to supply social status symbols of the bigman or calls pre-socialism, where from the area of these target group pigs are used as medium or tools of gathering and lubricating the distribution of the woven cloth of "Kain Timur" as the indicator to state the social status calls pre-capitalism. The way how to gain this two kinds of production system may be drawn as (see Table) follows:

Central High Land/Pre-Socialism versus Toror (Pre-Capitalism):

*Tool ⇒ Symbol status versus tool-1 = tool-2 ⇒ symbol status.*

Area typology and livelihood of this ethnic group mostly is on the marginal lands (except the hilly land of district of Ayamaru). The position they are making possibilities to them to substitute productions of aquaculture by laying gardening or agricultural dry field and also of semi-nomadic or semi-gathering or semi collecting as alternatives, see the following sketch.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>speaker unit language &amp; dialects</th>
<th>area typology: A) wamps, river slopes, B) marginal, C) mountains, D) coastal area</th>
<th>livelihoods: (1) gathering sago, (2) gardening, (3) fishing, (4) hunting, (5) keeping/feeding animals (husbandry)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Moom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1. Massina</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2. Klasa</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3. Segun</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. SEGET</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1. Lane Lemas</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2. Lane Klappig</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. MORAIT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1. Salik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2. Sayena</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3. Salgna</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. KLABRA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 To (Salmid)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Tro (Berzaer)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. TEHIT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1. Tehit Ist</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5.2. Mboffe</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1. Gemma</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.2. Afaya/Nigga</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3. Sayli</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.1. Sere</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2. Sayli</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.4. Yami</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5.4.1. Yami Di</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.2. Yami Ra</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.5. Sfayere</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.1. Fuar</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5.2. Sawt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sketch 14: Area Typologies and Livelihoods**

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Environment intensity is linguistically can each cultural sub-unit use drawn basing on the distribution of terms27. Physically the inhabitants in living at the hilly and mountain age lands are mostly tended to be athletics often sanguineous, how ever these people are more dynamics and also having a constant stamina in working. People inhabiting the lowland (swamps and river slopes) physically are height; sturdy with a width chest however may never be dominant stamina working group. They are seemingly easy giving up and fewer struggles.

1.3.3. Demographic Distribution

The Melanesian Papuan which are in this study known as Toror ethnic groups numbering about 43.400 people consisting Mooi 4.600 people (Voorhoeve, 1975; Berry and Berry, 1987), Seget 1.200 people (Animung and Flassy, 1987), Morait 1.000 people (Flassy, 1988), Klabra 2.100 people (Flassy, 1989), Tehit 8.500 people (Flassy and Stokhof, 1979), and also Meybrat 20.000 people, Madik, 1.000 people, and Karon/Abun 5.000 people (Silzer, 1984) 28. Basing on its polarization and universality of social-cultural aspects beyond, the ethnic groups may classify into three fusion tribes i.e. Mooi (Mooi and Seget), Tehit (Klabra, Morait and Tehit) and Meybrat (Meybrat, Abun/karon and Madik). The spreading area of these tribes coverage whole in the District Administration of Sorong consisting Sub-district of Sorong, Makbon, Sausapor, Mega, Batanta, Salawati, Seget, Beraur, Teminabuan, Ayamaru, Aitinyo, and Ayfat.

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27 Dutton (1977:51-73) by going through this approach had been successes in his work of enlisting the distribution of vocabularies and cultural-items in Papua New Guinea.

28 Since the transfer of Government from Nederland's New Guinea/NNG to United Nation Temporarily Executive Administration /UNTEA and became "Propinsi Irian Jaya" it is seemingly that, there never any special demographic census. The given number so far seemingly is very tentative. To the sub-group of Mooi for example, it is hardly to count them separate from mixing with the indigenous and legal (trans) migrants (government programmed), spontaneous migrants (not of government programmed) and those of domestic/local migrant (urbanization).
The pattern of settlement since 1963, adjusted to Indonesia desa (village) system. The system is influencing several renewals. In one new stile settlement or desa can inhabit by the speakers of more then three difference languages, both the same language family and the different language family. Several traditional villages (or kampungs) as a community unit of a social-cultural-limitation, being empty or closed as left behind and. The traditional settlement is no longer fitted to the government administration rules and regulations seen from its locations; number of inhabitant, and also of the possibilities of developing. This is also to access the government services, which is centralized in one perfect place or calls Pusat Pemerintah Desa.14) 29

The criteria of a desa basing on the above mentioned conditions may cover many of social-cultural linkages and units making possibilities of characteristic diversities. In its interaction processes however the difficulties may faced, many more possibilities in the meaning of easing the process of unification (uni-formation) of social-cultural aspects (such as : names, categories, and number of the using of plants as ingredients and medic, kinship lineage and several many others) included the linguistic aspects of languages in one language family (see 3.5) 30.

29 Sesa (1978) shows the conflict arose amongst the traditional/domestic value in one side and the new "desa" system as a tool introduced by the government in one side as may helpful for the fulfillment of the government services to the remote and isolated area in one other side. The process of development as providing by the following written work, "Memories van Oegave" Messink (1956) on Inawutan, Teminabuan and Ayanaru (Meybrat, Tchit, Ogit); Winia (1954) on Sorong (Mool, Seget, and Klabra). The latest situation as known from Pelita Daerah/Regional Five Year Plan 1988-1989 on the concept of "Integrated Development Area" which are focus on the concentration of sub-districts.

30 The taught of uniformity actually in many ways may very beneficial in matter of to help with the development and growth of languages in one specific language family mainly of its orthography, cultural codification included the distribution of the knowledge on several things functioned it modification.
§2

PROBLEMATIC

2.1. General

If there any deem goes about proto culture of Toror, the study might basing on the similarities within linguistic features which are presently developed. The similarities consist of the sharing words or cognates, utterance type, and sentence structure. By practicing the historical-linguistics features these might help for the reconstruction procedures to state its proto forms. But how far linguistics data and cultural data can be gathered may function as indication of a proto Toror culture as sources of culture and directives of social value 16) of Toror ethnic groups, will become question of which should be directed. At this particular, although it is belief that language is having a limitation, however it is known as able to present the wide range of social-cultural actualities.

The urgency of socio-culture unit may perceive not as independence aspects but rather may able to bring it present as unit of formal analysis covering the whole study (Goodenough, 1975: 1-9). The principals which to be studied are pronouncement of the completeness of socio-culture presence or social-cultural set of existence which differing one target unit from the other, although there ream sharing and like minded or intelligibility shared. The interrelation of the ethnic groups is generally take place because of the same originated source or of mutual touchig.

Conceptually the standard similarities (shared) however always may mark. The lacking (or the hidings) of (inter) relationship may face caused by historical process. Every sub-groups within the fusion of

31 The term "social" and "Culture" in this particular usage is very arbitrary. Both conceptions are among others gathered in a very vague limitation and in certain way are overlapped. However there remains basic knowledge to explain as the "culture" goes amongst static patterns where the "social" covering the ideas of reflection and interaction of the static patterns in the manner of both deviation and confirmation (there are possibilities to form a new culture) in the life of different order units.
spreading environment experiencing differences and shifts of patterns and value which from time to time went moving far from the original common forms. The different may further being dynamically process, growth, and bearing products and formed in shape, same, gender, function, category, intensity, capacity etc. By studying dynamic structure as described above, Narakobi (1980:7) once notifying the wide range of interrelationships amongst aspects rather these are seen and reality dated or even not can be seen and only intuitively recognized. Within the Toror ethnic groups, as commonly experiencing by the Melanesian, the (socio-) cultural characteristics are formed totally and dimensionally or inherently, means considered as inconsistencies, contradictions, emotions, reasons and intellects. These complexities moved and formed in patterns and exact rules or normative which are recognized as social-cultural aspects, which then become unit of action system\footnote{Parsons (1949:43-47) in his research on structural relationship of social action traced the detail on action as in a require on agent or actor, that is any of action is the problem solving oriented (end), happened in one certain condition (situation), and there should principles of repetition or reduplication (normative orientation). An "action" that is therefore, from this acknowledgement is time of duration process which is oriented to end, may be available for as reference of the future, inherited from generation to generation. However it is understood that any of performances any how very depending closely to the "out side world" of the one own life or say the external influencing the action. In the further descriptions, the conception can be seen as shown by several aspects mainly to the basic and standard suspicion known by these groups within Toror (see 3.2.).} and as basic references of the beings.

2.2. Perception and Typology

How then of which manner orderly pilling in construction unit basing the social-cultural aspects and elements beyond to state a characteristic of features a certain cultural territory seemingly not an easy task.

Obstacles rose as caused by two main stream, i.e. the universality common and historical process which described as universality common are basically of life the sharing realities which are born, multiply, and self defending. This is where on the other side the culture unit that at the
beginning having the universality at the certain time duration at the certain area of the territory on the last conditions emerged as the culture group’s uniqueness. However dynamism of the certain angle maintaining to hold culture color as the universality indicators.

2.3. Some Hypothesis

The differences amongst the groups remaining a view of complementary vary and substituted whether internally or externally. The differences also remain intrinsic in coloring interrelationships and the existence of each group. The author is there for being certain that the basic-similarities (uniform and universal) still is remaining, besides varies, the differences may dated each time. That is meant, the differences and varies amongst the group may happened however it is still intelligibility to several many social-cultural aspects which are shared. The differences are varies of each aspect, which may detail calculated descriptively and approach analytically to obtain as indication of the universality of unique-characteristic of Toror culture.

The flow of linkages and interrelationships of the aspects as seen in the daily life frame are more often hidden on the surface. Interrelation of aspects here are as for more precisely to be stated as on a condition of hidden-structure. The conception of hidden-structure started from an awareness of an acknowledge that not any single element or aspect or feature as also known to the whole Melanesian culture is loose in connection from each other, however autonomy is seen of each performance is shown to relationship one to the others. And this is also experiencing the whole cultural elements, aspect, and features which performing the Toror culture group.

The characteristic of the culture is confusing diversity, which is ethically impressed (Held, 1951:8) that these vary of culture characteristics are one to each others overlapped. The characteristic is seemingly blend in a form of mosaic where the elements, aspects and features are interrelated and pressed each others (Narakobi, idem). As which is performance in the surface often presenting the miss perceiving of outsiders included
researchers\textsuperscript{33}. Miss perceiving may take pace caused individualism of each (sub-) group seemingly are contrast to each other's on the surface (daily performances) which is then interpreted as loose.

2.3.1. Loosely and Hidden Structure

By gaining the above understanding, we are reminding back to the specific concept of kinship-limitation or which is known as (Dutch: verwantschap-banden) as famous to Leiden course of Structuralism Anthropology (1960's) regarding loosely structure\textsuperscript{34}. The concept of which had been left behind for about three decades what ever may still relevance mainly to the study of the cultural interrelation-ship and characteristic in New Guinea (Papua), at least functions as supporting tools of analysis.

The concept of loosely-structure stately as raised a separate definition amongst every single cultural aspects (elements). This mentioned ethic conception as was basing on the surface of anthropological condition in The Netherlands New-Guinea (West Papua), which is in several many cases unordered patronage. The structure of inter-relational is seemingly unclear. Not like what is known as experiencing as shown by the African anthropology. The concept is meanly found in the African model, which is clear in its structure that is there for there was a tendency to mark the

\textsuperscript{33} Held, (1951:12-13) shows his concern of the description made by the researches as very rigid on the background their knowledge and discipline and dating only from the surface causing the real of cultural various in New Guinea were not possible to be covered.

\textsuperscript{34} The concept which was taken as basing on the African Antropology since 1960s no longer used after the actual data where gathered from Papua New Guinea by "The British Antropology" whom are basing their idea on productivity mechanism. That is therefore the conceptions relation or (Dutch:) verwantschap may also one of the mankind concept of perity and also of the production of idea. Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brownas shown by Coben (1974:18-22), basing the function and availability conditions of any performances in the social system which is by making used of what is named as "holistic" approach to a unit of society and may debatable with what ever features dated as "social-structure".

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culture of this area specific as loosely-structure. Several many researchers
snared by as influenced by the model, which is expressed by Barnes
(1962:5) as "African mirage in New Guinea". In fact amongst scientists of
the Leiden Course of Anthropology never ended polemics has been staging.
As been mentioned above, van der Leeden (1960:121) in his argumentation
shows that the concept of loosely structure is more like proponent of
individual experiences variability and cultural integrates and no to mean of
its contents. It is said, "looseness" is related to the individual role in the
community and social conflict, the process of changes etc. where van Baal
on the other side (1954:439-441 and personal consultation 1990) wanted to
see this as loose, because its real conditions individualism which is
dynamic.

More over Held beforehand (1951:10, 51) had acclaimed the
(Dutch:) cultuur improvisator or culture improvisation as principal
understanding of the on going dynamism. Power some where (1960:110-
168) as regarding to this extending the concept of in-linearity on kinship
system, and opposing (1955:224) Van der Leeden (1956) by proposing the
concept of openness of structure.

The concept of hidden-structure by these may as both ethic and
emic marker offered by the author as a compilation on scientifically and
academically work which is still retaining not finished by our
predecessors. As far as known, Tuzin (1977:120-121) acknowledging that
the socio-culture approach which is copying approach which is suitable for
certain condition in any other part of the world, say African kinship model
in this case almost always less or not relevance to conditional situation
where at this particular in New Guinea.

Concept, which is offered here in one side is inherently to the
dynamism which shown by the scientists and researchers before hands.
Means, the interrelationship of cultural elements is a structural limitation of
several approaches (see 2.1) may derive back to clarify the
interrelationships whether amongst the similar cultures or of structure limitation lineage to any other culture\textsuperscript{35}.

The conception of hidden-structure is dynamically pushing the awareness of searching (descriptive) and also the digging process (analysis) of elements and modus (unit). Where then to again the guidance of it's the looseness and hidings of interrelationship, every unit are described comparatively-analogies or say complementary-distribution. The concept is in the same direction with power and held, and implicitly similar to intentionally (van Baal 1981:151, 53-156), open asymmetrical system (Schoorl 1957:34) and hidden-meaning (Kamma 1975:5).

The looseness of interrelationship in fact is well faced by but only on its surface. The characteristic of lineage is dynamic and inherently in production. In the description on the conception of the movement in "dance" which as dated in West Papua, the author (Flassy 1983:136-142) had indicating that there is a tendency of cyclical mechanism with a characteristic of monotonous (-tcs), passing-stops (open-ended or simultaneously) and coma-climax (creativity), as seen above.

2.3.2. Equilibrium System

Going more deeply into mechanism of the concept of "hiddenstructure", the author is attempted to insight him self on the equilibrium principal of hierarchical cybernetics control, which was initiated, by parsons (1951: 205-207, 250,272-277) and which then highlighted by Mayhew (1982: 20,157-161).

The circular of togetherness energy, spirit of group(s), and even the inspire of competition(s), war and harmonize within the alliances. By cybernetics understanding, it is known that a single specific which is arose certainly find its place in the simultaneously control of the whole elements integrated, vertically and horizontally, whether datable or inherently. The wide range of aspects, which would be gathered by such kind of analysis,

\textsuperscript{35} Mostly on the production of relationship, goods or wealth and idea which then may stimulating the main the development and the basic motivation of the whole life aspect and the order of convictions or say actor (s), actions, and normative.
may as being understood not clarified by the conception of functional-structuralism where the mentioned analysis was not practiced.

The work of "functional-structure" which is initiated by Parsons (op citation) bases the functional concept as pride to structural category. The approach of functional-structure which is offered may used as a study of case-focusing which in the approximately lineage amongst units in the forming of the system in social structure which besides to develop also to maintain the stability of the system. It is means, the process and condition of what ever which is not supporting development and maintaining the system will be avoiding away as dysfunctional.

Accordingly the principle of cybernetics equilibrium the effort is built in the level of mechanism. That is the mechanism is moving as starting from the lowest level to the peak directing towards the "stash" end (organism, identity, social system and cultural values). Where the concept of hidden structure, the equilibrium is whirl around in the circular principal (cyclic). The stash or end is temporarily, and cybernetics elements however are found may only as mechanism, which is integrated and re-formatively associated, performances as individualism.

Sketch 15: Cycle of Socio-Cultural Structure mechanism in Toror

The cybernetic individualism may devote more then norm values, where on the circulation, the individualism is not but a personality rather concept which is accompanied by the whole existence, that is there for
doubled in dimensions and also obedient (see 3.2.1). Work mechanism of hidden-structure that is therefore bringing out into the view an impression of a cultural characteristic of confusing diversity. The awareness of the characteristic differences is extremely needed to go more deeply to gather the socio-cultural pitch this area of interest.

The domination of socio-cultural characteristics of Toror "delimitation" in the relationship of the understanding in regarding the analysis mentioned above. Dated as shown in myths, faith, power and leadership (successive, achievement, capitalism, big-man), kinship system (kinship, marriage-alliances) and conglomeration (social-alliances junior-senior), which in this specific understood throughout the principal of three-dimensional-productions, bestowed idea, relation and wealth.

Amongst the elements it is formed mutually interrelationship, mutually influencing, and also mutually completing and mutually in raising the way out or multi-valued dependency.

2.3.3. Centre versus Periphery Conflicts.
The understanding of "hidden-structure" by the dynamism axis of cyclic-equilibrium described above, the exertion is to come closer to the nature of interrelationship and the figurative form of the system of socio-cultural structure knowing to the target group. After dating the characteristics and form of its structure system, the knowledge will be enlarging to measuring out the quality of variability, which is formed as caused by dynamism of each cultural component within the structure system. The knowledge regarding the concept of "centre" versus "periphery" (Central-Periphery) in these specifics may functions as tools to measure the mobility of dynamic habitual of each component as convention obedience or as contra-convention deviation.

The problem, which is facing on is the dynamism of each component moves in unit of complexities, which are each other’s mutually interrelated and mutually squeezed (confusing diversity). When the concept of "centre" versus "periphery" may use in the analysis, at very least one components my firstly withdraw from this complexity.

The payment currency of the sacred cloth which is the woven cloth of "kain timur" will be as aspects of kinship components and alliances and also of shaman education or "wuon". As aspects of component, faith and
institution as for example will be handle separately from it relations of aspects in the characteristics of cultural components in the whole Doberai Peninsula which is not only experiencing by the communities of Toror.

Basing on the above given knowledge the author is aware of properly to the community groups of Doberai Peninsula. They experiencing the woven cloth of "kain timur" as payment tools, the shaman education "wuon" and witchcraft practicing the "lait" or "suangi" will be category into three resort of mobility which are centre, transitional and developing.

In plain view its may said, the resort of west Doberai may as centre, the central part may be come the transitional resort and far to east may as the resort of new development area (elaboration). It is mean for the transitional resort may still found the convention obedience however in several many formed to be components or can also be the cultural focuses.

Further may as marked to the component of leadership or government system. For example the "raja-ship" or the kingship system, which is along the Kaibus River, is autonomy and transition from Onin as the centre. The adopted system to the central of Doberai, as is shown an other autonomy which is among others also tighten to several other domestic control which are dividing inn to three aspects mentioned above.

The comparison of area of settlement and migration and also the dividing of sub-group and partial of sub-group which may know from the beforehand understanding.

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36 The problematic of stating the "center-periphery" in the area already been a topic of several seminars, one of which on a Workshop held in 1987 at the University of Nijmegen-The Netherlands. As well as Power, Haenen on the introduction of the compilation of papers given in the workshop pointed the area of Deberai as linguistically may be said as center for periphery (vi-xii) of some parts in the Eastern Indonesia, where from the other side of development may also became periphery for certain cultural aspects. Hyndman on the same work (1-17) for the equal understanding laid the emphasizing more on area limitation or sphere in the measurement of mobilizations, which dated on the distribution of settlement area of the people of Ok highlands/mountains.

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§3

A DESCRIPTION

3.1 General

General guidance to define the unique characteristic of Toror culture as also happened to the whole cultural characteristic of varies groups Papuan Melanesian, seemingly there is no straight line. As been figure out (see Chapter II), the characteristics of the culture in this part of the world seen as inlays and overlapped among each other or say a confusing diversity of culture is figure out.

Held (idem: 15, 18) on his work of comparing the cultural division or cultural area in New Guinea and the surroundings islands (and archipelagos), implicit steering out Toror into Raja Ampat and Bomberai division. As far as the description was given, the division has been laid as consist the system of power and abundance of kingship (Dutch: raja-schap). The other conspicuous cultural characteristics in fact were not taking in account. He author (Flassy, 1983:7-8) on some where else by trial went a bit farther to develop the classification laid by Held, where the whole area of Doberai and Bomberai peninsula on to Eina bay being marked as a cultural division. At this particular a special consideration had been steered out to the north coast of Doberai and Raja Ampat archipelago. The consideration was steaming out because in several many things the territory is posted on cultural transition, where the influences of migrant from Numfor as well as from Ternate and Tidore were deeply adopted here. Toro on the latest classification well explicitly described however so far the

37 Basing on Held (1951:15) and also comparing with Gerbrands (1979:13) and Wurm (1977:613), however it is too tentative, as a "preliminary" work the author (1983) had stated, there are about 9 main highlight culture division throughout New Guinea and Melanesian islands (South Pacific) not included the Moluccas island and that of Small Sunda Archipelago (Timor, Flores, Pantar, etc). From the latest study it seemingly eleven areas where the Melanesian Culture area still not been able to clarified.
characteristic of its culture still not straightforward define which differing one to the other group in Doberai peninsula. What exactly is the Toror culture? The author is on this occasion trying to trace the general figure of the following sorting universal aspects.

1.2. Toror and Myths
By a clematis understanding or (‘ehiti) nggyo’ngglimit which by the meaning of re-scribed, the ethnic group inhabiting west and central part of Doberai peninsula of Irian Jaya enabling them to be an existence designated as Toror (see 3.0,3.2), the term "Toror", more or less is a name of the ancient time which had been experiencing by the ancestors of the group of people known a days as by the name Mooi, Seget, Morait, Klabra and Tehit and also Meybrat, Karon/Abun and Madik. The period is memorised as a fully peace as conducted by values of (Tehiti) do’ron maa jir (ml) or "the true truth" where also to avoid the memories on bitterness. Internally the parties of "shaman" education or wuon the period is acclaimed by the name 'Toror'. The term toror or which also acknowledged as toror maa jir (the truth of life), is taboo in daily usage that is therefore the term is nearly disappearing. The other word used for this ancient time is (Tehiti:) go’lom masyq or (Mooi:) kolung be’sa which is meant the armpit of the spirit. The symbolic meaning of a wide spread out land, where only joyfulness of peace and pleasant was found. On the period of "toror" (Mooi:) yik-mha or (Tehiti:) ik-wlasa, which is the sky, is very low on the reachable of mankind. Regularly a cloud came very low until touching the surface of the earth where the gohoq alan-flik (the holiness of the heaven power presented among the mankind. The anxieties were never faced, the life went fully tranquil.

The longer the time the rapid volume of mankind children born and the number became bigger and bigger where the orderliness became less and less powered38. The boundary amongst the orderliness and chaos state

38 The concept on the creation of the mankind are varies. Whether only male is escaped at one certain time or altogether male and female as a couple. However mankind as belief is escaped from the wua or a shadow or taken one supernatural form age. The shadow was by the "alan-flik" (supernatural being from the heaven
is fused. The order, which is differing the goodness and badness also were still not definable.

The differences amongst mankind and animal were also not straightway defined, for example on the uncertainty of sexual behave which were also run as with animal, and among the same sex gender. The condition, which is called, (Mooi:) go'mira or (Tehit:) gol-w-ra or the moral chaotic became in reality. Along with the condition by no consciousness the mankind are left behind by the heaven and the 'gohq' or holiness which were regularly came by the cloud. Several many efforts and occasion been hardly run to bring toror-jit or life-truth back, however always ended not successful. The phenomenon or occasion may describe as follows.

(1). The endeavor of "toror"

The death had taken place where every where difficulties time after time hitting the life so several many compensation being created to the restitution of "toror". People built the ta'ro, which is houses for feast and dancing and several other "congregations" praise the heaven power and requested for the restitution "toror". The carrying out of "ta'ro" activities run all the time round, one after one from time to time. The endeavor was never come to the end that is because (Tehit:) o'won(m) the reached of agreement or ("law") still not found. Amongst others quarrels and each of which went on own directions. The early "ta'ro" house was laid at some where place called 'Baimla', more or less located at the estuary of Kamono and Beraur River (south west or Doberan) now a day. The remain fact of this period are stones which appears on the sea level which also reflected the light when illuminated by the sunshine that is there for also dubbed 'umag sa'hen or the redhead stones.

One failure run after the others, however the orderliness arose and slowly growth. The leadership found is form and the distinction amongst

who at certain time its form age leave a trace when passing through a gra'rin (wet soil) on his voyage from sinng'yr (chaos) visiting the world. The truly name of the mankind is not known, that is therefore called only (Tehit:) "tehidrar-w" (an original Tehit male) or (Mooi:) "ne-olum-w" (the original man) who was escaped.
instinct of mankind became more and stabilized. Take an example, a male named (Mooi) Kayumyes was chased away from the community because having sexual intercourse with the sister (FB) named Kebun (the original the word of “qban” the woman whom bestowing bride-price-properties”). Kayumyes then recognise as not a na-dqyn (human being) that is therefore when living the community he was changed to the real form off a snake. Creatures, which were not human beings slowly, found their place at certain distance far from the mankind life-hood. Ghosts, evil, celestials being and tutelary spirit were set-aside from the mankind community 29.

(2). Minaret to the heaven

One upon a time prominent figure performed him self amongst the flock as an alam fle (-we) or leader. The personage was Wloin. He lead a "taro" built after that he made gathered the people from the whole wind direction for a dancing feast. After having the "taro" for about two full moon and approach to be end, he announced his intention "to build a tower to the heaven". He was intended to return the "toror" back because he was seeing that the owon(m) or order (law) and life structure in the world becoming orderly. People work with no exception. Lead by the principle of waw-k-bilt or togetherness, shoulder to shoulder, each person go in owns task brought the work run smoothly and well. Several others chop down the trees and bamboo; others erected materials for building, etc., each person responsible for its parties.

To shorten the story, days after days, the tower became more and more nearer to the sky. But almost to come to the end another disturbance

29 The symilar myth had also been noted by Kamma (1970) on his "religion texts" d beforehand (1941) also noted to the Mooi story of "Amuglala", a female whom known as the source of all sickness, all disasters and death. Wellkink/Flashy (1983), noted the patterns also experiencing by people of Tabi (Namby) culture area. Kafiar, et al, (1982:117) on the legend also shows the similarities. Within the Toror groups, myths are varies however as been aware that the format of utterances are correlated with the empirical facts that is therefore different when presenting in another language (Levi-Straus 1964:7, 29-30).
had taken place. A voiced loud from the sky told the people to disperse but they did not pay any obedience. The alan-filik heaven supernatural power or was angry therefore blew up voiced and it's meaning (language) differs from each other's. The folk are amongst each other's not in the same understanding of what its mate uttered. Among each other people were quarrel and fought. From the sky the alan-filik poured down thunder and lighting flashed together with heavy rain fends and earth quick. The suffering experienced by those people was totally approach. The tower felt out and not a little number of people died. Those who were still alive went its own direction solving its souls. The only people leaved behind at that place was a pregnant woman. The woman later gave birth of a male baby.
The male baby growth up and married with the mother where the people who are living in this place are descended. The place where this occasion held become a wide spread out coarse grass field located between the village of Sosonek, Haha and Wloin the Sub-District of Teminabuan, District Sorong.

The occasion is taken to a remembrance by the name (Teht) Wloin w-ho'nggo ik-w which is Wloin built a Minaret to the heaven.

3). Institutions and orderliness

The life, which was the longer, the time the better the awareness growth made possible for its self-form of institutions and orderliness, which then became regulation of life patronage. Married customs, initiation houses, he belief system, cultivation and agriculture system, alliances and several gross others may as created balancing to avoid the chaotic.

1.3. Religion

By describing the basic of faiths and beliefs (religion), this is not to mean for avoiding from the fact that the whole territory since the early of 20 century up to the present day is in domination of Christianity life pattern and belief (see 3.1, 3.4).\textsuperscript{40}

1.3.1. Basic Considerations

The basic considerations, which are stick out in the Toror groups dated regarding to the followings phenomena:

1). Perceptions regarding the Supernatural

Traditionally, people in this territory belief that there is a strength power, the \textit{alan-filik} or super-natural being which is, \textit{gan-re} or having a

\textsuperscript{40} Onin (26) scored that, among others, the entering of early missionaries/biblical teachers to Teminabuan just in the year 1932. Miedema (1990:45-54), indicated a kind of silent-dish compromise or likely to say silent-confrontation goes along side with the obligatory duties of the new belief as brought by the Christianity while the old system remain urged to be practiced where the missionaries are never will to understand this fact.
power of creating and qan-fye'les or transcendent. The strength is powered to create and also able to appear at one time in several places in varies forms and visions. Two main matters are virtuousness and wrongs each of which are carefulness of human behave in this territory to as much to be in such kind of balance. The basic carefulness behaves which is mentioned

2). The death

Conception regarding the 'egi(n) or the "death", actually is go and gather at 'mlafiten(w) which is the "hill of settling the departed spirit". At this place, the deceased become qan'leq(m) or 'vanish". It is believed that after the three days of the death the wua (m) or "shadow" developed to be qan-leq which is the process of the first vanishing. By this phase the departed spirit changes to be qol or spirit41. As for example gathered together with or to be tutelary spirits living at the capes, stones, mountains, caves, trees etc. Feast after three days of the death (Tehit:) 'wouq(m) if the decease not adult and tomor (w) if the deceased is an adult. In the old time the corpse is placed into the caves or laid on special stage build in the forest far from the living resort. After three full moons, the skull of the diseased is picking up and placed together with the other skulls of the ancestors in a special building or place (Meybrat) sa'mu qay or (Mooi) keik-igf.

The bones were then piled up or taken to bury. The process of reburying is very important to determine42 whether the departed spirit of the

41 L. Moeliono (1990:17) acknowledging as belief by the<kar> people of eastern part central highland in the body of every mankind (the self) there life two dimensions of power, ie. aya 'the spirit' and kene 'the power of reincarnation'. When the death is heal these two kinds of powers left the natural body. The "aya" will transform into a bird which is always reminding the still a life people take away from avoid wickedness or become an animal and do whatever thing causing disasters and other bad luck.

42 The deeds done by keeping the tranquility of the departed spirits through the placement of skulls, the re-burying of the bones, the making of 'soso' by reading the magic', offering foods or tabacco to the spirits etc. As famous to the Numfoor, the skull in placing on a statue called korwar 'the departed spirit' and where foods and goods are offering to hold the spirit not become wild. Mapiopner (1993:144-148)
deceased getting changing it’s further being and also determine tranquility of people, which are lived behind. By this ritual the departed spirit is getting in procession back to "mla- fitain" or "mla-sawaro" which is “hill of settling the departed spirit”. At this place the departed spirit waiting for a phase of qan-ninis(m), which is a phase of a new born or reincarnation. The new born is not qan-wasit(w) or bodily (blood and flesh) but only the wua or shadow (spirit). Whether born as mankind, animal or whatever things are mostly depending on the family and relatives left behind. Varies of ceremonies such as offerings, re-burying of skeletons, placement of skulls, paying of the debt (bride-price-properties), maintaining forest and water sources, protection of environment etc. become sequences of striving towards this.

During the waiting phase, the departed spirit waiting phase, the departed spirits are under the control of 'mumum(w) which is the under world snake demon who also having control the reptile, amphibious, insects and other strange animals, where Mafii self is under the power of qol-simle(w) which is the bad spirit. The departed spirits are not rare deluded by "qol-simle" to en trance into animals such as pigs, crocodiles, centipedes, and other animals or what ever things to trick the peace of human life as rewarding or also as messengers. In the condition of such none peacefulness the term to be used to call whatever spirits, demons, etc. which are taken to be taboo is ni or “thing”. What ever will be there are also kind and friendly demons to the mankind such as sipi’ni(m) and soya’no(w) whom are female and male demons (celestial being) or tutelary spirits of cape, river estuary, hunting field, and sago forest. The other huge being but also kind and friendly to mankind are the ggra(y) mainly demons settling the rivers and water sources. By such anthropomorphic understanding there may certain awareness; actually the nature is too close to the human being, that is therefore must be protected and taken in care to avoid difficulties. The understanding is influencing the habitual life of gathering sago, hunting, catching fish and also of agriculture dry-field or moving gardening with a

shows, how the linkage of re-burying process with the rock painting as among others can be seen in Bomberai, McCluer Golf and raja Ampat Archipelago and also of Numbay-Bay (Kaya hate).
cyclical period (see 1.2.1 and 1.2.2). Two total powers mentioned above which good deeds and bad deeds are each having power to direct departed spirits, tutelary spirits, and also other natural power to trick or to help the mankind. That is therefore the whole natural things alive or not, visible or invisible besides supporting the life of mankind also may as danger in one other side, where luck and bad luck is depending on the way mankind are living and also of what ever power take to one side. The good behave, protecting the environment, offering gift to the spirit of ancestors and also being good to other people (included the magic of the laai/suangi or witchcraft and the capabilities of the wun or shaman) may a safely way to a person to avoid danger which might be happened. The departed spirits can having contact with the living men through special persons directed as (Tehtit) mi'pit(w/m) or 'stqnda(w/m) which are people whose having abilities to look through the invisible world (spirits, devils or satan, and other finest being). Having this people can be known various reason of a occurrence for examples the garden is disturbed by pig some one bitten by snake or stroked by the crocodile and sickness etc. also of circumstances of the relatives living far a way. Having this illustration, it is understood that whatever occasions, each is having its quality of interrelationships, purposes or on purpose and emphasizing or intention.

(3). Supernatural Dimension

There is basic understanding of this ethnic group which is if taken to observe attentively, may similar to the presence of three dimensional of the supernatural or heaven being. The power is acknowledge (Tehtit) 'tali-hin-to'lik. By understanding of the concept qan-fye'tes or transcendence the supernatural is understood as the presence of "trinity" which is in the body of inanimate (Tehtit) qan dpoyi or (Mooi) kem and elongate the body of animate (Tehtit) qan naha or (Mooi/Moroid) kem neha and elongate with the inanimate (Tehtit) qan ni (dpoin/ha) or (Mooi) kemse'wa is man kind present performances, soul and thing (figure-1 = visible, figure-2 = invisible). The term 'tali--nggameri(w) is used as appellation to the "god" as the second figure ("na-ha"). In daily life may more intimate if to use the term (Tehtit/Klabra) tszago(w) or "the (male) man above" or (Mooi/Seget/Morinit) 'nali (w) or "the (male) man or breath" and (Merybrat) a'yoq or "the sky".
On its third figure ("qan na-dqoin") the power, which is already been presented together with the mankind by the cloud from the sky (see 3.1). The power again appearance when come to provide the a’lasan(m) or "virtuous" to the man kind. The status, the power is greeting by 'tali-mle(w) or na-mle(w) or "light" which is the invisible power because it can be appears anywhere and every where. The other term to be addressed for the same power is wamble (w) (Elmberg, 1966:124) or man mle (Onin, idem: 149-51).

The power was return to the "heaven" because it is not well accepted all goodness and right rules he was taught. The last appearance of this heaven being as seen stepping on a stone board named (Meybrat) fra-siwa(m) or "the stone of siwa (/Siwa?)" located between the village Kartapura and Kambuya (Ayamaru district). This heaven power was then came back again as ni-dqoin or ni-ha in the figure of bird and light. The figure is used in appellation as (Theit) ‘tali-ande(m) or ‘old-ando(m) or "the light of words." Personification which is also mentioned as (Moob) til-folok always getting in similarity with the Christianity belief of spirit which is therefore also named qol-qohoq(m) or "holly spirit"). The power is able to provide ngger-swin(w) or "working-ethos" and controlling the a’lasan (m) or "good deeds". The holiness shape is understood as tali(m) or "light", "ray" or "sun". In memorizing the beings and its appearance, there is also another term to express, which is ‘tali-ngga’meri(w) and ‘tali’-qmahin(m). The term ngga-meri(w) is derived from the word ngga "dawn break" and me’ri "beginning". Where else the term qmahin(m) "full, loaded". The term is then having an understanding of container of canoe-like, which is intact and full accommodating completeness. The canoe is full loaded with peacefulness and joyfulness, which at the toror period soared and floated with in the cloud from the sky (see 3.2.2(2)). The whole concept therefore means, the power, which able to exceed the early and the end, composed from the nothingness and the passing as light, breath and flesh. By offering

43 Onin (446-453) ever else shown several facts and also noted the matter as Myth of the Pronouncement of The Supernatural.

44 The data that is therefor also needed to revise Flassey (1981:6-7) on some names.
the 'sambe(m) "pray" and 'heya(m) "tribute", both appellation used regarding to its time (morning/rise and evening/down) where the appellation of tali-nggameri(m) will be addressee at the morning when the first sun shine (down). Whereas tali-qnarin(m) will be addressed in the evening when the last sun shine gi be dim. Looking through its gender, personal affix /w/ is referring to the 3rd person feminine (f). Each of this may as symbols of two gender, man/male and woman/female. The readiness and business of man when the day broke whereas on to the sun set and go into the night lap, may symbolized the peacefulness and calmness of a woman. It is noticed, the 'tali(m) "sun" categorized as feminine, whereas the 'tali(m) "day" and a'muk(m) "night" on the other side as masculine. The mightiest in the life, are address similar to the term of kinship and intimacy r-a'de which having doubled meanings "my ancient" or "grand father" and 'some thing which is taboo'. The names mentioned above are very sacred which may not allowed mentioning for just any simple reasons (see 3.2.2). In its work of defending the man kind, the qol-gogo(m) "holy-spirit" always contradicted by the qol-'simle(m) "astray-spirit". The deeds which is done so far by the qol-simle(m) by no means always steering the man kind to go in and do the irot(m) "sin". The man kind also addressed as 'oli-nggolo(m) "laziness". The daily using term is 'jemmer(m) "satan" or "devil ". The mighty is actually the ha-fir (man being with wings ("angel (?)") or Ko'fir(m). It is known as one being served for the heaven supernatural almighty. Is was then sent away from the heaven to the earth its because of bad wishes to take over the power of the supernatural. The struggle is understood as carrying out the day long (during the sun shine). In the activities and endeavor (work) the "tali-nggameri(m)" run after and fighting the bad deed "kofir" on to the night fa.l. The bad deeds or the ma'if (w) which is a snake kept together with his followers to the beneath of the world (see 2.3.1, 2.3.2).

(4). The heavenly vision

The virtuous seemingly always disturbed by the qol-simle(m) by penetrate in to the departed spirits and built an alliance with the
'lait/suangi\(^25\) to destroy the peacefulness of the life of the man kind. Because it compassion to the na-dqoin (man kind), the tali-nggameri descending to the world in dimension of qol-qohaq(m) in the figure of 'mbidik or (m) hitik (m) "the bird demon". By this form the mighty brought in the a'lasam(m) ("Virtuous Vision") to the man kind. The person who was very lucky to obtain the "tik(m)" or vision is man named Bak. The order, which he must to do, is to initiate the wu'om institution\(^26\). Three ta'go or qlen-qohaq holy birds accompanied messenger. Two of these bird return together with the mbidik back to the ik-mla'ha "heaven" where one of this remain staying in the world as witness of dik-qohaq holy symbols which is the qlen-ok "bird of paradise".

The institution is in Morait, Klabra and Tehit uttered as 'wuon, in Meybrat 'wion where in Mooi, Seget and Abun it is called kam'biik. In several many purpose 'wuon is functioned as medium (equitable or counterbalance) amongst mankind and the invisible mightiest.

(5). Man kind

The concept on na or man kind (/humanised) in this regard consisting three dimension which is cyclically turns, (1)na-dqoin the

\(^{25}\) I Gde Parimarta, a historian from Bali, whom by no means had red the draft of the given work (June 1990), tempted to make some general correlation amongs the characteristics of the lait or with the le'ak of Bali i.e. ((1)) a practice of witchery, ((2)) acknowledging by the woman, ((3)) transforming to be animals such as fire flies, dog, boar/pigs (Meybrat: kbes fane 'pigey satan'), etc., (4) to be disaster maker of tranquility when taken to be considered. Rhijn (1959:32, 1959b) had described how the mightiness of "suangi" which is almost always in opposition with the "wuon" besides creating conflicts and also rebuilt the harmony or balancing.

\(^{26}\) Kamma (1953:7) expressed his astonishment to what he experiencing by saying "the secrecte men's societies: kambik (Mooi), yewon (Tehiti), samu-won (Meybrat). However already been allowing to write and open the curtain as been expressed "to disclose and publish what is behind the curtain", however until his death the possibility is never appear to be a fact. Moreover, relying our knowledge of central-periphery, may a big possibility or the mon as practiced by indigenous of Raja amput, may a transformation of wuon.
existence of real and ordinary men kind (=animate); (2) \textit{wu} (m) the existence as breath and shadow (=inanimate) which then cyclically flow in rotation. On its first dimension men kind is having a standard of power and ability to massage its belonging regarding to or may said against the rotation. The condition may run naturally if the second dimension not disturb. The second dimension in many ways is seemingly very weak position of mankind. On the such condition man kind easily penetrate by mightiest such departed spirits, ghost, bad spirit, witchcraft etc. the sickness, misfortunes and sufferings known as related very much to the third dimension in which man kind may nothing if not formed. The existence of this kind more like thing, which is only significance if fetched by meaning, and afforded from out side whether bad or good. The alumnus of 'wu' institution and the obtaining of \textit{la} or \textit{swa} (witchcraft) including the \textit{signa} and \textit{mi}mit (people who having abilities to look through the invisible world), are the examples of such existence. According the concept of the death, the second existence may leave the first existence. Under the power of the snake \textit{maff} who is the death demon, (the second existence) if there any infractions carelesssness. The cycles run along age in a unit of rotation simultaneously which is continuously repeated and never stop. The form of thing may disappear and become \textit{sminggin}/\textit{henggirwain} (m) out side the body (=emptiness) or which is also calls \textit{gus-falag} ("the empty body") before become "shadow" (spirit) and "flesh" (man kind) then routed back again as a completeness or totality of appearance or existence (being). The whole concepts are phasing an exact process, which is equal in forming the pattern of life.

\footnote{To the Marind people at south coast of New Guinea/Merauke (personal experience), the totality of a such mankind dimensions is known as \textit{anim-ha} 'the first ordinary men'. The knowledge on mankind in two dimensions also marked to the sub-group of Nimboran (Kowenhoven, 1956 and Demotokay (unpublished 1980 and personal consultation 1989) to be compared to the view of Parsons.}
3.3.2. Taboos

By knowing the concept described in 3.3.1 above, the concept of taboos among the groups of Toror is understood as running in the case of stability. There are three aspect of taboo, which is very central within the life of this ethnic group, i.e. taboo in foods, taboo in addressing, and taboo of the environment. In this case the expression of the term (Mool, Seget, Meybrat) 'gohoq (Tehit, Morait, Klabra) qohog is referring to the concept of "holiness" and "proscribed" as the main patterns which is running variously, seen as follows.

**Sketch 17: Table on the Category of Genitive**
*(Examples from sub-group Tehit)*

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**NATURE OF MANKIND/HUMAN**

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**NONHUMAN-INANIMATE**

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**INANIMATE COSMOS**

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(1) Food Taboo

On to the food taboo which is marked as 'qohoh' if for "permanent taboo" and 'lili' if for "just not touch" or "temporary taboo". Food taboo, means "permanently taboo" which is held for to the flesh of reptile. It is believed, these kind of animals were drove out from the life of man kind (see 3.1) and became slave of marff (the snake) demon living in the beneath of the earth). The demon also called by 'qlembet' which dominating the disasters and death. Infraction against this prohibition causes humiliation and sanction which will be as victim for generation to generation. The term used to address the one who is doing the infraction is yo'mon. Whom which is qan-qhan (w) "obtaining the bad deeds which classified as permanently taboo". A person who is said to be yo'mon having no right to life that is therefore must be killed or sent away as slave. The punishment is decided in such institution called le'leg-wa'mar (see 3.3.3.). The term yo'mon also directed to the sexual infractions of 'mhakada (sexual intercourse with the same gender and animal). However no one of the group may avoiding two kind of qhon caused by the natural beings of woman which are the wet'amis or wet-lak 'twins' and the 'see-lait (w) 'obtaining witchcraft'. The continuous taboo is counted as 'lili means 'not touch" or "temporarily taboo". This might be happened as caused by an accident such as sickness. One who suffers of "malaria" for examples not allowed drinking coconut milk. A person may stjan 'having heavy eyes' when seen other people eaten the mmo 'red pandanus fruit' when immemorial of the late mother whom from her this foods always provided when she was still alive. A young hunter, young married etc. The permanently taboo remain a humiliation of the whole clan and cross generations. Else then those mentioned above, which is causing a person called by "yomon" and others mentioned before, the following in another criteria. What is to mean here is the permanent prohibition to a certain clan. The white cockatoo for example is prohibited by the clan Flasao, Tesia, and Konjoel because according to the old story a such bird had guide the ancestors and safely came to the now a days settled land (Flassy and Stokhof, 1979:66-77). Such a kind of taboo among others, the prohibition held for a hunting game. The deeds may caused the hunter may for ever never success when go for any other hunting game. The spines fish is prohibited to cook together with the fronds of sugar cane which may caused plant disease of grasshopper to the agriculture dry field. The field
mouse because its flesh is hot prohibited to eat by using the red chili (Meidema, 1986:20, 39). Children are not allowed to eat the head of fish and also the down part of sugar cane so their IQ will be growing well, and so on.

2. Addressing.
Taboo used in addressing in the term of ‘gohoq referring to the considering of "secret" names, objects and places. Regarding names which having annihilator courage, for example the ruler of heaven may marked by using the kinship term of PP "tade", means ancestors (see 2.2.1). The death caused Taboo to evoke the proper name of a person whose belongs to the nuclear family. The disobedience of this may cause disasters both to evoke and the addressee. However in several many cases taboo in evoking some name also caused by the social labels carried by the owner of the name. A young married couple will be gyget-qwa'ine (taboo to pronounce) for at least eight days if mentioned the partner name which is then the word instead nafe(w/m) is in usage. The environment taboo capsulated the term gohoq as referring to the considering of "secret" places not in used of agriculture dry field, careful when passing through, when passing through not to throw any of food remnants, hair, tobacco/cigarette butt, saliva etc. At that certain place there may a unique object with unusual structure for example giant stone, tree etc. When passing through such a place, green leaves always laid down as offering to avoid danger caused by the tutelary spirit. There is never clear information on the kind of being living in a place. On real thing is condition such as lame, for ever wound, invalid body etc. always being connected with this mighty which named (Tehit) fnar.

3.3.3. Institutions
Loaded by the cultural background gathered from myths as shown above (see 3.1) and the conception on the religion (faith and belief) beforehand, it may stated, in the territory people (man kind) are moving within a certain limitation. It is where man kind, animals, trees, stones, mountains, and thunder. Rain and several other natural phenomenon, each are on each special emphasising. The confines is started from the nuclear family father-mother (F+M) and brother and sister (B/Z), father-mother parents (F/MP), father-mother relatives (F/MRel) then coming up to the clan, the whole 360
inhabitants in the village and the ethnic group. Not every are freely to do. Whatever activity always is of the whole group responsibility. Personal business must always be supporting tools of the group continuities. If there any of personal consciousness these must to be a balance for the whole system. In fact there is any concept, which is supporting of personal properties of orchard, (piece of) land, forest, river, water sources etc. what ever problem must be talk out and arranging together thoroughly. Institution, which were conducted in the frame of arranging conformity among others:

(1). Le'leg-'wammar (the holy institution of liberation)

Especially for the sub-group Tchit (fit) for example the house of le'leg-wa'mmar which is an liberation institution is in usage. The house, which is only attended by the male of selected village persons besides decided the punishment, also break up a fight amongst the clan. The important function off all is to be communication medium amongst tali-'nggameri (the creator) and tali-qnaimin" (the fulfil status). It is here also the decision will be decide to be na-feaq (sponsorship) of a carrying out of a 'wuon-sana (shaman education). The same institution for the Mooi and Seget sub-groups is called se'ba-nefojus 'cesrom and tradition house'. The Meybrat call this by the name sa'mus-mos, which is means 'the house of morning star'. The names are varied but the function remain the same.

(2). 'laif

If there any indication of a woman obtaining lait or suangi (the witchcraft), she will herded to 'omos-'qo(w) which is an institution specially for the judgement of the witchcraft. The measurement is taken because if a woman continually keep in 'sio'mir ("covered by witch mask"). From the condition of 'sio'mir ("hiding by mask"). By the control of a wu'on (shaman), the woman who is just been proved as obtaining the witchcraft will be taken to isolation in a temporary hut far in the forest for about two full moons (14 days). At this condition the brothers or the brother's son (B/BS) and also sometimes own adult son delivering foods and others needs. Besides that, the B also oblige to pay fine to the husband (H) if the witch craft the woman/wife obtained from her own father (F) home. If not
then the B will ask the fine from those who possessed the sister (Z) with the witchcraft.48

(3). Wu’on

The wuon (shaman institution) is a male institution, which is gathered by one male child of each family where the F are not at the same nuclear (FS). However this shaman complex only for the people of Tehit sub-groups. These people are said qan-it ("warmth-body), which meant getting miss luck. As long as the running history of the wuon-sana (shaman education) if the Tehit Jit is getting in as participants it is always causing ya’ri-bo (lot ("ending by miss luck") such as disasters, death, etc. However each clan of Thit Jit anyhow used to be sponsor of whatever period of this education (Rijn, 1959:3).

The time duration of an education period is running about three to six months (full moon). The whole process goes by stages according to its phases. Approaching the specific of the knowledge obtaining from the wuon-sana there are two courses which are wu-on-tali (education trained by daylight) and wu-on-a’muk (education trained by night) each has its specifications. The one running in the day light practiced westward by the Tehit, Morait, Klabra, Mooi and Seget. The other one by night is famous to the Abun, Madik and Meybrat to the east and perhaps reaching the Arak tribes.

As informed by a Tehit prominent figure (1978) whom is also a “wuon” alumni by himself, that, the system practice by the Meybrat on the

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48 The witchcraft which is mentioned here is a secret knowledge only by the women; comparing with those described by Wanane and Kamba/Karet. These practices is more on the spiritual stagnation and then the mental which after that the sufferer then touch this as a physical burden (see notes 31)). There are influences from outside as known as practicing by the Seget, Mooi, and even Klabra people of a kind of witchcraft also implemented by the man. The pattern of this kind might be as an acculturation process obtained from Northern Moluccas or Biak/Nufoor which is known by the name mun-wen. To the people of Abun, Kebar, Arak and several many others the black knowledge is also exercising. In Meybrat this kind of male secret of witch is called ras-me.
average in almost always miss luck when comparing with the time capacities and formal request which is experiencing by the Meysawiat people. The carrying out of a "wuon" by the Meybrat and far to the east is made together with *toch-mi* (the "circumcising" of the male) and *finya-mi'gair* (the filling up the "wise" to the female). Elmbreg (1955:50-52; 1960:96, 122, 128) and also Wanane and Kambo/Karet (1983:183-185) shows, the carrying out "wuon" education by the Meybrat is recognize as the combine of shaman education and initiation of the male secretive there are three different ritual venues at the same time, which are 'wuon', 'toch-mi' and *finya-mi'gair*.

It is perhaps the 'wuon' in Tehit may only equal to the *samu qay* (the ceremony in "corpse" house) in Meybrat, whereas the toch-mi and finya-migair are very profane age, similar to the 'taro (the dance house) in Tehit, Klabra, Morait, Mooi and Seget. Both *toci-mi* and *finya-migair* and also 'taro' cheerfulness alike which where a change of non-control sexual intercourse potentially could and may take place mostly among the juveniles. When so far the 'wuon' is said to be an "initiation" institute since this written work the author intended to state that it is not. The purpose of this institution is to bring people educated to be "shaman". The participants of the selections to have the six (pupils) to go into the 'wuon 'sana (wuon education) is very selectively according to several criteria. This is so, where not every male (children) are allowing being 'wuon'. The institution is responsible for the tranquility and the wealth of the communities and their environment as a total being. The main enemy to the 'wuon is 'lait (witchcraft) and *qembet* (devil). The ever lasting dry season, the harvest are not well, death, sickness, the ever lasting rain seasons etc. are circumstances the wuon obligations to recover by the acc of o'rin-gdan (the "balancing ceremony to recover from lack of food and wealth").

More then that the 'wuon is duty to playing the role in magic of

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49 Description done by Elmbreg (1968:61-64) on the tochmi 'circumcised' in the wuon may comparing with that shown by Wanane and Kambo/Karet (: 184-208), on the role of women which according the heaven being, the o'ron or ou'wa to do this arranging this education but then caused by several many others, that is therefore became the responsibilities of men.
brining the wealth in by the usage of the magic "heaven canoe" to fulfill the man kind needs. Elmsberg (1966:117,124) when described this concept of the correlation between the "canoe" and the "wuon" in Meybrat was not ought to see the further nuance which also experiencing by other sub-groups in the same ethnic groups throughout the western part of Doberai peninsula. The concept of canoe indicated by Elmsberg (idem) as a course of the sea productions (fishes, crabs, shells, salt, etc.), the attracting tools for getting the woven cloth of "kain-timur" in, etc. A kind of tools at the form of canoe like usage for pouring the palm wine called (Meybrat) faroch also at the same course of the concept (see 3.3.1).

The mentioned elements are as determine tools of wealth (finding, talk about and distribution). The very question is the presence of a canoe deep in a forest far from the sea mysteriously tightens high above the tree trunks full loaded with the sea productions and sea ornaments. It is very believe able the mystical canoe had been drove by the six (pupils) and the wuon-drar (alumnus of wuon) sailing through the sky guided by heaven being called tar'go. By correlating this with the beforehand mentioned concept on the mankind, possibly the third dimension of mankind the ni (thing) which were taken to drove through the sky. Through those that man kind dimension of emptiness, the participant of "wuon" among others, filling with several capabilities mostly those of initiating the contact. That is to say, the function of this institution is besides to compete the bad influences of the "lait"or"suangi" (witch craft) and other black magic also to conducting the welfare among others the distribution the woven cloth of "kain timur" (secret cloth), agriculture etc. Any further specific studies should be done on "wuon" separate from this work. Because it is too closed and some many things might not to be known publicly of the institution, information that the author can get is too limited. Further are some descriptions of how information given in this work can be obtained as a

50 One contradiction that is causing restlessness and silent confrontatation is in fact the "wuon" was and still prohibited, while the practice of with the "suangi" which is causing the tranquility remain freely developed. In this fact the church is not allowing the judgment of the "suangi" by gathered the suspected women to the "o'mos-oqo(w)."
personal experience of the author.

"........................The data was obtained on two different times. The first data were gathered from Penias Wo'qoq Serefe in the year 1978. At the time the information were provided it must be noted that in the house there was other people, except him self, my mother brother/MB (Filip Feyen Tesia) and the author (I my self). Then he sprayed author with the chewed nda’ryen (a grass-like swampy plant with its stalk soaked in the water). After that he shook the leaf of wa’mog (a dracaenaklike plant) against the face and the whole body of the author. The introduction we was spoken is follows: As a Tehit Jii, you are oblique to hear this utterances but you are never having right to know, therefore this may only possibilities of so far as which I (informant) may able and which you (the author) accepted to get. Beside completed the ordinary knowledge as a member of Tehit Jii branch of Tehit sub-group on this matter which was been given by MB(syb) and the other layman he also added several many new information the author never having before. There also some names and particular things he is reluctantly to talk about if the author not repeatedly trying to ask (actually this is not common usually on getting a such secret there will never any comment or question, the hearer must in a condition of deathly quite).

The other information was gathered from Demiamus Drigoin Karsau on a visit in the year1981. The introductions are about similar to the last. However the chewed nda’ryen was not sprayed, but was given to the author to chew him self and polishing to the face and whole body and then he shook the leaf of wa’mog precisely as that before. Getting his utterances and comparing he went a bid farther then that before which by added more names and categories of duties and responsibilities which some of them provided in the given work. There are particular additions, which are motivating the author to revise data from the year 1987. How ever both informant, each are equal in providing following the details: - what are matters or curricula are taught, how the ‘wun-sis (pupils) obtaining the matters only orally, and -How the other experiences during the education was running. The process was closed by pouring the palm wine in the “hel” (well carved bamboo mug), he uttered “perhaps I, the uncle (MB) had said things that the layman not allow to know, but what ever misfortune or death at least........".

Misfortune
The institution is said to almost disappear since the Christianity way of life was introduced. It was as halted by itself or forced to stop caused two thought of possibilities. The first may happened as there might so many similarities in doctrines of the personification of supernatural known to the Christian (see notes 22), in the manner a sincere adaptation had been held natural. The second might as the prohibition laid by the Christian missionaries whom were supported by the government authorities to the period of the Dutch New Guinea Government.

From the last field monitoring (1989), the average ages of the "wuon" alumni are above 50's. Having this are matter of facts, may already been stated, the institution should disappear by itself when there no any cultural engineering may should efforts. There are still other institutions among which is mentioned above also known as having a strong influence in the socio-culture life of the Toror societies. However these are varied as having many basic similarities. To the Tahit some are noted as follows.

(4) Qe' SYE (m) "advocacy"

The one who feels him self right of any accusation may demanded for an open/public court. In this case the role of "wuon" still is needed.

The court may approach the following ways:

(a). sat-msanew "the justice cutting"

One or two young shouts of bamboo tighten closely then a "wuon" uttering the magic formula. The bamboo shouts the embedded straightway on the ground. The "wuon" speaking up of justice of the heaven and earth to those whom of visible and invisible gestures. By a sharp knife or machete he cuts down the bamboo upper part and beneath. When there any defected on the slice for example broke up, not cut able, etc., meant the guilt is proved.

(b). sala-qohoq(m) "the secret fire" and siro-qohoq(m) ("the secret boiled water")

A sala-qohoq ("secret fire") is made by using "iron wood" or other hard tree. The firewood burned until having a perfect heat condition. A "wuon" again do the same thing (a). The suspected person putted his hand into the heat ashes. If the suspected not guilty his hand will be safe from 366
burned. This is similar to the si’ro-‘qohog’ (the secret heath water”) which is when water is boiled the suspected person putted the hand in hen not getting blister then he is not guilty.

(5). eli-syro “feast”

Feast in this tribe is to mean, for varies purposes, some are as follows: birth ceremony”)

A just given birth woman and her just born baby will take separately to the qauvo which a special house (in the old time, but now a days time just in a special curtained room in the family house) for medical treatment nurse by a wise woman or a midwife assist by the relative female of both side Hrel and FRel. The medicine are all natural botanicals and also by magic formulation.

(b). ha’dar (the male juvenile house)

Whose who in the group or sub-group tribes of this ethnic group which not practising the education of “wuon”, the male juveniles are taken to the ha’dar (the male juvenile house). Leading by a na-tmanq ("wise man (not always a ‘wuon’)") these young male learn several things on the daily life, cultural complexes and of the supernatural beings. These kids remain staying in this male dormitory until a s’idazik ("feast of glory") is held mostly after a tribal war. After the whole process they drove back home as a personality whom already given the community charges/responsibilities.

At the last period the juvenile leaving the dormitory usually several gifts and presents are offering from young women mostly of the ‘esyolo(m) who is the mother brother daughter MB (REL)D or some other portion who wanted to construct a preliminary contact of marriage process. The institution is having many similarities to mbol-qa’lit or the house on top of the high tree as pleasing of the male people; however it is moor likely for the unmarried male. This kind of house mostly also inhabited by some other old people whose informally teaching the young people several many things. Matters learn here almost are on daily duties and also of the manner how to attract the girls and the women. The same process also happened in the mbol-’ambiaq (garden house), mbol a’gar (the house at the pounding of sago tree fiber as the process before getting the wash to get sago flour) etc.

(c). qe’hen (“trading feast for wealth and secret cloth/fibber”)

The term qe’hen is known in Tehit Jit, Mbolfle, Sayfi and Ymian Aidi where sqafa is known to Ymian-Den, prosperity mainly of the secret cloth
(kain-timur), foods and several other surpluses. The activities at its early period are very secret but at its end there are also feasts and other joyfulness.

(d) si'dadik ("feast for the glory")

Equal to the taro (dancing house), which is secret, the si'dadik is more profane. The institution is held to celebrate the freedom and the victory of (tribal) war. The feast started from the procession of the skulls of enemies killed in the war to a certain visible place at edge of the settlement or field where the feast will be held. The main important thing there is the offering of sacrifice to the 'ali-ngga'meri (the almighty) of creating and the 'tali-qumahin (the almighty god of completeness) as the joy of glory. War is a blessing of sacrifice to the 'ali-ngga'meri (the almighty god of completeness) of the joy ii fertile. The last "si'dadik" held in December 1945 after The Second World War, which is also called as Sindadik-Nipon.

The other feast similar to this to this is qe'hen. The distinction of these two feast is, the "si'dadik" is more profane where the "qe'hen" moor having economical-ritual and function as trade of goods and transactions of the woven cloth of "Kain-Timur", regarding such houses an institution (especially to the Meybrat) Elmberg (1955 and 1966) had a scoring number of 10 to 12 different kinds.


The fundamental dichotomy of the attendance basing 'alien ability' and 'in-alien-ability' emerged within principles denoting gender, size, number relying the cosmos concerning the world of thought among people in the Toror language group society, one seems to be ought to pledge the universe as consisting of element-compassing concept. Socio-cosmic dualism as pointed out by P.E de Josselin de Jong (1983: 172-173), thus is employed as identical and interchangeable sub specie aeternitatis which is formed an integrated community. The implication of such an element-compassing concept of sub specie aeternitatis is making used in relying to the graduation and real-ability of kin group intercourse, possessor of possessed and subject of turning actions (verb/predicate). As practically shown into the related Toror languages, every single concept slightly is
oblige but neither optional to occur semantically by adding pronominal clitics of affixes. That is by improving pronominal prefixes in substituting subject and possessor in one hand and in the other hand passing pronominal suffixes which is only due held for the 3rd persons, specifying the object according to its gender and several related concepts. Briefly to say, every word denoting kinship and social alliances beyond the similar notion with in-alien-ability denoting body parts which are physically adhered to whatever thing. For any detail, these phenomena will be consulted further in connection with marriage alliances and principle of social relationships which is particularly relying to the most interest topics on the exchange "sacrillege cloth" the "kain Timur", male initiation and man secrete society of the "wuon", the employing of magic and the fear of witch-craft or the "suan(g)gi".

3.4.1. Kin alliances

Kinship in many instances is believed arose from a common not natural marriage relationship. A marriage is a fact of alliances among two (Te) na-fain ' bride giver and bridge receiver sake' as a reciprocal term in addressing. A marriage is therefor a particularly medium where in togetherness of inner and outer group, horizontally and vertically (when regarding beings, souls, ghosts, spirit and so forth) bagging the nothingness. Among the Toror, the fulfilment of marriage alliances (s) may only accepted to be true when bride price is being merged (paid) allowing the ordinary levels. Levels of bride price, will be discussed later. A marriage (anyhow) gives children which will grows cyclically. An Ego/E, born from this marriage will address 'tono(w) 'my father' to the man (whom no longer was a bridegroom) and 'teme(m) ' my mother' to the woman (whom no longer the bride). The later children born from this couple will react to and from the Ego, again by using any other terms arbitrarily conventional as commonly used in the language community. In Tehit for example, 33 terms (sketch 17a, b, and c bellow) are used to denote several functions related with kinship. To and from each member in the nuclear family and alliances in the community exist accordingly the functions, duties and roles they relying to. Terms, acknowledging through a nuclear family in a certain instance will be aptly grown as subsidising institutions. This may only possible when added by word nominalise pro-clitic (Mo) ne or (Te) na
'human being' and post-clitic -we or fe 'being as', e.g. (Te) na‘ono-fe 'of/as' father's responsibility, na‘eme-fe 'of/as' mother's responsibility, na‘eme-fe 'being as', e.g. (Te) na‘ono-fe 'of/as' elder brother's responsibility, na‘elwit-fe 'of/as' younger brother, na‘hano-fe 'of/as' sister responsibility. These are further, moves towards the level of generation vertically, horizontally, rightwards to F and leftwards to M.

3.4.2. Cousins alliances

Regarding the relationship and responsibility of an E (which for the further used only held for a male) to left-hand direction (M) is limited to third elderly generations where for the right-hand direction (F), he is relying to six elderly generations and generation of his descendants. The level of generation is distinctively counted from Ego or which were marked by Keesing (1975) as G² upward to G¹ and down ward to G. As shown in Diagram 4a and 4b, generation before parent (father/mother) or G¹ and generation after child or G² for the Ego or G⁰ are the people of the name sake. That is to or from whom the reciprocal term is used.

Else then those mentioned above, for the ancestors or ****G² and descendant of CCCCCC or ****G¹ are unmarked terms, where the possessive marker -efe is used to denote the ownership: 'efe anggait 'my ancestors' or 'my after six descendant'.

| ****G² | ang'gaity | 'ancestors' |
| ****G¹ | twi'diny | 'my origin' |
| *G² | tmbo'lonw/m | 'my F/MPP' |
| *G¹ | tpa'qosw/m | 'my F/MPP' |
| G² | ta'dew/m | 'my CC' |
| *G² | tpa'qosw/m | 'my CCC' |
| ***G¹ | tmbo'lonw/m | 'my CCCC' |
| ***G¹ | twi'diny | 'my CCCCC' |
| ****G¹ | ang'gaity | 'my CCCCCC' |

Sketch 17a: List on G² and G¹ Generation

Among generation of G⁰, G¹ and G² terms are vary however the most are shared among Totor languages. Consider Table 4b, 4c, and 4d bellow: 370
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$G^{1}$</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'tonow'</td>
<td>'my F'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tmbe'lew</td>
<td>'my FoB'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tamukm'</td>
<td>'my FZ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tdotw</td>
<td>'my FyB'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'temem'</td>
<td>'my FW/M'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tamukw'</td>
<td>'my MB'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tmbelem</td>
<td>'my MBW'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tqesim'</td>
<td>'my MyZ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tmbelem</td>
<td>'my FoBW'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tqesim'</td>
<td>'my FyBW'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tafasw'</td>
<td>'my Fo/yZH'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sketch 17b: List of $G^{1}$ Generations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$G^{0}$</th>
<th>$G^{0-}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'tet'</td>
<td>'I (male Ego)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'mon-w</td>
<td>'my oB'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my MBS'</td>
<td>'my MBS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my MoZS'</td>
<td>'my MZS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tafo-m'</td>
<td>'my oZ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'myoBW'</td>
<td>'myBW'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my MBD'</td>
<td>'my MBD'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my MBSW'</td>
<td>'my MBSW'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my MoZD'</td>
<td>'my MoZD'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'talwiet-w'</td>
<td>'my yB'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my FyBS'</td>
<td>'my yZ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my FyBD'</td>
<td>'my MyZD'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my MyZD'</td>
<td>'my MyZS'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tmeis'</td>
<td>'my WZH'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sketch 17c: List of $G^{0}$ Generations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$G^1_{m}$ (male Ego)</th>
<th>$G^1_{f}$ (female Ego)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'tefe wet</td>
<td>'tefe wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my C'</td>
<td>'my C'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my BC'</td>
<td>'my MBCC'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my MBCC'</td>
<td>'my MZCC'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my ZC'</td>
<td>'talowet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my MBSC'</td>
<td>'my BC'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my MBDC'</td>
<td>'my MBDC'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tmeis</td>
<td>'tmeis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my MBDC'</td>
<td>'my MBDC'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sketch 17d: List of $G^1$ Generations.**

3.4.3. Cross-cousins alliances

The responsibilities and several kin's duties grow deliberately when Ego allows marrying. Kin terms used in the alliances as shown in Sketch 18a,b,c below, however will undergo some changes, the most are remain the same.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$G^2_{m}$ (male Ego)</th>
<th>$G^2_{f}$ (female Ego)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'taris-w/m'</td>
<td>'tarew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my WF'</td>
<td>'my HF'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my WFB'</td>
<td>'my HFB'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my WFBW'</td>
<td>'my HMB'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my WM'</td>
<td>'my HoB'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my WMB'</td>
<td>'my HM'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my WMBW'</td>
<td>'my HMBW'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my WMZ'</td>
<td>'my HMZ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my WMZH'</td>
<td>'my HoBW'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my WMBW'</td>
<td>'my HoZ'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sketch 18a: List on $G^2$ Generations of Cross-cousin**
### G¹ (male Ego) | G¹ (female Ego)
---|---
'tet' | 'tet'
'tsmam' | 'my W'
'tarish' | 'see 5a'
'tasye' | 'my WyB'
'tmeis' | 'my WZH'
'tmait' | 'my cZH'
'tqonsyofo' | 'see 5c'

**Sketch 18b: List on G¹ Generations: Cross-cousin**

### G² (male Ego) | G² (female Ego)
---|---
'tefet wet-m/w' | 'my WZC'
'tasye-m/w' | 'my WBC'
'tqonsyofo-m/w' | 'my DH'
'ta'lem' | 'my SW'

**Sketch 18c: List on G-1 Generations of Cross-cousin**

3.5. Marriage Alliances

Marriage alliances are mostly run inside and among one (sub-) group. That may so if to avoid several in-acceptance facts (see 3.2 and 3.3), but the most consideration is also based on how the "sacrilege-cloth" are circulated. A marriage therefor, however not always, commonly is held among the male E and a woman to whom he addresses (Tc.; t-a'syolo-m my...
breast/milk origin', and she addresses (Te) 't-efe wet-w 'my sun'. these are
terms which is used among G0 generation, that is to marry one's MBD to
whom he is also addressed t-mem" my mother's sacrilege-cloth" the marriage
alliances can also be bound with other (sub-) groups. The enlarging of the
marriage alliances is started from both side, either MB or his trading
partners' side or of F's side. As been pointed by Haenen (1988:465) in Mooi,
marrige among the Toror society is not a symmetrical sister exchange. This
is hardly impossible because of the 'rira-tuyofa 'carrying-benefit' and 'rira-
'al 'paying-benefit of the bridge-wealth."

Naturally, it is the right of MB to decide to whom his ZC may
marriage. For the ZS if not marrying his D, he will create any other
possibilities which can support his benefit (see 4.2). MB and MB relatives
in several cases may also offer ideas of to whom a ZD may marrying. The
consequences of these may also concluded with several activities and
sharing of ownership such as giving and for gardening, labouring and
preparing sago at MB field etc. for several stems with a large of asset of
this kind, actually are hard to allow their sister go along with her husband
elders. As big is the right of MB on his ZC may deceive the outsider as is
seemingly in this cultural society a mixed up marriage among paternal and
maternal which is "ambilineal" or "patri ambilineal" is occurring. The whole
system of marriage is a preferential marital cross-cousin marriage creates
asymmetrical marriage alliance which is refers to both the field or relation
through marriage and to relation in the (socio-)economic sphere studying
the linguistics data within the Toror group, it is indicated, there is a
dichotomy of the presence (existence). This is to mean in this particular, the
concept of alienable and inalienable. The fact is also supported by the
principle of gender classification (masculine, feminine, and neutral),
measure (big/small), and numbers (single/dual/triple/multiple). Further
more the understanding of this concept may directed to the knowledge of
the comical category as the whole as inspired in the whole life of the Toror
group as shown in Sketch 4 Volume II. The universality regarding this
knowledge may as the element-compounding concept, which is mutually
linkage one to each other's. Comical dualism in the social-cultural life may
as (J.P.B. De Josselin de Jong, 1983: 172-173) continuity of a stratum attitude or an identical sub specie aeternitatis and which experiencing identical and inter changeable which mystically formed the identity of any social group (community). The implication of a concept of compounding-elements "sub specie ater-nitatis" a such to the ethnic group of Toror may become an indicator of enlargement and the unity in the from of kinship, owner and ownership, doer and deed.

The nature of this kind is indicated by (Tehit) qiyo-se seg, which is the nature of mutual release and mutual leading to the way out. Every form (existence) in the conception of Toror ethnic group semantically is oblique (however totally not) may always appear only if participating by the pronominal affixes/affixes. The pronominal prefixes as been known function to substitute the subject and the possessive and also placing the pronominal suffix (which only due to the third person) as the object specification fitted to the concept which it is standing for or substituting (gender, measurement and number)52. Every concept which clarifying the kinship and social alliances in its notion similar to the inalienable concept,

51 J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong in this work described how the complex of relationship can be created throughout a connubial relation 'the marital relationship': "to every clan belong not only its human members, but also certain animals plants, objects, natural phenomena and even concepts,...".

52 Linguistic data by the phenomena of pronomial affixes may a characteristic of languages classified as the West Papuan Phylum (Northern Halmahera, West Bird's Head Stock/Toror, Central Bird's Head Stock, and the East Bird's Head Stock. Within the Toror among others see Flassy (1991) "grammar Sketch on Tehit", where who pronomial affixes also discussed. Briefly this may as follows: the first person singular tet reduced to be t- and in plural inclusive nam to be m-, where for plural inclusive faf to be f- the second person singular nen and plural nan reduced to be n-; the third person singular feminine mom to be reduced m/-em, masculine wow reduce to be w/-w and neutral pep which in the partitive clitic function reduced to be p/-p, where the plural form yaly reduce to be y/-y. Forms which being reduce in the usage may be as prefix clitics in stating of the interrelation of possessive and special for the third person may as suffix clitics and function to clarifying the genitive.
which is referring to body, parts which is physically as a part of every object (see Skeeth 15). Further, the phenomenon will be described in its relation with main cultural teme of the Toror group which are marital relationship, social alliances, payment tool/bride-price-properties the kain-timur, male shaman institution of wuon, and the female secret of witchcraft the 'lait or suangi.

3.5.1. Marriage and Bride-Wealth

The kinship relationship in many ways belief as started from a general relationship in the marital system, which is not naturally, held. The marital system in the Toror group is the basic fact of the relationship amongst two (Tehit) na-fain which is a reciprocal term used by the bride giver and bride receiver. A marital linkage therefore is a medium of relationship internally and externally whether horizontally (equally) or vertically (stage) regarding the presence departed spirit, ghost, etc. Amongst the Toror group, the fulfillment of marital relationship may only happen when the bride-price-properties already were paid according the stating stages. The staging payment of bride-price-properties is varied however remain running through several phases. Within the sub-groups of Tehit, Morait, Klabra and west Meybrat the phases may running by the followings pattern.

(i) not-mon(w)

Long before entanglement of both side (bride giver and bride receiver) by marital line, usually the not-mon(w) acquaintance/ship cloth) are shared at a sum of two of five pieces of second class the woven cloth of "kain timur" (see 3.4.3.). That is, the friendship interrelationship through the "not-mon" may also paid back just by any other "not-mon". However if the "not-mon" can beras out a marital interrelationship then the further step is sang'ir-fain(m) ("wedlock negotiaton"). When the agreed is attained, since then both side will evoked each other's na-fain (equally beneficiary). In this case the "not-mon" if from the bride receiver will be come not-glongidatt(w) ("the stock of cloth"), where if from the bride giver will be come 'irra-alo(m) ("capital of the base of back/basket") which will be counted later.
(ii) do-qwat(m)

The negotiation which held on the phase of sanggiir-fain coming up to the do-qwat(m) (married) proposal which the causing the payment of the first bride-price-properties. The sum, which are paid, varies, might be reaching one hundred to two hundred piece of (Indonesia) kepala kunci (the main/head key).

(iii) do-not-sele(m)

After the qwat (the first bride-price-properties) been accepted, the next is to approach for the exact time whether the processing of n-gi-0ridva(m) (getting the bride to the house of the groom) where at the same time the not-sele(m) (the throwing/spreading of cloth) or the payment of the second 'bride-price-properties'. Approaching of the time when the payment of the second 'bride-price-properties' the bride giver are engaged of gathering 'riran(m) (the capital for the beneath the bag) and the ni-rye'hen (w) (the materials) providing to the bride receiver. Cloth which gathered in to be the "riran" consisting five to then the woven cloth of "kain timur" of second class of second class or third class and the yonder which is also added with and fifty to one hundred pieces of "kain toko" (fabric cloths). The providing materials or "ni-rye'hen" will be as capital of the bride giver to the bride receiver. Besides that mostly the women from the bride giver side also go and doing several voluntary work called "syoq-ni-se'ris(w)" at the bride receiver house such as colleting the fire wood, fetching the bamboo container with water, providing agriculture, gathering sago, and several many other physical work. The payment of "syoq-ni-se'ris(w)" must be clear multiple two or three times from the basic capital. After having all things done and collected, the processing of the bride to the house of the groom held afterwards leads by family and the relative. At the house of the groom the "not-sale" is arranged and also other preparations. Approaching the house of the groom, the step of the bride is stacked very often by her family and relatives both of FREL and MREL. Every stacked step has to be freed by throwing a piece of cloth. This is happened several times until the bride get close to the house of the groom. The bride then placed to climbing the leader and come into the house lead by mother/M/FW or can also one of the "syoilo'/MB(REL)J), walked by stepping on one two one of the second bride-price-properties or "not sele" which is ordered on the floor in two
rows, which is express as nan-gi-mra're-sot-'sele' (the bride stepping on the "bride-price-properties"). It may happened that close to the main the woven cloth of "kain-timur" which is the key or master piece the step of the bride hold when it is recognizing, there is any unfittiness. After debating, arguing and several adjustment the step of the bride let to be continuing until to the end. The "not-sele" cleared out and further turning to da'da'-rira (the arranging of the capital brought by the bride as beneath of the bag) and the 'ryewa-ni-rye'hen(w) (presenting of goods, foods,plan wine etc.). if both side are equal, the side of bride giver would never give up by shouting and stabbing on the floor and demonstratively doing the "da'da-rira" side by side with the "not sele" to compare each other value. The condition may never equal or the bride giver more superior in this case, the bride receiver must always above his "na-fain". Basing on the "rira" whether the woven cloth of "kain timur" or "kain toko" is distributed and from which the providers will be obtaining in the principal of nox-'qofyen (w) (getting in the multiplying of cloth from the whole wind direction). Summon of a "not-sele" can reach to three hundred to five hundred pieces of cloth/cotton not included the payment of "ni-rye'hen" which must be paid directly at once. The masterpiece or the key woven cloth of "kain timur" absolutely of the first class added with then to twenty other of the second class and the yonder.

(iv) do-sang-'gir (m)

The capital of "rira" bestowed by the bride giver then multiplied its profits by the bride receiver. The cloths obtaining from the "rira" where divided amongst the bride receiver with his relatives, and the conglomeration both horizontally to the na-'amaqfe (friends) and vertically to the na-esqanfe (young/old brothers) and the qban (the women of bride-price-properties giver). Distribution of ni-rye'hen and 'rira to the qban through this manner is called ni-lyofa for capital-good-bestowed and not-syofa capital-excloth bestowed. The system of such by-capital as long as should, can help for multiplying the profits which then made ready for the 'sanggir(m) (word,talk,etc.), which is the third bride-price-properties. This is the biggest, the last and the formalization of a married relationship.

After this payment, the born child of this married relationship then formally being owned by the husband. The payment of the third bride-price-
properties commonly held in a special house called the *mbol sang'gir* (m) (the house of being in agreement for the bride-price-properties). The preparation of a "sang'gir" is needed several times even yearly. Many activities has been done, among others invite the relative and "qhar" for a *mba-qa'rik- mbol(w)* (or just *qa'rik mbα* (killing of a domesticated pig), *mboden-sat(w)* (the harvest of mice garden), *jafrα-eryen(w)* (the distribution of leaf container of sago meal) etc. included *'sise-fam(m)* (the appealing/visit) to the relative and conglomeration which are the *na-ə'maq-fe* and *na-əsqan-fe*. By this occasion, the function of the "wuq" and "mιni" also very important helping to keep contact with the invisible mightiest to solve problems arise especially of making possible to get the woven cloth of "kain timur" in, the preparation of food, the health condition etc. for the shake of the success of the "sang'gir".

Being up against this occasion, every thing must be safe and in order; the swidden garden for example, must not be distributed by the wild boar, the sago palm which intime to chop down must earning enough sago meals, quarrels amongst the conglomeration must be avoided etc. The process of a "sang'gir" may held if already gathered about one thousand more cloth and one of the famous woven cloth of "kain timur" from the sraq classification as the key head. The capital of the ""rira" including "ni-
yehehe" which so far bestowed by the bridge giver must also be completely paid back in this occasion.

(iv) *wit-waq* (m)

Every born child in the family caused the payment by some heavy pieces of "kain toko" summing about then to twenty. The payment is run straightway when the "qonon" (the eight days after born celebration) by doing the *not-qlő'woq (w)* (pieces of cloth hanging on a cross balk in the house both as offering to the spirit of ancestors and also to celebrate the mother and the baby child to the real world). The cloths bestowed by the name givers and the relatives (see book II of this matter). After the whole procession (see 3.3.2), the payment of the *wit-waqq* (m) (the giving birth bride-price-properties) is laid down. Cloths used for this kind of payment mostly from the "not-qlő'woq" and completed by one of the woven cloth of "kain timur" of the third and fourth class of personal properties. It is to say every birth of child earned the payment of its "wit-waqq".

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(v) ni-'ordwa(m)

The ni-syofo and not-syofo consisting foods, and whatever wealth and cloth from what ever sources distributed to the "qban" (the giver of bride-price-properties) the mean time need to pay back, periodically and well planned. In this case it is not to mean, every distribution especially of foods need be paid back 9 See 3.2.1 (vi)). The "qban" during the times of paying a bride-price properties as mentioned before each are oblique to do the ni-'ordwa (m) (bring the duties) by paying back the "ni-syofo" and "not-syofo" in a multiplying number two or three times then the capital own from the FS/B,MBS, or relatives. By this time the woven cloth of "kain timur" which is tributes mostly of the equal class or rather above from the capital added with one or two other pieces of cloth at the same time.

(vi) hlik-son(m and sîrô(m)

It is the right of MB (SP/REL) to gathered from the ZD which is called na - syolo-fe (the origin of feeding breast ) is on the phase of "ninggi-ordwa" (the processing of bringing over the bride to the groom house) to let the ZD freely getting in the house of the groom. The portion the MB (SP/REL) owned from the dividing of "bride-price-properties" called hlik-son (m) (offering bestowed the origin of the breast). Which is then the dividing of the "bride-price-properties" split into two parts which is the ni-qain (m) owned by the F (REL) of the bigger portions and sîrô (m) owned by the MB (REL). The dividing of "sîrô" is always basing on the "rins" and other services which was getting from MB (REL) might getting the woven cloth of "kain timur" of the second class however this is very rare.

(vii) ni-qa'ki(m)

Basing on the "ni-syofo" and "not-syofo" or even not ever any as loyalty the sister daughter (ZD) regularly presenting the ni-qa' 'ki (m) the tight marked) to her MB (REL). Each "ni-qaki" not more the twenty pieces of "kain toko" and one or two third class the woven cloth of "kain timur". The portion will be increased depending on the situation mostly of if to supporting any payment of bride-price-properties.
(viii) o'syo-'honî(m)

To the death of an adult the o'syo-'honî(m) which is means to put a string through the holes of bonea (euphemism) will be paid by the children (C/REL) to the deceased MB(REL).

This kind of payment directly possessed by taken out from the not-gor (wrapping cloth) on the body of the corpse mostly of the "kain-toko" bestowed by the children and grand children and also by the condolence visitors where one or two third class of the woven cloth of "kain-timur" also added.

(ix) ni-qlat

On the death of an adult the o'syo-'honî (m) (putting a string through the hole of the bones"(euphemism) will be paid by the children (C/REL) to the deceased MB (REL).

This kind of payment directly possessed by taken out from the not gor (wrapping cloth) on the body of the corpse mostly of the kain look bestowed by the child and grand child and also by the condolence visitors where one or two third class the woven cloth of kain-timur also added.

(x) ni-qlat (the fine)
The ni-qlat is the payment of fine. The matter of sexual act out side of marriage and the divergence may cause the consequences to the payment of the following bride-prices-properties.

(a) 'sembhe-qlat(m) and 'mimo-'mbafa(m)
The marriage not going by the orderly process which is starting from not-mon (the sharing of the "kain timur") and 'qwat-hnaq (the asking in marriage) caused sexual accident already taking place amongst the couple, then the safe way to go is by alternatives. If the couple are not getting married then what is to do is by the 'sembhe-qlat(m) (fine for sexual acts). But if the couple will getting to married the process is then in place of 'qwat-hnaq there will be mimo'mbafa (m) the breaking down of a kind of shell used as trumpet the charonia tritonis ) The process of " 'sembhe-qlat or of mimo'mbafa is almost always potential for quarrels until the serious accidents for example to mention one other as yo'omon (3.3.1). from the side of male in many ways more suffering mostly if on the side of capitalist weak, not on the same rank of na-qohqo or bo'bot (" the rich people"). But
if this is happened to the other side of the na-'goхоq or bo'bot, may these yield by sa 'fuk '-qein (m) (stabbing the feet on the earth and clap on the burst as to challenging) the female side. Whether "semb-e-qlat" or "mimo-mbafla" stipulated about the same amount as "qwat-hnaq" however its complexes are not equal.

(b) ' simbret-qlat (m)

Sexual act outside the marriage practised by a married person may caused "semb-e-qlat" and 'simbret-qlat(m) (the fine to wipe out the mucus in the eyes which is bringing the shameless) paid for one's sibling. If the husband (H/REL) was act in sexual in orderly then the WB (REL) will claimed their Z right. In this case the H (REL) will pay the fine of "simbret-qlat(m)" for the WB (REL) and to relative of the women he had practised the sexual in the order he will pay the fine of "semb-e-qlat", where if in the other way around the H will do the same to the WB(REL) and also to the man the W had done wrong. If the woman is in fine then the payment is claimed too expensive for WB(REL). The risk is then more complex, the quarrels are potential to take place. To balance such occurrences may caused the payment if domesticated pig and the second class woven cloth of "kain timur". As the W do also the man, each is obligate to pay the fine to the H.

Having the view of the above description on the "bride-price-properties" it is to be aware that the value of marital and kinship runs in a continuation of the system of the giving for gathering for giving in a cyclically pattern or reciprocity. This is not to mean the logic of to buy (see notes 41) because the process is put every thing harmoniously.

To the ethnic group Toror, a married is needed to provide children which then multiplying cyclically moving regarding the patrilineal line. The E/E which born from this marriage calls 'tono(w) (may father or the father mine) to the man and 'tene(m) (my mother or the mother of mine) to the woman in this couple of this marriage. The addressing of "tono(w)"/ F and "tene"/M also may used by the another children born letter in this family. The kids born afterwards call E by ta'mon(w) if E is a male or 'tafo(m), if E 'thano(m) only from a brother (S) to the sister(s). The interrelationship in the nuclear-family on the certain condition will be formed institutionally, for example (Tehirt) will be added with the form na-`man-kind as suffix and 382
fe 'posses, belongs to as beneficial marker and accusative to neutralized the nominal. So if taking the word -ono 'father of...' and added by the particle /na-/and/-fe/will be na-ono-fe 'of the father side/F(REL)' and so na-'eme-fe' of the mother side/M, MB(REL), na-a'mon-fe 'of the brother side', na-'hano-fe 'of the sister side', na-elwiet-fe 'of the junior side', and na-afo-fe' of the oldest sister side', each will be moved in their limitation of its right. Further more the kinship will be moved in the generation staging both vertically and horizontally to the right father/F side to the left mother/M side. The relationship of involvement and responsibilities of E to the (left) M side may held up to three generations beforehand where to the (right) F side held up to six generations.

The measurement of generation (G)\(^5\) determined as from the child or G\(^1\), E or G\(^2\), F or G\(^3\) and generation before F or G\(^4\). The further descriptions stated as basing to the descended line or generation (G), the marital relationship, the age deferring horizontally so there will be junior and senior. In Tehit for example there are 33 kinship terms (see Sketch 18).

The terms both referring one special concept or which sharing in supporting more than one concept. In this case the relationship of E with the male kid in the family, then develop lather in the descending to be F and FF until able to show descending line G\(^1\), G\(^2\), G\(^3\), G\(^4\) according to arrangement of the limitation scope of clan which is S, SS, SSS in the F descended line.

Avoiding several possibilities, which are not profitable (see 3.2 and 3.3), the marriage as usually only practised amongst one unit of (sub-) group. In this case, the decision is also basing to the circulation of bride-price-properties of the woven cloth of "kain timur". A marriage (however not always so) seemingly running between the male E and whom who he addressing as ta'syollo 'my original breast'), whom is the female in the same generation (G\(^2\)) of mother side which is MB (REL)D else, then the addressing of "tasyolo", E also ought to use the term teme(m) my mother's to MB(REL)D, which is the evocation to call the mother/M/FW and some other figures in the kinship line.

\(^5\) The term "generation/G" is adapted from Keesing (1975), "Kin Group and Social Structure"
The considering gaining more woven cloth of "kain-timur", the marriage relationship may also enlarge to the other (sub-) group mostly to not too say leaf away the Z and the Z's family (ZH and ZC). The relation is too tight with the "syolo" MR(REL) to the "wet-qafe" which is then camouflaged the outsider's view as if this ethnic group practising cross married is been valid and there is no straight line of between the father descending and the mother descending or which said to be ambilineal or patri-ambilineal. The terms used here is fact not valid to (sub-) group of Mooi, Seget, Morait, Klabra and Tekit and also to Meybrat, Madik and Abun. The right and the duty of paying the bride-price-properties as been mentioned above, running on tree main phases. Each phases having each specific characteristic. The payment according to its phases regulations may stop, how ever the other responsibilities remain taking place in the whole life spend and whether over generations limits.

3.5.2. Marriage and Alliances

On the beginning of this sub-chapter was already been shown how important is the marriage as leading role in the kinship and social alliances of community life within the Toror groups. The main characteristic as being dated having no patent straight line among the line of the bride giver and bride receiver.

If it is to say the system is not organised and loosely structured may then understood if no attentively observed been done on the nuance known

54 Pouwer (1966:215-220) marked the method of marriage as practiced by many Arfak tribes at east Doberai by this terminology.

55 Kamwa, (1940:19 filed notes) compared the payment of bride-properties as practiced amongst people of Mooi, Tehit and Meybrat. Having the result of this, he proposed an average limitation of amount a bride-price-property should be paid which is using the "kain tokol" or money in substituting the "kain-timur". Oinin (1973) noticed, from the church side on the present day still attempted to state a sum of price and tot of bride-price-properties payment. By gaining the emic concept its is accepted that this kind of intervention is any how nont on the norm of value which must to be paid of, and this is totally not in the context of selling and buying. 
to the system. Regarding this group, as been mentioned before, the bride giver mostly is MB where his own daughter or of the relatives who are classificatory MBD. For the Mooi sub-group for example, (Haenen, 1988: 471-475) there is a system of giving and receiving the bride, which is seemingly being valid. It said, also happened that MBD, MyZ, and MBSD can marry-but one of the cases. If not so, may there is any other hidden angle, which is still, not appear to the surface.

Starting from the side of kinship relations MyZ and MBSD merely are MBD from the other side of kinship relations. For the other groups at the same culture the case of married with MyZ and MBSD is terribly taboo because it is belief this may caused si-squad (blind one own eyes (of getting bride-wealth from it sources)).

It might happened that there is a such word or expression which used by the informant and the researchers which is translated in Indonesia as "mama-muda" and "mama-kecil" or Mooi as "te-kyam" to accommodating the words younger-mother and little-mother (yM) with an un specified target. The contamination of the term t-e(mem) is referring to two concepts which are t-emen 'my mother/M' and t'qesim 'mother younger F(REL.). The conception is basing on patrilineal lineage; means child is the father offspring of F (FS). At this side a male Ego is not allowed to married with FZD because it is equal to Z. In this particular, Z or FZD and FBD are performing a big role of "qfan" (the woman bearing the "bride-price-properties"), which is, to support the existence of Ego (male).

Marriage within the Toror is running by a system of preferential matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (see Sketch 19). However, when admitting the mighty of the woven cloth of "kain-timur" in the payment and ownership of "bride-price-properties", it may say, the need is earning the motivation of deviation from the basic culture. The fact, which is indicated by Haenen above to the Mooi community ordinarily possible may an indication of proto condition, that at the old time that there was a straight line in the system of the bride giver and the bride receiver amongst the Toror. When this is accepted so, there must be a synchronic-irregularity side by side with cross-cultural resemblance, which only can be described by referring to the status culture origin and the natural friction, which are systematically held.
Sketch 19a: Diagram on Marital Line and Kinship from the male Ego

Explanations

1. Markers:
   - \( ^\wedge \) = man/male
   - 0 = woman/female

2. Letter and Natural:
   - A = na-'amukfe 'F line'
   - B = na-'amukfe 'M/MB line'
   - G0 = qanlok 'the line of generation of Ego'
   - G1 = qano 'the line of one generation above Ego'
   - G2 = qandar 'the line of two generation above Ego'
   - E = tet 'EGO'

3. Numerals:
   - 1,6,7,7,8,9,31 = 'talwietwytB
   - 2,5,8,10,24,27,28,30 = 'thnomn/Z
   - 20,40 = tdc/FyB, MyZH

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21,39 = 'tqesim/TybW, MyZ
22,41 = ta'dew/FP
4,12,25,26,29 = t-a'monw/oB
23,42 = ta'dem/PM
32,38 = 'triem/MBW
13,35 = tmbe'len/FBW, MoZ
33,37 = 'tamukw/MB
14,34 = tmbe'lew/FoB, MoZH
36 = 'temem/M
15,18 = tamukw/FZ
16,19 = tafasw/FZH
17 = tonow/F

Commentary
1). E, as also to 1 and 4 whom can take to marrying one of 24 and 28 which is also similar to 37 which called t-asyolom 'my origin breasts'. The same term also often used for addressing 25 and 29, where an other way around 24,25,28 and 29 addressing E, 4 and 1 by the term 't-efw wetw' my sun' or especially for 24 and 28 same addressing by the term t-amonw (my elder brother) and to 25 and 29 t-alwewt 'my younger brother';
2). The 9 and 7 must marrying with one of 2,3,5 and 11 which also addressing with the same term as to (1) above;
3). The married of E, 1 and 4 and 2 and 3 are very depending to 33 and 37 as to 14,17 and 20 to 9 and 6 and also of 10 and 8;
4). Else then marital line shown above, any other possibilities in the relation of kinship are not allow.
Sketch 19b: Diagram on Marital Line and Kinship from the Female Ego

Explanations
1. Markers
   same as Diagram in 19a.
2. Latter and Numeral:
   same as Diagram in 19a
3. Numerals
   1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 25, 26, 29, 31
   2, 5, 8, 10, 30
   3, 11, 24, 27, 28
   = t-amow/B
   = t-alwiem/yZ
   = t-aform/Z
   further, remain the same as Diagram in 19a.

Commentaries
1. E, as also to 2 and 3 are allowing marrying one of 9 and 7 which addressing by t-efe wew 'my male child'. On the other side 9 and 7 are
addressing t-aqselom 'my original breast' to E, 2 and 3. The term t-
amow (my brother) also used by E, 2 and 3 when addressing 9 and 7.
See Sketch for the distinction of Male Ego and Female Ego;
2) Else then marriage line mentioned above, any other possibilities of
kinship relationships are not allowing.

3.5.3. Conglomeration and Alliances
Conglomeration or relationship in the kinship is termed (Tehit :) na'hain (the same man, same mate) evoked 'tefe n'hain 'my same man'. Conglomeration may run horizontally amongst the group which parallel in the status and functions, called na'anaqfe 'comrade' or 'fellow friend' evoked 'tefe na'anaqfe 'may camaraderie' as vertically in the relationship of junior and senior na'esqanfe evoked 'tasqan or (Meybrat) ta'-foq 'my relation'. The relationship of "na-esqanfe" is having more intimate and be internal when comparing with "na-anaq-fe" is having more intimate and be internal when comparing with "na-esqanfe" which is showing more personal arrogance to compete within the friendship.

Having this two courses of social alliances some illustrations given as follows. Amongst the Tehit Jit it is known there is tree regional leadership, called mla 'hill, settlement, land properties etc. The three regions are taken distinctively.

The first is 'mla-flé' the oldest, grand hill, those who are (originally) the inhabitant of the Sifasa site now Teminabuan A, Awarqia now Teminabuan B and Menar now Seribau. Again among the people this first "mla" may again dividing according to the structure of the roof construction which is the front and the back view of rectangular structure called ada-lis whose are the inhabitant of Seribau where the smallest triangle structure on both sides called ada-dmA whose are all together "mla-flé" group. This is meant whatever complexities and initiatives never come been decided if not having both sides agreement. The second is "mla-srit" the middle (?) hill' who are (originally) the inhabitant of Wernit now Teminabuan C' (at the present official administration these become Desa Kaibus, Desa Kohoin and Desa Seribau). The third is "mla-qiba 'the youngest' who are (originally) the inhabitants of Kampung or desa Werisar. Among the "mla" group reciprocity evoking is t'anaq 'my camaraderie'.

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The term "tanaq" is equal to the term tman, which is used specially to evoking camaraderie of Mooi, Seget and Khaba people. The term "nasqan" is used to evoking the rest of other Tehit and the whole other Toror groups and even the inland inhabitant far to eastren Doberai (the Arfak tribes) unless for the Yaban or Ogit (Saga, Puragi, Migim, Yehadian, Konda and Sisir) Bira, Kokoda and Arandai tribes the term "na-fain" (the bride giver and the bride receiver) is used which is evoked tefe na-fain or tfain 'may relation as parents in low' (see 3.5.2).

From the point of view as mentioned before, there is more intimate relationship amongst the "na-esqanfe" when comparing with the "na-esqanfe". When compete the "na-anafle", the basic rested is on the strength of "na-esqanfe". For example, when the clan Tesia being up against the clan Momot, then it is already been known that each of them need to gathered each "na-esqanfe". For the Tesia side will performing the clan Yariilo (//Yariilo), Sagisolo, Lmouk (//Lemauk) and Slosa (//Saossa), where for the Momot might join by the clan Sesa, Snahanfi (//Snanfi) and Safgar (//Safkaur). From the "na-anafle" the clan Salmo (//Salambau) as an umbrella leadership to Qmesoq (//Konesok), Momot and Safeddr may side by side with Momot where the clan Qondlogig (//Kandologcit) may also appears side by side with the Tesia and some time also participated by clan Ezaso. How ever regarding the detail numbers and the strength of owning the bride-price-properties of the woven cloth of "kain-timur" are only known secretly limit amongst the "na-esqanfe".

As mentioned upstairs, the relationship with the people speakers of Yaban, or Ogit (Saga, Puragi, Migrim, Yehadian, Tagor, Konda and Sisir) and Bira etc. the term which used is same as the term used for bride giver and bride receiver which is tfain. Where term used to address the Kapaur or Fakfak (Atiati, Fatagar, Rumbati, Pattipi, Goras, and Kokas) people is 't-giani' 'the same origin', out of that are na-'omsoq 'the stranger' or na-wat 'other people.'

Relationship with na-esqan-fe is going more seriously (see 3.3.2.) mainly in the case of na-fooq 'the sponsorship' of the initiating of wsoon-sana 'shaman education'. Several myths on the origin and spreading of people in this territory as noted (Elmberg, 1968: 253-281 and Onim: 3-5), may as indication which bearing the knowledge regarding this conglomeration having a purpose which directly seen in capitalism-tract). The result is
accepted as physical culture and which also been mentioned beforehand on
the other side this is to form the cosmic-balance all together as a reactive
attempt or cargo or of mystical worship to the supernatural (Van Baal,

3.6. Secret Cloth "Kain Timur"

What is meant by kain-timur is an ethic term point of view on the
kind of woven cloth used generation by generation of Toror and the whole
West Papuan Linguistic phyllum which is only found in the Doberai
peninsula as the payment tool and barter mainly of "bride-price-properties".
A big presumable is, that the group of societies which are spreading
through the eastern part of the peninsula (Kebar, Meyah, Akari and
Manikon) are the original inhabitant whom before were not knowing the
woven cloth of "kain timur" as the payment tools and "bride-price-
properties". This is meant; the tool is adapted after the contact been held
with the migrant whom was entering the territory afterwards. The last
migrant were presumably moving in the same period when the movement of
Austronesian language speakers 1000 to 3000 years ago. One of any other
fact it is seemingly the languages spoken by the Toror people bearing many
Austronesian languages features. This is to say the languages here seeming
are the intermediaries of the Austronesian and Papuan linguistics
characteristics. For the further information on the course of migration of the
speaker of Austronesian and Papuan languages, the following sources are
recommended: Dyen, 1953, Murdock, 1964:17-126, Howells, 1973: 80, 92-
93, 104-105.

There is no single utterance or story on the ability of woven cloth to
this group of people in this culture territory, even in the daily spoken
languages. For the Tehit people, the very story are on their voyage to the
now a days settled area is the capabilities of Salambaw (/Salambau) on
who was doing the smithies of the machete at Seremonbo (estuary of
Kaibus river). The skill and also tools used in smithies by now not knowing
which is buried disappearing with the time spend. Whether the abilities and
the tools of woven cloth also experiencing the same? As a fact that the
researchers and scientists indicated, there was a serious selling slave for the
woven cloth of "kain-timur" systematically held since 17 century.
The development from time to time shown, name and term of "kain-timur" already accepted as a nomenclature. The similar domestic cognate (emic) to this payment tool is in fact not else found. Every unit of community spread in this culture area practising uttering this by varies of terms and names. That is meant there is never any uniform of proper name for this material culture tool. The speaker of Mooi and Seget as also happened to the speaker of Ar bun uttering this by using the term m(e)jle 'cloth'. Those of Morait, Klabra and Tehit called this not-(go)log 'holy/secret cloth'. The Meybrat and Mudik call this bo 'thing/complexity'. Where else to the group of Arafak (Meahk, Kebar, Manikion, Hatam, Arkari etc.) the name may different anyhow. The not uniform of this kind of cultural tool also noted in the name of each piece or pattern, norm or value, function and classification. One kind of this cultural item, which is for the certain group accepted as of masterpiece to the other group, may only for nothing. However it is too arbitrarily of its physical perspective-boundaries, which, its nuances are the same, which is as tool towards symbol status, and of custom and tradition institutions. It is for its proponent community in this specific; the function of "kain-timur" will be a life tool of control. Regarding the origin of "kain timur", there are several many versions whether spread out within the proponent communities or those which are gathered from theoretical analyses basing on report and several many versions whether spread out within the proponent communities or those which are gathered from theoretical analyses basing on report and several written work of the scientists. In this work there is not any intention to repeat that al given evidences. The author concentration that is there for only range from the problem of viewing or opinion and advantages of these cultural properties related to the life structure of its proponent mainly of the Toror groups. The author opinion is departed from two considerations, (A) tool of payment and barter called "kain timur" according to the theoretical analyses of the scientists, already been used within the life structure of its

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A piece of cloth accepted by the Tehit people as "tomba-qafaq" and classified to be female cloth of the 3 rd class of never to the end debate amongst informants from seget, Mooi, Karon, and Tehit people whom the author had gathered by the study held in Sorong 1980/1981.
user circa 400 years (Miedema, 1990:2)\(^5\). (B) basing on the fact that the woven cloth of "kain-timur" already been specific domestic significant of its user as the whole life aspect or spheres of life determination where also be as cultural focus\(^6\).

When taking to belief that almost all inhabitant I this area mostly those of western and southern coastal area were migrant, then they should from their origin been pushed the earlier (previous migrant) into the inland\(^7\).

From its intensities the opinion and usage of this cultural tool as in its nuances and differential, may said the groups inhabiting west and central part of Doberai (I), which are Mool, Seget, Morait, Klabra, Tehit, Meybrat and Abun the ordinary user, where the groups inhabiting the eastern and northern part of Doberai (II), which are Amberbaken, Kebar, Meyah, Mantion, etc. (Arifak group) may classified as the later users.

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\(^5\) Miedema, (forth coming) in "Trade, Migration, and Exchange: the Bird's Head peninsula of Irian Jaya in a historical and structural comparative perspective" tempting to make a compilation of several written works on the subject and acknowledging an analyst on the distribution of this payment tool (1970:132-142), Pouwer (1960:215-234,309-327), Schoorl (1979: ) and also by Haenens, (1987:4-8) and Meidema.

\(^6\) Myths on people migration amongst these people still told up to the present day time; Elmberg, 1968, Onlin, (idem).

\(^7\) The further story of this legends as noticed by Fasty and Stchof (1979), after the migrations setting several portions of the Qohin (Werabaam/Teminabuan)and. Several quarrales and manipulation took place caused by varies of unnatural incident. One of the victims was (and still is) the clan of Qonjo (Konjo) whom for this wiped out the ashamed by paying his portions of settlements to Tesia clan and the clan them selves lassened to the estuary and settling Werisar. From the clan of Tesia, the Qonjo were bestowed by providing a "woqadq" (pounder made from sago bark) and a piece of "tomba" of kain timur. These articles were getting along on the voyage of migration. Where from the other side, intensities and multiplication of the distribution of "kain timur" are not equal to each group.
Hypothesis which can be draw as basing on the above mentioned concept still is bearing the followings logic of ratio:

1. Group (II) just adapting by taken to be used this payment tool as a medium of communication with the Toror group whether in the marriage relationship or on the other transaction;

2. Group (I) were the latest migrant whom when leaving the origin land of "somehow already made used of such identical payment tool."  

3. When the slave delivery included the hunting of bird of paradise and the gathering of other forest productions, as the fact of source the woven cloth of "kain-timur" were getting in, then it is possibly to be an annulment that, the identical material culture must also be taken in the usage of many other ethnic groups at Etna bay, Kaimana, Arguni Bay and also the group of Kapaar (Bomberai) and Onin, groups of Raja Ampat archipelago, south of Doberai and around McCluer golf, also those of Numfoor, Yapen and Wondama other groups at Geelvink(?). When the above offering hypothesis are shortfall then we might accepted the following.

4. The traders on slave and the trading on the feather of bird of paradise and also other forest natural productions, used to be trying very detailed in separating and to distributing which slave, which feather of bird of paradise and which forest natural productions may bartered by (woven) cloths (of "kain-timur") only and to which the porcelain, rifles, lela (the Portuguese cannon from 16 century) etc. are available for.

This is rely fact that this phenomena may as dilemma which is attracting the long way and multi-relational of a never answerable question. This is meant, if this might not possibly to search out why the woven cloth of "kain timur" is not used by another group, unless only group people of original inhabitants of west, central and eastern Doberai. One other important fact should also given here that the group where the woven cloth of "kain-timur" is used as tool of payment and barter is only the speaker of languages family of west Papuan Phylum not included Northern Halmahera.

The groups as knowing from the myths on Toror told above, (some of them) seemed totally broken away from their origin.
This is not to mean just by accident if this material culture only practised and experiencing by the speakers of one languages phylum where never found to other language speakers whether of Trans New Guinea Phylum or Melano-Austronesia (see 3.5) surrounding area. The fact, which is, may an "miraculous in our eyes" because so far these thesis is never been taught by the researchers and scientist on this particular.

Having the above-mentioned hypothesis, the following equal opinion may be raised. Even though the woven cloth of "kain-timur" was imported this may never any substantive rank, which functioning in causing change or else directed to form a new culture.61 The cloths which were obtained (imported) through the salve trading and the feathers of the bird of paradise and also of several other forest natural productions may only as modification and also to be as substitution to a certain identical payment tool which was already disappeared or may still hold but moving only in a limit capacity.

The width perception of a (sub-) group regarding the woven cloth of "kain timur" is measured as basing on the (a) payment-currency on the "bride-price-properties" and the (b) exchange-currency as capital, for example on the "not-mon", "rira", "not-syofo" etc. and as standard to state the prestige of social status such as na-kayet, na-qohoq or ne-gohoq and bobot of a "pre-capitalism" outlook. Included to this the categorising and classification of the woven cloth of "kain-timur" as distinct to gender which are the not-m-gim 'the female cloth', the not-n-gi-nalaw 'the female and male in one or neutral cloth' and the not-n-ala 'the male cloth'.62 Where also

61 The ccategory of "kain-timur" regarding its gender (male and female) and the status (value) seemingly were not covered by the previous researchers, how ever a detailed description had been made by Elmberg (1968: 136-170) on its colors, sizes and anthropological interpretation beyond each cloth type.

62 It needs also be noticed that amongst the group with different dialects within the Tehit tribe ever been held "head-hunting" amongst each other. The Tehit Jit in this particular is always playing a roll of "devide-et-impera" politics through the functions of middleman. When ever a strained situation hold amongst the Safyi Srer and Saygi, Mbofie Aflya and Mbofie Gemma or to the other sub-group when going through its of each there must be any infiltration of bad deed made by the Tehit Jit.
basing on its value of power which is on trifyam (=fle) ‘piece of heirloom cloth’. The measurement of width and length of each kind are very relatively. Those of female cloths are generally wider than that of male cloth. The normal width and length normally runs about 1 x 2 m. On its form and figures pattern (no pictures), the female classifying cloths the figures are kin and pointed likely as spear. Regarding its colors seemingly is bigger (normally 20 cm/each figure row). The figures are bowed shorter whether in triangle form or in zigzag. The male classifying or mostly very, however reddish brown or dark brown and black dominating especially for the first, second and third class, where for lower classes the colours seemingly are more light formed in crowed combinations. In addition to that, the netting of each piece of cloth is woven works and not dyeing articles. The fiction, status and class of each “kain-timur” are different then the other depending on group or branch of group community where it is used. For example, to the Mooi and Saget and Abun a female classified cloth termed to(m)ba is valued as first class where for Tehit and Meybrat (west) such a cloth is placed on the third class. On its distribution the woven cloth of “kain timur” and the additional (kain toko) there are about 5 categories of classes (see Sketch 20):

1. trifyam fle(wo)

The woven cloth or “kain timur” which is known as trifyam fle "piece of heirloom cloth" included some names. Cloths in this category owning by each clan together in one kinship lineage whether or not related with the owner. In this particular each cloth in the category may as the basic of inner psychic and power of the ownership. This kind of cloth are very special in the meaning of placed the fiction of stabilizing and substituting the attendance, whether visible (group and alliances) or not visible (spirit, ghost, and the ancestors) in the dimension of previous, now a days and the future. The cloth of this kind may classify as placing the super class. In the gender classification cloths included to trifyam fle "kain-timur" always kept

The roll then recognized at the trade of slave as been stipulated by the Nati ‘raja’ Anggoq (Agustinus) Konjol of Wersar at the end of the 19 century.
together with the other inherited articles such as slag 'bracelet' samb 'bet 'beads', tmaq-fa 'stone-ax' (for example of the clan Squeiteles (/Sekeiteles),
strike fire poroperties, hairs and several other article accepted as mystical
mightiest to bring in to the owner properties many "kain timur" and several
other prosperity. Samples of the "kain timur" in this category among others
the 'afismre own by the clan Qylele (/Kaliele), wan-gma of the clan Antoh,
wat-arwag, of the clan Asmuruf, sfor-maor of the clan Flaysiy (/Flassy),
tenggya of Saftafo (which is for certain condition still hold by clan Flassy),
frvil and frvrat of the clan Tifsa etc.

However these are not used as the payment tools of bride-price-
properties and every payment of the "not-sanggir" or the third bride-price-
properties.

2. not-slo

The woven cloth of "kain timur" classified as not-slo 'magic powered
cloth' categorized be first class. Paid ones piece once on the "sanggir" (the
third bride-price-properties). Every relying marriage is been legally
accepted only if earning one piece of a cloth. Further cloths belongs to this
kind are categories as male gender. By approaching its patterns and colors
the cloths are again divided in to several names such as mon, sraq, tora(rj),
etc.

3. not-dik

The woven cloth of "kain Timur" knowing as not-dik 'the payment
currency' is taken differently as not-dik nlla (male) and not-dik n-gi
(female). Here, the male cloths are categorized as the second class. The
usage of them is to the payment of the middle scale "bride-price-properties".
The number of this is relatively depending on "bride-price-properties"
which are to be paid. As for example not-sale (the third bride-price-
properties') may demanded more if comparing with do-qwat (the first or the
propose phase bride-price-properties') and so on. Cloths which are belongs
to this category are qaflq, sa'lyen, qlyogola, 'erfl, widhen, etc. which are
gain take differently in to several different names according to its pattern
and status.

The female cloths off this kind are classified as the third class. Cloths
in this category are used in the payment of lowest scale "bride-price-
properties" such as wit-waq (ceremony of giving the born baby name), ni-
qlat 'fine', ni-oridwa (ZD supporting duties "bride-price-properties" bestowed MB(REL)), and other limited payment number. The cloth of this kind are mba'hen and to(m)ba. To the sub-group of Mooi, Seget, and Abun on the other way around precisely placed these cloths in the second class.

4. not-hen

The group of cloth which is categorized as not-hen ' the redage (immature) categorized cloths or the ordinary fabrics' These are accepted as he fourth class: "bride-price-properties" consisting se'lyen(w), sin'dan(w), le'ndan(w) and qyar(w), and also of the "kain-toko".

The functions of this kind of cloth are to complete the payment of "bride-price-properties". It is counted on each da 'piece' to the se'ren and 'xasar (the sarongs) and mmat (meter) and blok 'roll' on each long fabrics such as marwidin(m) 'plaid blue fabric', kasumbaw(w) 'plaid red fabric', etc. In this case however all "kain-toko" although having the same measures but varies in its values.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>group</th>
<th>name of cloth</th>
<th>gender</th>
<th>class</th>
<th>value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>'sfi'wre</td>
<td>-m (fem) -w(mal)</td>
<td>-p</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'wan-gma'</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'wan' 'awre'</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sfit'mn'</td>
<td>v</td>
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<td></td>
<td>'t'wngya</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
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<td></td>
<td>'i'wir</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'fi' res, etc.</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1'ro(a)</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>vj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1'ro(a)</td>
<td>v</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1i'ro(a)</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td>vj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1'ro(a)</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1'ro(a)</td>
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<td>1'ro(a)</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>1'ro(a)</td>
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<td>1'ro(a)</td>
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<td>5.</td>
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<td>6.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1'ro(a)</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sketch 20: Name, Gender and Status of "kain tunur" (base on Tehit)**

**Notes:**
- **INH** = inherent (not for transaction)
- **DBD** = death bodied (one piece only as top of marital/dowry payment
- **CRR** = currency payment or marital exchange dowry.

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3.7. Contacts and Influences

Guidance by several reports and written materials on the woven cloth or the "kain-timur" and its connections, we are tendingly to accept the claim that this cultural material was going with the slave trading. It is known, the ethnic groups of Toror actually not close to get the influences from other side. The contact went through the traders and the outside world already been held since 14 to 16 century at very least equal to the ages of the woven cloth of "kain-timur" or about 400 years ago. To have any information or outside world may describe as follows about contacts whether inside within the group (domestic contact) or outside world may described as follows.

3.7.1. Domestic Contacts

Experiencing the previous descriptions on Toror and Myths (see 3.1) and also the marriage system, conglomeration and the distributions of "kain-Timur" (see 3.3), made possible to know the relationship method of interrelationship among one and other unit group of the society.

The contact is much depending on medium, which generally known and own mainly to this case the woven cloths of "kain-timur" and the shaman institution of "wunon". Through the woven cloth of "kain-timur" contact was been made as seen by the marriage correlation and other friendship or conglomeration.

The limit conglomeration amongst the "na-anaq" and "na-esqan" is having a dynamic line and which also can be modification. This is to mean, every member who gathering to a unit of conglomeration of "na-anaq" and "na-esqan", still is having their own limit conglomeration of "na-anaq" and "na-esqan" which is built in a chain system. The network of this relationship is in layers and one to each others is in reciprocity of interest that is therefore the also oftenly one to each others because tensed.63

63 Winia in the "Memories van Overgave 1954 Onderafdeling Sorong-Makbon" opposite to Myor Konda (whom through alliances lineage) force to placed Klabra into administrative are of Kalbub district before World War II unto 1952, which was found place in Konda. Winia objection is that Klabra area which is also as Mooi and Seget were previously under the kapitan-laut Salolof, based on this Klabra had to count as an administrative area of Sorong-Makbon.

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How ever the stream of relationship amongst each others may be followed through several many aspects (see 2.3).

Internal contact within one (sub-) ethnic group as least runs in this scope. The sub-group of Tehit for examples, as basing on its topographical specification, placed on the marginal area called the Tehit Jit. Each clan of the Tehit Jit besides built a horizontal conglomerate of "na-esqan". The horizontal relationship goes amongst the Tehit Jit where on its vertical conglomerate of "na-esqan". The horizontal relationship goes amongst the Tehit out side the Tehit Jit and also to the Meybrat, Moraid and Abun. Most of clan out side the Tehit whether direct or indirectly descended from the young brother (yB) branch, whom were taken apart as an absolute. Where there remain task which has to do take over by each parties. The task dividing amongst the senior and junior in same way seen as follows: "Those who inhabiting the hill and mountain slopes are the Y main, Sfaryere and Sawiat (see also Elmbreg, 1968:276,279-280), as specific task are functioned as distributor of qadik (a cultural tools made as joining the pandandus leaves become multi functional usage as sleeping mat, rain covering coast and as a bag an also oblige to distributing the wqotei: (poison roots, Derris elliptica for catching fish). That is fore these articles, the group of Tehit Jit have to bartering with mbien (the fibber of nipah palm, Nipa fruticans) as salt-like article, fish and several other sea productions such as shells, crab, shrimp etc. Tehit Mbolfe and Tehit Sayfi oblige as such as having task to protect the sago plantation, etc. and for sure also of initiating more relationship for the sake of the distribution an continuation of the woven cloth of "kain.timur" and the shaman education of wuon.

Among each clan, there still thread several contacts whether through the stream where Tehit Jit playing role as mediator or as a direct initiative. This kind of contact and relationship may formulate as follows:

1. **X = X** (local-1, local-2, local-3 etc): for example, clan Qaret (/Karet/)
   and "na-esqan" contact of clan Qaret at Mbolfe (Afya), Sayfi, Sfaryere, Sawiat and Meybrat;

2. **X - X**: for example clan Qonjol (/Konjol/ K and Flaysis (/Flayssy/) F are "na-anaq" partner whom are each other not marrying unless my possible to adoption each child;

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3. X → X(X1→ X1a, X1b, X1c etc., X2a, X2b, X2c etc., for examples besides horizontal relation of "na-anaq" F and K in a kinship relation of not marrying each, F also divided into the "na-esqan" to be clan Meles or Meres/Mr Mboffe (Afya), clan Serelle (/Serele)/S-1 of Safyi, clan Safalle/Sf of Sfaryere, clan Medwet (/Dui)/D of Sawiat and clan Kambuya/K of Meybrat. This is meant K descended from clan D clan and D descended from clan F and K in a kinship trelation of not marrying each, F also divided into the "na-esqan" to be clan Meles or Meres/Mr Mboffe (Afya), clan Serelle (/Serele)/S-1 of Safyi, clan Safalle/Sf of Sfaryere, clan Medwet (/Dui)/D of Sawiat and clan Kambuya/K of Meybrat. This is meant K descended from clan D and clan D descended from clan F. The clan K growing great a very big influence to almost the whole inland of Dobersi. Through this power the Q and F are having relationship with several other clans of Meybrat; 

4. Configuration of (1), (2), and (3):

    Amongst each group of Toror, the relationship is enlarging while passing the same ordinary stream. For example, the clan Tesya (/Tesia) originally is the Saman people whose inhabiting at same where place at the sub-district Atinyo specifically at the village of Moswaren and Waigo. The relationship of this clan with the Mooi people may held by the stream "na-anaq" of clan Qondlogit (/Kondologit) who was descended from one source of origin together with the Mooi.

    The relation with one of a clan in Meybrat may possible through the stream "na-esqan" Slosa (/Salaosa) and Lmouk (/Lemouk). To the Klabra people the contact can be made through the "na-fayn" or "na-mon" clan Salmo (/Salambau) or clan Momot whom are originally Klabra people.64 As the matter of fact it may be said, never the less in one period it

64 The stream of migration is motivated by a such of cargo-cult starting from the legend/myth of Manamariki, this had became a strong belief, where it was reaching its peak when the movement of Kereri had broken in the years before and during the World War II. The influence which effecting several life aspects of the groups of the Yellow Plum Bay/Saireri Bay were obtained from the Sultanate of Tidore and Tarurn as some how been described by Kamma (1972).
may possible of having relationship amongst clans, the same group. However the strengths and intensities are varies contact is strong and intense difference.

3.7.2. Contact With Outside World

Contacts from out side to several groups of people in this area may through three methods that are direct contact, contact through the middleman, and chain contact. The outside influence to the Mooi and Seget, mostly to those whom settled at the island actually already been developed together with the born of four kings of the Raja Ampat archipelago which is among others influenced by the Sultanate of Ternate and Tidore. The culture of the Numfoor those whom voyaged passing the water be tween Papuan islands and the Sultanate of Ternate and Tidore more ora less influencing several life aspects of Mooi and Seget people and included the Karon/Abun people. The influence is indicated on the language and motives of accessories.55

However the payment culture of "bride-price-properties" using porcelain (plates, jugs and jar), silver, bracelet, machete, spear heads etc. which famous to the group of Numfoor may not influencing too much to the status of the woven cloth of "kain-timur" as the very dominant tool as "bride-price-properties". Especially for the Tshit, the out side influences not directly through the "Pertuanan" "the sovereignty" of Onin (Atiati, Fatagar, and Rumbati) through the river of Kaibus.66

By this way the further contact then initiated to be a chain contact with the people of Meybrat, Klabra, Morait, Abun and the others indigenous

55 This is an empirical data and also of a personal consultation with Mahmud Bay, the "raja" of Atiati 1988.

66 The christin for the first time introduced in Manokwari since the coming of German Missionaries, Ottow and Geisler in 5-2-1985. The development of Christian to the south and west of Doberai just started in the early 20 century, which was processed from 1916 to 1927. The development of education had spurring out the development Christian belief to almost the whole part of the island of New Guinea, included Toror culture area.
inhabitant of Doberai. However for the Meybrat mostly of Aitunyo besides the mentioned above, the indirect contact also held through the river of Kais and Kamundan.

Having the trade and government control since then was bearing experiencing of new ways of truth and belief of religion and new way of life however not drastically. The Islamic which is already introduced because not development in a well condition was besides caused by the cultural evidences, also of the Islam doctrine was not able to learn in World War II, the Tehit people who practicing the Islam way became scanty and then disappearing by itself. Differs from the Mooi and Seget, the area of Raja Amput archipelago and the west coast of Doberai, the development of Islam more effectively practiced where also a by the smooth contact with the Sultanate of Ternate and Tidore. However the numbers became less and less since the Christian was introduced somewhere at the end of 19 century or early of 20 century.67

3.7.3. Influences

By experiencing the contact with the out side world as been mentioned before, several influences had been taken place which are spurring out the life sty (basic culture) of this group. Some are described as follows.

I. Kain-Timur

The contact to and from out side world was influencing the distribution of the woven cloth of "kain-timur" both in numbers and in its capacities of usage "bride-price-properties which is very limit before the contact. As there is category of "inherited cloths" and "dead body cloths", "the currency

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67 The name of Sanggarea was reported by a Chow Jou Kwa who is a sailer and trader to Srivijaya as Janggi (means) "the land of bird of paradise". When in the script of Negarakertagama the famous write of Madysahit, mPu Prapanaya had put the name Wwanin and Sian. The word is a corruption form of Sanggaria (not Sian/janggi) at Onin. The further development shown whenever the new government system (administration control of VOC, the Netherlands Indies Colony, Netherlands New Guinea, Indonesia), the old system remain strongly hold in Fakfak (where along the Kaibus river it's popularity get to be loose).
cloths" or elsewhere "reddish cloths" and 'store fabries" (see 3.3.4.) may as an assumption that the initiated teerms after having more new.

II. New government Patterns

The patterns of Government which was the early time not too hierarchically run and more depending on the capital owner of the "kain-timur" change to a centralist administration by the name "ketuanan" 'the sovereignty'. To the Mooi and Seget (included Abun) people were reigned by the 'korano' 'the head' system basing on administration structure of Ternate and Tidore which was known through the "rajas" of the Raja Ampat archipelago and the migrant from Numfoor. The sovereignty of Atiati which is known as the "kindom" of Sanggarae was believed as fighting against the strangers mostly from the Molucass. To protect his sovereign properties, the "raja mudas" as extension right were placed from Enna bay on the south to river of Kaibus and Berar South west of Doberai. The "raja mudas" were ordered to gathering the sovereign properties from the foreigner's infiltration.

The structure which was held, is a "raja" ("raja muda") called 'nadi/ nati associated by a myor as to take responsibilities of the security which is helped by some 'wornemin 'the vise/deputi'. Further every "wornemin" having several ka' pitan by the responsibilities of each clan.

The system along the Kaibus River until the Sele Strait (Katoppo,1955:26 ) because of this influence, there was a "nati" pointed from the clan Konjol (Konjol ) inhabiting Weri Sar (Wersar ) of the Mlaqa region, where the "Woronemin (Wornemin) was form the clan Tesla at Weriauban (Temenabuan) of Mlafe-Adadma region and 'Myor" from the clan Mitibaru of Weri Konda (Konda ) at the Yabin -Ogit region, else one more of them is Ortuan 'the company of government' who is middleman from the clan Flassy of Mlafe - Adalis region at Weri Kasrer (Seribau) but because of the limition of speaking Mairiri (Malay), the right is handled to ZS adopted from clan Momot. The further development

68 The word riri originally taken from the Onin language means 'language, vernacular, utterance'; the word was hipper-correctly taken to the Teht language as salo/'marariri'='salombrariri'='salobrariri'='salo 'mprariri; The word salo means 'language'
shown each unit went on their way by strengthening each Weri (the sea landing place, harbour, port) as to be independent Pertuanan authority'. That was therefore, as matter of fact; there are four ‘weri’ or ‘pertuanan’ along the Kaibus Riever. The standard of stirred up mainly laid on dominant tradition and power of each prominent by approaching the domestic pattern of alliances and power of ‘na-anq’ and ‘na-esqan’ (see 3.3.3). The power of Myor was enlarging to the Ogil group, Afya/Neqna and Konyoq to Klabra and farther to Segit region. That of the Nati found its place to Gemna up to Aitinyo (the Saman hereditaries). That of Wornemin covered the Sfaryere and Sawaiat region. The Ortuan on the other extent was dominantly to the region of Safly, Ynian, Klabra and Morait but also of Sawaiat region overlapping with that of Wornemin.

After having a direct contact with the foreign power, in this case with the Dutch whether related with trade of Dutch Indisch Company (VOC) or of the colonial control of the government system became more width, both on its function and is hierarchical structure. since the years before and after World War II (1930’s and 1950’s), there was already been established the raja system installed to the new system where also raja komisi ‘the government foreman” pointed to the inland such as raja Framu of clan Salossa of Mefkajim-Ayammara, Raja Kambuya of the Kanbu on the other side of Ayamaru Lake, Raja Uter on Aitinyo etc.

3.7.4. Conflicts and Realities
The persistence of the order of the new government which is hierarchical power which is vertically implemented placed the order of the old hierarchical power which more collective and run horizontally and influencing several life aspects (see 3.4.30). Concentration center which were at the previous time being as place of trade (barter) and strategic location for community gathering, ceremonial feats etc. modified to by permanent settlement every clan posted on each block where its flock easily come and go to own properties land to substitute the daily livelihood.

The fulfillment of cloths, foods, and houses and several other life needs a such market system (barter) also counted the change of the way of selling and paying; this is meant the adjustment to the new means rendering (difference capacities).
Changes of the outlook also happened to bride-price-properties (the woven cloth of "kain timur") and its order and traditional custom and also included the faith and religious. However the changes had been held these all are in fact doubled motivations to life aspects which already described above for example how ever there is a big awareness of gathering and distributing the payment tool and the bride-price-properties the woven cloth of "kain timur" (see 3.3.3) the people also aware of getting the children male and female in to new style education. A such awareness however once bearing conflicts within the group and also to the outsiders who caused the change.

As a consequence of those outside influences there were many adaptations tempted to be. Whether these are accepted as natural or by processes (modified) conflicts as understood had taken place and happened as an attitude of expression to hold out or as to directing the mental attitude towards the encees. Two big occasion expressing by the Tehit and Meybrat seen as follows.

1). The Eles Attack

One serious conflict noted as taken place in the year 1920s, which was and attack brought to the power of stranger authorities. The incident is remaining memorizing and told to the young generation by the title Qhan Eles 'the Eles attacking'. The incident was initiated by Izac Besi Tesia, who was at the time Wornemin and reigned as raja Kaibus. He ordered one gathered troop of Eles people to attack the Dutch Indish Company patrol (mansose) who were in the year 1934 on foot from Teminabuan to Ayammaru (J.Massink, 1953, Memories van Overbage, Onderafdeling Teminaduan, 17 juni 1953-1 september 1955, KIT 476). The troops were all killed and its result was fatal. The incident was earning the back fighting and many indigenouse were killed and several others were kept and took to the prison. Izac Besi Tesia, the initiator was kept and sent jail to Ternate for 15 years. The rest were sent to Maccassar, Ambina, Fakfak, and Babo as forced labor.

What is exactly the background of this incident was totally of unsatisfied on all land riches, which had been gone to overseas by the company. There should any equal balance of development on the natural forest productions such as rattan, musoi bark, resin, lace etc taken by the
company. Not just bartering with manufacture articles. The company had
not just bartering with manufacture articles. And the changing was held,
after end of the World War II as by processes Teminabuan was became a
realy center for the Tehit and Mybrat. Long after, the Christian Mission
initiating Dutch speaking elementari school, the Vervolg School
(JVVS/MVVS).

2). The burning of "kain timur"

The other conflict, which may also, to be mentioned is the mental
clash amongst the user of the woven cloth of "kain timur" and their leaders
who were standing for the Christian Protestant Church (which is for sure
supported by the authorities of "the Dutch New Guinea Government").

However there was no crisis, the people (the rich people of "kain-
timur") acceded at the end. With a supporting by the government
authorities, the woven cloth of "kain-timur" were seized and destroyed. In
the year 1955 and 1956 as publicilly and exageratedly the woven cloth of
"kain-timur" were getting to fire at the same time altogether in Ayamaru
and Teminabuan since the time no more "kain timur" appearing in the
payment of bride- prince and just only the "kain toko" were allowed. The
same prohibition also held for the shaman education of "wuon".

What ever has been gone, there are many positives can be gaining
form this condition. The changes had caused many more children getting to
school and the villagers were actively serves for the public life. From these
conditions, the people were never again leaving the village for hunting the
"kain timur" where the school children will get their needs supplied.

3.8. Linguistic Aspects

Liguisitc problems, which are to be, highlighted in this work
more on the general view, where for the specific study on the subject, will
be covered later (see notes 6).

The characteristic unique of the languages amongst the Toror
groups and also language in the same family of West Papuan Phylum which
then distinct from the neighboring languages of Trans New Guinea Phylum
and Melano-Austroneisa lays on the lexical system, sentence-type and also
of the big role of pronoun affixes and its pattern of distribution. This is
meant, the asymmetries phenomena amongst whether on Trans New Guinea
Languages. This may a indication of the meting point of these two languages each is with different characteristics which my possible to trace in attempt to search out several cultural problematic faced about, for example of migration, the woven cloth of "kain-timur", kinship, conglomeration and also the religion, etc.

The variation of languages and the different units of speaker within the group was happened by the isolation whether of its geographical surface or also of the influences subsequent development in the previous time, for example, the period of the ancient Toror (see 3.1). There are also difficulties on the communication amongst the group how ever the bilinguals or might also of multi-lingual in language, dialect or variant of languages within Toror. On its latest development it is wishing that there should any lingua franca also of the contact with the outside world.

3.8.1. Lingua-Franca

The language of Onin known as during a long period has been functioned as medium vernacular many ethnic groups spread from etna bay to McCluer Golf and the half of wets and south Doberai. The influences of Onin as lingua franca then also foreseen in the languages of Toror where the mainly is Tehit. This also seen to Trans New Gunea languages in this area such as Ogiti/ Yaban, Ogit-Metamani (Mugim/Yahadian), Bira/Inanwatan) and the other groups at Bomberai Penpusula (Kokas, McCluer Golf (Bitumi) etc. At the other side the languages of Numfoor find its place within the speakers of languages at raja Ampat archipelago as lingua-franca, which is also known to the spakers Mooi, Seget, Karon and the other languages of the northern coats of Doberai (see 3.4.2).

The Malai-ri or Malay\(^6\) was getting in via Onin Peninsula and Raja Ampat Archipelago. The entering of Malay language anyhow anyhow may possible after the trade contact already established with the outside world. The fuction of Malay become more important when the

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\(^6\) Since then, one by one the Dutch placed its administration post starting from Manokwari 1898 for the northern part (the south part still controlled together with Tidore), then Fakfak in the year 1902 become a separate post for the south part when after this year no longer being part of Tidore.
administrative control of the Dutch colonial authorities /VOC postel the second and third decades of 19 century mainly after the establishing of a fort at Lobo (Kaimana) in the year 1828. Exactly it would not to be mentioned, but it was very possible for the Maleiriri or Malay already been used together with the Onin in the beginning of 19 century, which is where the "rajas" and "raja mudas" being appoiined by the Natnadi of Atiati spread from Etna bay to Sele strait.

3.8.2. Uni-Forming

Taking several notes on the universality the languages within the Toror group may direct to an inquiry of uniformity of these distinct languages. The inquiry of "uniformity" or uni-forming is departed from the universal of aspects and the uniqueness amongst the language within the Toror groups. The pattern of linguistic direction line must be traced regarding development, guidance and engenering of language scope of language. The starting attempt could be done by the composing of grammar and dictionary in a limitation and periodically in the codification of all life aspects of certain target languages. The attempt of language uni-forming as mentioned above may be done to languages within the Toror group by codifying its intelligible sharing. As is being highlighted before hand there are three language units within the Toror, i.e. (1) Mooi-Seget, (2) Morait-Klabra-Telen and (3) Meybrat-Abun Madik. 71

70 Since then, one by one, the Dutch placec its administration post starting from Manokwari 1898 for the northern part (the southern part still controled together with Ternate), then Fakfak in the year 1902 became separate post for the southern part where after this year no longer Tidore, Tertanate or else Maluccass control to Papua.

71 It is known from the collected data basing on its lexicographic test, the time duration of the languages separated from each others, is described as follows:
(a) unit 1 from unit 2: # (≈ approximately) 65% → or + (more than) 3558 years;
(b) unit 1 from unit 3: # 5% → or - (lower than) 4557 years;
(c) unit 1 from unit 3: # 8% → or +/− 4252 years. The further description on this particular as been mentioned beforehand may appear in a special work. The given data as far can be used in analyzes of the uniqueness of proto culture of Toror.
§ 4

DETERMINATION

4.1. General

The toror cultural area comprises the territory of two language families of the west papua phylum in the Doberai (Bird's Head) Peninsula of New Guinea (Irian jaya), say: the west Doberai and the Central Doberai Families. Languages belonging to the West Doberai family are Mooi, Seget, Morait, Klabra and Tekit whereas languages belonging to the Central Doberai Family are Meybrat, Abun/Karon and Madik.

Language characteristic in this social-culture framework are in many ways different from those of any other language groups located in the southern part of doberia peninsula and those speard throughout the Raja Ampat Archipelago which are classified as the members of Trans New Guinea Phylum (among others the languages of Bira, Ogit, Puragi, Maya, Langanyan, etc) and there also for Austronesian languages in adjacent areas. Lexical features, grammatical typology, mark the major significant differences and the most important is the function of pronoun affixes. On the basis of the linguistic phenomena just mentioned and by looking at the exiting structural patterns of the life, any individual has all the information necessary and all the linkages with the wider aspects that are complex and accumulated.

From another point of view, the spreads environment typology may be the characteristic innovator of variations of social-economic patterns, which are integrated into social-cultural normative included terms (lexicon) in language (nations of numbers and gender). Interdependency of the environment may allow freedom of movement livelihood, social alliances, institutions, etc.). The area in which the sources of livelihood are found in general takes the form of a marginal plateau, however there are many variations. These variables are described as aquaculture, agri-culture and collecting (mostly of "sago").
Gardens (swiddens) are normally planted twice a year, but meanwhile there are also activities such as preparing small size reserve gardens for use of the need arises. Traditionally there are also very specific gardens which are necessary for ritual ceremonies (recently these have been substituted by common gardens needed for social goals such as: school, youth organizations, and congregation and church gardens). This can be viewed as a triple dimension of the goals for which gardens are needed within a whole institution scene.

The last mentioned gardens are mostly communal (normative), as the second will be for occasional activities (deviance), whereas the first are a necessity for existence.

Taro (Colocasia sp variant of colocasia antiquorum), as is common in many other Melanesian groups and throughout several parts in (South) Pacific Ocean, is the main staple food, which means it is the focus plant. Many terms and lexicons of gardens and plants including food arise from this nation. As with "taro", this source also reveals that "sago" has an important position. Taro is a human cultivated product whereas sago is provided naturally. Two different worlds are seen to meet each other here in the life of mankind, forming one unit of exiting dimensions. The most common domestic animal is the pig however it does not occupy a central important role in customary and traditional exchange system. The close connection with these particular animals is based on a mystical relationship, of which people are greatly aware. Based on its polarization and universality of social-cultural aspects, the Toror group is divided into three groups of tribes; Mooi (Mooi and Sege), Tehit (Klabra, Morait and Tehit) and the Meybrat (Meybrat, Abun and Madik), however arbitrariness and overlapping of distribution cannot be avoided. For the last three decades the system of settlements have been changed to the Indonesia "desa" patterns, which has caused a great many cultural and linguistic interactions. This particular process, however, has led to shortages, although, in many ways this should have been very fruitful in the sense of providing accessibility for (re) unification (or (re) uniform) of the important social-cultural aspects.
4.2. Theories and Cultural Characteristics

A unit of "cultural area" is accepted as a minimal limitation of territory in which life and the occurrence of one characteristic of individuals and groups is integrated by mechanisms into the unit of parallel norms which are conventional, and deviance is governed by patterns, materials and the same idealism which are continually fixed and accepted as an absoluted. A social-cultural unit is accepted not only as a loose event (aspect), but much more likely as an exiting totality (social-cultural set of existence) and must bring awareness to bear on differentiating one unit of target from others, even though there is shared intelligibility.

The assume absence or "hidden" relationship has come about as the result of historical possesses. Every sub-group in an integrated spreads enviroment has undergone differenting and shifts of patterns and values that, from one period to another, have diverged far from the origin of the common patterns and values. In their isolation, all these differentation have formed a recognized frame of style, name, sorts, functions, categories, intentions, capacities, etc.

Social-cultural characteraistic, as far as can be observed in the Toror group have formed into a totality, which is reflected dimensionally. They move within a set pattern of rules (normative), which are accepted as social-cultural aspects, which also become the units for the action system and for basic-reference of existence. There are two major factors to be faced here, the universality and hisorical processes which have caused shifts towards significant uniqueness. the Dynamism of the life is impelled by several changes (deviations), however in this process in many instances the similarities to the cultural origin remain as fact of uniformity and universality. Differentiation among (sub) groups very continuously complimentary and ought to substituting, both internally or externally and are intrinsic in coloring the closeses and existence of the group. In many instance the flow of these lingkages are hidden so they do not appear on the surface of the patterns of daily life.

The system of interlining between the element units is invisibly marked or linked by a "hidden-structure". The autonomy is clear-cut but every unit is still linked with the whole normative patterns.

Cultural caracteristic of Toror, as well those of whole Melanesian area are therefore structured in a "hidden" patterns which, on the surface
(existence), is reflected in a sense of irregularity is more like the diversity of overlapping display mosaic like boundaries (accumulated, drawn to each other and joined together but also separable). The fact is that this surface appearance has many times been seriously misinterpreted by outsiders (not expecting researchers), and consequently has been characteristics as "loose". The absence of any relationship between distinct cultural elements is indeed very marked, and these do not show the closed tight relationship as noted in Africa models, for examples tuft of marriage alliances (kinship). The concept of "hidden-structure" is offered here as a methodological tool in an attempt to find a way out of this impasse. It can be applied to research previously carried out which so far has by no means clearly summed up the anthropology in New Guinea and the adjacent islands. This includes work done by members of "Structural-Anthropology" of Leiden school. The concept of "hidden-structure" contains patterns for embracing the cultural aspects within unit of structural limitation so these can reflect the relationship either among the similar cultural units or with the other limited units. The principal mechanism of "hidden structure" is cyclical equilibrium strongly characteristic by monotonous. It can be open-ended or simultaneously converged towards a coma-climax (creativity). A circular relationship between the internally "hidden" structured (inner action) function as a complex mediator to form the characteristic spirit of togetherness, spirit of group, and also as a spirit of competition, war as well as harmonization among the alliances, in the manner of (Tehiri) qlyo-se-seq' mutual release and offering a way out'. The mechanism in the nation of "hidden-structure" is found in a form of circular equilibrium whether this is, obedience to or deviation from and may be directed towards a transitory "end" (intermediate) stage. It is integrated, although on the surface each of these may appear as a separate unit of individualism (autonomy). Nindividuationism in the framework of the "hidden-structure" is not a question of personality but more like the enclosing of the entirety of existence, which therefore assumes a dual dimension.

Within the Toror group, the social-cultural essence is reflected and presented amongst other means by myths, beliefs, power (succession, achievement, capitalism, and "bigmanship"), social alliances (kinship, juniaor, senior lines and allies), the sacred cloth the woven cloth of "kain-turnur", tranding (barter, and capital-interest) etc. these are all recognized as
a principal of triple dimension: production-dimension comprising idea, relationship and wealth. Every element is linked to and influenced by each other to liberate and to create fresh opportunities ("qlyo-seseq").

4.3. Dimension and Cultural Perspectives

The expression "toror" bears witness to this triple dimension. It is based on the past (lost Toror), present-day phenomenon (memorized Toror), and the future (oriented Toror). Connected with suitability and in correctness these ideas become the kernel of a conflict as far as possible maintained in balance. This control besides drawing together people, also arranges the life dynamism of each individual as a member of the group within a limited space such as house, settlement-unit, village, source of livelihood, gardens, rivers, etc. including the restricted places, the domains of natural powers and spirits, ghosts, souls and genies. The relationship between the elements forms a total unit, which, as mentioned before, is wedged together and offers a way out (qlyo-seseq). Although one dies, and becomes a spirit, the integration with the system remains unchanged and continuous. It is understood that human beings have a relation with souls an spirit because through the power of lost spirits (qol-si'mle (w)), animals such as pigs, crocodiles, centipedes, or what ever things threaten the tranquility of human beings whether by giving regards or punishments. This concept influences the whole of existence, including daily life (gathering food, hunting games, cathing fish, gardening and the cyclical making of swiddens, and also taking care of watter sources, jungles, paths, etc.). Whatever natural things whether animate or inanimate, visible or invisible, as well as protecting mankind, at the same time may also present a danger for human life. According to this concept, every event therefore should have each own linkage value (on-purpose) and intention. The occurrence in threefold seems to be a cultural characteristic in this area: "supernatural trinity", human being triple dimension", "three aspects of production" and "three sets dependencies". Divine existence and supernatural property is viewed as "light" or "sun". Supernatural effort to fulfill the needs of human beings is understood as a daylight labor, which begins at first light at dawn and finishes when the sun sets, whereas at night the whole process will be completed with the sun sets, whereas at night the
whole process will be completed with the arresting of the "evil spirits". The same pattern will be continued at the following day. The work of the Supernatural therefore is never ended, simultaneously, however, every stage is a totally rounded unit and loaded like a fully loaded canoe. It is believed that at the time of "toror" (ancient days) this canoe loaded with wealth and glory was rowed and floated through the air and visited human beings regularly.

The whole concept may give a view of "light" which is able to encompass the beginning and the end, created from nothingness and it assumes a new form by disappearing. Many institutions were formed to confront human beings with the Supernatural. The institution of "wuon" institution is that of a mediator (of two way communication) between human beings (in their three dimensions) and the invisible power. This cycle is continuous until human beings having received their form from nothingness and return to nothingness: shadow or spirit, and "man" (human) three parts as a unit of completeness (beings). The whole of existence is a concept, which is in a regular state of flux in a process of moving to achieve a balance and to form patterns and norms.

Not everything is allowed to do personally. On one other hand every single case, which occurs in the community, is the concern of everybody and one is left outside. Personal activities should be a continuation of the group needs. Personally performance in a particular matter must be in balance with the whole system.

The concept of ownership of sources of livelihood, jungle, soil, river, etc. is not present. The whole matter must be coordinated and talked about decisively. The forming of several institutions for organizing the tranquility and welfare, for instance "wuon", serves to promote the peacefulness and well being of humans and of the environment as a whole. According to this view, universality is more like a conglomerate of element-compounding concepts, which are closely related to each other.

There are clear oppositions, amongst others, feminine/masculine, junior/senior, taboo/permission, visible/invisible, etc. In the concept of belief for instance there is oppositions, between "olando" (the light of creating) and "qolsime" (the spirit of destroying). The Supernatural is also recognized as two parts of a whole: 'talim 'sun' (CF. 'taliw 'day'), nga'meri 'dawning' vs. 'qmahin 'a loaded canoe'. Cosmic dualism in the life of such a
social-cultural complexity is a simultaneous being of "sub-species aeternitatis", which is the implication of an element-compounding concept in the notion of a symbol of extent and tightness as reflected in kinship alliances, owner and ownership, actor and actions, etc. Every manifestation (existence) in the view of the Toror ethnic group, is semantically oblique (however, not totally) and appears only by the addition of a pronoun affixes that is used when whatever thing in the cosmic order is counted for using the 3rd person: -m- for 3rd person singular feminine, -w- for 3rd person singular masculine, and -y- for 3rd person plural. Every concept, which is has a meaning in kinship terms and social-alliances in the same notion as the inalienable concept referreing to body parts. This is physically there are body parts for every thing. The phenomenon is displayed in the impotent cultural themes of the Toror group such as marital and kinship systems, alliances, exchanges and the bride-price goods of the woven cloth of "kain timur" (sacred cloth), masculine institution of shaman "wuo" and the female witch-craft "suangt".

The linkage of alliances overlaps where each of them attracts benefits; therefor they are almost always opposed to each other. Lines of relations can be traced back through the phenomena already mentioned above. This means, what is meant by "life" in the Toror group may view as a unit "the attendance of wider concepts". The dynamism is alive, in a process, creating relations, and which result in new norms, which however still revolve in a cyclical motion that fits the ecmmitsment.
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