Preliminary report on Funai Helong

Owen Edwards

Leiden University and Language & Culture Unit (UBB), Kupang

I provide initial data and discussion of Funai Helong, a threatened dialect of Helong spoken in and around Kupang in western Timor. Funai Helong is phonologically and morphologically conservative compared with other Helong dialects. I provide an initial sketch of the phonology and select aspects of the morphology of Funai Helong along with a 646 item wordlist.

1. Introduction

In this article I provide initial data and discussion of Funai Helong, the variety of Helong spoken in and around Kupang city in western Timor. Funai Helong is phonotactically and morphologically conservative when compared with other varieties of Helong.

After a discussion of the language background in §2, I provide an overview of the phonology in §3. Funai Helong has thirteen consonants and five vowels and preserves a number of consonant clusters which have been lost or reduced in other varieties of Helong.

In §4 I provide an initial description of agreement morphology in Funai Helong, Funai Helong has three paradigms of subject agreement prefixes which occur with verbs, as well as two paradigms of possessive suffixes which occur on certain nouns. In §4.3 I provide an overview of synchronic metathesis in Funai Helong. In the appendix I provide the lexical data I have collected on Funai Helong.

2. Language background

Helsong (ISO 639-3 [heg]) is an Austronesian language spoken in the south-western-most part of the island of Timor and the adjacent island of Semau. It has about 14,000 speakers (Grimes et al. 1997:42). Speakers recognise three dialects of the language: Semau Helong (a.k.a. Helong Pulau = ‘island Helong’), Bolok Helong, and Funai Helong (a.k.a. Helong Darat = ‘land Helong’).

Differences between these dialects are not insignificant and native speakers of the Semau dialect report that they do not understand the Funai dialect without previous exposure to it (Misriani Balle p.c. October 2017).

Semau Helong is spoken on the island of Semau, Bolok Helong is spoken on the Timor mainland around the port of Bolok and nearby villages, and Funai Helong is spoken in and around the area of the city of Kupang. A preliminary map showing the location of Helong, its dialects, and other languages of south-west Timor is given as Figure 1.

---

1 I would like to thank the Language and Culture Unit (UBB) in Kupang with whose support the original data in this article were gathered, as well as the financial support of an Endeavour Australia Fellowship. I would also like to thank Misriani Balle and Stuart Cameron who provided me with their Semau Helong data, as well as Charles Grimes and two anonymous reviewers who provided comments on earlier drafts. Any errors or deficiencies remain my own.

Publication of this paper was supported by the VICI research project “Reconstructing the past through languages of the present: the Lesser Sunda Islands”, funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research, project number 277-70-012.

Aspects of Helong grammar have been described by Balle & Cameron (2012), Balle (2017a), and Balle (2017b), who all describe the Semau dialect, as well as Steinhauer (1996) who describes the Bolok dialect. I have not been able to locate any published material on the Funai dialect apart from occasional notes in Jonker (1908), a dictionary of the Termanu variety of the Rote language cluster which is spoken on the island immediately to the south-west of the Helong area.

![Figure 1. Locations of Helong](image)

### 2.1 Sources of data

Most of my data comes from fieldwork conducted over two days in Oelelsala village (*desa*) at the south-eastern end of the Funai area. I stayed two nights in Oelelsala from the 14th of December 2017 with Ferdis Kristofer Tasae (Om Ferdi), a native speaker of Helong, and his family.

Om Ferdi was my main consultant, but I also interacted with and collected data from other Helong speakers. In particular, Nikolas Tasae, Hendrik Ranboki, and Yaret Batmalo all acted as consultants at various points. All these consultants are male, and all between about 25–50 years of age.

While in Oelelsala I compiled and recorded a 585 item wordlist, collected miscellaneous other lexical items, and elicited a number of morphological paradigms.

In addition, on the 11th of December 2017 I collected a 242-item Helong wordlist from Oebali hamlet in the village of Bone — the south-eastern extreme of the area marked ‘Bolok Helong’ in Figure 1. The Helong people in Oebali are reported to have come from Besmarak and the speech of some may be a variety of Funai Helong, though it appears to have Bolok influences.

All the primary Funai Helong data on which this report is based, are archived at Paradisec, accessible at: [http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/0E7](http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/0E7)

---

2 The distribution of Helong in Figure 1 is based on information provided by Misriani Balle (p.c. October 2017) and my own fieldnotes. This map is provisional. A proper linguistic survey is needed to determine the exact extents of Bolok Helong and Funai Helong. Helong speakers are also reported to live in the villages of Nunkurus and Naibonat immediately north of the area labelled ‘Kupang Malay’ in Figure 1.
2.2 Language situation

My consultants reported that Funai Helong is spoken mainly in the villages of Besmarak, Oeletsala and Kolhua. Only two hamlets (dusun) in Oeletsala were reported as being non-Helong. All my consultants were multilingual. In addition to Helong, they also spoke both Meto and Indonesian/Kupang Malay.\(^3\)

The traditional territory of Funai Helong includes the area of Kupang, the capital city of the Indonesian province of Nusa Tenggara Timur. During the colonial era, the Dutch set up a fort in Kupang in the mid seventeenth century at the request of the Helong king, Ama Pono, who was seeking protection against the Portuguese (Hägerdal 2008).

From this time onwards, the presence of the Dutch fort and colonial outpost made Kupang a locus for those fleeing conflict in other parts of western Timor, as well as merchants of diverse backgrounds who made a living off the trade in sandalwood, beeswax, honey, turtle-shell, and slaves (Hägerdal 2008:143).

Funai Helong has probably been giving way to Meto and Malay in Kupang since September 1658, when refugees from Sonba’i and Amabi — Meto speaking Atoni kingdoms — settled on and began to cultivate Helong land.

This history is reflected in Oeletsalavillage. Marriage with members of the Atoni ethnic group is frequent and even ethnically Helong people frequently use Meto with one another. It was not infrequent during my fieldwork that the Meto equivalent of a word was instantly known by my consultants while the Helong equivalent required discussion — often in Meto — before my consultants recalled it.\(^4\)

Given the minority status of Funai Helong in the area, the history of acceding to outsiders, and modern marriage patterns, it is fair to say that Funai Helong is threatened.

Nonetheless, Funai Helong is not in immediate danger. The current situation appears to be one of stable multilingualism. Adults do frequently use Helong with one another and some younger people speak only limited Meto, while being fluent in Helong and Indonesian/Kupang Malay. This appears to be a case of Meto losing ground as a regional lingua franca due to pressure from Kupang Malay/Indonesian which is gaining ground as language of wider communication in western Timor.

3. Phonology

Funai Helong has thirteen consonants, given Table in 1. The voiceless coronal stop /t/ is dental \([\text{t}]\) while the other coronal consonants are alveolar. The voiced bilabial obstruent /b/ is occasionally realised as a voiced bilabial fricative \([\text{β}]\). This is particularly the case after /k/. Two examples are kbaŋoʔ ‘branch’ \(\rightarrow [\text{kβɐŋɔʔ}]\)–\([\text{ˈkβɐŋɔʔ}]\) and kbak-βakaʔ ‘monitor lizard’ \(\rightarrow [\text{kβeŋk βekeŋ}]\). Voiceless plosives are unreleased phrase finally. No other significant allophonic variation is attested in my data, except for /d/ (discussed below.)

---

3 I do not have data on the different social domains and situation in which each language is used.

4 A number of different varieties of Meto can be identified, of which most have only one liquid, either /r/ or /l/. Amarasi, immediately to the south-east of Oeletsala has /r/ while other varieties of Meto surrounding Oeletsala have an /l/. The variety of Meto used in Oeletsala has /l/. Om Ferdi, at least, also speaks Amarasi. His wife, Antonia Batmaro, is from Nekmese village in Amarasi.
Table 1. Funai Helong Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Dorsal</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless Plosives</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced Obstruents</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1 The alveolar obstruent /d/

The phoneme /d/ has two main realisations; plosive or rhotic. When realised as a plosive, /d/ is realised either as an alveo-palatal plosive [d] or an apico-post alveolar plosive [ḍ]. When realised as a rhotic, /d/ is realised either as an alveolar trill [ɾ], alveolar tap [ɾ], or, rarely, as an alveolar approximant [ɾ]. /d/ is also optionally realised as a lateral [l] before an /l/ in the following syllable.

The environments in which the different realisations of /d/ occur in my data are given in (1) below. More data will probably lead to a refinement of these environments. In all cases in which there is variation, such variation occurs in the speech of individual speakers and I do not have sufficient data to state how/if this variation might be correlated with age, gender, or any other social factors.

(1) Realisation of /d/:

a. /d/ → [d] /#_

b. → [d]~[ɾ] /k_

c. → [ɾ] /b,p_

d. → [d]~[ɾ] /V[+BACK]_V[-FRONT]

e. → [d]~[l] /#(C)_V_l

f. → [d] /elsewhere

Phrase initially the normal realisation of /d/ is as a voiced plosive. Examples include dalen ‘inside’ → [ˈdælɛn], dukun ‘thunder’ → [ˈdʊkʊn], and dikis ‘drizzle’ → [ˈdɪkɪs]. Rhotic allophones do not occur word initially in my data.

Secondly, after the consonant /k/, /d/ is realised as either [d] or [ɾ] with neither realisation more common than the other. Phrase initial examples include kduman ‘night’ → [ˈk̚dʊmən], kruvun ‘tooth’ and krahet ‘language, word’ → [ˈkɾəhɛt]~[ˈkɾəhɛt]. One example phrase medially is buk dua ‘twenty’ (lit. ‘two tens’) → [bʊkˈdʊə]~[bʊkˈrʊə].

Thirdly, after a bilabial plosive /b/ or /p/ the usual realisation of /d/ is as a rhotic, though plosive realisations also sometimes occur. Examples include, bduun ‘star’ → [ˈbruːn], bdoson ‘smooth’ → [ˈbrɔsən], and pdisan ‘lightning’ → [ˈprɪsən].

Fourthly, after the back vowels /o/ and /u/ and before a non-front vowel /a/, /o/ or /u/, there is likewise variation between [d] and [ɾ]. In this environment the plosive realisation is slightly more common. Examples include sodo ‘cast-net’ → [ˈsɔdɔ]~[ˈsɔɾɔ] and kmudu ‘fingernail, toenail’ → [ˈk̚mʊdʊ]~[ˈk̚mʊɾʊ].
Any phonetic motivation the rule /d/ → [d]−[r] /V[+BACK]_V[−FRONT] is not immediately clear. More data may lead to a revision of this rule to simply /d/ → [d]−[r] /V_V. However, based on my current data the conditioning environment must be specified according to the vowel qualities due to non-candidates such as kode ‘cough’ → [ˈkɔdɛ], ktudi ‘knife’ → [ˈkʊdɪ], and kdeda ‘chair’ → [ˈk̪dɛdə].

Fifthly, when a word contains a medial /l/, and /d/ occurs initially or as the second member of a cluster, /d/ is realised either as a plosive [d] or lateral [l]. Examples include kdale ‘earth’ → [ˈk̪d̪əlɛ] ~ [ˈk̪l̪alɛ], kdiΠa ‘wing’ → [ˈk̪d̪ɪl̪aʔ] ~ [ˈk̪l̪il̪aʔ] and dala ‘blood’ → [ˈd̪əlɪ] ~ [ˈl̪əlɪ]. The only eligible candidates for this rule for which such variation has not been observed in my data are dalen ‘inside’ → [ˈd̪əlɛn] and daleʔ [ˈd̪əlɛʔ] ‘below.’

In the case of loanwords, the realisation of /d/ does not necessarily match the phonetics of the source. Thus, Portuguese cadeira ‘chair’ with medial [r] has been borrowed as kdeda which is so far only attested as [ˈkdɛdə] with medial [d] in my data. Similarly, Dutch broek ‘pants’ has been borrowed as bduuk for which my consultants judged the realisation [ˈb̪duːk] as a completely acceptable alternate to [ˈbrʊːk]. All this data indicates that there is no reason to posit /r/ as a separate phoneme for Funai Helong, with all instances of [r] analysable as allophonic variants of /d/.

Finally, there are a some words which have variants with either /d/ or /l/ word medially. The words I collected with such variation are as follows: (the form used when the wordlist was recorded is given first): bodos ~ bolos ‘suck’, komaliʔ ~ komadiʔ ‘angry’, madiʔ ~ malıʔ ‘salty, bitter’, yeleiʔ ~ yeďeʔ ‘heavy’, njideʔ ~ yiluʔ ‘sour’ and ulat ~ utat ‘vein’. Based on my limited data, I cannot say which form of these words is dominant.5

Om Ferdi, my main consultant, said of the variation between [d] and [r]: “In one house the wife might say [d] and the husband [r]. In the morning you might use [r] and the afternoon [d].” This statement implies that the realisations of /d/ is free variation, though given that true free variation is almost non-existent a proper sociolinguistic study is needed to examine social factors which might influence one variant over another.

Similarly, the variation in words with both [d] and [l] (i.e. bodos ~ bolos ‘suck’) was also described by Om Ferdi as free variation, with the variation being attributed to the influence of the speech of old people. The nature of this influence, or which forms might be associated with the speech of older people is unknown.

### 3.2 Vowels

Funai Helong has five vowels, /i e a o u/. These vowels are usually realised as lax [ɪ e a o u], though tense realisations also occasionally occur. The low mid vowel /a/ is realised as slightly front [a] when a front vowel occurs in the following syllable. Two examples are slahin ‘yesterday’ → [ˈsl̥aɪn] and base ‘wash’ → [ˈb̪æs].

Vowel initial words begin with a predictable glottal stop. Two examples phrase initially are anin ‘wind’ → [ˈʔaɲɪn] and iņu ‘village, island’ → [ˈʔɪnʊ]. Examples phrase medially are diuʔ tana anaʔ ‘bathe a child’ → [d̪ɪuʔ ʔaɲaˈnənəʔ] and ikan in tuluy atuli ‘fish which helps

---

5 The variants with /d/ in such words usually also show variation in realisation as [d]−[r] Thus, a word such as ‘vein’ has three realisations: [ˈʔʊlɐt̪], [ˈʔʊdɐt̪], and [ˈʔʊrɐt̪].
people’ (i.e. ‘dolphin’) → [ʔɪkən ʔɪn̪ˌt̪ʊlʊŋ ʔɐˈt̪ʊlɪ]. A predictable glottal stop also occurs at the beginning of the stem in reduplication; i.e. ol-ola → [ʔolˈʔola] ‘yesterday’.

3.3 Phonotactics

3.3.1 Consonant clusters

The root initial consonant clusters attested in my data are given in Table 2 along with the number of attestations for each consonant as the first and second member of a cluster. Rows are not given for consonants which are not attested as the first member of a cluster in my data; /d/, /h/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /l/. Similarly the glottal stop /ʔ/ is not included as it only occurs word finally. More data on Funai Helong will almost certainly reveal more consonant clusters.

Table 2. Funai Helong Consonant Clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C1</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>nj</th>
<th>l</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Slightly over half of all roots with a cluster have /k/ as the first consonant. Most of these are nouns in which the initial /k/ appears to be a reflex of a prefix **ka-. Examples of Austronesian inheritances in which an initial /k/ is probably a reflex of a nominal prefix include *ñikñik > **ka-niki-k > knikiʔ ‘mosquito’, *daRəq > **ka-dale > kdale ‘earth’, and *tumah > **ka-tuma-k > ktumaʔ ‘clothes louse’.  

When a plosive occurs initially before a nasal, the initial plosive is usually unreleased. Examples include kʊila ‘ear’ → [ˈk̚ʊlɐ], kmudu ‘fingernail’ → [ˈkmʊdu], and tnikan ‘staff’ → [ˈt̪n̪ikan]. When /k/ occurs before another plosive, the two consonants are usually co-articulated. Examples include ktaaʔ ‘axe’ → [k͡taːʔ] ‘axe’, ktudi ‘knife’ → [k͡t̪udi], kpaa beas ‘testicles’ → [ˈk̚paa.bɛɐs] and kduman ‘night’ → [ˈk̚dʊmən].

3.3.2 Clusters in different dialects

The three dialects of Helong differ with regard to the permissibility of consonant clusters. Funai Helong allows a wider range of consonant clusters than are found in Semau or Bolok Helong, with Funai Helong clusters corresponding to a reduced range of clusters in these
other dialects. Semau and Bolok Helong data in this section are extracted from published sources (see §2).

Semau Helong allows the following plosive-liquid clusters: /bl/, /kl/, /kr/, /pr/, and /br/.\(^8\) In most cases when a Funai word begins with /kl/ or /bl/ the Semau cognate also begins with the same cluster. Examples include Funai klafa 'garden', Semau klapa, Funai kdbu → ['kr豁bo] ‘earring’, Semau kرابu, and Funai/Semau bluan ‘grass’.

The only other clusters in Semau Helong have /h/ as the first member: /hk/, /hm/, /hn/, /hŋ/, /hl/, /hb/ and /hd/.\(^9\) In general, a Funai obstruent-sonorant cluster (except /bl/ and /kl/), as well as the cluster /sk/, corresponds to a /hC/ cluster in Semau. Other Funai clusters correspond to single consonants in Semau, with the latter attesting only the second consonant of the Funai cluster. Examples of consonant clusters which are different in Funai and Semau Helong are given in Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3. Consonant Clusters in Funai and Semau Helong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obstruent+Sonorant/s+k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kniit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kmukit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tnaja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slaen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smanin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skokon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Steinhauer (1996) also reports less clusters in Bolok Helong than are attested in Funai Helong. Steinhauer reports only the clusters /bl/, /kl/, /sl/, /sn/ and /sm/ in his data, further stating that such clusters are only found in the speech of the older generation.\(^10\)

Balle & Cameron (2012:6f) provide a small amount of Bolok data, and such data show that in most cases a Semau cluster of /h/ + sonorant corresponds to a Bolok cluster with initial /s/. Examples include Semau hnaja, Bolok snaja ‘finger’ (cf. Funai tnaja) and Semau hlapat, Bolok slapat ‘fast’.

3.3.3 Root codas

The productive process of final CV → VC metathesis in Helong (see §4.3) means that all consonants can occur word finally. However, there are restrictions on which consonants occur root finally.

---

\(^8\) The clusters /pr/ and /br/ occur only in loans in Semau Helong. Unlike Funai Helong, the rhotic /r/ has phonemic status in Semau Helong.

\(^9\) Clusters of /h/ and sonorant in Semau are realised as voiceless sonorants: /hm/ → [m], /hn/ → [n], /hŋ/ → [ŋ] and /hl/ → [l] and /hk/ is realised as a uvular fricative [χ] (Balle 2017a). The clusters /hd/ and /hb/ are realised as [d] and [b] and are treated differently to other clusters in reduplication (Balle 2017b:41f).

\(^10\) Balle & Cameron (2012:7) also give the Bolok word tlala (Semau hlala) ‘middle’ with initial /tl/.
Of the thirteen consonants, the following six have been attested root finally in more than one root in my data: /t ʔ b s m ŋ/. Of these, the glottal stop /ʔ/ only occurs root finally. In addition, the consonants /k f l/ have been attested finally in a single root each. Other consonants are not attested root finally, though this could be due to lack of data.

The only coda clusters attested in my data are those consisting of a possessive suffix -m, -n, or -ŋ followed by the plural suffix -s (see §4.2).

4. Morphology

4.1 Verbal agreement

All verbs in my data agree with the subject in Funai Helong. Subject agreement is expressed by a prefix. At least some intransitive verbs also take the suffix -ŋ in the first person singular.

There are three verb classes in Funai Helong, each of which takes a different set of prefixes: verbs which take mono-consonantal prefixes, verbs which take syllabic CV prefixes, and vowel initial verb roots. Vowel initial verb roots and verbs which take syllabic CV prefixes take a prefix in all cases while verbs which take mono-consonantal prefixes only take a prefix for the second person and first person singular.

The agreement paradigms I collected are given in Table 4 along with the form of the pronouns used before verbs. This includes two consonant initial verbs which take mono-consonantal prefixes: lako ‘go’ and kaa ‘eat’, two vowel initial verb roots; -inu ‘drink’ and -aŋan ‘think’, and one verb which takes syllabic prefixes; -tehe ‘speak’. The agreement paradigm of Semau Helong, from Balle (2017b:16) is also given for comparison.

Table 4. Verbal Agreement in Funai Helong

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citation</th>
<th>C-C…</th>
<th>C-V…</th>
<th>CV-C…</th>
<th>Semau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>lako</td>
<td>inu</td>
<td>na-tehe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>k-lako-ŋ</td>
<td>k-kaa</td>
<td>k-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>b-lako</td>
<td>b-kaa</td>
<td>m-inu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>lako</td>
<td>n-inu</td>
<td>n-aŋan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL</td>
<td>kit</td>
<td>laok</td>
<td>t-inu</td>
<td>ta-tehe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
<td>kaim</td>
<td>laok</td>
<td>m-inu</td>
<td>mi-tehe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>b-lako</td>
<td>b-kaa</td>
<td>m-inu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>oen</td>
<td>lako</td>
<td>n-inu</td>
<td>na-tehe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>‘think’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† Phonetically k-kaa is realised with a geminate initial [k]. Thus, au k-kaa ‘I eat’ → [ʔauˈkːaː].
‡ In Semau Helong the 1SG pronoun is auk before verbs and nouns, thus auk lako-ŋ ‘I go’. The final /k/ in this pronoun is probably re-analysis of the 1SG agreement prefix attested in Funai.
# The variable metathesis of the verb lako ‘go’ is probably not agreement, but variable aspect.
In Semau Helong metathesis marks imperfective aspect (Balle & Cameron 2012:11).

The second person consonantal agreement prefix b- in Table 4 is due to a change of *m

11 These roots are bduuk ‘pants’, stiif ‘slingshot’, and n-ol ‘with’. Of these the first is a loan from Dutch broek, and the second may be a loan from Meto stiif.
> b before non-nasal consonants. Thus, Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *madiŋdiŋ > **mlinj > biliŋ ‘cold’ can be contrasted with PMP *manipis > mnihiis ‘thin’.

This suggests that verbs which begin with a nasal consonant which take consonantal prefixes would take m- for the second person. However, I do not have data to either confirm or disprove this hypothesis.

In my Funai Helong data at least some intransitive verbs also take the suffix -ŋ when the subject is 1sg. In addition to lako ‘go’ (shown in Table 4), I have also attested this agreement suffix on the verbs diuʔ → au k-diu-ŋ ‘I bathe’ and nahiʔ → au k-nahi-ŋ ‘I fall’. I do not have enough data to determine with which kinds of intransitive verbs this suffix occurs or whether it is obligatory for these verbs.

Suffixes on intransitive verbs are the only kind of agreement in Semau Helong, with all persons except 2sg and 3sg taking a suffix. Balle (2017b) describes the verbs which occur with these suffixes as intentional intransitive verbs.

Semau Helong does not have productive agreement prefixes. However, a number of verbs in Semau Helong always begin with initial n or na. Two examples are ninu ‘drink’ and nahdehe ‘speak’. Such forms are probably relics of the third person prefixes found productively in Funai Helong. Thus, the presence of agreement prefixes in Funai Helong appears to be a conservative feature of this dialect.

4.2 Possessive suffixes

Body parts (loosely defined) and certain kinship terms usually occur with possessive suffixes which express the person and number of the possessor. The nouns for which I elicited possessive paradigms are given in Table 5 below. The possessive suffixes of Semau Helong, from Balle (2017b:17), are also given for comparison.

Table 5. Possessive Suffixes in Funai Helong

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pattern 1</th>
<th></th>
<th>Pattern 2</th>
<th></th>
<th>Pattern 3</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sg au</td>
<td>ŋalaʔ</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>faten</td>
<td>kalas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg ku</td>
<td>ŋala-m</td>
<td>mata-m</td>
<td>fate-m</td>
<td>kalas</td>
<td>mta-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg un</td>
<td>ŋala-ʔ</td>
<td>mata-ʔ</td>
<td>fate-n</td>
<td>kalas</td>
<td>mta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL kit</td>
<td>ŋala-n/ŋ-s</td>
<td>mata-ŋ-s</td>
<td>fate-n-s</td>
<td>kalas</td>
<td>mta-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL kaim</td>
<td>ŋala-n/ŋ-s</td>
<td>mata-ŋ-s</td>
<td>fate-n-s</td>
<td>kalas</td>
<td>mta-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL mi</td>
<td>ŋala-m-s</td>
<td>mata-m-s</td>
<td>fate-n-s</td>
<td>kalas</td>
<td>mta-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL oen</td>
<td>ŋala-n-s</td>
<td>mata-n/ŋ-s</td>
<td>fate-n-s</td>
<td>kalas</td>
<td>mta-n-s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>‘name’</td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
<td>‘liver’</td>
<td>‘chest’</td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In Semau Helong the 1sg pronoun is auk before nouns. Thus, Semau auk mata-ŋ ‘my eye’.

There appear to be at least three patterns for body parts in Funai Helong. Firstly, there are nouns which are cited with a final glottal stop, such as ŋalaʔ ‘name’, or which are cited as vowel final, such as mata ‘eye’. Such nouns take -ŋ for 1sg possessors, -m for second person possessors, -ʔ for 3sg possessors and either -n or -ŋ for other possessors (1PL.EXCL, 1PL.INCL, 3PL). Any difference in meaning or use between -n/-ŋ is unknown.
Secondly, there are nouns which are cited with a final /n/, such as fateyn ‘liver’. Such nouns have the suffix -n for all possessors except for 1s/ possessors which trigger -ŋ, and 2s/ possessors for which -m is used. Nouns which take possessive suffixes also take the suffix -s when the possessor is plural.

Thirdly, there are nouns such as kalas ‘chest’ which are cited with a final consonant other than /n/ or /ʔ/. Such nouns do not take any possessive suffixes. While this might be the case for all consonant final nouns, I did not elicit paradigms for other body parts.

4.3 Metathesis

Final CV → VC metathesis is a productive morphological process in Helong. At least one function of metathesis in Funai Helong is to mark the presence of a modifier in (at least some) phrases and/or compounds. Examples of Funai Helong phrases in which the first word has undergone metathesis are given in Table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6. Funai Helong Phrases with CV → VC Metathesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘turtle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘soil’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not obligatory for the first member of all phrases to undergo metathesis. Examples of phrases in which the first member does not undergo metathesis include iluʔ ‘nose’ + boloʔ ‘hole’ → ilu boloʔ ‘nosehole’ and safah ‘spouse’ + bihata ‘woman’ → safah bihata ‘wife’.

In addition to phrases consisting of a head and bare modifier, metathesis can also affect heads modified by a relative clause. Examples include inaʔ ‘mother’ → iuŋ in hua ‘mother RELATIVISER birth’ = ‘genetic mother’ and batu ‘stone, rock’ → baut in huiʔ ‘stone RELATIVISER worship’ = ‘mound of stones for ritual activities’.

Final /a/ undergoes assimilation after metathesis in Funai Helong. Examples include uma ‘house’ + lulin ‘taboo, sacred’ → uum lulin ‘traditional house’ (Indonesian rumah).
Preliminary report on Funai Helong

1. Introduction

Funai Helong is a phonologically and morphologically conservative dialect of Helong, an Austronesian language of Timor. This report provides some initial data on this dialect, which is hoped to prompt more work on Helong and the other Austronesian languages of Timor.

2. Phonology

The phonology of Funai Helong is similar to that of other Austronesian languages of Timor, with metathesis occurring in certain phonotactic shapes. Metathesis is also a marker of modification in Bolok Helong with every non-final member of certain phonotactic shapes undergoing final CV → VC metathesis (Steinhauer 1996:474–478). In Semau Helong, nouns undergo final CV → VC metathesis when specific (definite) and verbs undergo CV → VC metathesis to mark imperfective aspect (Balle 2017b:91ff, Balle & Cameron 2012:10ff).

3. Morphology

While preliminary, it is hoped that this report will prompt more work on Helong and the other Austronesian languages of Timor. For many of these languages and their dialects there is no published data available — not even of the preliminary kind in this report.

4. Abbreviations

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
<td>INCL inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
<td>PL plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
<td>PMP Proto-Malayo-Polynesian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL exclusive</td>
<td>SG singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. References


Appendix A. Helong - English wordlist

In this appendix I present the Funai Helong lexical data I have collected. The lexical data presented here were all elicited in Indonesian/Kupang Malay. Headwords are followed by their English gloss. When a headword contains a /d/, the realisations of this phoneme attested in my data are given with a phonetic transcription.

Inheritances are indicated with *Etym:* preceding the reconstruction. All reconstructions are to PMP and are from Blust & Trussel (ongoing) unless otherwise indicated.

When a word in Helong and a neighbouring language are related and probably a result of borrowing between Helong and the neighbouring language, but the direction of borrowing cannot yet be confidently determined, this is indicated by *Contact:* preceding the related form. When the Funai Helong word can be identified as a borrowing on comparative grounds, this is indicated by *Borrowing:* before the source language and form.

Where a Funai Helong word has a known cognate in another language of the region, but this form cannot be confidently identified as a result of recent borrowing and has not (yet) been reconstructed to PMP or a lower node, this is indicated by *Cognate:* preceding the cognate form(s). Such forms may be shared inheritances or early borrowings.

Data for Rote languages comes from Jonker (1908), Tetundata from Morris (1984), Ili’uun data from de Josselin de Jong (1947), and Meto data (including Amarasi) comes from my fieldnotes and Middelkoop (1972). Sources for other languages are indicated.

Where the Semau or Bolok equivalent of a Funai headword is known to be different this form is given. This Semau and Bolok data were provided by Misriani Balle and Stuart Cameron (p.c. May 2015).
A - a

aa  dem. that. Synonym: ua.
aalui  n. rice field. [Note: from earlier *ael ui
‘rice water’, cf. Ro’s Amarasi aanəoek
historically also *aen oe ‘rice water’]
aam in hua  n. genetic father.
aat  quant. four. Ety: *qat.
ada?  [adə]'s n. shoulder.
ael bulin  n. rice grainhead. Ety: *bulir.
ael kphohot  n. unhusked rice.
afa?  n. 1) body. 2) self, one-another. Ety:
*hawak ‘waist’. [Semau: apa]/
afon  n. sky. Usage: poetic. Synonym: lelo. Ety:
*aawə (irregular final *a > o). [Semau:
apan/ ahu  n. land, soil, ground, floor. Ety: *qabu.
ai  n. fire. Ety: *hapuy.
ai bulin  n. flame. Literally: ‘fire grainhead’.
aken  n. palm pith.
akin beas  n. kidneys. Synonym: khaŋin beas.
Variant: aik beas. Borrowing: Meto aki-f,
Semau Helong has haŋin which, while
cognate with the Meto form, is not a recent
loan, though could be an early loan at the
pre-Meto stage.
 alas  n. forest. Ety: *halas.
ale  n. 1) rice plant. 1) grain (generic). Ety:
*pajay.
alu  n. pestle. Ety: *qahlu.
Ama Lamtua  n. Father God. Variant:

ama?  n. father. Ety: *ama.
amu?  n. child ; same sex sibling’s child. Ety:
*ana.
anjin  n. wind. Ety: *hajin.
ao  n. lime. Borrowing: Meto ao; ultimately
from *qapuR, but irregular Helong final
*uR > o (regular in Meto) attests borrowing.
asa?  n. chin. Ety: *qazay (irregular *z > s,
expect l) (irregular *ay > a, expect e).
asə?  adj. empty.
asu  n. cow. Ety: *asu ‘dog’.
atis  n. part of the loom which the weaver uses to
roll up the woven cloth. [Contact: Meto
atis]
atui kuli  n. human.
atui matsona  n. stranger. Synonym: atui
teta.
atuli teta  n. stranger. Synonym: atui matsona.
[Contact: Meto ?eta? ‘different’]
atul  n. person, man. Synonym: baklobe.
Borrowing: pre-Meto *atol > atoni/latoni.
au  pro. 1, me; 1SG. Ety: *aku.
auh nao  n. fireplace ash. Borrowing: Calque:
Meto auh nao.
auh taba?  n. clay.

B - b

-b-  v prefix. second person subject agreement
on certain consonant initial verbs.
ba-bakun  adj. invulnerable.
ba-baun  adj. small. Synonym: an-ana?.
[Contact: Meto baun]
baen  v. pay. [Contact: Meto na-baen]
bahi  n. pig. Ety: *babuy.
bakdədi  [ batk’didi] n. drum.
Ety: *baki ‘grandfather’.
baklobe  n. man. male. Synonym: atuli.
bakun  adj. thick. [Cognate: Meto mafaun,
Dengka/Dela-Qenale fauʔ-]
bakun  quant. how much, many? Synonym: ila.
[ Cognate: Meto baʔuk/fi:fauk, Terminau
baʔa]
baliŋa  Q. when?
banan  adj. good.
bataʔ?  n. sister of man.
batiŋ  v. divide. [Contact: Meto n-bati]
batu  n. stone. Ety: *batu.
batun  n. freeze.
baut in huʔi?  phrase. mound of stones for
ritual activities.
baut kudu  [ bawt’ku:dus], [ ’ku:dus],
[ ’krus] n. gravel.
baut tlokon  n. coral rock.
bdəen  [ ’baen]–[ ’baen] adj. short. [Semau:
daen]
bdoson  [ brəsən] adj. smooth. [Semau: doson]
bdruuk  [ brərku] n. trousers. Borrowing: Dutch
broek. [Semau: bluk]
bdruun  [ brɨn] n. star. Variant: fduun (a loan
from Ro’s Amarasi fraun. The form bdruun
was identified as being used in Kolhua, but
was the form selected (unprompted) for the
recording. I also heard bdruun being used in
other situations.). Ety: *bituqan (irregular
*t > d, perhaps via intermediate *nd).
[Semau: duun]
bduun tasiʔ n. starfish.
beas n. seed, husked rice. Etym: *bəRas (irregular *R > Ø, expect l).
beel lamtua phrase. sacrifice. Literally: ‘give to God’.
beleʔ v. sing.
benʔa n. vagina.
bien v. turn.
bihata n. woman. See: bataʔ ‘sister of man’ (with feminine honorific bi).
bilat blai n. pomegranate. Literally: ‘foreign bilat’.
bilat huin n. wood apple. Literally: ‘wild bilat’. Aegle marmelos
bilun adj. blue. Borrowing: Malay biru.
bisleon n. centipedes.
bisikiki v. squat. [Cognate: Amarasi n-bestii]
biun afaʔ phrase. yawn. Variant: biunu.
blaño n. rat. Etym: *balaawan.
blai adj. foreign. Etym: *malayu. [Cognate: Tetun malaæ ‘foreigner’, Malay melaya]
blalan adj. old (people).
blanen n. brother of woman. Etym: *maRuʔanay.
blatas adj. long, tall.
blua tihi n. grass for thatching.
bluan n. grass, brush.
bluan sonʔa n. field.
bluʔaŋ adj. wide.
bluʔan n. skin. Synonym: kluit. [Semau: bulaŋ]
boe v. wash. Synonym: base. Borrowing: probably Meto boe; ultimately from *buRiq, but we would expect Helong *buli by regular inheritance).
boka v. open, i.e. the lid of a pot. Etym: *buka (irregular *u > o).
bokoʔ n. hill.
boloʔ n. hole. [Contact: Rote boloʔ-boloʔ]
bone n. sugar palm. Borrowing: Meto bone? (Rote lects have bole, attesting earlier *l).
boon n. head.
botoʔ n. foxtail millet. Variant: ael botoʔ. Etym: *bataŋ (irregular *a > e, expect 0).
bisuʔ [ˌbisuʔ] adj. rough. [Semau: selʔ]
bua n. banana. Etym: *buʔ ‘fruit’.

- **D**

**d**

dafaʔ [ˈdafaʔ] loc. above. Variant: nuut dafaʔ. [Semau: dapa]
dati [ˈdatta] v. cut. Synonym: lihu. [Contact: Rote tati]
deka [ˈdekə] v. coagulate.
deken [ˈdeken] neg. don’t.
diku [ˈdiku] v. beat (drum). diuk bakadadi hit a drum [Cognate: Amarasi n-reku, Tetun deku]
diuʔ [ˈdiuʔ] v. bathe (tr. and intr.). diuʔ tana ana? Etym: *diRus (irregular *R > Ø,
expect l).
doha  [ˈdɔhə] v. guard.
doos afaʔ  [ˌdɔːsʔaʔ] phrase. lie down.
dua  [ˈdʊa] quant. two. Etym: ... with *qaqay).
iin dalen  [ˌʔɪːˈdal] n. sole of foot . Literally: 
'inside foot'.
iin in hua  n. genetic mother.
dola Q. what, why, how.
eneg quant. six. Etym: *ənam.

E - e
etεʔ  v. be silent.
etoʔ  n. father’s sister.

F - f
faln n. younger sibling. Etym: *huaji > **waji.

[Fsmau: palin]
falin atuln n. younger brother.
falin bihata n. woman’s younger sister.
falu quant. eight. Etym: *walu. [Fsmau: palu]
falan n. river, stream. [Fsmau: palun]/
faten n. liver. Etym: *qataq (irregular initial f,
perhaps from earlier *w, but still irregular).

[Fsmau: paten/]
fela v. pull. [Cognate: Amarasi n-hera, Rote
hela] [Fsmau: pela] fun conj. and. [Contact: Meto fun 'because’,
Amarasi fin 'because’]

H - h
hadut ['hʌdʌt] n. lamp. Borrowing: Ultimately
cognate with Malay panjut, but not directly
borrowed from Malay. Helong hadut
indicates earlier *bandut. Many languages
of the region have cognates of this form,
and nearly all have irregularities, suggesting
widespread borrowing.

hai v. pound. Etym: *bavu.
haiʔ n. plant seed.
hain v. stab, skewer.
halan afaʔ mees nol mees phrase. treaty.
halas ia adv. now. Synonym: itin ia.
hale v. swell. Etym: *baRəq.
haqu v. wake up. Etym: *baʔun.
haqu nul atuln phrase. wake someone up.
hedəʔ ['hedəʔ] v. fever. Etym: *hapazəs
(irregular *p > h, expect Ø) (irregular *j > d,
expect l) (cf. regular ili).
heeʔ v. sell.
hepan v. close (door).
hidi ['hidi] adv. finished.
hidiʔ ['hidiʔ] quant. all.
hii v. hear. Synonym: miŋ.
hiin tuu? n. tortoise.
hiink n. turtle. Etym: *pəŋu (irregular *p > h,
expect Ø) (final *u > i perhaps due to *n) .
hiuŋ v. hit someone with something like a stick.

Synonym: bada, puŋ.

hone v. invite.
hoga v. fly.
hosa n. cook.
hosoʔ adv. rotten. Etym: *busuk (irregular *u >
o).

hote n. burn. Variant: hoet ai. [Cognate: Meto
n-otu]

hote v. shoot.
huiʔ v. dry in sun. Borrowing: Meto n-hoi
(ultimately from *pa-waRi).
huluʔ v. whisper.
hutun v. push.

huuʔ v. blow. Etym: *buu (PCEMP).

I - i
ia dem. this. Etym: *ia.
ihaʔ n. woman’s female cross-cousin. Etym:
*hipaR (irregular *p > h, expect Ø).
iin n. leg, foot. Etym: *qaqay (The Helong
form points to earlier *ei, also attested by

Rote ei-kleiʔ. This *ei could be connected
irregularly with *qaqay).
iin dalen [,ʔən dalən] n. sole of foot. Literally:
‘inside foot’.
iin in hua n. genetic mother.
iìn tnikan  n. heel of foot.
ikan  n. fish. Etym: *hikan.
ikan in tulųŋ atuli  n. dolphin. Literally: ‘fish which helps people’.
ikan ʔu  n. shark. Etym: *qihu.
ikan paus  n. whale. Borrowing: Malay paus.
ikun  n. tail. Etym: *kikuR.
ila  quant. how much, many? Synonym: bakun.
Etym: *pija.
ilo boloʔ  n. nostril. Literally: ‘nose hole’.
iluʔ  n. nose. Etym: *ijun.
in  rel. [Cognate: Amarasi maʔkafaʔ, Termanu gaˈafa-k].
in baan  v. promise. Synonym: situ.
in hoet afaʔ  phrase. war.
in keoʔ  afaʔ  phrase. murder.
in makake  phrase. adultery. Borrowing: Meto n-makeke. [Semau: noga]
in muki  adj. rich.
in nodo  [ʔiˑnɔdo] phrase. sorcerer, witch.  
Synonym: momodo.
in nutus dasi mo kdehet  [ʔumatuS dasi mo ˈkreyt] phrase. judge. Literally: ‘the one who organises matters and affairs’.
in ʔofiŋ  phrase. look for (money).
in sala  phrase. guilty.
inʔaʔ  n. mother. Etym: *ina.
inu  adj. full. Etym: *paniu.
iŋu  n. village, island. [Cognate: Dengka, Dela-Oenale, Tii ʔiŋu, Rikou ʔiku, other Rote iŋu ‘country, place’. In Rote, reflexes of *nusa mean ‘island; land, landscape, state; city’ - the same semantics as Helong iŋu/]
isin  n. fruit. Etym: *isiʔ ‘flesh’.
isuŋ  n. mortar. Etym: *isaŋ (irregular *l > ß). 
itiŋ  n. hour.
itiŋ ia adv. now. Synonym: halas ia.
itu  quant. seven. Etym: *pitu.
iuŋ lambtaʔ  n. chieflain. Literally: ‘lord of the village/island’.

K - k

k-  v prefix. first person singular subject agreement on vowel initial verbs and certain consonant initial verbs.
kaa  [ˈkɔdɔ] n. shirt.
kado  [ˈkɔdɔ] n. shirt.
[kCog: Termanu kaʔi]
kahi  quant. count. [Cognate: Termanu kaʔi]
kai  n. wood. Etym: *kahiw.
kai in suniʔ  n. firewood.
kai ina  n. tree.
kaka atuli  n. older brother.
kaka bihata  n. older sister.
kakaʔ  n. older sibling. Etym: *kaka.
kakat  v. chew.
kalas  n. chest. [Cognate: Tii karaka-k, Teton karas]
kaliʔ  v. look for.
kalo  v. scratch. Etym: *kaRus (irregular *u > o).
kalu  conj. if. Borrowing: Malay kalau.
kami  pro. we, us; first person plural exclusive.  
Variant: kaim (pre-verbal, pre-nominal).  
Etym: *kami.
kankan  n. right. Etym: *kawanan (irregular *w > ß), probably via intermediate *kwanan.
kapuʔ  n. fat. Etym: *kambu ‘lower stomach, bladder’.
kataŋ  adj. far. Variant: kakataŋ.
katen  v. itchy. Etym: *gatol.
kaut  n. papaya. [Contact: Amarasi kaut]
kbakat  n. root. Etym: *wakoR. [Phon: irregular *w > b, expect f] [Semau: klaput]  
[Contact: Teto ʔbaʔat]
kbak-bakaʔ  n. monitor lizard. [Contact: Kotos Amarasi ʔbak-bakan, Ro’is Amarasi ʔbaʔaʔ]
kbajoʔ  n. branch. [Semau: baʔo]
kbijan  n. base on which the spindle spins.
kbui  n. wild thorny tuber. Etym: *qubi (irregular VC > CV metathesis).
kbukas  adj. round. [Cognate: perhaps Dela-Oenale bo-boo-goʔ, Termanu bo-boo-k, Tetun boku] [Semau: bukas]
kbulumani  n. leech.
kdabu  [krubu] n. earring. [Semau: krabu]
mmiuŋ. Borrowing: ultimately Portuguese igreja [iŋgra].
kdehet  [ˈkɾeht]–[ˈkreyt] n. language, word.  
[Cognate: Termanu deʔa, Tetun dehan] [Semau: dehet]
[Cognate: Termanu lida-klide-ʔ, Rikou dilaʔ, Meto nineʔ, Kemak dilapaan/lilepaŋ] [Semau: diləʔ]
kduman  [kɾumən]–[kɾumən] n. night.
kees v. squeeze.
keket v. ask.
kelaʔ n. man’s male cross-cousin. [Cognate: Dela-Oenale kera, Termanu kela, Welaua kela]
kelaŋ n. eucalyptus.
keoʔ v. kill.
khadaŋ [‘khudan] n. raised platform, rack. [Semau: hadag] [Contact: Amarasi harak]
hala n. voice, sound. Variant: bhala. [Semau: fala, Bolok: hala] [Contact: Meto *hala > hana-‘sound voice’]
khau n. bat. [Cognate: Rote bau-kbuəʔ, Kopas (Meto) kbuəʔ, Amarasi bkaʔu] [Semau: fau, Bolok: hau]
khau bahi n. kind of big bat. Literally: ‘pig bat’.
khau paan bisi n. bat, horseshoe. Literally: ‘bat with a stretched nose’. Rhinolophidae spp. Borrowing: Amarasi bkuəf/paniisi (as indicated by medial paan from Meto pan-‘nose’).
kheeq afaj phrase. argue. [Semau: kaen_apa]
helalʔ n. machete. Etym: *belas (PCMP). [Cognate: Ro′is Amarasi fenesfenas, other Meto benas, Termanu fela] [Semau: helaʔ]
hk pepaj n. rainbow. [Semau: depaŋ]
khulaj [‘kholaj] n. scorpion. [Cognate: Tii kura-k, Tetun sakunar, Hawu kura] [Semau: hkalaj]
khupu n. lungs. [Semau: hupuʔ]
kias n. scabies.
kifaʔ n. ant. [Semau: kipa] [Contact: Meto kibaʔ]
kikin n. facial hair. [Contact: Meto (Timaus) kiki-f ‘sideburns’]
kila v. hold. [Cognate: Tii kira, Termanu kila]
kinfao n. cricket. Borrowing: Meto kinfao. [Semau: matklenep]
kita pro. we, us; first person plura inclusive. Variant: kit (pre-verbal, pre-nominal). Etym: *kita.
kitu n. clothing, cloth. Synonym: kitu in peke.
kitu in peke n. clothing.
kiuʔ v. deaf.
klafa n. garden. [Semau: klapa]
klamat n. grasshopper. [Contact: Meto knamat, Dela-Oenale lamat]
klatkéeʔ n. frog. [Semau: klete]
klaut n. bow, arrow. Borrowing: Meto klaut. [Semau: hmeno]
klehen n. leaf. [Semau: klehen]
kluʔ n. left.
klupuʔ n. back.
klutiʔ n. gewang palm. Etym: *tulaq (irregular consonant metathesis) (irregular *a > i, possibly influence from Amarasi tuini).
kmeeq n. bedbug. [Cognate: Termanu maeq-k, Landu timae-ʔ] [Semau: hmaeq (Jonker 1908:340)]
kmelaj n. flea. Etym: *qatimala. [Semau: hmela (Jonker 1908:614)]
kmomos adj. dirty. Synonym: dakın. [Semau: hmomos]
kmudu [‘kmudu]–[‘kmuro] n. fingernail, toenail. [Semau: hjulu]
kmukit n. animal. [Semau: hmuikit] [Contact: Meto muʔit ‘animal’]
knab-nabʔ n. spider. Synonym: lilain. [Contact: Amarasi knabaʔ, Meto ʔnab-nabʔ]
knapan n. butterfly. Borrowing: Meto knapan. [Semau: fufulu]
knheʔ n. mat. [Cognate: Amarasi ʔnahek, Termanu neʔa-k] [Semau: nehe]
kniiʔ n. crab. [Cognate: Meto kniit, Rote nii-kniit-ʔ, Tetun niitis] [Semau: hniit]
kniiʔ n. cicada. [Semau: hniit_ulan]
knikiʔ n. mosquito. Etym: *nikkik. [Semau: hmiki]
knobe n. rice ear bug. Leptocoris oratoria. [Contact: Meto knobe]
kn’ilaʔ n. ear. Etym: *tanja. [Semau: hjila]
kobaŋ v. close, i.e. put the lid on a glass.
kode [‘kode] v. cough.
komaliʔ v. angry. Variant: komadiʔ [koʔmadiʔ], [koʔmaritʔ]. [Semau: komali]
konat n. mud. Usage: Oebali. [Contact: Ro′is Amarasi konot]
kopoʔ n. waist.
‘rub’, Tetun kose ‘scrape, rub, wipe, polish’

**kpaabas** [ˈkpaːˈbɛs] n. testicles. [Semau: paa_bas]

**kpenun** ['kpenun] n. heart. [Contact: Meto (Kopas) paen-]

**kpohot** n. bark, shell, husk. [Semau: pohot] [Contact: Amarasi ṭpo-]

**ksuan** n. digging stick. Etym: *sua_. [Semau: suan]

**ktua** [ˈktaː] n. axe. [Semau: taa]

**ktedo?** [ˈktdəʔ] v. blind. [Semau: teda]

**ktok** [ˈkˈtokeʔ] n. calling gecko. Etym: *tɔktɔk (irregular *ɔ > o). [Semau: toke]

**ktudi** ['kτuði] n. knife. [Semau: tud]

**ktulu?** [ˈkτuluʔ] n. village head in the era before dasas. [Semau: tul]

**ktuma?** n. clothes louse. Etym: *tumah.

**ku-** v prefix. first person singular subject agreement on certain consonant initial verbs.

**kudu** [ˈkudu]–[ˈkuru] n. comb.

**kula lo?** adj. innocent.

**kula?** adj. wrong.

**kulu naumu?** n. breadfruit. Borrowing: Meto naun.

**kulu?** n. jackfruit. Etym: *kuluR ‘breadfruit’.

**kumin bulu** n. moustache. Etym: *kumis.

**kumis** adj. sweet.

**kunis** adj. yellow. Etym: *kunij ‘turmeric’.

**kuput** n. fog. Synonym: *nipun. [Contact: Ro’is Amarasi kapu, Kotos Amarasi pup]

**kutιi** v. play a guitar or play on a mobile phone.

**kulu** n. head louse. Variant: **kuut atuli. Etym: *kuut.

**kuu** pro. 2SG. you. Variant: **ku (pre-verbal, pre-nominal). Etym: *kahu (irregular *ahu > *au > u, expect o).

**kuut ina** n. mother louse.

**kuut tilun** n. louse eggs.

? - ?

-? **n suffix.** first person possessive agreement used on certain inalienably possessed nouns.

L - l

**lahi** n. king, ruler. Etym: *lak ‘male, man’.


**lalan** n. road, path, way. Etym: *zalan.

**lales** n. fly. Etym: *lalaj.

**lali** v. run. Etym: *laRiw.

**Lamtua** n. God. Variant: **Ama Lamtua. Etym: *qtua ‘lord, master’. [Contact: Rote lamatua/ramatua ‘lord, master, word of address for princes and officials’]

**lana?** v. bright, shine.

**laok iiin** phrase. walk. Literally: ‘go (by) foot’.

**latiŋ** n. sweat.

**latu?** adj. ripe. [Contact: Rote latu-ʔlatu-k, Meto mmata?]

**lauk kase?** n. sweet potato. Borrowing: Amarasi raak kase (kase = foreign in Meto, no meaning in Helong).

**lauk kdegen** [ˌluwˈkdeŋ] n. cassava. [Semau: egan]

**laug** n. needle. Etym: *zaRum (irregular *R > Ø, expect l, likely from an intermediate source).

**leaa** v. fall over.


**lelon** n. day. Etym: *qalajaw.

**lena** v. play.

**leo?** n. neck. [Contact: Meto *leo > neo-f]

**lepa** v. carry. Etym: *lempa (PCMP).

**lepa** n. burden stick. Etym: *lempa (PCMP).

**lesa** v. spit.

**leten** n. mountain. Etym: *letay ‘above’.


**lihu gatus mesa** quant. one hundred thousand.

**lihu** v. cut. Synonym: **dati.

**lii** v. scared.

**lila asu** n. bride price. Literally: ‘gold/silver (and) cows’.

**lilaun** n. spider. Synonym: **knab-nabaʔ. Etym: *lawaq (irregular *wa > u, expect fa).

**lilin** n. candle. Etym: *lilin.

**liluʔ** v. cry.

**lima** quant. five. Etym: *lima.

**limit** v. fold.

**lo?** neg. no, not.

**lole** n. taro. [Contact: Rote/Meto lole]
lole  conj. because.
loloʔ  adj. straight, correct, holy. [Cognate: Amarasi mnonoʔ, Termanu lo~lodo-k, Hawu kelolo (Grimes et al. 2008)]
lokoʔ  v. hunt. Synonym: seko.
lo-teʔ  v. curse.
lobuʔ  v. hungry.
loi n. canoe. [Cognate: Wetan loi ‘canoe, sail’ (de Josselin de Jong 1987), Kisar loiloiye ‘sailboat’ (John Christensen p.c.)]
lui ai n. ship.
lui pooʔ  n. sampan.
lusa n. deer. Borrowing: Malay rusa.
luu n. casuarina tree. [Cognate: Dadu’a luu (Penn 2006:98)]
luul beka n. earthquake.

M - m

m- v prefix. second person and first person plural exclusive subject agreement on vowel initial verbs.
-m n suffix. second person possessive agreement. Used for 2SG for all inalienably possessed nouns and 2PL for certain inalienably possessed nouns.
maa v. come. Etym: *maRi (irregular *i > a).
maan in nakbaʔ phrase. ground for public meetings. Literally: ‘place to gather’.
maat mitaʔ n. civet cat. Literally: ‘black eye’.[Contact: Meto metan ‘black, civet cat’]
maat uin n. tear. Literally: ‘eye water’.
madi [madi] v. wipe.
mæ n. shy, ashamed. Etym: *ma-hayaq.
mæ-tuuʔ  v. thirsty.
makas n. mango. Borrowing: probably Rikou (east Rote) makas, also with unexplained final /s/ (ultimately from Tamil maga:).
makmukit adj. poor. [Semau: mahmukit] [Contact: Meto ma’muʔit]
maknao adj. skinny. [Contact: Meto maknao]
mali v. laugh. Etym: *malip (PCEMP).
maliʔ  adj. bitter, salty. Variant: madiʔ [madiʔ]. [Semau: maliʔ]
maliʔ sila adj. salty.
malus n. betel vine. [Cognate: Meto manus, Termanu malus (poetic)]
mama n. chew betel. Etym: *mamaq.
mamo quant. many.
mahiu n. opposite sex sibling’s son, son-in-law. Etym: *maRuqanay + *baqəRu ‘man + new’ (irregular *R > Ø, probably an intermediate borrowing, cf. regular blanen and balu). [Contact: Amarasi moen feʔə, Termanu mane feʔ-k, Tetun mane foun]
manu kai tulaʔ n. bird. Literally: ‘chicken/bird in the top of the trees’.
manuʔ n. chicken, fowl. Etym: *manuk.
maµet adj. narrow, i.e. of a road. Variant: mamµet.
masaʔ n. market. [Contact: Meto ðmasaʔ]
mata n. eye. Etym: *mata.
meaʔ adj. red. Etym: *maRaq.
meen n. tongue. Etym: *maya (PCEMP).
memas n. dark.
mesa quant. one. Etym: *massa.
metes adj. cold of people or animals. Synonym: blinin.
mi- v prefix. second person plural and first person plural exclusive subject agreement on certain consonant initial verbs.
mia pro. 2PL, you. Variant: mi (pre-verbal, pre-nominal). Etym: *kamuuyu.
miiq v. hear. Synonym: hii.
mitaq adj. black. Etym: *maqitam.
mnikan adj. sharp. [Semau: nakan]
mnikan loʔ adj. blunt.
mnelan adj. flat. Variant: nnelaʔ. [Semau: bleha] [Contact: Amarasi mneraʔ]
nniuʔ adj. holy. [Semau: nioʔ]
mo conj. and. Etym: *mah (irregular *a > o).
mu- v prefix. second person singular subject agreement on certain consonant initial verbs.
muhuʔ n. ridgepole.
muki v. own. [Contact: Meto n-muʔ]
mula n. plant seedling.
musu n. enemy. Etym: *musuq.
mutaʔ  v. vomit. Etym: *um-utaq.
muti n. cuscus. Synonym: mauka.
mutiʔ  adj. white. Etym: *maputiq. [Contact: Meto mutiʔ]
N - n

n- v prefix. third person subject agreement on vowel initial verbs.
-n n suffix. first person plural and third person plural possessive agreement used on certain inalienably possessed nouns. Variant: -ŋ.
-ŋ n suffix. third person singular and generic plural possessive suffix used on inalienably possessed nouns cited with final /ŋ/. 
-na- v prefix. third person subject agreement on certain vowel initial verbs.

nafletu v. flick (marbles). Morph: na-fletu. [Contact: Amarasi na-fretu]
nahan v. call out.
nahi? v. fall. Au knahiŋ I fall
nako v. steal. Etym: *nakaw.
nalen n. opposite sex sibling’s daughter; daughter-in-law. [Contact: Meto *nale > nane-f]

nami v. choose.

naŋen v. swim. Morph: n-ŋen. Etym: *naŋuy (irregular *uy > e, expect i).

nastiif v. fire slingshot. Morph: na-stiif. [Semau: istiif] [Contact: Meto (Kopas) stiif]

natboe v. float. Morph: na-thoe. [Semau: boe]
natehe v. speak. Morph: na-tehe. [Semau: nahdehe]

natua v. live, stay. Synonym: dada. Morph: na-tua. [Contact: Meto na-tua]
ne loc. at, in. Synonym: nuut.
ne ola Q. where?
nian n. coconut. Etym: *niuR (irregular *u > a).
nikit v. pick up.
nikit ima phrase. surrender. Literally: ‘raise arms’.
nini? v. sleep.
nipun n. fog. Synonym: nipun. [Contact: Meto nipuʔ]

noan v. say.
nodan [nədən] v. ask for.
nokneha sain n. twilight, dawn. Literally: ‘nearly daylight’.
nol conj. with. [Cognate: Rote n-o, Meto n-ok, Lī’u’un oro, Kisor n-or (John Christensen p.c.)]
nonos adj. lazy.
nopen n. cloud. [Semau: hnpøn, nopen/ [Contact: Meto nope]
nua v. throw (spear). Noun: snuatu ‘spear’. [Contact: Meto n-nua]
nuhu v. snatch.
nuka v. cut down.
nultur v. chase, follow. Morph: n-ulut.
nuus n. smoke.
nuut loc. at, in. Synonym: ne.
nuut ia loc. here. Variant: se ia.
nuut ua loc. there. Variant: ne ua.

D - ŋ


ŋaat v. see.

ŋae n. corn, maize.

ŋae ale n. cooked rice. Literally: ‘corn rice’.

ŋae ktema? n. cooked corn.

ŋaig n. fishing hook.

ŋala? n. name. Etym: *ŋan. [Contact: from which Meto kana-f is an earlier loan, as indicated by irregular initial /k/]

ŋasin v. have a cold.


ŋatus mees quant. one hundred.

ŋatus mees buku m tilu [ŋətaŋ mes buku m [tilu] quant. one hundred and twenty three.

ŋatus dua [ŋətaŋ’duʔ] quant. two hundred.
ŋeleʔ  adj. heavy. Variant: ŋedeʔ. [Semau: ŋele]
goʔ  adj. wet.
ŋoot  n. dog.

O - o

ola biʔ  n. tomorrow.
ol  n. friend.
ol-ola  n. morning.
one  pro. 3PL, they, them. Variant: oen (pre-verbal, pre-nominal).
onen  v. pray. [Contact: Meto n-əonen]

P - p

pansoe  n. earthworm. Borrowing: Amarasi pansoe. [Semau: ˈ्पानसु]
papa  n. wound. [Contact: Meto papaʔ]
papas  v. slap. [Cognate: Meto n-pasa, Oenale mbasa, Tetun basa, Ili’uun paas, Kisar paas (John Christensen p.c.)]
pasan  v. throw.
pdsan  [ˈpɪːsən] n. lightning. [Semau: bisain]
pipin  n. cheek.
pisi  v. defend.
poemuti  n. tinea. [Cognate: Ba’a mutifoe-k]
ponata  n. storage space in the kitchen above the hearth. Variant: panata.
poon  v. split.
pua  n. betel nut, areca. Etym: *baaq (irr. *b > p (possible intermediate borrowing from Meto puah)).
puan  v. bury.
puaŋ  v. hit. Synonym: bada, hiuŋ.
puat  n. round wood on which the weft thread is rolled. [Contact: Meto puat]
pules  v. praise. [Contact: Meto n-pules]

S - s

-s  n suffix. PL.
saa  Q. what? [Cognate: Dela-Oenale saa, Amarasi saa?, Tetun saa]
saaf afaʔ  phrase. marriage.
saaf palun  n. marriageable cross-cousin.
safa  n. spouse. Etym: *qasawa. [Semau: sapan/]
sai  n. flow. [Contact: Meto na-sai]
saiʔ  v. open, i.e a door or a path.
sake  v. go up. Etym: *sakay.
saoʔ  v. let go.
sau  v. bite. [Contact: Meto n-sau]
seḍa  [ˈsede] v. replace.
seen  n. bone.
seen blapas  n. rib. [Contact: Meto has nui bnapa-f, of which bnapa-f is probably a loan from Helong before Meto *l > n. The cluster /bl/ is common in Helong while /bn/ is rare in Meto.]
seen klupuʔ  n. spine.
seko  v. hunt. Synonym: lonoʔ. [Contact: Meto n-seko]
seman  n. sarong.
sia  n. split bamboo slat used in weaving. [Contact: Amarasi siah, Meto (Molo) siaʔ]
sida  [ˈsɪdə] v. dance.
sii  Q. who? Etym: *sai (irregular *ai > ii, expect ee).
siin  n. teeth. Etym: *pis(ŋ)iis (irregular *ŋi > Ō).
sika  v. chase out. slik ŋoot shoo a dog out
sil  n. salt. Etym: *qasiRa.
silu  n. weaving sword. [Cognate: Amarasi senu, Dela-Oenale se~seru, Termanu selu, Tetun
| simu | v. receive. [Cognate: Meto n-simo, Tetun simu, Hawu hami (Grimes et al. 2008)] |
| sipa | quant. nine. Etym: *siwa (irregular *w > p (expect f). In Semau Helong *w > p is regular). |
| sisi | n. flesh, meat. Etym: *hosi (irregular initial s, also in Meto si). |
| skalug | n. necklace. Borrowing: Malay kalung. |
| skokon | n. broom. Verb: nua. [Semau: hkokon] |
| skokon kdeo | [skɔkɔkˈrə] n. broom made of sticks. |
| skuku | n. dust. Borrowing: Meto skuka?. [Semau: puhu, dale_huhun] |
| slauen | n. sand. Borrowing: earlier Meto *slauen > snaen. [Semau: haen] |
| slaik kdedeg | [ˌslajhkˈd d ŋ], [ˌslajhkˈr d ŋ] |
| smalu | quant. ten. Etym: *sa-n-puluq. [Semau: hŋulu, Bolok: sulu] |
| smuul esa | quant. eleven. |
| smuul dua | quant. twelve. |

| snuka? | adv. same. [Semau: sila_el] |
| snita ana | n. window. |
| snita? | n. door. [Semau: hni] |
| smuat | n. spear. Verb: nua. [Semau: hnuat] |
| sodo | [ˈsədə]–[ˈsərə] v. cast-net. |
| soo | v. sew. [Cognate: Meto n-soo, Termanu soo, Kisor hour] |
| soon | n. opposite sex sibling’s child. Borrowing: possibly Dutch zoon. |
| sosa | v. buy. [Contact: Meto n-sosu] |
| sosa mo hee? | phrase. trade, barter. Literally: ‘buying and selling’. |
| spanja? | n. forked branch. [Semau: faŋa] |
| sulu | n. horn. [Cognate: Tii su-sura-k, Termanu su-sula-k, Meto sama-f, Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PCMP *sula but medial *l cannot account for the Rote reflexes] |
| suna | n. spindle. |
| susa | adj. difficult. Borrowing: Malay susa. |
| susu | n. breast, milk. Etym: *susu. |

### T - t

| t- | v prefix. first person inclusive subject agreement on vowel initial verbs. |
| ta- | v prefix. first person inclusive subject agreement on certain consonant initial verbs. |
| taduʔ | [ˈtadəʔ] v. command, order, send. |
| tai | n. excrement. Etym: *taqi. |
| tain | n. belly. Etym: *taqi ‘faces, excrement’. |
| tala | v. answer. Etym: *taRa. |
| tali | n. rope. Etym: *talih. |
| tana | v. know. |
| taun | n. year. Etym: *taqun. |
| teʔe? | v. turn off. |
| teneʔ | adj. big. |
| thunin | n. navel. |
| thihi | n. roof. |
| thiłu | n. sugarcane. Etym: *tsbuh. |
| tilu | quant. three. Etym: *tulu. |
| tilun | n. egg. Etym: *qtalaR. |
| tinu | v. weave. Etym: *tenun. |
| tipas | n. beads. |
| tlehaʔ | n. palm of hand. |
| tlikan | n. hearth. [Semau: hlikan] |
| tlkon | n. coral. |
| tnaja | n. finger. [Semau: hnaja, Bolok: snaŋa] |
| tnikan | n. staff. [Semau: hnikan, Bolok: snikan] |
| toma | adj. correct. [Contact: Meto (Molo) n-toma ‘strike, hit’] |
| tuaʔ | n. lontar palm. Etym: *tuak. |
| tubuʔ | n. lake. |
| tuʔi | v. learn, teach. [Contact: Meto n-tuʔi ‘write’] |
| tukun | v. punch. |
| tuluŋ | v. help. Borrowing: Malay talong. |
| tuuʔ | adj. dry. Etym: *tuqulR. |
ua  dem. that. Synonym: aa.
ui  n. water. Etym: *wahiR (irregular *wa > u).
uin kai  n. honey. Literally: ‘tree/wood water’.
ulan  n. rain. Etym: *qazan.
ulan sen-sene?  n. hail. [Contact: Meto sen-sene?] 
ulas  n. snake. Etym: *qualj ‘maggot, caterpillar’  
(irregular *s > a, expect e > i. Perhaps due 
to pressure from *hulaR). [Semau: ula] 
ulat  n. vein. Variant: udat ['ʔudet], ['ʔurt].  
Etym: *uRat. [Semau: ulat] 
ulatu  n. rattan.
una  pro. 3SG, he, she, it, him, her. Variant: un  
(verbal, pre-nominal).
upu  n. grandchild, grandparent. Etym: *umpu.
upu baklobe  n. grandfather.
upu bihata  n. grandmother.

upu lahi?  n. crocodile. Literally: ‘grandfather 
king’. Synonym: upu lebisi.
upu lebisi  n. crocodile. Synonym: upu lahi?.
Borrowing: Meto *laibesi > nai?besi.
utin  n. penis. Etym: *qiti.
uum in hosa?  n. kitchen.
uum leu?  n. traditional house, Indonesian 
rumah adat. Borrowing: Meto uen le’u.

uun  n. bamboo. Etym: *puqu ‘tree trunk ;  
source’.
uut hau foo?  n. moringa leaves. Borrowing: 
Ro’is Amarasi uut hau ʔjo?o. [Semau: 
ut-poo]
spirit  n. smaŋin.  spirit  n. smaŋin.  spirit  n. smaŋin.  spirit  n. smaŋin.  spirit  n. smaŋin.  spirit  n. smaŋin.
spit  v. lesa.  spit  v. lesa.  spit  v. lesa.  spit  v. lesa.  spit  v. lesa.  spit  v. lesa.
split  v. poon.  split  v. poon.  split  v. poon.  split  v. poon.  split  v. poon.  split  v. poon.
squat  v. bistiki.  squat  v. bistiki.  squat  v. bistiki.  squat  v. bistiki.  squat  v. bistiki.
squeeze  v. kees.  squeeze  v. kees.  squeeze  v. kees.  squeeze  v. kees.  squeeze  v. kees.
stab  v. butu.  stab  v. butu.  stab  v. butu.  stab  v. butu.  stab  v. butu.
stab  v. butu.  stab  v. butu.  stab  v. butu.  stab  v. butu.  stab  v. butu.
thirsty  n. buŋa.  thirsty  n. buŋa.  thirsty  n. buŋa.  thirsty  n. buŋa.  thirsty  n. buŋa.
throw  v. pasag.  throw  v. pasag.  throw  v. pasag.  throw  v. pasag.  throw  v. pasag.
throw (spear)  v. nua.  throw (spear)  v. nua.  throw (spear)  v. nua.  throw (spear)  v. nua.  throw (spear)  v. nua.
thirteen  n. buŋa.  thirteen  n. buŋa.  thirteen  n. buŋa.  thirteen  n. buŋa.  thirteen  n. buŋa.