
A Dialectal Study of Talaud

—Dialectal Classification and a Comparative Word List—

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Abstract

Talaud is an Austronesian language spoken in North Sulawesi, Indonesia. It is spoken in many small islands located between the north of Minahasa Peninsula (or North Sulawesi Peninsula) and the south of Mindanao Island. Typically, a language that spreads among small islands has many varieties. Although it is assumed that Talaud has many varieties, its dialects have not been well studied (cf. Sneddon 1984). Talaud speakers, however, are aware of differences between islands and/or within an island.

This paper presents the results of a survey conducted in 2012 and 2013. Varieties spoken in 11 places are categorized by their phonetic and phonological characteristics. It is concluded that the language can be divided into two main dialects, one of which is divided into four subdialects.

1. Introduction: an overview of Talaud

Talaud is spoken in the Talaud Islands in the North Sulawesi province, Indonesia. The Talaud Islands are located approximately 200 km north of Sulawesi Island, and they spread up north to the border with the Philippines. Some islands are located just to the south of the Mindanao Island. To the south of the Talaud Islands lie the Sangir Islands. These two groups of islands are often referred to together as the Sangir-Talaud (or Sangihe-Talaud¹⁾) Islands or the Sangir-Talaud area.

Talaud belongs to the Philippine language group within the West Malayo-Polynesian language group. There are four languages genetically very close to Talaud: Sangil, Sangir, Bantik, and Ratahan. They are called the Sangiric languages (Sneddon 1984). Sangil is spoken in coastal areas in the Cotabato and Davao provinces of Mindanao, as well as in the lower Sarangani Peninsula and the nearby Sarangani Islands. It is the only Sangiric language spoken in the Philippines. Maryott (1978) states that the Sangil people migrated to the Philippines from the Sangir Archipelago several hundred years ago. This language is very similar to Sangir (or Sangihe), which is spoken in the Sangir Islands. Sangil, Sangir,

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and Talaud form the North Sangiric group (Sneddon 1984), where the first two share more similarities. Bantik and Ratahan are the languages spoken on the coast of the North Sulawesi Peninsula; Sneddon (1984) groups these together as the South Sangiric group.

In this post-Suharto era, Indonesia underwent a separation of districts, and on July 2, 2002, the Talaud Islands became the Region of Talaud Islands (*Kabupaten Kepulauan Talaud*). In the last decade, the population of the Talaud Islands has grown from approximately 40,000 to 70,000, and people from the Sangir Islands, North Sulawesi Province, and other areas of Sulawesi and Jawa continue to move into the islands. It is unknown whether the separation caused the population increase, but the Talaud Islands have witnessed the building of much new infrastructure during the past ten years.

The Talaud Islands consist of three large islands (Karakelang, Salibabu, and Kabaruan) and four smaller inhabited Nanusa Islands (Karatung, Kakorotan, Merampit, and Miangas). The capital of the region, Melongwane, is located on Karakelang Island.

To date, there is no university in the region, and those who look for educational opportunities after high school generally leave the islands for Manado or Tomohon, the two largest educational sites in North Sulawesi Province, where the Manado dialect of Indonesian is mainly spoken. As a result, young people with higher education do not speak Talaud, and exogamy is becoming more common. Currently, younger children in the villages of the Talaud Islands speak the Manado dialect as their first language. According to Noorduyn (1991), the Talaud-speaking population is approximately 40,000, but the number of people who use Talaud as their everyday language is decreasing as outsiders are moving into the region and many young people are leaving. Thus, the language is facing extinction.

2. Previous studies of the Talaud language and culture

Previous studies of Talaud include Sneddon (1985), Bawole (1981), Maalua (1988), Malee (1995), and Tinggenehe (1967). In *Membaca Sangi-Talaud: Bibliografi 1724-2006*, Alex J. Ulaen compiles comprehensive literature about the Sangir and Talaud islands, including their cultures and languages.

Bawole (1981) and Maalua (1988) describe basic features of Talaud morphology and syntax. Malee (1995) also describes Talaud morphology with special emphasis on verb morphology. Tinggenehe (1967) describes the vocabulary of Talaud and translates terms into Indonesian. However, the phonology and morphophonology of Talaud have not been described in detail. Therefore, since 2003, this author has conducted fieldwork and analyzed data, the results of which are found in Utsumi (2007, 2012). The sociolinguistic situation is described in Utsumi (2011).

Sociocultural aspects of the Miangas Islands, which are small islands in the northernmost area of the Talaud archipelago, are described in Hoetagaol et al. (2012). Hayase (1997)

and Ulaen (2003) describe the history and cultures of the Sangir-Talaud area.

This paper focuses on the phonetic and phonological differences found among the dialects of Talaud. As stated in Section 1, the Talaud Islands consist of three large islands and four smaller inhabited Nanusa Islands. The dialects may differ from village to village within an island. The number of dialects and their grouping will be discussed in Section 3.

3. Dialects of Talaud

There are two major understandings concerning the dialectal groupings. First, Ulaen (personal communication) and Gohansa (self-publication) insist there are two main dialects: *Lami* and *Tiwazatta*. *Lami* is the variety spoken in the Nanusa Islands. As will be explained in detail, *Lami*, or the Nanusa dialect, has distinct phonological features. The most remarkable feature is its allowance of closed syllables; the other Talaud dialects have open syllables only (cf. Sneddon 1984). It is understandable that Talaud speakers notice this outstanding difference between the two groups of dialects and conclude that Talaud has two varieties.

Some speakers share the above view, but most are aware that there are more than two varieties. The second understanding is to divide the dialects into the following six or seven groups:²⁾ Ulaen (2003) insists that there are six dialects of Talaud (despite the fact that he favors the two varieties hypothesis as mentioned above, at the time of my interview in August 2015).

Six dialects grouping:

- 1) Salibabu dialect (spoken on Salibabu Island)
- 2) Kabaruan dialect (spoken on Kabaruan Island)
- 3) Karakelang dialect (spoken on Karakelang Island)
- 4) Essang dialect (spoken on Karakelang Island)
- 5) Nanusa dialect (spoken in the Nanusa Islands)
- 6) Miangas dialect (spoken in the Nanusa Islands)

The above grouping takes it for granted that Salibabu Island and Kabaruan Island each have a unique dialect. It divides the Karakelang dialects into two groups: Karakelang and Essang. It also divides the variety spoken in the Nanusa Islands into two groups: Nanusa and Miangas. The Miangas area consists in several small islands, and is located in the northernmost area of the Nanusa Islands. Unfortunately, the Miangas dialect was not studied in this survey.

Another system is to categorize the varieties into seven groups. This view on grouping is shared by many speakers, including my linguistic consultant, Mr. Christofer Ipu.³⁾

Seven dialects grouping:

- 1) Salibabu dialect (spoken on Salibabu Island)
- 2) Kabaruan dialect (spoken on Kabaruan Island)
- 3) Beo dialect (spoken in the western part of Karakelang Island)
- 4) Rainis dialect (spoken in the eastern part of Karakelang Island)
- 5) Esang dialect (spoken in the northern part of Karakelang Island)
- 6) Nyampak dialect (spoken in the southern part of Karakelang Island)
- 7) Nanusa dialect (spoken in the Nanusa Islands)

The above grouping does not differentiate the variety spoken in the Nanusa Islands, but divides the varieties in the Karakelang Island into four dialects.

The Salibabu dialect, generally regarded as the most prestigious, dominates the previous studies. Its prestige inspired the Bible Society of Indonesia (*Lembaga Al-Kitab Indonesia*) to support a translation of the New Testament into the dialect in 1986. This is the reason the previous descriptions on the Talaud language deal with the Salibabu dialect. Narrative documentations that are published by institutions, too, are written in this variety. The other dialects are not much used in the documentations of the oral history, folk stories and mythology. Only the *Lami-Tiwazatta*-Indonesian dictionary, written by Gohansa and mentioned in Section 2, describes a dialect other than the Salibabu dialect. The Salibabu dialect is termed the 'Middle dialect' in the Sothern dialect group in the below discussion, explained in detail in Section 7.

4. Phonology of Talaud

4.1 Overview of Talaud phonology

The five vowels in Talaud, which are consistent among dialects, are /i, e, a, o, u/. However, the consonants may vary among the dialects. For example, there are 18 consonants in the Salibabu dialect but 21 consonants in the Kabaruan dialect. The 18 consonants of the Salibabu dialect are as follows: /b, p, d, t, g, k, ʔ, β, s, h, z, l, r, m, n, ŋ, w/. The consonants in the Kabaruan dialect include /b, p, d, t, k, g, ʔ, β, s, ʃ, h, z, ʁ, tʃ, l, r, m, n, ŋ, w/. The correspondence of phones in these dialects will be described in detail later in this paper.

The lateral /l/ and the flap /r/ are distinct phonemes, but /l/ in some dialects may correspond to /r/ in other dialects. The symbol /z/ mostly expresses the retroflex alveolar approximant, but this has an allophone, the retroflex alveolar trill. Some young speakers (mostly born after 1970) do not distinguish the trill /r/ and /z/.

The phoneme /ʁ/ is mostly pronounced as a voiced velar fricative, but sometimes it is pronounced as the voiceless velar fricative [x] or glottal fricative [h]. However, the phoneme /h/ should be distinguished from /ʁ/.

The phoneme /tʃ/ will be expressed by the symbol /c/ in the later description, because it is assumed that the geminated /tʃ/ phoneme can be better described by /cc/. When /tʃ/ is geminated, it is actually the plosive [t] that is doubled and then followed by [ʃ], i.e., phonetically [ttʃ]. The conditions for gemination, however, are the same as for other geminates such as [pp] or [dd]. To show the parallel features between those geminates, the symbol /c/ is adopted to express /tʃ/, and /cc/ to express [ttʃ].

It is important to note that there are three pairs of phones (/β/ and /w/, /d/ and /r/, and /g/ and /h/) that alternate freely in the word-initial position. The phoneme /w/ or /β/ can also alternate with /b/ word-initially, so all of the following three phones, /b/, /β/ and /w/, can appear. The symbol /β/ is used to express [b], [w], and [β] in the comparative word list and the tables in this paper. The other two interchangeable word-initial phonemes /d, r/ and /g, h/ are differentiated in the comparative word list, according to the pronunciation of each speaker.

The above three pairs also show morphophonemic alternation. Two additional pairs, /l/ and /r/, and /k/ and /z/, also show such an alternation. The latter counterparts appear, for example, when the prefix *UA-*, the progressive aspect marker, is attached. This phenomenon, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

The phoneme /b/ can appear in the word-initial position in some dialects, but it mostly appears in the geminate /bb/. The phoneme /k/ only appears as a geminate. Historically, the proto-phoneme /k/ changed into the glottal stop /ʔ/ in many dialects of Talaud, but it disappears completely in the word-initial position.

4.2 Phonotactics

As already mentioned, most of the Talaud dialects are perfectly open-syllabled languages. The dialects of Talaud, except for the Nanusa dialect (which allows syllable-final consonants), do not show differences in their syllabic structures. Each syllable has a structure of V, CV, or CCV, formulated as (C)(C)V. There are no restrictions on which consonants are utilized at the onset of word-internal syllables.

Many word bases consist of two syllables, but those with three syllables occur just as frequently. Bases are accompanied by one or more affixes when they appear in sentences or utterances so that most words have more than three syllables. In the Nanusa dialect, however, three-syllabled bases are seldom found. This can be explained by the fact that the Nanusa dialect does not seem to have undergone the innovation of “vowel addition,” which will be explained in Section 4.3.

Consonant clusters are frequently observed in word-internal positions, but not in word-initial ones. Except for loan words, most of which are from the Manado dialect (Bahasa Manado), a strict condition exists for the clusters: they must consist of two phonemes at the same place of utterance. The combination should be (1) a nasal + a homo-organic consonant or (2) exactly the same consonants, i.e., geminate. A word base normally

contains only one geminate pair, but when it is affixed and the morphological gemination process is required, two sets of geminates may occur in a word.

The differences in phonotactics found between the Nanusa dialect (or *Lami*, in Gohansa's term) and the rest of the dialects (or *Tiwazatta*) will be described and contrasted in Section 7.

4.3 Historical vowel addition and its influence on word inflection and derivation

Sneddon (1984) reconstructed proto-Sangiric word forms and compared the five Sangiric languages (including Talaud) from a historical viewpoint. Talaud shows unique properties compared to the other four languages, and innovation toward a perfect open-syllable language is one of them. In his 1984 study, Sneddon assumed that many of the trisyllabic bases in contemporary Talaud (whose base-final syllable includes geminate onsets followed by /a/) originally ended with a consonant. In the process of the final vowel /a/ addition (the reason for which remains to be studied), gemination of the original base-final consonant occurred.

This historical vowel addition explains why the majority of words ending with a geminate and /a/ have one of the consonants and /a/ deleted when suffixed by *-ANNA*, the suffix that is attached to goal focus verbs. For example, *ma-lutaŋŋa* 'to shoot,' whose base is *lutaŋŋa*, becomes *lutaŋ-anna* when it is in the goal focus form. Here, the geminate /ŋŋ/ becomes a single /ŋ/ and the last vowel /a/ is deleted. As seen above, the historically added phonemes are deleted in the case of suffixation. The suffix *-ANNA* itself undergoes an innovation where its final consonant is geminized when a vowel is added; the cognates of *-ANNA* in other Sangiric languages are *-AN*.

Although most of the dialects of Talaud underwent the above innovation, the Nanusa dialect did not. According to Gohansa's dictionary, *Lami* words that end with a glottal stop correspond to *Tiwazatta* words that end with a plosive geminate consonant plus /a/ (CC/a/; [ppa] or [kka]), or an alveolar fricative geminate plus /a/ ([ssa]). The reconstructed proto-Sangiric forms (Sneddon 1984) for the above words end with C/a/. For example, *pusi?* 'naval' in *Lami* corresponds to *pusidda* in *Tiwazatta*, and the proto-Sangiric form is *pusid*.

Word-final nasals, by contrast, do not disappear in the Nanusa dialect, but no gemination or vowel addition occurred. For example, *suan* in *Lami* corresponds to *suanna* in *Tiwazatta*, and the proto-Sangiric form is *suan*.

4.4 Stress placement in Talaud

Sneddon (1984) assumed that stress placement in Talaud was not phonemic. He also stated that the stress tends to fall on the penultimate syllable of a base. However, this author has found that in the majority of the trisyllabic bases that have a "geminate + /a/" ending, stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable (i.e., the first syllable of the base). From

a historical viewpoint, this is fairly understandable. These bases had been bisyllabic, and the default penultimate stress placement allowed their first syllable to become stressed. As a result of the innovation where gemination of the last consonant and vowel addition occurred (as explained in Section 2.3.3), the bases became trisyllabic while the stress placement was not affected. In contrast, originally trisyllabic bases have a stress on the penultimate syllable. For example, *tallu'ka* 'egg' and *lari'ʔa* 'knife' are originally trisyllabic; thus, they have a penultimate stress placement in which the stress position is indicated by / ' / insertion after the nucleus of the syllable. Originally bisyllabic bases, which became trisyllabic, such as *u'ritta* 'thread' and *e'sakka* 'male,' have an antepenultimate stress placement.

It can be stated that the stress placement in Talaud is largely predictable and therefore not phonemic.

5. Data collection

The data in this paper were collected at six points in August 2012 and five points in August 2013. A total of 202 basic words, numerals, and pronouns, were analyzed in the investigation. The words were selected from basic vocabulary, such as kinship terms, body part terms, basic verbs, and adjectives. Especially, words that show important sound correspondences between dialects were carefully chosen. The 202 basic words are listed in the appendix 2.

Two young Talaud speakers interviewed the elderly native speakers for this survey under the author's supervision. Speakers were sought at each fieldwork site, except for a speaker of the Nanusa dialect, as mentioned below. All the speakers were over 50 years old (born before 1964) and had been brought up at the place of investigation, for at least 15 years in their childhood.

The interviews were recorded and videotaped. Word pronunciations were written down during the interview and later examined again and confirmed by the author and the research assistant.

The eleven fieldwork sites are as follows: one location in the Nanusa Islands, five on Karakelang Island, two on Salibabu Island, and three on Kabaruan Island. The names of the linguistic consultants were written after the name of the sites.

- (1) Merampit: the Nanusa Islands (Mr. Christofer Ipu, born in 1939)
- (2) Essang: Karakelang Island (Mr. Riaga Maloring, born in 1944)
- (3) Rainis: Karakelang Island (Mr. Andris Ruung, born in 1952)
- (4) Beo: Karakelang Island (Ms. Vintje Gagurang, born in 1958)
- (5) Torohan: Karakelang Island (Mr. Edbar Panauma, born in 1950)
- (6) Niampak: Karakelang Island (Mr. Richter Masone, born in 1941)

- (7) Lirung: Salibabu Island (Mr. Raimond R. Tingginehe, born in 1937 and Mr. Christofer Ipu, born in 1939⁴⁾)
- (8) Moronge: Salibabu Island (Mr. Batholomeus Languang, 1940)
- (9) Bulude: Kabaruan Island (Mr. Gustav Adolf Ulaen, born in 1938)
- (10) Mangaran: Kabaruan Island (Mr. Fritz Gerald Aramana, born in 1928)
- (11) Pangeran: Kabaruan Island (Mr. Yanis Amisi, born in 1939)

The Karakelang Island is the biggest island, and as shown in Section 3, most of the speakers claim that it has two or three different dialects. This is the reason I carried out fieldwork in five locations in Karakelang.

The data on the Nanusa dialects were collected on Salibabu Island, but the language consultant was born and raised in the Nanusa Islands. The speakers of the other dialects were interviewed at each location.

6. The result and classification of dialects

Each dialect has unique features, but according to the phonotactics and phonology, we can categorize them into two large groups, one of which can be divided into four subgroups. The two large groups are determined according to the phonotactics of the dialects. The smaller groups are based on sound correspondences.

Two large groups

- (1) Northern dialect or *Lami*: Nanusa dialect group
- (2) Southern dialect or *Tiwazatta*: Karakelang-Salibabu-Kabaruan group

Subgrouping of the Southern dialect

- (A) Northern Karakelang dialect (henceforth, N-Kar dialect)
 - Esang dialect (on Karakelang Island)
 - Niampak dialect (on Karakelang Island)
- (B) Karakelang-Salibabu dialect (henceforth, the Middle dialect)
 - Rainis dialect (on Karakelang Island)
 - Beo dialect (on Karakelang Island)
 - Torohan dialect (on Karakelang Island)
 - Salibabu dialect (on Salibabu Island)
 - Moronge dialect (on Salibabu Island)
- (C) Northern Kabaruan dialect (henceforth, N-Kab dialect)
 - Bulude dialect
- (D) Middle-Southern Kabaruan dialect (henceforth, MS-Kab dialect)
 - Mangaran dialect
 - Pangeran dialect

In Section 7, the phonological features of each dialect will be dealt with in detail.

7. Phonology or dialects

7.1 Northern dialect: *Lami*

All Talaud speakers regarded the Northern dialect as unique, some calling it *Lami*, as mentioned in Section 3. Its distinctive features have been mentioned repeatedly above: its phonotactics differ from the rest of the dialects. It allows closed syllables word-finally in contrast to the other dialects (*Tiwazatta*) that have only open syllables word-finally. The syllable structure of the Northern dialect can be schematized as (C)V(C). There are five vowels, /i, e, a, o, u/, and this set does not differ from other varieties in the Southern dialect. There are 19 consonants: /p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ, β, s, h, c, r, l, z, r, m, n, ŋ, w/. As already mentioned in Section 4.1, /b/ and /k/ only appear when they are geminated.

There are only two consonants that are allowed to appear word-finally: /n/ and /ʔ/. In Talaud, there are three nasals: /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/. The words in the Southern (or *Tiwazatta*) dialect that end with / (m)ma/, / (n)na/, and / (ŋ)ŋa/ all end with /n/ in the Northern dialect. As mentioned in Section 4.3, these words are supposed to have ended with a nasal, but they underwent a later innovation in the Southern dialect, in which the gemination of a nasal and the vowel addition occurred. Examples of correspondences of the Northern dialect and the Southern dialects are shown in Table 1 below. This neutralization of word-final nasals in the Northern dialect accords with the description of the areal tendency that is described in Sneddon 1993.⁵⁾

Words that end with a glottal stop (/ʔ/) are also found in the Northern dialect. Their counterparts in the Southern dialects end with /ʔa/ or /C:Cia/. Examples are shown in Table 2. The geminate consonant is assumed to be one of the following: /p, b, t, d, k, c, s, l/. Thus, the word-final syllable can be /ppa/, /bba/, /tta/, /dda/, /kka/, /cca/, /ssa/, or /lla/. The proto forms of these words are supposed to have ended with a consonant, but they later underwent an innovation where the gemination of the consonant and the addition of the vowel /a/ occurred.

In some cases, words that end with /ʔa/ in the Northern dialect have counterparts in the Southern dialect that end with /bba/ or /dda/. For example, /laʔu/ ‘clothes’ in the Northern dialect corresponds to /laubba/ in the Southern dialect, and /liʔu/ ‘leg’ corresponds to /liudda/. It seems that the glottal stop is inserted between the two vowels as a result of metathesis.

The other case is that the words that end with /ʔ/ have their counterparts that do not end with /ʔa/ or /C:Cia/. For example, the counterpart of /rosoʔ/ ‘up’ in the Southern dialects is /roso/ or /doso/. (As mentioned earlier, word-initial /r/ and /d/ are interchangeable.) Also /nahereʔ/ ‘broken’ in the Northern dialect corresponds to /nahere/ in the Southern dialect. In these cases, it seems the glottal stop /ʔ/ was added under a

certain condition, which is not clear at this point.

Words that end with a vowel except for /a/ after the geminate consonants usually do not show differences between the Northern and Southern dialects. For example, the following words do not differ much between dialects: /pua/ 'head,' /mamali/ 'to buy,' /lintau/ 'shadow,' /meo/ 'cat,' and /βatu/ 'stone.'

Some words show completely different forms between the two large groups. For example, 'angry' is /manedda/ in the Northern dialect, but it is /masaʔu/ or /mandona/ in the Southern dialect.

Table 1: Correspondences of nasals in the Northern and Southern dialects

Meaning in English	The Northern dialect <i>Lami</i>	The Southern dialect <i>Tiwazatta</i>			
		N-Kar dialect (Northern Karakelang)	M dialect (Karakelang-Salibabu, or Middle)	N-Kab dialect (Northern Kabaruan)	MS-Kabu (Middle-South Kabaruan)
shoulder	<i>βamban</i>	<i>βambanŋa</i>	<i>βambanŋa, βambanja</i>	<i>βambanŋa</i>	<i>βambanja</i>
needle	<i>darazun</i>	<i>daracumma</i>	<i>darazumma, darazuma</i>	<i>darazumma</i>	<i>dazaʃumma</i>
stomach	<i>tian</i>	<i>tianna</i>	<i>tianna</i>	<i>tianna</i>	<i>tianna</i>
wind	<i>aŋin</i>	<i>aŋinna</i>	<i>aŋinna</i>	<i>aŋinna</i>	<i>aŋinna</i>
mouth	<i>mozon</i>	<i>moccoŋŋa</i>	<i>mozonŋa, mozoŋŋa</i>	<i>mozonŋa</i>	<i>mofoŋŋa</i>
sea	<i>taharoan</i>	<i>taharoanŋa</i>	<i>taharoanŋa</i>	<i>taharoanŋa</i>	<i>taʃaloanŋa</i>

Table 2: Correspondences of the glottal stop in the Northern dialect and the Southern dialects

Meaning in English	The Northern dialect <i>Lami</i>	The Southern dialect <i>Tiwazatta</i>			
		N-Kar dialect (Northern Karakelang)	M dialect (Karakelang-Salibabu, or Middle)	N-Kab dialect (Northern Kabaruan)	MS-Kabu (Middle-South Kabaruan)
hair	<i>utaʔ</i>	<i>utaʔa</i>	<i>utaʔa</i>	<i>utaʔa</i>	<i>utaʔa</i>
kiss, smell	<i>maŋariʔ</i>	<i>maŋariʔa</i>	<i>maŋariʔa</i>	<i>maŋariʔa</i>	<i>maŋariʔa</i>
lip	<i>βiβiʔ</i>	<i>βiwicca</i>	<i>βiwicca, βiwitta, βiwikka</i>	<i>βiwikka</i>	<i>βiwicca</i>
neck	<i>ulleʔ</i>	<i>ulecca</i>	<i>ulecca, uletta, ulekka</i>	<i>ulekka, ullekka</i>	<i>ulecca, udecca</i>
navel	<i>pusiʔ</i>	<i>pusidda</i>	<i>pusidda</i>	<i>puhidda</i>	<i>puhidda</i>
rice	<i>βohaʔ</i>	<i>βohaca</i>	<i>βohassa, βohasa</i>	<i>βohassa</i>	<i>βoʃaha</i>
smoke	<i>timbuʔ</i>	<i>timbulla</i>	<i>timbulla, timbula</i>	<i>timbulla</i>	<i>timbulla, timbudda</i>
sky	<i>laŋiʔ</i>	<i>laŋitta</i>	<i>laŋitta</i>	<i>laŋitta</i>	<i>laŋitta, raŋitta</i>
fast	<i>marihaʔ</i>	<i>mariha</i>	<i>mariha, marihakka</i>	<i>mariha</i>	<i>marisa</i>

7.2 Southern dialect: *Tiwazatta*

Most of the Talaud dialects that are spoken in the Talaud Islands belong to the Southern dialect, which is distinguished from the Northern dialect by its phonotactics: words end with a vowel as the result of the historical word-final consonant gemination and the vowel addition, which is already mentioned in Section 4.3.

Four subgroups of the Southern dialect are posited in this paper, shown again below.

- (A) Northern Karakelang dialect (N-Kar dialect)
- (B) Middle dialect (the Karakelang-Salibabu dialect)
- (C) Northern Kabaruan dialect (N-Kab dialect)
- (D) Middle-Southern Kabaruan dialect (MS-Kab dialect)

The subgrouping of the Southern dialect is done according to the differences in the phonetics and phonology. The set of phonemes of each dialect will be described first, and then the correspondences of phonemes among dialects will be dealt with. In short, the set of five vowels is shared by all the dialects, but the set of consonants differ.

7.2.1 Northern Karakelang (N-Kar) dialect

Among the 11 dialects surveyed for this paper, two of them, the Esang and Niampak dialects, belong to this group. There are five vowels (/i, e, a, o, u/) and 19 consonants, as in the Northern dialect: /p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ, β, s, h, c, r, l, z, r, m, n, ŋ, w/. Esang is located in the north of Karakelang, and Niampak in the middle. Three sites, Rainis, Beo, and Torohan, between Esang and Niampak, were studied in this survey. However, from a phonological viewpoint, Esang and Niampak, but not other Karakelang dialects, form one group.

The word forms are very similar to those in the Northern dialect, except for their endings: the N-Kar dialect does not allow closed syllables at all, whereas the Northern dialect allows word-final consonants.

The N-Kar dialect has the phoneme /c/. This phoneme appears in the Northern and MS-Kab dialects as well, but not in Middle or N-Kab dialects. The geminate /tt/ or /kk/ in the Middle dialect corresponds to /cc/ in the N-Kar dialect: *ulekka* or *uletta* in the Middle dialect is *ulecca* in the N-Kar dialect. Non-geminate /t/ or /k/ in other dialects, too, sometimes corresponds to /c/ in the N-Kar dialect. For example, *uʔuca* ‘age’ in the N-Kar dialect is pronounced *uʔuta* or *uʔuka* in the Middle dialect. More examples are given in Table 5 below.

The phoneme /z/ in the Northern and Middle dialects does not change the sound in the Niampak dialect (one of the N-Kar dialects), but it corresponds to /c/ in the Esang dialect, which also belongs to the N-Kar dialect group. For example ‘mouth’ is *moccoŋŋa* in the Esang dialect is *mozozŋŋa* / *mozozŋa* in the Middle dialect. In the Niampak dialect, it is *mozozŋŋa*, not *moccoŋŋa* as in the Esang dialect. This phoneme, /c/ or /z/ in the N-Kar

dialect, is replaced by /ʃ/ in the MS-Kab (Middle-South Kabaruan) dialect. The correspondence above is shown in Table 6 below.

Consonant correspondences with other dialects will be dealt with in detail later in Section 7.3.

7.2.2 Middle (Karakelang-Salibabu) dialect

The Middle dialect, or the Karakelang-Salibabu dialect, spreads out over the largest area. The dialects of middle to southern Karakelang Island and the Salibabu Island are grouped together because three sites on Karakelang Island and two sites on Salibabu Island in this survey exhibit similar features. The places on Karakelang Island are Rainis, Beo, and Torohan. Rainis is located on the east coast of Karakelang Island, and it is the northernmost point in this research. The other three places are populated towns in the middle and southern parts of Karakelang Island. The places on Salibabu Island that have been surveyed for this paper are Lirung (the biggest town in Salibabu) and Moronge (one of the villages). As mentioned in Section 7.2.1, Niampak, the southernmost site on Karakelang Island that was surveyed in this research, belongs to the North Karakelang dialect group.

Each dialect in the Middle dialect group shows distinctive features in some words, but the overall tendency and the set of phonemes is shared by all of them.

There are 5 vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ and 18 consonants /p, b, β, t, d, k, g, ʔ, s, h, r, l, z, r, m, n, ŋ, w/. The phoneme /c/ does not appear in this dialect; /c/ in the N-Kar dialect corresponds to /t/ or /k/ in the Middle dialect.

The most often found variation in the Middle dialect is the geminated phonemes /tt/ and /kk/. It tends to be /tt/ in dialects on Karakelang Island and /kk/ on Salibabu Island. For example, *pattana* ‘forehead’ and *βiwitta* ‘lip’ on Karakelang Island are *pakkana* and *βiwikka*. However, the correspondence is not stable among words. Sometimes /pp/ appears instead of /kk/ in the Salibabu dialects (Lirung and Moronge), and sometimes all the dialects adopt /tt/. The examples are shown in Table 3. It is possible to distinguish between the dialects on Karakelang Island and those on Salibabu Island, but the condition

Table 3: The correspondences of geminate consonants within the Middle dialect

Meaning in English	Rainis (Karakelang)	Beo (Karakelang)	Torohan (Karakelang)	Lirung (Salibabu)	Moronge (Salibabu)
forehead	<i>pattana</i>	<i>pattana</i>	<i>pattana</i>	<i>pakkana</i>	<i>pakkana</i>
lip	<i>βiwitta</i>	<i>βiwitta</i>	<i>βiwitta</i>	<i>βiwikka</i>	<i>βiwikka</i>
sky	<i>layitta</i>	<i>layitta</i>	<i>layitta</i>	<i>layitta</i>	<i>layitta</i>
male	<i>esatta</i>	<i>esatta</i>	<i>esaʔa</i>	<i>esakka</i>	<i>esakka</i>
to hear	<i>maddariŋi</i>	<i>maddariŋi</i>	<i>maddariŋitta</i>	<i>maddariŋikka</i>	<i>maddariŋi</i>
to seize	<i>manametta</i>	<i>mananɣala</i>	<i>manametta</i>	<i>manaappa</i>	<i>mannaappa</i>
to enter	<i>sumutta</i>	<i>sumutta</i>	<i>sumutta</i>	<i>sumutta</i>	<i>sumutta</i>

for the distinction is not very strong. Because of this, the five dialects studied in this survey are grouped together as the Middle dialect.

The variety used in the Talaud Bible is this Middle dialect. As for the geminate in question here, the variety found in the Lirung dialect is mostly used.

7.2.3 Northern Kabaruan dialect (N-Kab dialect)

Among the three dialects surveyed for this paper, the Bulude dialect shows different features from the other two. Many word forms in the N-Kab dialect are the same as found in the Middle dialect except for one feature: /s/ is seldom found in N-Kab, as it is mostly replaced by /h/. Geminated /s/, as in *bohassa* ‘rice,’ is sometimes found, but word-initial and inter-vocalic /s/ is seldom found. In the word list, the only exception to this is *sahengkella* ‘clothes,’ which is an alternative word for *laubba* ‘clothes.’

The set of vowels is the same as in other dialects, /i, e, a, o, u/. The consonant set is the same as the Middle dialect. There are 18 consonants: /p, b, β, t, d, k, g, ʔ, s, h, r, l, z, r, m, n, ŋ, w/. The phoneme /c/ does not appear in the N-Kab dialect, as it does not in the Middle dialect.

Examples of the correspondence of /s/ in the above dialects and /h/ in the N-Kab and MS-Kab dialects are often found, which will be exemplified in Section 7.2.4.

7.2.4 Kabaruan dialect or Middle-Southern Kabaruan (MS-Kab) dialect

Among the dialects that were surveyed, two dialects on Kabaruan Island, that is, the Mangaran and Pangeran dialects, show distinctive features from the other varieties. The set of vowels is the same as the rest, /i, e, a, o, u/, but the set of consonants is different. There are 21 consonants: /p, b, β, t, d, k, g, ʔ, s, ʃ, ʂ, h, c, r, l, z, r, m, n, ŋ, w/.

The phoneme /h/ in MS-Kab requires explanation. From the correspondences with other dialects, it is assumed that inter-vocalic /h/ in the other dialects changes to /ʂ/ in MS-Kab, such as *baxewa* ‘big’ in the MS-Kab dialect, whose counterpart in the other dialects is *bahewa*. In some borrowed words, /h/ in other dialects is pronounced /g/, not /ʂ/, as in *gaddi* ‘salary’ (from *gaji* in Indonesian) in the MS-Kab dialect. It appears as *haddi* in other dialects. The presence of the phoneme /ʂ/ is a feature unique to the MS-Kab dialect. Please refer to Table 4 below.

The phoneme /s/ in the N-Kar and Middle dialects corresponds to /h/ in the MS-Kab dialect as well as in the N-Kab dialect, as mentioned in Section 7.2.3. In this respect, dialects on Kabaruan Island are distinguished from other dialects. For example, *isi* ‘tooth’ in the N-Kar and Middle dialects has the form *ihi* ‘tooth’ in the N-Kab and MS-Kab dialects. In Table 4, more examples of words with /h/ and /ʂ/ are given together with the data of other dialects.

The geminate /tt/ or /kk/ in the Middle and N-Kab dialects is realized as /cc/ in the MS-Kab dialect. This feature is shared by the N-Kar dialect as well. Table 5 has examples

of the above correspondences.

The phoneme /f/ is uniquely found in the MS-Kab dialect. It replaces /c/ in the Esang dialect (one of the N-Kar dialects) or /z/ in other dialects. Examples are given in Table 6.

In the Pangeran dialect, one of the MS-Kab dialects, sometimes /l/ is replaced by /d/. For example, *dila* 'tongue' in the Pangeran dialect corresponds to *lila* in all the other

Table 4: The phoneme /h/ in MS-Kab dialect and sound correspondence in other dialects

Meaning in English	The Northern dialect (Nanusa)	The Southern dialect			
		N-Kar dialect	Middle dialect	N-Kab dialect	MS-Kab dialect
milk	<i>susu</i>	<i>susu</i>	<i>susu</i>	<i>huhu</i>	<i>huhu</i>
navel	<i>pusi?</i>	<i>pusidda</i>	<i>pusidda</i>	<i>puhidda</i>	<i>puhida</i>
elbow	<i>si?u</i>	<i>si?u</i>	<i>si?u</i>	<i>hi?u</i>	<i>hi?u</i>
rice	<i>βoha?</i>	<i>βohaca</i>	<i>βohasa, βohassa</i>	<i>βohassa</i>	<i>βɔraha</i>
big	<i>βahewa</i>	<i>βahewa</i>	<i>βahewa, βaheβa</i>	<i>βahewa</i>	<i>βaxewa</i>
jungle/wood	<i>mahuran</i>	<i>mahuraŋŋa</i>	<i>ahuraŋanna, gahuraŋana</i>	<i>ahuraŋanna</i>	<i>aɔuraŋanna</i>
sea	<i>tahaɔoan</i>	<i>tahaɔoŋŋa</i>	<i>tahaɔoŋŋa</i>	<i>tahaɔoŋŋa</i>	<i>taɔaloŋŋa</i>
fast	<i>mariha?</i>	<i>mariha</i>	<i>mariha, marihakka</i>	<i>mariha</i>	<i>marixa</i>

Table 5: The geminate /cc/ in N-Kar and MS-Kab dialect and corresponding sounds in other dialects

Meaning in English	The Northern dialect (Nanusa)	The Southern dialect			
		N-Kar dialect	Middle dialect	N-Kab dialect	MS-Kab dialect
male	<i>esa?</i>	<i>esacca</i>	<i>esakka, esatta</i>	<i>ehakka</i>	<i>ehacca</i>
lip	<i>βiwi?</i>	<i>βiwicca</i>	<i>βiwikka, βiwitta</i>	<i>βiwikka</i>	<i>βiwicca</i>
neck	<i>ulle?</i>	<i>ulecca</i>	<i>ulekka, uletta</i>	<i>ullekka</i>	<i>ulecca</i>
river	<i>saru?</i>	<i>sarucca</i>	<i>sarutta</i>	<i>harukka</i>	<i>harucca</i>

Table 6: Correspondences of /f/ in MS-Kab dialect and other dialects

Meaning in English	The Northern dialect (Nanusa)	The Southern dialect			
		N-Kar dialect	Middle dialect	N-Kab dialect	MS-Kab dialect
mouth	<i>mozon</i>	<i>moccoŋŋa, mozooŋŋa</i>	<i>mozoga, mozooŋŋa</i>	<i>mozooŋŋa</i>	<i>mosooŋŋa</i>
night	<i>zabbi</i>	<i>cabbi, zabbi</i>	<i>zabbi</i>	<i>zabbi</i>	<i>fabi, fabbi</i>
push	<i>manuru?</i>	<i>manuzuca</i>	<i>manuzuda</i>	<i>manurudda</i>	<i>manufuda</i>
well	<i>βazihi</i>	<i>pacihi, pazihi</i>	<i>pazihi</i>	<i>pazihi</i>	<i>paʃiɔi</i>

dialects, and *udecca* ‘neck’ corresponds to *ulecca*, *ulekka*, etc., in others. The Mangaran dialect, which also belongs to the MS-Kab dialect, does not show this replacement, though.

7.3 Summary: Consonant correspondences between dialects

In this section, the consonant correspondences will be summarized. As mentioned, the set of five vowels is shared by all the dialects. Geminate stops (and the vowel /a/ that follows) of the last syllable in the Southern dialect are realized by the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the Northern dialects. In the Southern dialect, geminates in the last syllable vary substantially among dialects. Predominantly, /cc/ is adopted in the N-Kar and MS-Kab dialects, /tt/ in the Karakelang varieties in the Middle dialect, and /kk/ in the Salibabu varieties in the Middle dialect, but it is not a clear-cut distinction. Word-final syllables /lla/ and /ʔa/ in the Southern dialect are realized as only the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the Northern dialect.

The only word-final nasal found in the Northern dialect is /n/. By contrast, there is no word-final nasal allowed in the Southern dialect, in which nasals are geminated and the vowel /a/ is added after them. Geminate nasals in the last syllable of the word do not show variety among dialects in the Southern dialect group: /mm/ in a dialect is also /mm/ in the rest of the dialects in the Southern dialect group.

The phoneme /s/ in the Northern dialect as well as the N-Kar and Middle dialects, in other words, the dialects of the Nanusa, Karakelang, and Salibabu Islands, becomes /h/ in the N-Kab and the MS-Kab dialects (or dialects in the Kabaruan Island).

The phoneme /ɣ/ appears only in the MS-Kab dialect. The rest of the dialects adopt /h/ instead. The N-Kab dialect (in Kabaruan) uses /h/ as the Northern, N-Kar, and Middle dialects.

The phoneme /f/ is also the phoneme that appears only in the MS-Kab dialect. It is

Table 7: Correspondences of consonants among all the dialects

Places in a word	The Northern dialect (Nanusa)	The Southern dialect			
		N-Kar dialect	Middle dialect	N-Kab dialect	MS-Kab dialect
word-finally	/ʔ/	/cca/	/tta/	/kka/, /tta/	/cca/
word-finally	/ʔ/	/lla/			
word-finally	/ʔ/	/ʔa/			
word-finally	/n/	/mma/, /nna/, /ŋŋa/			
anywhere	/s/			/h/	
word-internally	/h/				/ɣ/
anywhere	/z/	/c/ (Esang) /z/ (Niampak)	/z/		/f/
anywhere	/l/				/l/ (Magnaran), /d/ (Pangeran)

realized as /z/ in most of the other dialects, and /c/ in the Esang dialect that belongs to the N-Kar dialect.

The phoneme /d/ appears in every dialect, but in the Pangeran dialect (of the MS-Kab dialect) it replaces /l/ with /d/ in some words.

A variation in rhotics is also observed among the dialects of Talaud, but the correspondences are not at all clear. Further study is required to reveal them.

Also, word-internal geminates in some dialects appear as single consonants in the others. The condition for this difference is not yet known: it may be a free variation or individual variation. Further study is needed to solve this problem.

8. Conclusion

Talaud is spoken in an archipelago. It has many variations, since villages and towns are spread over many islands and it has been difficult for speakers to move from one spot to another. Even today, small boats are the only method of transportation between some islands. Talaud speakers are aware of dialectal differences, especially the differences between the varieties that are spoken in the Nanusa Islands and those that are spoken in the other islands. The former is sometimes called *Lami* and the latter *Tiwazatta*. From the survey for this paper, the difference between the two dialects is confirmed, and a primary distinction is drawn between them. *Lami* is called the Northern dialect and *Tiwazatta* is called the Southern dialect in this paper.

The largest difference between the two is the phonotactics: the Northern dialect allows the word-final nasal /n/ and the glottal stop, but the Southern dialect must have the open syllable word-finally. The historical innovation that is found uniquely in Talaud within the Sangiric language group does not seem to occur in the Northern dialect.

Vowels do not vary in the dialects of Talaud, but consonants show much variation among dialects. The southern dialect is divided into four subgroups according to the set of consonants. The N-Kar dialect is spoken in the northernmost part of Karakelang Island and also in one place in the middle of the island. The Middle dialect is spoken in the middle to south of Karakelang Island and Salibabu Island. The N-Kab dialect is spoken in the north part of Kabaruan Island and the MS-Kab dialect in the middle to south of Kabaruan Island.

The variety adopted for the translation of the New Testament is the Middle dialect, which has the largest spoken area: more than half of Karakelang Island and all of Salibabu Island. The N-Kar dialect that is spoken in the north of Karakelang Island and the N-Kab and MS-Kab dialects that are spoken on Kabaruan Island deviate from the Middle dialect in the set of consonants or in the correspondences of consonants. Although the N-Kab dialect has the same set of 18 consonants as the Middle dialect, the N-Kar dialect has 19 consonants and MS-Kab has 21 consonants.

The line between the N-Kab and the Middle dialect can be drawn by the fact that the phoneme /s/ in the latter is realized as /h/ in the former.

Both the N-Kar and N-Kab dialects have 19 consonants including the phoneme /c/, but its distribution is not the same in the two dialects. The MS-Kab dialect has the biggest number of consonants, that is, 21, and two of these consonants, /ʃ/ and /ʂ/, do not appear in other dialects.

There are also lexical variations found in the comparative word list in the appendix 2. A more detailed survey is required to clarify these as well.

[Notes]

- 1) "Sangir" reflects the Indonesian pronunciation, while "Sangihe" [sangihe] reflects the pronunciation of the local languages, including Sangir and Talaud.
- 2) Utsumi (2007) posits only six dialects. However, in my recent research, the consultants mentioned that there are actually seven dialects. The newly added dialect in this paper is the one spoken on Karakelang Island.
- 3) Mr. Ipu was born in the Nanusa Islands in the 1930s, and he has been my consultant since 2004. He is also the translator of the New Testament, as mentioned in later in this section.
- 4) Mr. Chirstofer Ipu is fluent in both Salibabu and Merampit dialects. The author started the study of Salibabu dialect with Mr. Tinnginehe, and later helped by Mr. Ipu. The recording for this particular survey was done by Mr. Ipu.
- 5) Sneddon (1993) describes the areal tendency in Sulawesi that word-final nasals are subsumed into a velar nasal /ŋ/. For example, Bantik, which belongs to the same micro-group as Talaud, allows only the velar nasal in some dialects. It is, however, attested that some Bantik dialects allow only the alveolar nasal /n/.

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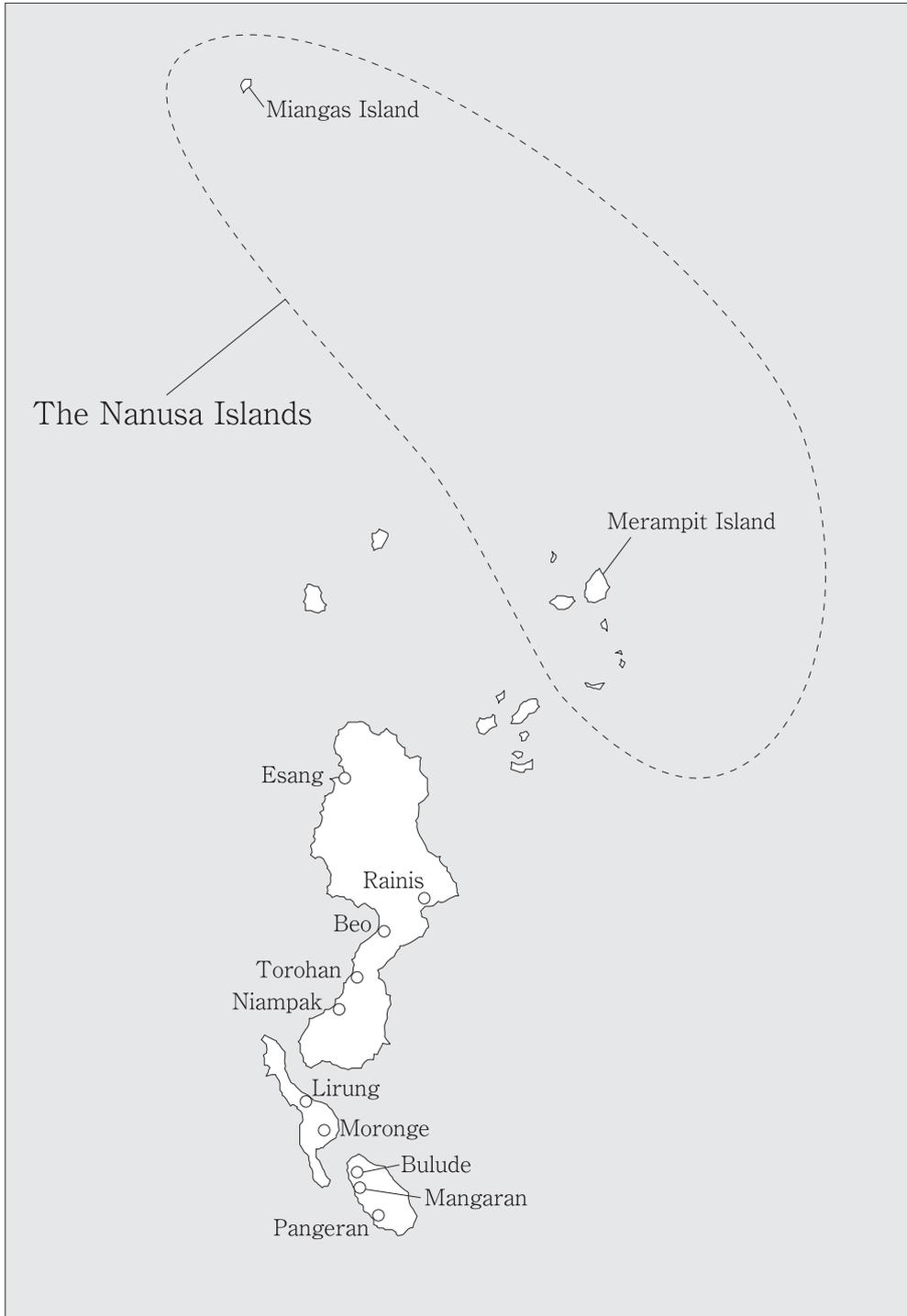
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Appendix 1 : Map of the Talaud Islands



Appendix 2 : A Comparative Word List of the dialects of Talaud

	English	Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia)	(1) The Merampit dialect (The Nanusa Islands)	(2) The Essang dialect (Karakelang)	(3) The Rainis dialect (Karakelang)	(4) The Beo dialect (Karakelang)
1	head	kepala	pua	pua	pua	pua
2	hair	rambut	uta?	uta?a	uta?a	uta?a
3	forehead	dahi	tunġu?	tunġuca	pattana	pattana
4	eyebrow	kening	akkonda?	papi?a	aŋkarippa	βamburu mata
5	eye	mata	mata	mata	mata	mata
6	ear	telinga	tariŋa	tariŋa	tariŋa	tariŋa
7	nose	hidung	ŋirun	ŋirunna	ŋirunna	ŋirunna
8	mouth	mulut	moz,on	mocconŋa	moz,onŋa	moz,onŋa
9	lips	bibir	βiβi?	βiwicca	βiwitta	βiwitta
10	tongue	lidah	lila	lila	lila	lila
11	saliva	air liur	luz,o	addu	addu	addu
12	tooth	gigi	isi	isi	isi	isi
13	chin	dagu	ora	ora	ora	ora
14	cheek	pipi	βambala	βambala	βambala	βambala
15	beard	kumis	omen	omenŋa	omenŋa	omenŋa
16	face	muka	hati	gati	hati	hati
17	neck	leher	ulle?	ulecca	uletta	uletta?
18	shoulder	bahu	βamban	βambanŋa	βambanŋa	βambanŋa
19	back	belakang	li?u	liudda	liudda	liu?da
20	chest	dada	ro?o	ro?o/ sabba?a	saba?a	saba?a
21	breast	susu	susu	susu	susu	susu
22	stomach	perut	tian	tianna	tianna	tianna
23	navel (bellybutton)	pusi?	pusidda		pusidda	pusidda
24	elbow	siku	si?u	si?u	si?u	si?u
25	hand	tangan	lima	lima	lima	lima
26	finger	jari	tarimeddo	tarimeddo	tarimaddo	arumai
27	nail	kuku	anu?u	anu?u	anu?u	anu?u
28	leg	kaki	le?	ledda	ledda	le?da
29	knee		βu?u	βu?u	βuu	βu?u
30	heart		apendan	apendamma	naunŋa	naunŋa
31	liver	hati	ate	ate	ate	ate
32	well	sumur	paz,ihi	pacihi	paz,ihi	paz,ihi
33	clothes	baju	la?u	laubba	laubba	laubba

(5) The Torohan dialect (Karakelang)	(6) The Niampak dialect (Karakelang)	(7) The Lirung dialect (Salibabu)	(8) The Moronge dialect (Salibabu)	(9) The Bulude dialect (Kabaruan)	(10) The Mangaran dialect (Kabaruan)	(11) The Pangeran dialect (Kabaruan)
pua	pua	pua	pua	pua	pua	pua
utaʔa	utaʔa	utaʔa	utaʔa	utaʔa	utaʔa	utaʔa
pattanna	paccanna	pakkana	pakkana	pakkanna	paʔcanna	paccanna
aŋkarippa	mammanuʔa	βamburu-m-mata	ankarippa	aŋkarippu mata	aŋkarippa	anŋarippa
mata	mata	mata	mata	mata	mata	mata
tariŋa	tariŋa	tariŋa	tariŋa	tariŋa/turi	tariŋa	tariŋa
ŋirunna	ŋirunna	ŋirunna	ŋirunna	ŋirunna	ŋirunna	ŋirunna
moz,oŋa	moz,oŋŋa	moz,oŋa	moz,oga	moz,oŋŋa	mofoŋŋa	mofoŋŋa
βiwitta	βiwicca	βiwikka	βiwikka	βiwikka	βiwicca	βiwicca
lila	lila	lira	lila	lila	lila	dila
addu	addu	addu	addu	addu	lufo	addu
isi	isi	isi	isi	ihi	ihi	ihi
ora	ora	ora	ora	ora	are	ora
βamβala	βambala	βambala	βambala	βambala	βambala	βambala
omeŋŋa	umi	omeŋŋa	umi/ omeŋŋa	omeŋŋa	umi	omeŋŋa
paz,issa	hati	hati	hati	hati	gati	ʔati
uletta	ulecca	ulekka	ulekka	ullekka	ulecca	udecca
βamβaŋa	βambaŋa	βambaŋa	βambaŋa	βambaŋŋa	βambaŋa	βambaŋa
liuddaʔ	liudda	liudda	liudda	liʔudda	liuda	diudda
sabbaʔa	doʔo	roʔo	sabbaʔa	roʔo	roʔo	doʔo
susu	susu	susu	susu	huhu	huhu	huhu
tianna	tianna	tianna	tianna	tianna	tianna	tianna
pusidda	pusidda	pusidda	puhidda	puhida	puhida	
siʔu	siʔu	siʔu	siʔu	hiʔu	hiʔu	hiʔu
lima	lima	lima	lima	lima	lima	dima
tarimaddo	talimaddo	tarimaddo	talimaddo	tarimaddo	tarimaddo	tarimaddo
anuʔu	anuʔu	anuu	anuʔu	anuʔu	anuu	anuʔu
leʔdda	ledda	ledda	ledda	ledda	ledda	dedda
βuʔu	βuʔu	βuu	βuʔu	βuʔu	βuu	βuʔu
nauŋŋa	papuso	nauŋŋa	papuso	pappuho	papuho	papuho
ate	ate	ate	paddu	ate	ate	ate
paz,ihi	paz,ihi	paz,ihi	paz,ihi	paz,ihi	paʔiʔi	paʔiʔi
laubba/ pedetta	laubba	laubba	laubba	laʔubba/ sahenʔkella	laʔuba	dauba

	English	Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia)	(1) The Merampit dialect (The Nanusa Islands)	(2) The Essang dialect (Karakelang)	(3) The Rainis dialect (Karakelang)	(4) The Beo dialect (Karakelang)
34	rice	beras	βoha?	βohaca	βohassa	βohasa
35	rice	padi	amme?	amme	amme	amme
36	taste	rasa	nenen	neneŋe	temaŋŋe	neneŋe
37	food	makanan	an	anna	anna	anna
38	meat	daging	z,eme	cemene	z,emene	z,emene
39	fish	ikan	ina?	inassa	inassa	inassa
40	house	rumah	βare	βale	βare	βare
41	boat	kapal	apa?	apalla	apalla	apalla
42	needle	jarum	daraz,un	daracumma	daraz,uma	daraz,umma
43	dog	anjing	asu	asu	asu	asu
44	cat	kucing	meo	meo	meo	meo
45	pig	babi	βaβi	βawi	βawi	βaβi
46	salary	gaji	haddi?	haddi	adapatta	haddi
47	rice field	sawah	βai? uae	βaila	βaila lota	βaillu lota
48	grass	rumput	βara?bbu	ahuraŋanna	ahuraŋanna/ radu?utta	ahuraŋanna
49	jungle, wood	hutan	mahuran	mahuraŋŋa	ahuraŋanna	maruantiadda
50	seed	biji	βatu	βatune	βatune	βatune
51	road	jalan	darana/laran	larana	daranna	daranna
52	river	sungai	saru?	sarucca	sarutta	sarutta
53	bridge	jembatan	radoko	radoko	radoko	radoko
54	mountain	gunung	βowone	βowone	βowone	βoβone
55	sea	laut	taharoan	taharoaŋŋa	taharoaŋŋa	taharoaŋŋa
56	island	pulau	antana?an/ nusa	tacanusa	nusane	pulo/nusa
57	plane	tanah	leta?	leta?a	leta?a	leta?a
58	pond	kolam	li?une	talaga	liune	liwua?a
59	lake	danau	rano	rano	rano	rano
60	smoke	asap	timbu?	timbulla	timbulla	timbulla
61	ash	abu	awu	awu	awu	awu
62	water	air liur	ua?e	uwae	ua?e	wa?e
63	stone	batu	βatu	βatu	βatu	βatu
64	fire	api	putun	putuŋŋa	putuŋŋa	putuŋŋa

(5) The Torohan dialect (Karakelang)	(6) The Niampak dialect (Karakelang)	(7) The Lirung dialect (Salibabu)	(8) The Moronge dialect (Salibabu)	(9) The Bulude dialect (Kabaruan)	(10) The Mangaran dialect (Kabaruan)	(11) The Pangeran dialect (Kabaruan)
βohassa	βohassa	βohasa	βohasa	βohassa	βoɣaha	βoɣaha
amme	amme	amme	amme	amme	amme	amme
neneŋŋe	neneŋŋa/ maneneŋŋa	apendama	tawage	apendamma	pendamma	neneŋŋe
anna	anna	anna	anna	anna/ pabbawiakka	anna	anna
z.emene	z.emessa	z.emene	z.emessa	z.emehha	femehha	femehha
inassa	inassa	inassa	inassa	inahha	inahha	inahha
βare	βare	βare	βare	βare	βare	βare
apalla	apalla	apalla	apalla	apalla	appala	apalla
daraz,umma	daz,az,umma	daz,az,umma	daz,az,umma	daraz,umma	daz,afumma	darafumma
asu	asu	asu	asu	ahu	ahu	ahu
meo	meo		meo	meo	meo	meo
βaβi	βawi	βawi	βawi	βawi	βawi	βawi
haddi	haddi	haddi	haddi	haddi	gaddi	gaddi
βailla	βaillota	βailla	βailla amme	βailu amme	βaillu amme	βaiddu amme
ahuraŋanna	ahuraŋanna	rumputta	ahuraŋanna	βarabukka	rumpu	rumpu
mahurantiadda	mahuraŋŋa	ahuraŋanna	gahuraŋana	ahuraŋanna/ ahuraŋan	aɣuraŋanna	aɣuraɣanna
βatune	βatune	βatune	βatune	βatune	βatune	βatune
daranna	daranna	loz,z,aŋŋa	laz,anna	dalan/ dalanna	daz,anna	daranna
sarutta	suŋe/ sarucca	sarukka	sarukka	huŋe/ harukka	harucca	harucca
radoko	raddoko	radoko	radoko	radoko	dadoko	radoko
βoβone	βowone	βawone	βowone	βowone	βowone	βowone
taharoaŋŋa	taharoaŋŋa	taharoaŋŋa	taharoaŋŋa	taharoaŋŋa	taɣaloaŋŋa	taɣaloaŋŋa
pulo	pulo	pulo	taz,anussa	pulo	nuha	taɣanuha/ nuha
letaʔa	letaʔa	letaʔa	letaʔa	letaʔa	letaʔa	detaʔa
liwuaʔa	liʔu	liune	liwuʔa	liwuaʔa	liune	diʔu
rano	rano	dano	rano/dano	rano	dano	rano
timbulla	timbula	timbulla	timbula	timbulla	timbulla	timbudda
awu	awu	βara, awu	awu	awu	awu	awu
uaʔe	uaʔe	uʔaʔe	uʔae	uaʔe	uwaʔe	uaʔe
zumolo	rumolo	βatu	βatu/batu	βatu/ z,umoro	βatu	βatu
putuŋŋa	putuŋŋa	putuŋŋa	putuŋŋa	putuŋŋa	putuŋŋa	putuŋŋa

	English	Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia)	(1) The Merampit dialect (The Nanusa Islands)	(2) The Essang dialect (Karakelang)	(3) The Rainis dialect (Karakelang)	(4) The Beo dialect (Karakelang)
65	wind	angin	aŋin	aŋinna	aŋinna	aŋinna
66	cloud	awan	βinabbawa	βinaβawa	βinaβawa	βinaβaβa
67	rain	hujan	uran	uranna	uranna	uranna
68	sky	langit	laŋiʔ	laŋitta	laŋitta	laŋitta
69	rainbow	pelangi	naggiaro	randipacca	randipatta	dandipatta
70	sun	mata hari	mata nnallo	mata-n-allo	mata-n-allo	mata-n-allo
71	moon	bulan	βulan	βuranna	βuranna	βuranna
72	shadow	bayangan	lintau	lintau	lintau	lintau
73	star	bintang	anumpitan	anumpitanna	anumpitanna	anumpitan
74	day	hari	allo	allo	allo	allo
75	morning	pagi	ruaʔallo	ruaʔallo	duaʔallo	ruaʔallo
76	day, afternoon	siang	alattune	allatune	allatune	allatune
77	evening	sore	βaβallo	βawallo	bawallo	βaβalo
78	night	malam	z,abbi	cabi	z,abbi	z,abbi
79	yesterday	kemarin	anez,aʔ	aʔcabi	naʔaz,abbi	naʔaz,abbi
80	tomorrow	besok	tiz,abbi	ticcabi	tiz,abbi	tiz,abbi
81	how much	berapa	sakkura	sakura	saŋkura	saŋkura
82	when	kapan	aŋŋera	aŋŋera	aŋera	eteŋŋera
83	age	usia	umuʔ	uʔuca	uʔuta	uʔuka/umure
84	spouse	suami, isteri	awin	awiŋŋa	awiŋŋa	awiŋŋa
85	father	ayah	ipapa/iaman	iamaŋŋa	yamaŋŋa	papa
86	mother	ibu	imama/inan	inaŋŋa	inaŋŋa	mama
87	grandfather	opa	i-yupun esaʔ	tete/ i-yupunŋa esacca	itete	teteʔ
88	grandmother	oma	i-yupun βawine	nene/ i-yupunŋa βawine	inene	neneʔ
89	child	anak	anaʔ	anaʔa	anaʔa	anaʔa
90	grandchild	cucu	pulun	pulunna	pulunna	pulunna
91	elder brother, elder sister	kakak	iʔyaʔan	yaʔaŋŋa	iaʔaŋ	iaʔyaŋŋa
92	younger brother / sister	adik	tuari	tuari	tuari	tuari

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aŋinna	aŋinna	aŋinna	aŋinna	aŋinna	aŋinna	aŋinna
βinaβawa	βinaβawa	βinaβawa	βinaβawa	βinaβawa	βinaβawa	βinaβawa
uranna	uranna	uranna	uranna	uranna	uranna	uranna
laŋitta	laŋitta	βinalaŋanna	laŋitta	βinalaŋanna/ laŋitta	laŋitta	raŋitta
randipatta	randipacca	randipakka	randipakka	randipakka	dandipacca	randipacca
mata nallo	mata-n-allo	mata-n-nallo	mata-n-allo	mata-n-nallo	mata-n-allo	mata-n-naddo
βuranna	βuranna	βuranna	βuranna	βuranna	βulanna	βuranna
lintau	lintau	lintau	lintau	lintau	lintau	dintau
anumpitanna	anumpitanna	anumpitanna	anumpitanna	anumpitanna	anumpitanna	anumpitanna
allo	allo	allo	allo	allo	allo	addo
ruaʔllo	ruaʔallo	ruallo	duʔallo/ ruʔallo	ruaʔallo	rua allo	ruʔaddo
allatune	allo	allatune	allo/ allatune	allo/ allatune	allo	addo
βawallo	βawallo	βawallo	βawalo	βawallo	βawallo	βawaddo
z,abbi	z,abbi	z,abbi	z,abbi	z,abbi	fabi	fabbi
naʔaz,abbi	az,abi/ anez,aba	naʔaz,abbi	naʔaz,abbi	az,abbi/ anez,abba	aʔabbi	aʔabbi
tiz,abbi	tiz,abbi	tiz,abbi	tiz,abbi	tiz,abbi	tifabbi	tifabbi
saŋkura	saŋkura	pira	pira	haŋkura	haŋkura/ pira	haŋkura
aŋerate	aŋera	orassa pirra	tiŋera	aŋera	aŋera	aŋera
aʔuz,anna	uʔucca	uʔuka	uʔukka	uʔukka	umucca	uʔucca
saŋka βinan	awiŋŋa	sawa	sawa	awiŋŋa/ putuŋŋan	ʃimanna	awiŋŋa
iamanŋa/ iaman	yamanŋa	iamanŋa	iamanŋa	yaman	iamanŋa	i-yamanŋa
inanŋa/inan	inanŋa	inanŋa	ananŋa	inan	inanŋa	inanŋ
iteteʔa/ iteteʔ	yupuŋŋa esaʔca	itete, i-yupuŋŋa	i-yupuŋŋa	tete	yupuŋŋa ehacce	i- yupuŋŋ ehacca
ineneʔa/ ineneʔ	yupuŋŋa βawine	inene, i-yupuŋŋa	nene/ i-yupuŋŋa	nene	yupuŋŋ βawine	i-yupuŋŋa βawine
anaʔa	anaʔa	anaʔa	anaʔa	anaʔa	anaʔa	anaʔa
pulunna/ pulun	pulunna	pulunna	pulunna	pulunna	pulunna	purunna
iaʔanŋa/ iaʔan	iaʔanŋa	iaʔanŋa	iaʔanŋa	iaʔanŋa	iaʔanŋa	iaʔanŋa
tuari	tuari	tuari	tuari	tuari	tuari	tuari

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93	male	laki-laki	esaʔ	esacca	esatta	esatta
94	female	perempuan	βawine	βawine	βawine	βaβine
95	family	keluarga	βalahan	amonanna	alahanna	tuzanŋa
96	friend	teman	haβe	haβe	hawe	haβe
97	name	nama	aran	aranna	aranna	aranna
98	letter	huruf	hurupe/ hurupa	huruppa	huruppa	huruppa
99	god	tuhan	maβu	maβu	maβu	maβu
100	over there	sana	poi	poi-siddi	poi	poi
101	here	sini	i-siddi	i-siddi	inndi	isiʔa
102	there	situ	i-sudde	i-sudde	i-sudde	isuʔa
103	where	mana	suapa	suapa	suapa	suapa
104	why	kenapa	anio	ereapa	aranio	aniʔo
105	what	apa	apa	apa	areapa	apa
106	this	ini	indi	iddi	indi	indi
107	that	itu	udde	udde	udde	udde
108	front	depan	saruan	mukane	mukane	mukane
109	back	belakang	liʔu	liudda	panindunje	liudda
110	up	atas	rosoʔ	roso	doso	doso
111	down	bawah	βowa	βowa	bowa	βoβa
112	see	lihat	maʔelle	maʔelle	paʔelle	maʔelle
113	hear	mendengar	maddariŋiʔ	warariŋi/ maddariŋi	maddariŋi	maddariŋi
114	smell, kiss	mencium	maŋariʔ	naŋariʔa	naŋariʔa	maŋariʔa
115	breathe	bernafas	susanŋo	sucanŋo	susanŋo	sumanŋo
116	say	bilang, mengucapkan	susinauʔ	managgo	nanago	maβaro
117	shout, yell	berteriak	maŋinturi	maŋinturi	uʔui	maŋinturi
118	sing	mengantar	maŋantari	maʔantari	maantari	maantari
119	dance	menari	masarain	macaraiŋŋa	masaraʔiŋŋa	massaraiŋŋa
120	laugh	tertawa	luʔlagge	lulage	lulage/ lumage	lumage
121	cry	menagins	sucanʔiʔ	luluai	lumuai	lumuai
122	be sad	sedih	macusa	macusa	masusa	masusa

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esaʔa/esaʔ	esacca	esakka	esakka	ehakka	ehacca	ehacca
βaβine	βawine	βawine	βawine	βawine	βawine	βawine
saŋkamonanna	amonanna	βalahanna	βalahanna	amonanna	amonanna	amonanna
hawe	hawe	haβe	hawe	hawe/ riŋanna	gawe	diŋanna
aranna/ aran	aranna	aranna	aranna	aranna	aranna	aranna
huruppa	huruppa	huruppa	huruppa	huruppa	huruppa	huruppa
maβu	mawu/ ruata	maβu, maβu duata	maβu/ruata	maβu ruata	mawu ruata	mawu ruata
poi	poi	poʔi	poʔi	poi	poi	poiʔhia
isindi	i-sinddi	siddi	i-sinddi	i-hinddi	i-hindi/ hindi	ihindi
isudde	i-sudde	sudde	i-sudde	i-hudde	hudde	duhudde
suapa	suapa	suapa	suapa	huapa	huapa	huapa
anio	anio	anio	anio	anio	anio	ania
apa	apa	apa	apalla	apalla	apa	apa
indi	indi	indi	indi	indi	indi	iddi
uddeʔ	udde	udde	udde	udde	udde	udde
susaruanna/ susaruan	sarʔruanna	mukane	su-mukane	haruanna	gati	haruanne
liudda	liudde	liudda	su-liudda	liudda	liudda	liudda
doso	doso	roso	doso/roso	doho	doho	doho
βoβa	βowa	βowa	βowa	βowa	βowa	βowa
maʔelle	paʔelle	maʔelle	maʔellega	ellega	maʔellega	eddega
maddariŋitta	maddariŋicca	maddariŋikka	maddariŋi	maddariŋi	maddariŋica	marariŋi
maŋariʔa/ maŋariʔ	maŋariʔa/ manimbua	maŋariʔa	maŋariʔa	maŋariʔa	maŋariʔa	manimbua/ maŋariʔa
susaŋŋo	susaŋŋo	sumaŋŋo	susagge	humaŋŋo	humaŋŋo	uhaŋŋo
maβattiʔa/ mabaro	mabaro	managgoaʔa	managgo	βaroaʔa	pabaro/ mabaro	mabaro
uʔui	uʔui	maŋikuitta	uʔui	maŋinturi	maŋicuitta	maŋintuli
maŋantari	maʔantari	maŋantari	maŋantari	maŋantari	maʔantari	maŋantari
massaraŋŋa	massaraŋŋa	massaraʔiŋŋa	massaraʔiŋŋa	maharaŋŋa	maharaŋŋa	mahaʔharaŋŋa
lulaggeʔ	lullage	lumagge	lulage	lullage	lulage	dudage
luluai	lulluai	lumuai	luluai	lulluai/ lumuai	luluai	duduai
massusa	masusa	masusa	masusa	mahuha	huha nauŋa	maʔhuha

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123	be angry	marah	manedda	mammuro	masa?u	mandona
124	be astonished	kaget	nirumoro	nirumuro	niz ₂ umindu?a	naz ₂ umindu?a
125	punch	menampar	mamero	namero	mamero	mamero
126	cure	menyembuhkan	mapa apia	napaappia	naŋapia	maŋundamma
127	be broken	merusak	maŋgoha?	nandomba	nandomba	mandomba
128	push	mendorong	manuru?	manuz ₂ uca	manuz ₂ uda	manora?a
129	pull	tarik	mamoren	namoleŋŋa	mamoleŋŋa	mamoleŋŋa
130	have	punya	pia	pia	pia	
131	seize	menangkap	manaŋŋa?	manametta/ manaŋalla	manametta	manaŋŋala
132	touch	sentuh	maŋez ₂ e?	natu?a	manihidda	maŋebo?a
133	kick	tendang	bela?/ namela?	namela?a	namela?a	mamela?a
134	wake up	bangun	mapu?o	nabaŋunna	napu?o	mabaŋunna (from βI)
135	eat	makan	uman	umanna	umanna	umanna
136	drink	minum	ma?inum	ma?inumma	ma?inumma	ma?inumma
137	like	suka	mappulu	mapulu	mapulu	mapulu
138	hate	benci, tidak suka	ma?dintin	mabinci	madiri	madantinna
139	rotten	busuk	mawuz ₂ u?	mawucu?a	mawutu?a	mawutu?a
140	break	pecah	maβa?a	nawa?a	napesaŋa	napesaŋŋa
141	fly	terbang	tumalla?	tutala?a	tinumala?a	natumala?a
142	swim	berenang	umalan	ulaŋa	inumalaŋŋa	umalaŋŋa
143	hungry	lapar	marare	marare	mar ₂ unussa	mar ₂ unussa
144	tear	robek	nahere?	nahece	nahez ₂ e	nahez ₂ e
145	peel	kupas	maŋi?i	malisi	narisi	malisi
146	bake, grill	membakar	manutun	matambunna	manutuŋŋa	manambunna
147	boil	memanaskan	maroso	manarihamŋa	manahiramma/ naparoso	manarihamma
148	flow	mengalir	maŋjele?	maŋjecca	naŋeletta	maŋeletta

(5) The Torohan dialect (Karakelang)	(6) The Niampak dialect (Karakelang)	(7) The Lirung dialect (Salibabu)	(8) The Moronge dialect (Salibabu)	(9) The Bulude dialect (Kabaruan)	(10) The Mangaran dialect (Kabaruan)	(11) The Pangeran dialect (Kabaruan)
massaʔu	massaʔu	massaʔu, mandona	mandona/ mamuro	maʔhahu	mahaʔhu	mahaʔhu
nirumoro	nirumabiʔ	z,uminduʔa	lukinuʔa	z,umindduʔa	domoro	nirumoro
mamero	namero	mamerro	mamerro	mamero	mamero	namero
maʔapapia	mapapia	maʔundama	maʔundama	maʔapia/ maʔundamma	maʔundama	mapapia
mandomba	nandomba	maʔgohakka	mandomba	mandomba	ma	maʔgohacca
manoraʔa	maʔgehetta	manuz,uda	manuz,uda	manurudda	manuʔfuda	manuʔfuda
mamaʔkassa	mamoleŋŋa	mamoreŋŋa	mamoleŋŋa	mamoleŋŋa/ boreŋa	mamolenŋŋa	boreŋ
pia	pia	pia	pia	pia	pia	pia
manametta	mannaappa	manaappa	manametta	manametta	manaappa	mannametta
maʔindiŋa/ maʔeboʔa	maʔereʔta	maʔez,eta	maʔez,eta	maʔeretta	esetta	maʔŋeset
mammelaʔa	mammellaʔa	mammellaʔa	mammellaʔa	βelaʔa	βelaʔa	mamelaʔa
mapuʔo	nabaŋunna	mapuʔo	mapuʔo	βaŋunna	mabaŋunna	nabaŋunna
umanna	umanna	umanna	uʔanna	umanna	umanna	umanna
maʔinumma/ maʔinum	maʔinumma	maʔinumma	maʔinumma	maʔinumma	maʔinumma	maʔinumma
mapulu	mapulu	mapulu	mapulu	mapulu	maʔapulu	maʔapulu/ apulu
mabinsi	madiri	pastiu, madiri	pastiu, nawusa, madiri	maʔinsi	binsi	mabinsi
mawuruʔa	maʔwuruʔa	mawukkuʔa	mawukkuʔa	mawukkuʔa	mawuʔcua	mawuccu
mapesaŋŋa/ mapesaŋ	napesaŋ	mamesaŋŋa	napesa	napehaŋŋa	napehaŋŋa	napehaŋ
tutalaʔa	tinumallaʔa	tumallaʔa	tinumallaʔa	tumaallaʔa	tumallaʔa	tumaddaʔa
uʔalaŋŋa/ uʔalaŋ	umalaŋŋa/ umurumma	umalaŋŋa	uʔallaŋŋa/ umalaŋŋa	uʔallaŋŋa	umalaŋŋa	uʔalaŋ
marunussa	marunussa	marunussa	marunussa	marunuha	marunuha	marunuʔa
nahereʔ	naherre	maʔgesaʔa	naherre	nahehaʔa	naʔehaʔa	maʔgeʔse
narisi	mallisi	mamenetta	naruuʔsa	maminetta/ maʔakudda	binmetta	maminetta
manutuŋŋa	manutuŋŋa manambunna	manutuŋŋa	manutuŋŋa manambunna	manutuŋŋa	manutuŋŋa	manambunna/ manutuŋŋa
manarihamma/ manariham	manarihamma	manarihaŋŋa	manarihamma	maloho	marunuʔha	manariʔaŋŋa
maʔeletʔta	maʔelecca	maʔelekka	maʔelekka	maʔelekka	manariʔaŋa	maʔelecca

	English	Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia)	(1) The Merampit dialect (The Nanusa Islands)	(2) The Essang dialect (Karakelang)	(3) The Rainis dialect (Karakelang)	(4) The Beo dialect (Karakelang)
149	buy	membeli	mamali	mamali	mamali	mamali
150	sell	menjual	mabbaru?	mabaru?a	mabaru?a	mabaru?a
151	live	tinggal	matana?	natana?a	watana?a	matana?a
152	make	membuat	ma?ola?	ma?ola?a	ma?ola?a	ma?ola?a
153	ascend	naik	rumaŋan/ suma?e	suma?e	inumawitta	sumae
154	descend	turun	lumintu?	lumintuca	nilumintutta	lumulussa
155	fall	jatuh	nanawo	nanawo	mema?a	nanawo
156	flame	menyala	rumenŋan	nitumeŋa	nirumenŋama	naz,umenŋama
157	get wet	basah	naz,olo	naboca	masabbutta	masabbu
158	get dry	kering	mamara	namara	mamara	mamara
159	bear child	melahirkan	marippa?	maŋinsiwe	naŋinsiwe/ naria?di	naŋunsiwe
160	grow	bertumbuh	tuttuwo	nitumuwo	tinumuwo	tumuwo
161	die	mati	nate	nate	nate	nate
162	help	membantu, menolong	matturun	naturuŋa	nasasumbala	mantuluŋŋa
163	collect	mengumpulkan	maŋammu?	naŋalluda	naŋaludda	maŋalluda
164	give	memberi	maŋoŋgo?	naŋaŋgila	naŋaggila	maŋa?gila
165	enter	masuk	sutta	nasutta	sinumutta	sumutta
166	come	datang	rumanta	niasilo	dirumanta	rumanta
167	go	pergi	inai	i-nai	manu	manu
168	lose	kalah	naruggi	narugi	narugi	narugi
169	wind	menang	naauntu	na?untu	na?untu	nauntu
170	big	besar	βahewa	βahewa	βahewa	βaheβa
171	small	kecil	a?dio	adio?a	adio?a	kadio?a
172	tall	tinggi	matanŋa	matanŋa	matanŋa	matanŋa
173	low	pendek	mawawo/ maau?	ma?au	ma?wawo	mawawo
174	fat	gemuk	matawa	matawa	matawa	matawa
175	thin	tipis	manipi?	manipi	manipi	manipi
176	thick	tebal	maappa?	ma?appala	ma?appala	ma?appala
177	heavy	berat	maβaz,?a	mawacca	mawatta	mawat?ta

(5) The Torohan dialect (Karakelang)	(6) The Niampak dialect (Karakelang)	(7) The Lirung dialect (Salibabu)	(8) The Moronge dialect (Salibabu)	(9) The Bulude dialect (Kabaruan)	(10) The Mangaran dialect (Kabaruan)	(11) The. Pangeran dialect (Kabaruan)
mamali	mamali	mamalli	mamali	mamalli	mamali	mammaddi
mabaru?a	mabaru?a	mabaru?a	mabaru?a	mabaru?a	mabaru?a	mabaru?a
βatamu?da	watana?a	matana?a	watana?a	watana?a	matana?a	watana?a
ma?ola?a	ma?ola?a	ma?ola?a	ma?ola?a	ma?ola?a	ma?ola?a	ma?ola?a
suma?a	suma?a	suma?e, umawitta	suma?e	umawitta	mawitta	u?awitta
lulintutta/ lulintut	sumosso?ca	sumossoka	lumintukka sumossokka	humohokka		uhohotca
nanaβo/ nema?a	nema?a	mema?a, manawo	nema?a manawo: for thiŋs	nema?a		nema?a
zuz,enŋamma	zumengama	zumengama	lukanŋamma	zuz,enŋamma	luŋenŋamma	lucenŋamma
narolo	narrolo/ masabutta	masabbuta	narrolo	mahabutta	mamara	nasolo
mamara	mamara	mamara	mamara	mamara	mamara	mamara
maŋunsiwe/ marana?a (for animals)	maŋunsiwe marrana?a (for animals)	maŋunsiwe, makkana?a	maŋunsiwe narumana?a (for animals)	maŋunhiwe/ makkana?a (for animals)	hanuŋkaŋ	ducana
tutuwo	tu?tuwo	tumuwo	tinumuwo	tu?tuwo	tinuwo	tuttuwo
nate	nate	mate	nate	nate	nate	nate
mantuŋa	mallarima	masumbala, malarima	maturuŋa/ masumbala	masumbala	madarima	matuluŋa
maŋamulla	maŋalluda	maŋammula	maŋammula	maŋammula	maŋammula	maŋammudda
maŋagilla	maŋoŋgolla	maŋaggila	maŋgagila	maŋoŋjolla	maŋagilla	maŋaŋidda
sumutta	sumutta	sumutta	sinumutta	humutta	humutta	nihumutta
nirumanta	nirumanta	rumanta	rumanta	rumanta/ rudanta	dumanta	nirumanta
nanu	nanu	manu	manu	i-nai	i-nai	inai
narugi	narugi	marugi	marugi	nawirua/ narugi	marugi	narugi
nauntu	na?untu	ma?untu	ma?untu	na?untu	na?untu	nauntu
βaheβa	βahewa	βahewa	βahewa	βahewa	βaβewa/ mahalla	βaβewa
adio?a	adio?a	kodio?a	kadio?a	adio?a	kodio?a	adio?a
matanŋa	matanŋa?ca	matanŋakka	matanŋakka	matanŋa	matanŋa	mattanŋacca
mawawo	ma?autta	ma?autta	ma?utta	ma?au	ma?au	ma?au
matawa	matawa	matawa	matawa	matawa	matawa	matawa
manipi	manipi	manipissa	manipissa	manipi?ha	manipi	manipi
ma?appala	maralacca	ma?appala	ma?appala	ma?apalla	ma?appalla	ma?appalla
mawatta	mawa?ca	mawakka	mawakkata	mawakka	mawacca	mawaccata

	English	Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia)	(1) The Merampit dialect (The Nanusa Islands)	(2) The Essang dialect (Karakelang)	(3) The Rainis dialect (Karakelang)	(4) The Beo dialect (Karakelang)
178	light	ringan	maz,an	macanna	maz,anna	maz,anna
179	strong	kuat	matoha?	mauatta	matohassa	matotoga
180	weak	lemah	lome	lome	lome	lome
181	painful	sakit	marada?	marada?a	marada?a	marada?a
182	hard	keras	maati?	ma?atti	ma?atti	ma?atti
183	soft	halus, lembek	aru?	ma?arussa	arussa/ masiome	arussa/ masiome
184	sweat	manis	mani?/ manenen	maneneŋŋa	maneneŋŋa	maneneŋŋa
185	salty	asin	mapara?	mapaccada	mapattada	mapattada?
186	hot	pedas	maz,a?gge	maccage	maz,age	maz,age
187	bitter	pahit	mapalla?	mapalada	mapetta	mapetta
188	fast	cepat	mariha?	mariha	mariha	mariha
189	slow	pelan	mariwue	mariwue	mariwue	mariwue
190	round	bulat	marimbulun	marimbulu	marimbulu	marimbulun
191	sharp	tajam	maz,oro	macoro	maz,oro	maz,oro
192	blunt	tumpul	marumu	marumu	marumu	marumu
193	dirty	kotor, buruk, jelek	luhu?	saparuni	dareo	na?daruhurana
194	long	panjang	maro?e	maroe	maro?e	maro?e
195	far	jauh	marau	marau	marau	marau
196	near	dekat	marani	marani	marani	marani
197	spacious	luas	maroan	maroasca	maralatta	maroaŋŋa
198	tight	sempit	maz,ipu?	macipu	maz,ipu	maz,ipu
199	hot	panas	maroso	maroso	maroso	masarihaŋa
200	cold	dingin	masuŋe	masuŋe	masuŋe	masuŋe
201	bright	terang	masema?	masema	masema	masematta
202	dark	gerap	marandun		marandu	marandu

(5) The Torohan dialect (Karakelang)	(6) The Niampak dialect (Karakelang)	(7) The Lirung dialect (Salibabu)	(8) The Moronge dialect (Salibabu)	(9) The Bulude dialect (Kabaruan)	(10) The Mangaran dialect (Kabaruan)	(11) The. Pangeran dialect (Kabaruan)
marrana	maz,anna	maz,anna	marranna	mazanna	matoʔaʔha	maranna
matottoga	matottoga	matohassa	maʔuatta/ matohassa	matohaʔha	motoʔaʔha	matoʔtoga
lome	lome	lome	lome	lome	lome	dome
maradaʔa	maradaʔa	maradaʔa	maradaʔa	maradaʔa	maradaʔa	maradaʔa
maʔati	maattica	maʔattika, mamara	maʔattikka	maʔatti	maʔatti	maʔatti
masiome	arussa	maʔarussa, masiome	arussa	aruʔha	aaruʔha	aruhʔha
maneneŋa/ maneneŋ	maneneŋa	matemaŋa	matemaŋa	matemaŋa/ maneneŋa	maniʔhah	matemaŋa
mapattada	mapaccada	mapakkada	mapakkada	mapakkadda	mapaccada	mapacada
maz,age	maz,agge	maz,agge	marragge	maz,age	masagge	masaʔe
mapetta	mapetta	mapetta	mapetta	mapetta	mapetta	mapetta
mariha	marihakka	mariha	marihakka	mariha	maria	maria
mariwue	mariwue	mariwuwe	mariwue	mariwuhe	mariwue	maliwuhe
marimbuʔu	marimbulunna	marimbulunna	marimbulu/ mariwatu	marimbulunna	marimbulu	marimbulunna
maz,oro	maz,oro	maz,oro	marroro	maz,oro	moʔoro	masoro
marumu	marumu	marumu	marumu	marumu	malumu	marumu
dareo	kotore	dareo, luhudda, sapada	dareo/lutaba/ luhudda	kotore	kotore	nadaruhuranna
maroʔe	maroʔe	maroʔeŋa	maroe	maroʔe	maroʔe	maloʔe
marau	marau	marau	marau	marau	marau	marau
marani	marani	marani	marani	marani	marani	marani
maroassa	maroassa	maroassa	maroassa	maroahha	maroacca	maroacca
maz,ipu	maz,ipu	maz,iputta	maz,iputta	maz,ipu	masiputta	masipu
maroso	maroso	maroso	maroso	maroho	maroho	maroho/ maria
masuŋe	masuŋe	masuŋe	masuŋe	mahuŋe	mahuŋe	mahuŋe
masema	masemaʔca	masemakka	masemakka	mahemakka	mahema/ matualara	mahema
marandu	maranduma	marandu	maranduma	marandumma	maranduma	marandumma

タラウド語の方言調査：方言区分と語彙リスト

内海 敦子

本論文は、インドネシア国北スラウェシ州で話されている民族語の一つであるタラウド語の方言調査の結果をまとめたものである。タラウド語は西マラヨ・ポリネシア諸語の一つで、ミナハサ半島（北スラウェシ半島）とフィリピン国ミンダナオ島の上に位置するタラウド諸島で話されている。比較的大きな三つの島、Karakelang, Salibabu, Kabaruan と、ミンダナオ島に近い Nanusa 諸島のうち四つの小さな島にひろがっている。

話者は数万人程度であるが、若い世代（特に1980年代以降に出生したもの）が徐々にインドネシア語マナド方言に移行しているため消滅の危機に瀕している。島々で話されている言語には大きな方言差が認められるのが普通であり、タラウド語にも方言差が存在することが予期されるが、これまでは方言調査がほとんど存在しなかった（cf. Sneddon 1984）。

本論文の基となる調査は2012年から2014年にかけて行われた。調査に用いられた基礎語彙表は、身体語彙、親族語彙、基本的な形容詞や動詞などから特に方言差を表すと思われる音韻を含む語を中心に選ばれた202語から成る。

方言調査の地点は11地点である。Nanusa 諸島から1地点、Karakelang 島から5地点、Salibabu 島から2地点、Kabaruan 島から3地点を選び現地調査を行った。

その結果から、タラウド語は二つの大きな方言のグループ、the Northern dialect と the Southern dialect に分けられる。The Northern dialect は Nanusa 諸島で話されている変種を含むもので、Karakelang, Salibabu, Kabaruan の三つの島で話されている変種はすべて the Southern dialect に含まれる。この二つの大きなグループは音節構造の点から分類できる。The Northern dialect は語末に /ʔ/ と /n/ の二つの子音を許す。The Southern dialect は語末を含むすべての音節が開音節でなければならない。The Northern dialect の語末の /ʔ/ は the Southern dialect の /C:Cia/ に対応し、同様に語末の /n/ は /mma/, /nna/, /ŋja/ に対応する。

The Southern dialect はさらに四つの下位グループに分けられる。Karakelang 島の北部および中央部の一地点を含む the North Karakelang dialect、Karakelang 島の中央から南および Salibabu 島を含む the Middle dialect、Kabaruan 島の北部で話されている the North Kabaruan dialect、Kabaruan 島の中央から南にかけて話されている the Middle-South Kabaruan dialect である。これらの下位グループは、子音の数や種類、および子音の方言間の対応状況によって分類できる。