4

Rote-Meto – English

A - a

***aa** *PRM.* the; marker of definiteness.

=**a** *Termanu.* singular form of the definite article. (J:1)

=**a** *Landu.* nominal article. Frequently occurs on nouns in the citation form. [*Form:* Stress remains on the penultimate syllable of the host. In citation form the enclitic is often non-syllabic, e.g. **ani=a** ['?aniɿ] 'the wind'.] (own field notes)

=**a** *Dela.* the, a (known referent).

=**aa** *Ro'is Amarasi.* zero person nominal determiner. *Usage:* Frequently occurs with nouns in the citation form during wordlist-style elicitation. [*Form:* This enclitic surfaces as =**ia**, =**ea** or =**oa** after nouns after stems of a certain phonological shape, thus confirming that this enclitic has two underlying vowels. An example is **atoni?** 'man, person' + =**aa** → **atoon?**=**ia**.]

=**aa** *Kotos Amarasi.* zero person nominal determiner which occurs on nouns that are both given/accessible (in the sense of Chafe 1994) and definite. Cannot occur on referents which have the pragmatic function of focus (= 'The semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition' (Lambrecht 1994:213)). *Usage:* In Kotos Amarasi from Nekmese' village (where the bulk of my data comes from) =**aa** is used less frequently than in other varieties of Meto. Instead, the first person nominal determiner =**ii** is most frequent, followed by third person =**ee**.

=**aa** *Kusa-Manea.* zero person nominal determiner. *Usage:* Only post-nominal determiner currently

known in Kusa-Manea. Nouns are almost always cited with this determiner.

***aem** *PRM.* tame, domesticated. *Etym:* *qayam 'domesticated animal' (PWMP).

ae-k *Termanu.* native, own; the opposite of foreign, belonging to the house, the opposite of running around in the wild; cultivated, the opposite of growing in the wild (of a plant). (J:3)

ae-? *Korbafo.*

ae-k *Bokai.*

ae-? *Bilbaa.*

ae-? *Rikou.*

ae-k *Ba'a.*

ae-k *Tii.*

ae-? *Dengka.*

ae-? *Oenale.*

aem *Kotos Amarasi.* tame.

aem *Molo.* tame. (M:4)

Out-comparisons:

baen *Helong.* [irr. from PMP: Ø > b] (J:3)

***afa** *CER.* insipid. [*History:* Blust and Trussel (ongoing) connect the Rote form with PMP *qambaR (a doublet of *tabaR) but this requires irr. *mb > f. Similarly any connection with *tabaR would require irr. *t > Ø.]

afa~afa *Termanu.* without odour or taste; insipid. (J:3)

Out-comparisons:

<**kàba**> *Kambara.* insipid, tasteless. (On:73)

<**kòba**> *Kodi.* [*Note:* also in Mangili, Lewa, Anakalang, Mamboru, and Weyewa]

***afi** *PRM.* yesterday. *See:* ***beni**, ***esak**. *Etym:* *Rabiqi 'late afternoon, evening; evening meal; yesterday'.

afi-k=a *Ba'a.* yesterday. (J:676)

afi-k *Tii.*

afis *Dengka.*

- afis** *Oenale*.
afis *Dela*. yesterday.
afi naa *Ro'is Amarasi*. yesterday, the other day.
afi naa *Kotos Amarasi*. yesterday.
afi, aif neno *Molo*. lately, recently. (M:5)
Out-comparisons:
slahin *Funai Helong*. yesterday.
lahin *Semau Helong*. yesterday.
klahin *Bolok Helong*. yesterday.
***afu** *PRM*. ash, dust. *Etym.*: *qabu 'ash, hearth, cinder, powder, dust; grey'.
afu *Termanu*. ash, dust. (J:4)
afu *Korbafo*.
afu *Bokai*.
afu *Bilbaa*.
afu *Rikou*.
afu *Ba'a*.
afu *Tii*.
afu *Dengka*.
afu *Oenale*.
afu *Dela*. dust.
afu *Ro'is Amarasi*. ground, earth.
afu *Kotos Amarasi*. soil, ground, floor.
[Note: skuku? = 'dust']
afu *Molo*. dust, ground. (M:6)
afu, auf *Kusa-Manea*. ash, dust.
Out-comparisons:
ahu *Semau Helong*. ash, dust.
apu uban *Kemak*. ashes. *[irr. from PMP: *b > p]*
apu *Kisar*. ashes. *[irr. from PMP: *b > p]*
***ahi₁** *PRM*. tread out. *[Sporadic: Ø > h /#_V? in Ba'a]*
a~a_{2i} *Termanu*. tread on, trample, tread out. (J:6)
a~a_{2i} *Bokai*.
a~ai *Bilbaa*.
a~ai *Rikou*. trample on, tread on. (J:6; own field notes)
ha~ha_{2i} *Ba'a*.
a~a_{2i} *Tii*.
ai *Dengka*.
ai *Oenale*.

<ume ahi> *Molo*. the house where the field rice is trodden out of its stalk. *[Note: Jonker (1908:6) gives 'Amarasi' ahi.]* (M:7)

- *ahi₂** *PRM*. fire. *Etym.*: *hapuy. *[Sporadic: Ø > h /#_V? in Termanu, Korbafo, Bokai, Ba'a and Lole]*
ha_{2i} *Termanu*. fire. (J:155)
ha_{2i} *Korbafo*.
ha_{2i} *Bokai*.
ai *Bilbaa*.
ai *Rikou*.
ha_{2i} *Ba'a*.
ha_{2i} *Lole*. (Zacharias et al. 2014)
a_{2i} *Tii*.
ai *Dengka*.
ai *Oenale*.
ai *Dela*. fire.
ai *Ro'is Amarasi*. fire.
ai *Kotos Amarasi*. fire.
ai *Molo*. fire. (M:7)
ai *Kusa-Manea*. fire.
Out-comparisons:
ai *Semau Helong*. fire.
ha_{2i} *Fehan Tetun*. flame, fire. (Mo:48)
ahi *East Tetun*. fire. (Mo:1)
ai *Kisar*. fire.
ai *Ili'uun*. fire. (dJ:111)
***aho** *PRM*. mineral lime, calcium. *Etym.*: *qapuR. *[Sporadic: *u > *o /_*R#, Ø > h /#_V? in Termanu, Korbafo, Bokai, Ba'a and Lole]*
ha_{2o} *Termanu*. mineral lime. (J:162)
ha_{2o} *Korbafo*.
ha_{2o} *Bokai*.
ao *Bilbaa*.
ao *Rikou*.
ha_{2o} *Ba'a*.
ha_{2o} *Lole*. (Zacharias et al. 2014)
a_{2o} *Tii*.
ao *Dengka*.
ao *Oenale*.
ao *Dela*. lime paste.
ao *Ro'is Amarasi*. mineral lime.
ao *Kotos Amarasi*. mineral lime.
ao *Molo*. mineral lime, chalk. (M:34)

ao *Kusa-Manea*. mineral lime.

Out-comparisons:

°**ao** *Semau Helong*. chalk, lime.
Borrowed from: either Rote or
 Meto, as shown by irr. final *u
 > o.

ahu *Fehan Tetun*. lime. [*irr. from*
*PMP: *p > h /V_V (expect ?,*
perhaps actually a reflex of
**qabu 'ash, dust')]*

ahu *East Tetun*. lime, calcium.
 (Mo:2)

a?ur *Ili'uun*. lime. (dJ:113)

haul *Welaun*. mineral lime. [*irr. from*
*PMP: *q > h; *R > l]* [*History:*
 The irregular correspondences
 indicate that this is a loan from
 an intermediate source, but no
 likely donor language has been
 identified. The closest match
 is Bunak **hau**, which also has
 initial *h* but this Bunak form
 too is ultimately a loan from
 an unidentified Austronesian
 source.]

aur *Lakalei*. mineral lime. [*Note:*
 language of east Timor ISO
 639-3 [lka]] (Klamer 2002)

***ahu** *CER*. dew. *See: *angum. Etym:*
 *hapun.

a?u(s) *Termanu*. dew. *Usage:* poetic.
 [*Note:* The non-poetic word for
 'dew' is **dinis**.] (J:17)

***ala** *Morph: *n-ala. PRM.* get, fetch, take;
 converts verbs into an accomplishment
 carried out with purposeful intent
 (Jacob and Grimes 2011). *Etym:*
 *ala[q/p].

n-ala *Termanu*. he (she) gets, takes.
 (J:374)

n-ala *Korbafo*.

n-ala *Bokai*.

n-ala *Bilbaa*.

n-ala *Rikou*.

n-ala *Ba'a*.

n-ala *Tii*.

n-ala *Dengka*.

n-ala *Oenale*.

n-ala (2) n-ala-? *Dela*. 1) take,
 get; accomplishment, purposeful
 action, toward speaker. 2) can,
 able.

n-ana *Ro'is Amarasi*. get; converts
 verbs into an accomplishment
 carried out with purposeful intent.

n-ana *Kotos Amarasi*. get; converts
 verbs into an accomplishment
 carried out with purposeful intent.

n-ana *Molo*. get, buy. (M:21)

***ama** *Morph: *ama-k. PRM.* father.
*Etym: *ama.*

ama-k *Termanu*. father. (J:9)

ama-? *Korbafo*.

ama-k *Bokai*.

ama-k *Bilbaa*.

ama-? *Rikou*.

ama-k *Ba'a*.

ama-k *Tii*.

ama-? *Dengka*.

ama-? *Oenale*.

ama-? *Dela*. father, father's brother
 (paternal uncle).

ama? *Ro'is Amarasi*. father.

ama?, ama-f *Kotos Amarasi*. father.

ama-f *Molo*. father. (M:20)

ama? *Kusa-Manea*. father.

***anak** *PRM.* child, son/daughter, small.
*Etym: *anak.*

ana-k (2) ana-k (3) na-ana (4)

na-ana-k *Termanu*. 1) child in
 respect to its parents, the young of
 an animal. [*Form:* usually without
 -k as the second member of an
 expression.] 2) be small, small, as a
 specific word both predicative and
 attributive. [*Form:* usually used in
 the form with a final -k.] 3) have
 a child, adopt or consider someone
 as a child; have sprouts (of a plant).
 4) call someone a child, address
 someone as 'child'. (J:10)

ana-? (2) **ana(-?)** *Korbafo*.

ana-k (2) ana(-k) *Bokai*.

ana-? (2) **ana(-?)** *Bilbaa*.

- ana=na** *Landu*. son, daughter. (own field notes)
- ana-ʔ (2) a~ana** *Rikou*.
- ana-k (2) ana(-k)** *Ba'a*.
- ana-k (2) ana(-k)** *Tii*.
- ana-ʔ (2) ana(-ʔ)** *Dengka*.
- ana-ʔ (2) ana(-ʔ)** *Oenale*.
- anak (2) ana-ʔ** *Dela*. 1) child. 2) small.
- ana|ʔ** *Ro'is Amarasi*. son/daughter; small, baby (animal). [Form: Unlike other varieties of Meto, Ro'is is only known to have a single form.]
- anah (2) ana|ʔ (3) n-ʔana** *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) son/daughter, nephew/niece from a same-sex sibling. 2) small, baby (animal). 3) address as 'child'; produce a sapling (said of plants).
- anah (2) ana|ʔ** *Molo*. 1) child. 2) diminutive, young. (M:21f)
- anah (2) ana|ʔ** *Kusa-Manea*. 1) child. 2) small.
- *ane** *nRM*. braid. *Etym*: *añam. [irr. from *PRM*: *e > i in Kusa-Manea and Molo verbal form; *Ø > n /#_ in Ba'a and Tii] [Sporadic: *a > *e /*C+palatal_]
- ane** *Termanu*. braid something. (J:12)
- ane** *Korbafo*.
- ane** *Bilbaa*.
- ane** *Rikou*.
- nane** *Ba'a*. (J:736)
- nane** *Tii*. (J:736)
- æne|t** *Ro'is Amarasi*. needle. [Form: Final -t is a productive nominaliser. The hypothetical independent root *ane is not attested in Meto.]
- ane|t** *Kotos Amarasi*. needle.
- n-ani (2) ane|t** *Molo*. 1) braid. 2) needle. (M:23)
- ani|t** *Kusa-Manea*. needle.
- *anin** *PRM*. wind. *Etym*: *hanjin.
- ani(n)** *Termanu*. wind. (J:13)
- ani** *Korbafo*.
- anin** *Bokai*.
- ani** *Bilbaa*.
- ani** *Rikou*.
- anin** *Ba'a*.
- anin** *Tii*.
- anin** *Dengka*.
- anin** *Oenale*.
- anin (2) na-la-ani** *Dela*. 1) wind. 2) windy.
- ainn** *Ro'is Amarasi*. wind.
- anin** *Kotos Amarasi*. wind.
- anin** *Molo*. wind. (M:23)
- anin** *Kusa-Manea*. wind.
- Out-comparisons:**
- ajin** *Semau Helong*. wind, breeze.
- anin** *East Tetun*. wind, current of air. (Mo:4)
- *angum** *CERM*. dew.
- a~aju-k** *Bokai*. mist, fog. (J:677f)
- a~aju-ʔ** *Bilbaa*.
- a~aku-ʔ** *Rikou*.
- akum** *Fatule'u*. dew.
- akum** *Molo*. evening dew. (M:17)
- *ao** *Morph*: *ao-k. *PRM*. body. *Etym*: *hawak 'waist, back of the waist'.
- ao-k** *Termanu*. body. (J:13)
- ao-ʔ** *Korbafo*.
- ao-k** *Bokai*.
- ao-ʔ** *Bilbaa*.
- ao-ʔ** *Rikou*.
- ao-k** *Ba'a*.
- ao-k** *Tii*.
- ao-ʔ** *Dengka*.
- ao-ʔ** *Oenale*.
- ao-ʔ** *Dela*. body, self, reflexive pronoun.
- ao-n** *Ro'is Amarasi*. body.
- ao-f** *Kotos Amarasi*. body.
- ao-f** *Molo*. body. (M:34)
- Out-comparisons:**
- afa** *Funai Helong*. body, self. (J:13)
- apa** *Semau Helong*. body, self.
- *arum** *PMeto*. cuscus. *See*: *ʔ|mauka|ʔ. [Note: Schapper (2011:264) gives Meto **urem** without indicating which variety it is from. If this form is not an error, it attests additional complications in the cognate sets I have included]

here.] [*irr. from PRM*: *a > u in all Meto except Kusa-Manea] [*Form*: Penultimate *a has been reconstructed instead of *u as *a > u can be motivated as a case of sporadic assimilation to the quality of the following vowel. The alternate hypothesis, *u > a in Kusa-Manea, would be phonetically unmotivated.] [*History*: Although PMeto *r is regular from PRM *nd, connecting this reconstruction with PCEMP *mansər requires positing far too many irregularities for me to make this connection.]

urum *Ro'is Amarasi*. cuscus.

ukum *Kotos Amarasi*. cuscus.

ukum *Amanuban, South*. cuscus.

ukum *Amfo'an*. cuscus.

akum *Kusa-Manea*. cuscus.

***aso** *CER*. fetch water, scoop up water.

Etym: *qasu. [*irr. from PMP*: *u > *o]

aso *Termanu*. scoop water out of a river or water source with one's hand. (J:15)

***asu** *CERM*. dog. *Etym*: *asu.

asu *Termanu*. dog. *Usage*: poetic.

[*Note*: The non-poetic word for 'dog' is **busa**.] (J:16)

asu *Ro'is Amarasi*. dog.

asu *Kotos Amarasi*. dog.

asu *Molo*. dog. (M:30)

asu *Kusa-Manea*. dog.

Out-comparisons:

asu *Semau Helong*. cow. [*Note*:

goot = 'dog'.]

aus *Mambae, South*. dog. (Fogaça 2017:233)

asu *East Tetun*. dog. (Mo:23)

asu *Galolen*. dog.

ahu *Kisar*. dog.

***ata₁** *PRM*. above, up, on top. *Etym*:

*atas 'high, tall'.

ata *Termanu*. the heavens, the top (of); above, on top of. *Usage*: possibly poetic. (Fox 2016b:2)

ata *Dengka*. above, up. (J:678)

ata *Oenale*. above, up. (J:678)

ata-? *Dela*. above, upper, on, on top.

ata *Kotos Amarasi*. up, top. *Usage*:

Most often occurs in the phrase **ata nee** 'up there' and rarely in other constructions with the meaning 'top'.

***ata₂** *Rote*. first person plural possessive pronoun; our. *Etym*: *ata.

ata *Termanu*. non-emphatic form of the first person plural inclusive pronoun **ita**. (J:16)

ata *Ba'a*.

ata *Dengka*.

ata *Oenale*.

***ata₃** *PRM*. slave. *Doublet*: ***hatahori**.

Etym: *qaRta 'negrito, black person' (The semantics across a wide range of MP languages point to the original meaning being 'black/Negrito person', which, depending on the race of the speakers, was applied either to themselves or a subjugated population (Mahdi 1994:464ff.)). [*Sporadic*: *a > e / _# in wRM]

ata *Termanu*. slave. (J:16)

ata *Korbafo*.

ata *Bokai*.

ata *Bilbaa*.

ata *Rikou*.

ata *Ba'a*.

ata *Tii*.

ate *Dengka*.

ate *Oenale*.

ate *Dela*. servant, slave.

ate *Kotos Amarasi*. servant, slave.

ate *Molo*. slave. (M:32)

Out-comparisons:

ata (2) at (3) hutu ata *Semau*

Helong. 1) underling, slave.

2) counter (classifier) for people. 3) citizen. [*Note*:

hutun = 'society, populace, citizens, common people'.]

ata *East Tetun*. slave, servant; shepherd, herdsman. (Mo:5)

aka, ake *Kisar*. slave.

***ate** *Morph*: ***ate-k**. *PRM*. liver. *Etym*: *qatay ‘liver; seat of the emotions, inner self’.

ate-k *Termanu*. liver, also heart of person or animal in the physical (non-metaphorical) sense. (J:16)

ate-ʔ *Korbafo*.

ate-k *Bokai*.

ate-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

ate=na *Landu*. liver. (own field notes)

ate-ʔ *Rikou*.

ate-k *Ba'a*.

ate-k *Tii*.

ate-ʔ *Dengka*.

ate-ʔ *Oenale*.

ate-ʔ *Dela*. liver.

acte-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. liver.

ate-f *Kotos Amarasi*. liver. [*Semantics*: Only refers to the physical organ, the seat of emotions is **neka-f**.]

ate-f *Molo*. liver. (M:32)

ate-f *Kusa-Manea*. liver.

Out-comparisons:

faten *Funai Helong*. liver. [*irr*: from *PMP*: Ø > (*w) > f in Helong (also seen in Sika **vaten**)]

paten *Semau Helong*. liver.

ate-n *East Tetun*. liver. (Mo:5)

akin *Kisar*. liver.

***atis** *CERM*. breast beam of a loom consisting of two wooden bars. *Etym*: *qatip ‘breast beam of a back loom’. [*Form*: expected *p > s / _# (§3.5.1.3).]

atis *Termanu*. the part of the loom which the weaver holds in front of themselves. (J:16)

atis *Molo*. piece of weaving equipment. (M:32)

Out-comparisons:

atis *Helong*. (J:16)

atis *East Tetun*. fine cloth, or cloth still on the loom; a part of the loom. (Mo:5)

***atu** *PRM*. charcoal, soot.

atu-k (2) **hade atu-k** *Termanu*.

1) soot, the black part of a lamp or candle, what remains of burnt grass.

2) the fine dust that flies up at the stamping out of the field rice. (J:16)

(2) **hade atu-ʔ** *Korbafo*.

ai atu-ʔ (2) **hade atu-ʔ** *Rikou*.

1) that which is left over after burning something. 2) dust from rice. (own field notes)

(2) **hade atu-ʔ** *Ba'a*.

(2) **hade atu-ʔ** *Dengka*.

ai atu *Ro'is Amarasi*. charcoal.

atu *Kotos Amarasi*. charcoal.

atu *Molo*. charcoal. (M:33)

atu *Kusa-Manea*. charcoal.

***au** *PRM*. first person singular pronoun; I, me. *Etym*: *aku. [*irr*: from *PMP*: *k > Ø]

au *Termanu*. first person singular pronoun. (J:16)

au *Korbafo*.

au *Bokai*.

au *Bilbaa*.

au *Landu*. first person singular pronoun. (own field notes)

au *Rikou*.

au *Ba'a*.

au *Tii*.

au *Dengka*.

au *Oenale*.

au *Dela*. first person singular pronoun.

au *Ro'is Amarasi*. first person singular nominative pronoun.

au (2) **kau** *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) first person singular nominative pronoun. 2) first person singular accusative pronoun.

au *Molo*. first person singular nominative pronoun. (M:34)

au *Kusa-Manea*. first person singular nominative pronoun.

***auee** *CER*. exclamation of joy or sorrow. *Etym*: *qaué (PCEMP).

au-é, awé (2) **au~au** *Termanu*.

1) cry of joy, also of pain, e.g. while mourning for the dead. (J:17)

2) shout, shout constantly. (J:16)

B - b

***baa** *Morph*: ***baa-k**. *Rote*. lung. *Etym*:

*baRaQ.

baa-k (2) **ba/de?e-k** *Termanu*.

1) lungs of people and animals.
(J:18) 2) heart of people and animals. (J:19)

baa-ʔ *Korbafo*.

baa-k *Bokai*.

baa-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

baa-ʔ *Rikou*.

baa-k *Ba'a*.

baa-k *Tii*.

faa-ʔ *Dengka*.

faa-ʔ *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

afaak *Fehan Tetun*. lungs.

***baba**ʔ *PMeto*. parent's opposite sex sibling.

baba-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. parent's opposite sex sibling, spouse's parent.

baba-f *Kotos Amarasi*. parent's opposite sex sibling, spouse's parent.

aam babaʔ *Molo*. father-in-law. (M:39)

babaʔ *Kusa-Manea*. parent's opposite sex sibling, spouse's parent.

Out-comparisons:

baba *Kemak*. maternal uncle.

Usage: Kutubaba and Leosibe dialects.

baba *Welaun*. maternal uncle.

baba *Ende*. father, father's brother, mother's sister's husband, male third cousin on the father and grandfather's side (FFBSS).

***badoe** *Morph*: ***na-badoe**. *PRM*. grope, touch. *Pattern*: d-2. [*irr. from PRM*: vowel metathesis in Meto *oe > eo; *b = b in Meto]

na-fa-loe *Termanu*. grope, touch. (J:321)

na-fa-loe *Korbafo*.

na-fa-loe *Bokai*.

na-fa-loe *Bilbaa*.

na-fa-roe *Rikou*.

na-fa-loe *Ba'a*.

na-fa-roe *Tii*.

na-fa-loe *Dengka*.

na-fa-roe *Oenale*.

na-breoe *Kotos Amarasi*. grope around.

na-bleoe *Molo*. gropes. [*Form*: Middelkoop (1972:265) also gives **lefo** 'grobe' and Amfo'an **anleok** 'grobe' (p.359) which may be connected.] (M:73)

***bafi** *PRM*. pig. *Etym*: *babuy.

bafi *Termanu*. pig. (J:22)

bafi *Korbafo*.

bafi *Bokai*.

bafi *Bilbaa*.

bafi *Rikou*.

bafi *Ba'a*.

bafi *Tii*.

fafi *Dengka*.

fafi *Oenale*.

fafi *Ro'is Amarasi*. pig.

fafi *Kotos Amarasi*. pig.

fafi *Molo*. pig. (M:107)

fafi *Kusa-Manea*. pig.

Out-comparisons:

bahi *Semau Helong*. pig.

fahi *East Tetun*. pig, swine. (Mo:31)

haeh *Mambae, South*. pig, swine. (Grimes et al. 2014b:20)

wawi *Kisar*. pig.

hahi *Dhao*. pig.

vavi *Hawu*. pig.

***bafo** *PRM*. upper surface, top, above. *Etym*: *ba(w)baw. [*irr. from PRM*: *o > a in Termanu, Bokai and Kusa-Manea]

bafa-k *Termanu*. the top layer of a liquid substance. (J:21)

bafo-ʔ *Korbafo*.

bafa-k *Bokai*.

bafo-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

bafo-ʔ *Rikou*.

bafo-k *Ba'a*.

bafo-k *Tii*.

fafo-ʔ *Dengka*.

fafo-ʔ *Oenale*.

fafo *Ro'is Amarasi*. above.

fafo *Kotos Amarasi*. above, on top of.

fafo-n *Molo*. upper, or top part of something. (M:108)

faaf *Kusa-Manea*. above, on top.

Out-comparisons:

wawan(ne) *Kisar*. top.

***bali**₁ *PRM*. again, go back, return. *Etym*: *baliw₂ 'return'. [*irr. from PRM*: *1 > Ø in Termanu, Bilbaa, Rikou, Dengka, and Dela] [*Semantics*: Collapse/interference from reflexes of *bali₂ < *balik. It is not always clear which forms are reflexes of which reconstruction. I have grouped them by likely semantics.]

bai *Termanu*. again, once more. **ana mai bai** he comes back (J:22)

bai *Bilbaa*.

bai *Rikou*.

Bali *Ba'a*.

bali *Tii*.

Fai *Dengka*.

fali *Oenale*.

fai *Dela*. again.

n-fani *Ro'is Amarasi*. again, go back, return.

n-fani *Kotos Amarasi*. again, go back, return.

n-fani *Molo*. go back. (M:110)

fain *Kusa-Manea*. go back, return.

Out-comparisons:

palit (2) pait *Semau Helong*.

1) return, go home; again, once more. 2) again, once more. [*irr. from PMP*: *b > p (perhaps through intermediate *f); *l > Ø in second sense. Both irregular changes possibly point to borrowing from a Rote language]

fali *East Tetun*. again, another time. (Mo:31)

fali *Fehan Tetun*. in turn.

vari (2) vəri *Hawu*. 1) return, go home; again, repeatedly; times. 2) anymore.

***bali**₂ *PRM*. turn back, turn around. *Etym*: *balik 'reverse, turn around'. [*irr. from PRM*: *b = b in Meto] [*Semantics*: Collapse/interference from reflexes of *bali₁ < *baliw₂. It is not always clear which forms are reflexes of which reconstruction. I have grouped them by likely semantics.]

fali (2) na-sa-fali *Termanu*. 1) turn back; turning back, back. (J:122f) 2) turn something around, reverse. (J:123)

fali (2) na-sa-fali *Korbafo*.

fali (2) na-sa-fali *Bokai*.

fali (2) na-sa-fali *Bilbaa*.

fali (2) na-sa-fali *Rikou*.

fali (2) na-sa-fali *Ba'a*.

fali (2) na-sa-fali *Tii*.

fali (2) na-sa-bali, na-sa-fali *Dengka*. 1) turn back; turning back, back. (J:122f) 2) reverse, translate. (J:680,123)

fali (2) na-sa-bali, na-sa-fali *Oenale*. 1) turn back; turning back, back. (J:122f) 2) reverse, translate. (J:680,123)

bali? *Dela*. return, again.

n-bani *Ro'is Amarasi*. let it be.

n-bani (2) na-ʔ-bani-ʔ (3) na-banit *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) let, turn, work. 2) turn something/someone around. 3) turn something/someone around, translate. [*Note*: Amarasi also has **n-bani** 'work' that may be related.]

na-bani *Amfo'an*. turn.

Out-comparisons:

bali *Semau Helong*. turn, back. Contrary to the momentum of what has been happening or assumptions.

balik *Fehan Tetun*. soon, at (future time).

balé *Hawu*. return, go home.

***balu**₁ *PRM*. mourn the dead. *Etym*: *baluq (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) state: 'Jonker (1908) points out that the Korbafo [sic] dialect of Rotinese has **fali** "mourn the dead", **falú** "orphan, widow", and he gives this as evidence that ... Termanu **falú** "mourn the dead" and **falú** "orphan, widow" are distinct words.' I agree that this is evidence they are distinct words.). [*irr. from PRM: *u > i in Korbafo*]

falú *Termanu*. mourn for the deceased. (J:124)

fali *Korbafo*. [*History*: Jonker (1908:124) considers this to be a different (non-cognate) word.] (J:124,694)

falú *Bokai*.

falú *Ba'a*.

(**falú** ?) *Tii*.

falú *Dengka*.

(**falú** ?) *Oenale*.

<**banu**> *Molo*. mourning atmosphere, mourning taboo, widow. (M:49)

***balu**₂ *PRM*. widow(er). *Etym*: *balu. [*irr. from PRM: *b = b in Meto*]

falú *Termanu*. widow, widower. (J:124)

falú *Korbafo*.

falú *Bokai*.

falú *Bilbaa*.

falú *Rikou*.

falú *Ba'a*.

falú *Tii*.

falú *Dengka*.

falú *Oenale*.

banu? *Kotos Amarasi*. widow, widower.

<**banu**> *Molo*. mourning atmosphere, mourning taboo, widow. (M:49)

Out-comparisons:

bebalu *Semau Helong*. widow, widower.

faluk *East Tetun*. widowed, deprived. (Mo:31)

balu *Hawu*. widow, widower.

wal~walum *Kisar*. widow. [*irr. from PMP: *Ø > m*]

***balu**₃ *CER*. cover, envelop. *Doublet*:

***mbalu**. *Etym*: *balun 'bind, bundle, wrap in cloth; death shroud; cloth(ing)'.

balu *Termanu*. cover, envelop. (J:28)

balu *Korbafo*.

balu *Bilbaa*.

balu *Rikou*.

balu *Ba'a*.

Out-comparisons:

falun *East Tetun*. packet, parcel, bundle; v. wrap up, bag up. (Mo:31)

***baŋakudu** *PRM*. Indian mulberry. *Morinda citrifolia*. *Etym*: *baŋkudu 'tree with white fruit and roots that yields a useful dye: *Morinda citrifolia*' (PWMP). *Pattern*: k-2b. [*minority from PMP: *d > *d' (expect *r); *ŋ = *ŋ*] [*irr. from PRM: *b > m in Rote; *b = b in Meto; *ŋ > r in Kusa-Manea*] [*Form*: The addition of the antepenultimate vowel occurred to bring this form into line with the disyllabic CVCV foot structure of PRM. Landu, Rikou and Dengka have added *a*. (This vowel is also possibly attested by Kotos Amarasi **bak?uru?** and Molo <**bakulu**> with CV → VC metathesis of earlier initial **baka with subsequent reduction of the double vowel.) Other languages have added *u* which can be derived from *a via sporadic assimilation to the following vowel. Initial irregular *b > m in Rote is also paralleled in Malay *mengkudu* and could be sporadic assimilation to the following nasal and/or due to borrowing from a source different to the source of the Meto forms. The first *r* in the Kusa-Manea form is currently unexplained.] [*History*: A likely loan spread after the break-up of PRM connected with the spread of weaving and textile dyeing.]

manukudu *Termanu*. kind of tree, the *bengkudu* [OE = *Morinda citrifolia*], also the red dye which can be extracted from it. (J:347)

manukudu *Korbafo*.

manukudu *Bokai*.

manukudu *Bilbaa*.

manaʔudu-ʔ *Landu*. Indian Mulberry. *Morinda citrifolia*. (own field notes)

manaʔudu *Rikou*.

manukudu *Ba'a*.

manukudu *Tii*.

manaʔudu *Dengka*.

manuʔudu *Oenale*.

kuruʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*.

ʔbakʔuruʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. Indian Mulberry. *Morinda citrifolia*.

<bakulu>, **<baukulu>** *Molo*. kind of tree, dye is made from the bark of the roots. *Morinda tinctora*. (M:46)

baurʔuruʔ *Kusa-Manea*. kind of plant mixed with **nohob** (kind of plant) to make a red dye.

Out-comparisons:

kudu, **pkudu** *Helong*. (J:347)

***batu** *PRM*. stone, rock. *Etym*: *batu. [irr. from *PRM*: *b > ɓ in second Dela form]

batu *Termanu*. stone or rock. (J:33)

batu *Korbafo*.

batu *Bokai*.

batu *Bilbaa*.

batu *Rikou*.

batu *Ba'a*.

batu *Tii*.

fatu *Dengka*.

fatu *Oenale*.

fatu (2) tua batu-ʔ *Dela*. 1) stone, rock. 2) solid sugar. [Form: **tua-ʔ** = 'lontar palm'.]

fatu *Ro'is Amarasi*. rock, stone.

fatu *Kotos Amarasi*. rock, stone.

fatu *Molo*. stone. (M:112)

fatu, **fatu-k** *Kusa-Manea*. rock, stone.

Out-comparisons:

batu *Semau Helong*. rock, stone.

fatu(k) *East Tetun*. stone, rock. (Mo:32)

waku *Kisar*. rock; classifier for animals.

***bau** *PRM*. small shore tree, sea hibiscus.

Hibiscus tiliaceus. *Etym*: *baRu. [irr. from *PRM*: *b = b/ɓ in wRote]

bau *Termanu*. Sea Hibiscus. (J:33)

bau *Korbafo*.

bau *Bokai*.

bau *Bilbaa*.

bau *Rikou*.

bau *Ba'a*.

ɓau *Tii*.

bau *Dengka*.

ɓau *Oenale*.

fau *Molo*. kind of tree, Sea Hibiscus. *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. (M:112)

Out-comparisons:

bau *Helong*. Sea Hibiscus. [irr. from *PMP*: *R > Ø (expect l)] (J:33)

kfau *Fehan Tetun*. type of tree, whose new shoots are used to bathe a newborn baby.

(k)fau(k) *East Tetun*. tree with stringy bark for making strong rope. *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. (Mo:32,106)

hau *Ili'uun*. hibiscus tree. (dJ:117)

***bei** *PRM*. still, yet. [irr. from *PRM*: glottal stop insertion and final vowel in wRM attesting PwRM *feʔa/

bei *Termanu*. still, yet. (J:38)

bei *Korbafo*.

bei *Bokai*.

bei *Bilbaa*.

bei *Rikou*.

bei *Ba'a*.

ɓei *Tii*.

feʔa *Dengka*.

feʔe *Oenale*.

feʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. still, yet.

feʔe, **feʔ** *Kotos Amarasi*. still, yet.

feʔa *Molo*. still, yet. (M:113)

Out-comparisons:

bii *Semau Helong*. still, yet.

be, bei *Fehan Tetun*. also.

be *East Tetun*. particle (not translatable). (Mo:12)

***belas** *PRM*. machete. *Etym*: *belas (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct this form to PCMP. While reconstruction to a lower level, such as Proto-Timor-Babar, may be justified, this form is not (currently) known to occur outside greater Timor and reconstruction to PCMP is unlikely to be supported unless more cognates are forthcoming.). [*irr. from PRM*: *b = b in most Meto but not Ro'is and Kusa-Manea]

felas *Termanu*. machete. (J:130)

fela-ʔ *Korbafo*.

felaʔ *Bokai*.

fela-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

felas *Rikou*.

felas *Ba'a*.

felas *Tii*.

felas *Dengka*.

felas *Oenale*.

fenas, fenes *Ro'is Amarasi*. machete.

benas *Kotos Amarasi*.

benas *Molo*. machete. (M:57)

fenas *Kusa-Manea*. machete.

Out-comparisons:

helaʔ *Semau Helong*. machete.
[*Form*: Jonker (1908:130)
gives Helong <khela>.]

vela *Hawu*. machete.

hela *Dhao*. machete.

<**kabela**> *Kambara*. machete.
(On:123)

wela *Komodo*. machete. (Verheijen
1982:134)

wehla *Luang*. machete. [*Note*:
language of southwest Maluku
ISO 639-3 [lex].] (Taber
1993:428)

kawela, ngawela *Pamona*.
machete, iron. [*Note*: language
of central Sulawesi ISO 639-3
[pmf].] (Adriani 1928:268)

***beli** *Rote*. price, bride price. *Etym*:
*bəli 'buy, value, price; marriage
prestations, bride price; purchase'.

beli (2) belis *Termanu*. 1) cost, price,
value. 2) that which must be paid
for a girl when taken for marriage,
either paid with goods or money,
the purchase price of a woman.
(J:41)

beli (2) belis *Korbafo*.

beli (2) belis *Bokai*.

beli (2) belis *Bilbaa*.

beli (2) belis *Rikou*.

beli (2) belis *Ba'a*.

feli (2) felis *Tii*.

feli (2) felis *Dengka*.

feli (2) felis *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

foli-n *East Tetun*. price, cost,
value; objects for barter.
(Mo:35)

heli *Ili'uun*. property, valuable
things. (dJ:117)

weli *Kisar*. buy.

***beni** *PRM*. last night. *See*: *afi, *esak.
Etym: *bəRŋi 'night'. [*irr. from PRM*:
*e > i in nRM (sporadic assimilation to
*i?); *i > a/Ø in nRote (antepenultimate
vowel reduction)] [*Form*: Obligatorily
compounded with reflexes of *esak in
Rote.]

bina_esa-k (2) (ndee) bina_esa-k=a *Termanu*. 1) day after
tomorrow. 2) day before yesterday.
(J:50)

bina_esa-ʔ (2) bina_esak=a
Korbafo.

bina_esa-k (2) bina_esa-k=a *Bokai*.

bin/esa-ʔ (2) bin/esak=a *Bilbaa*.

bina_esa-ʔ (2) bina_esa-ʔ=a *Rikou*.

bina_esa-k (2) bina_esa-k=a *Ba'a*.

bin/esa-k *Tii*.

feni_esa-ʔ *Dengka*.

feni_esa-ʔ *Oenale*.

afin, afin=ii *Ro'is Amarasi*. yesterday, a few days ago. [*Form*: Initial *a* is probably due to influence from **afi naa** ‘yesterday’ (see ***afi**).]

fini (2) afina (3) nmeu_n-fini (4) n-fini *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) last night. 2) yesterday. 3) early in the morning. 4) go past, pass. *Usage*: fourth sense poetic.

fini (2) fini fai (3) n-fini *Molo*. 1) recently. 2) yesterday evening. 3) goes past. (M:119)

Out-comparisons:

biḡin (2) biḡin_tai *Semau Helong*. 1) day. [*Semantics*: Used with numbers to indicate a future day; e.g. **biḡin dua** ‘in two days’, **biḡin aat** ‘in four days’.] 2) midnight.

***berat** *PRM*. heavy, hard work, weight. *Etym*: *bəRəqat ‘weight, heaviness, weightiness; difficult; pregnant’. [*minority from PMP*: *R = *r (fairly widespread in the region for this term)] [*irr. from PRM*: *b = b/ḡ in wRote]

bela-k (2) bela-k (3) ma-bela *Termanu*. 1) heavy, heaviness, weight. 2) hard work (in general), corvée (in particular). (J:40) 3) heavy, (usually used attributively, except in a few expressions **mabela** does not tend to be used predicatively in equative clauses or before **hiik** ‘very’). (J:41)

bela-k (2) bela-k (3) ma-bela *Bokai*.

bela-ʔ (2) bela-ʔ (3) ma-bela *Bilbaa*.

bera-ʔ (2) bera-ʔ (3) ma-bera *Rikou*.

bela-k (2) bela-k (3) ma-bela *Ba'a*.

ḡera-k (2) ḡera-k (3) ma-ḡera *Tii*.

bela-ʔ (2) belat (3) ma-bela, ma~ma-bela-ʔ *Dengka*.

ḡera-ʔ (2) ḡerat (3) ma-ḡela, ma~ma-ḡera-ʔ *Oenale*.

maʔ|fena|ʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. heavy.

maʔ|fena|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. heavy, weight.

maʔ|fena|ʔ *Molo*. heavy. (M:296)

Out-comparisons:

werek *Kisar*. heavy.

***betə** *Morph*: ***betə-k**. *Rote*. foxtail millet. *Etym*: *bətəŋ ‘millet species, probably foxtail millet *Setaria italica*’.

bete-k *Termanu*. millet, both the grain and the fruit. (J:47)

bete-ʔ *Korbafo*.

bete-k *Bokai*.

bete-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

bete-ʔ *Rikou*.

bete-k *Ba'a*.

ḡete-k *Tii*.

feta-ʔ *Dengka*.

feta-ʔ *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

botoʔ *Semau Helong*. foxtail millet. [*irr. from PMP*: *ə > o (expect e)]

heten *Ili'uun*. millet. (dJ:117)

***beu**₁ *Morph*: ***beu-k**. *PRM*. new. *Etym*: *baqəRu ‘new, fresh; recent(ly)’. [*Sporadic*: *VV-k > *VVʔ > VʔV in most Meto (perceptual metathesis).]

beu-k *Termanu*. new. (J:47)

beu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

beu-k *Bokai*.

beu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

beu-ʔ *Rikou*.

beu-k *Ba'a*.

ḡeu-k *Tii*.

feu-ʔ *Dengka*.

feu-ʔ *Oenale*.

feʔu *Ro'is Amarasi*. new.

feʔu *Kotos Amarasi*. new.

feu|ʔ *Amanuban/Amanatun*. new.

feʔu *Molo*. new. (M:117)

feʔu-k *Kusa-Manea*. new.

Out-comparisons:

balu *Semau Helong*. new.

foun *East Tetun*. new, recent. (Mo:36)

woru *Kisar*. new.

***beu**₂ *PRM.* bogo tree. *Garuga Floribuna*. *Etym.*: *bəRus ‘tree *Acalypha amentacea*’ (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct *bəRus to proto-Philippine.). [*Semantics*: vague Rote semantics.]

beu *Termanu.* kind of tree. (J:47)

beu *Korbafo.*

beu *Bokai.*

beu *Bilbaa.*

beu *Rikou.* designates three trees: the kedondong, a tree similar to the kedondong, and the same tree which Amarasi **feu** designates. *Spondias dulcis*; *Garuga floribuna*. (J:47; own field notes)

beu *Ba'a.*

beu *Tii.*

feu *Dengka.*

feu *Oenale.*

feu *Kotos Amarasi.* Bogo tree, a kind of tree the leaves of which are fed to cows. *Garuga floribuna*.

feu *Molo.* kind of tree. *Garuga floribuna*. (M:117)

Out-comparisons:

bilu *Helong.* (J:47)

kfeu *Fehan Tetun.* type of tree. Goats like to eat the flowers.

kfeu (2) feu *East Tetun.* 1) tree with good dark timber. *Garuga floribunda*. (Mo:106) 2) tree with medicinal bark. (Mo:33)

***biae** *PMeto.* buffalo. [*Form*: Amarasi, Amfo'an, and Molo have consonant insertion to break up *VVV. Ro'is Amarasi has antepenultimate vowel deletion after consonant insertion. Other varieties have vowel deletion to avoid a sequence of three vowels.] [*Semantics*: The original meaning was ‘buffalo’ with later semantic shift to ‘cow’ in many varieties as cows supplanted buffalo as the dominant kind of cattle.]

bdgae (2) bdgae meetn *Ro'is Amarasi.* 1) cow. [*Form*: antepenultimate vowel deletion from earlier ***bidgae**.] 2) buffalo. *Lit.*: ‘black cow’.

bidgae (2) bidgae metan *Kotos Amarasi.* 1) cow. 2) buffalo. *Lit.*: ‘black cow’.

bie, bia *Amanuban, South.* cow.

bidgae-l (2) bidgae metan *Amfo'an.* 1) cow. 2) buffalo. *Lit.*: ‘black cow’.

bidgae-l *Kopas.* cow.

bia, bidgae-l *Molo.* buffalo. (M:64, 66)

bea (2) bea ma~meto? (3) bea ?baka? *Kusa-Manea.* 1) cow, cattle. 2) buffalo. *Lit.*: ‘dry/indigenous cow’. 3) cow (specifically not buffalo). *Borrowed from*: **?baka?** from Portuguese *vaca* ‘cow’.

***bibi** *CER.* pinch. *Doublet*: ***biti**, ***fiti**. *Etym.*: *bitbit ‘pull at body part; hold something dangling from the fingers’. [*irr. from PRM*: *b > mp in Ba'a]

fifi? pou=na *Bilbaa.* holds her sarong tightly with her fingertips as she walks. [*Note*: Under the Termanu sub-entry **fi?i-k**.] (J:135)

bifi? *Rikou.* pinch with the finger and thumb. (J:49,682)

mpimpik mpou=na *Ba'a.* holds her sarong tightly with her fingertips as she walks. [*Note*: Under the Termanu sub-entry **fi?i-k**.] (J:135)

bifik *Lole.* pinch. (J:682)

***bini** *PRM.* seed for replanting. *Etym.*: *binəhiq ‘seed rice, rice set aside for the next planting’.

bini *Termanu.* seed, seed for sowing. (J:50)

bini *Korbafo.*

bini *Bokai.*

bini *Bilbaa.*

bini *Rikou.*

bini *Ba'a.*

bini *Tii.*

fini *Dengka.*

fini *Oenale.*

fini *Ro'is Amarasi*. seed.

fini *Kotos Amarasi*. seed for replanting.

fini *Molo*. seed. (M:119)

Out-comparisons:

bini *Semau Helong*. seed, grain seed.

fini *East Tetun*. seed (grain for sowing). (Mo:34)

wini *Kisar*. seed.

***biti**₁ *PRM*. calf of leg. *Etym*: *bitiəs 'lower leg (below the knee); calf of the leg'. [*irr. from PRM*: *t > k in *Kusa-Manea*]

biti **boa-k** *Termanu*. calf of leg. (J:51)

biti **boa-?** *Korbafo*.

biti **boa-k** *Bokai*.

biti **boa-k** *Bilbaa*.

biti **boa-?** *Rikou*.

biti **boa-k** *Ba'a*.

biti **boa-k** *Tii*.

fiti **isi** *Dengka*.

fiti **boa-?** *Oenale*.

fiti-n *Ro'is Amarasi*. calf (of leg).

fiti-f *Kotos Amarasi*. calf (of leg).

fiti-k *Molo*. calf. (M:121)

fiki-f *Kusa-Manea*. calf of leg.

Out-comparisons:

pitis **boa** *Helong*. calf (of leg). (J:51)

***biti**₂ *Rote*. jerk, jump up. *Doublet*: ***fiti**₁. *Etym*: *bitik 'snare, noose trap; spring up suddenly, jerk up (as a fishing line or noose trap)'. [*irr. from PRM*: *b > p in *Meto*]

na-ka-biti *Termanu*. suddenly jump up, like a shrimp. (J:51)

pitil, **pitir** *Meto*. fish with a fishing rod. (J:137)

Out-comparisons:

pitin *Semau Helong*. leap. [*irr. from PMP*: *b > p]

***biti**₃ *PRM*. slingshot. [*irr. from PRM*: *i > e in *Meto*]

fi~fiti-k *Termanu*. kind of weapon made from bamboo with pebbles for ammunition. (J:137)

fi~fiti-? *Bilbaa*.

fi~fiti-? *Rikou*.

fi~fiti-? *Dengka*.

fi~bitis *Oenale*.

fi~fitis (2) **fiti?** *Dela*. 1) slingshot. 2) slingshot, pulled.

k|feiti-s *Ro'is Amarasi*. slingshot.

na-k|feti (2) **k|feti-s** *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) fire a slingshot. 2) slingshot.

fa~feti? *Kusa-Manea*. slingshot.

Out-comparisons:

fiti *Alorese*. shoot with a slingshot.

Usage: Pandai village. (Moro 2016)

***boa?** *PMeto*. ten. [*Note*: While *Helong* has a cognate, positing this as a simple case of borrowing between *Helong* and *Meto* is problematic. If *Helong* was the donor, this would not explain the form **boa?** used with twenty and above in *Ro'is*. Similarly, if *Meto* was the donor it would not explain the *k* in the *Helong* form. One possible explanation is that the final ? in *Meto* is from an earlier *k and that this is an early borrowing from pre-*Meto* into *Helong* before *k > ? occurred in *Meto*.] [*History*: *Middelkoop* (1950:48) connects the *Meto* forms with *Meto* **bua** 'gather' (see ***bua**) and this is possible.]

bo?=ees (2) **boa?** **nua** *Ro'is Amarasi*.

1) ten. 2) twenty. [*Semantics*: Multiples of ten from twenty upwards use **boa?**.]

bo? *Kotos Amarasi*. ten, multiples of ten (e.g. **bo?=es** 'ten', **bo?=nua** 'twenty').

bo?=ees *Molo*. ten. (M:76)

bo?=eas *Kusa-Manea*. ten.

Out-comparisons:

buk *Semau Helong*. multiples of ten; e.g. **buk dua** 'twenty', **buk tilu** 'thirty', etc. [*Note*: **hɣulu** = 'ten'; e.g. **hɣul esa** 'eleven', **hɣul dua** 'twelve', etc.]

***boo¹** *PRM.* drive forward, herd. [*irr. from PRM: *b > *mb in wRM; *b > (*f) > h in Ba'a*] [*Form: Jonker (1908:138) suggests this is an onomatopoeic word from a sound made by herders.*]
foo *Termanu.* drive, drive forward. (J:138)

foo *Korbafo.*

foo *Bokai.*

foo *Bilbaa.*

foo *Rikou.*

hoo *Ba'a.*

foo *Tii.*

mboo *Oenale.*

na-poʔo *Kotos Amarasi.* herd.

<**npo'**> *Molo.* herds. (M:442)

Out-comparisons:

poa *Semau Helong.* chase out, shoo, hunt, herd.

***boo²** *Morph: *boo-k, *na-boo. PRM.* smell (good or bad), odour. *Etym: *bahuq* 'odour, stench'.

boo-k (2) na-boo (3) ma-boo-k *Termanu.* 1) the air of something, smell, odour, stink. 2) smell, have an aroma. 3) have a smell, odour, as an individual word especially: stinking, smell bad. (J:51)

boo-ʔ *Korbafo.*

boo-k *Bokai.*

boo-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

boo-ʔ *Rikou.*

boo-k *Ba'a.*

boo-k *Tii.*

foo-ʔ *Dengka.*

foo-ʔ *Oenale.*

na-foo *Ro'is Amarasi.* stink.

na-foo (2) foo meni (3) foo punuʔ *Kotos Amarasi.* 1) stink. 2) fragrant smell. 3) rotten smell.

na-foo *Molo.* stink. (M:124)

na-foo *Kusa-Manea.* stink.

***bua** *Morph: *bua-k. PRM.* fruit. *Doublet: *mbuah.* *Etym: *buaq* 'fruit; areca palm and nut ...'. [*irr. from PRM: *u > o in Rote*] [*Sporadic: *b = b/ʔ in wRote*]

boa-k *Termanu.* fruit; mainly used as a separate word to refer to the fruit of a tree already mentioned. (J:52)

boa-ʔ *Korbafo.*

boa-k *Bokai.*

boa-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

boa=na *Landu.* fruit. (own field notes)

boa-ʔ *Rikou.*

boa-k *Ba'a.*

boa-k *Lole.* fruit. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

boa-k *Tii.*

boa-ʔ *Dengka.*

boa-ʔ *Oenale.*

boa-ʔ *Dela.* fruit.

fua|ʔ *Ro'is Amarasi.* fruit.

fua|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi.* fruit.

<**fua**> *Molo.* fruit. (M:129)

fua|ʔ *Kusa-Manea.* fruit.

Out-comparisons:

bua *Semau Helong.* banana.

fuan *East Tetun.* fruit (plants and trees **ai fuan**); heart (of persons or living things). (Mo:36)

hua *Mambae, South.* a) fruit. b) counter (e.g. classifier). (Grimes et al. 2014b:22)

***bufu** *PRM.* fish trap. *Etym: *bubu* 'conical bamboo basket trap for fish'. [*irr. from PRM: *b = b in Meto; *u > o in Meto*]

bufu (2) teʔek bufu *Termanu.* 1) fish trap. 2) set a fish trap. (J:62)

bufu *Korbafo.*

bufu *Bokai.*

bufu *Bilbaa.*

bufu *Rikou.*

bufu *Ba'a.*

bufu *Tii.*

fufu *Dengka.*

fufu *Oenale.*

bofu *Meto.* (J:62)

Out-comparisons:

buhu *Helong.* (J:62)

***bulan** *PRM.* moon, month. *Etym: *bulan.*

bula-k *Termanu.* moon, month. (J:63)

bula-ʔ *Korbafo.*

bula-k *Bokai*.

bula-? *Bilbaa*.

bula-? *Rikou*.

bula-k *Ba'a*.

fula-k *Tii*.

fula-? *Dengka*.

fulan *Oenale*.

funun, fuunn *Ro'is Amarasi*. moon, month.

funan *Kotos Amarasi*. moon, month.

funan *Molo*. moon. (M:132)

funan *Kusa-Manea*. moon.

Out-comparisons:

bulan *Semau Helong*. moon.

fulan *East Tetun*. moon; lunar month, the period between the new moons. (Mo:37)

wollo *Kisar*. moon, month.

***bulu** *Morph*: ***bulu-k**. *PRM*. body hair; fur; feather. *Etym*: ***bulu**.

bulu-k *Termanu*. hair, feather(s).
[*Semantics*: Both **laja_bulu-k** and **laja_doo-k** (literally 'head leaf') are given for 'head hair'.] (J:63)

bulu-? *Korbafo*.

bulu-k *Bokai*.

bulu-? *Bilbaa*.

bulu-? *Landu*. body hair. (own field notes)

bulu-? *Rikou*.

bulu-k *Ba'a*.

fulu-k *Tii*.

fulu-? *Dengka*.

fulu-? *Oenale*.

funu-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. body hair.
[*Note*: **naak_bu?u** = 'head hair'.]

funu? *Kotos Amarasi*. hair (including head hair, though 'head hair' is usually specified in a compound as **?naak funu-f**).

<**funu**> *Molo*. body hair. (M:133)

Out-comparisons:

bulu *Semau Helong*. hair.

wulla *Kisar*. fur, feathers, hair.

***buni** *PRM*. ringworm. *Tinea imbricata*.
Etym: ***buqəni**. [*irr. from PRM*: ***b** > **h** in *Meto*; ***i** > **e** in *Meto*; ***b** = **b/b** in *wRote*]

bu~buni *Termanu*. ringworm, kind of skin disease. (J:65)

bu~buni *Korbafo*.

bu~buni *Bokai*.

buni *Bilbaa*.

bu~buni *Rikou*.

bu~buni *Ba'a*.

buni *Lole*. ringworm. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

bu~buni *Tii*.

buni *Dengka*.

buni *Oenale*.

hune *Kotos Amarasi*. ringworm.

hune ?honis *Molo*. kind of ringworm. (M:156)

Out-comparisons:

buna *Helong*. (J:65)

wuni *Kisar*. ringworm.

vuni *Hawu*. (J:65)

***buu** *PRM*. blow, blowpipe. *Doublet*: ***fuu**. *Etym*: ***buu** (PCEMP). [*irr. from PRM*: ***b** > **p** in *wRote*; ***b** = **b/V_V** in some *Meto*]

na-ta-fuu *Termanu*. inflated, blown up. (J:143)

na-ta-fuu *Korbafo*.

na-ta-fuu *Bokai*.

na-ta-fuu *Rikou*.

na-ta-fuu *Ba'a*.

na-ta-fuu *Tii*.

na-sa-puu *Dengka*.

na-sa-puu *Oenale*.

sfuut *Kotos Amarasi*. blowpipe, darts.

sbuut *Amanuban*. blowpipe made from a kind of bamboo that is also used to make flutes. (M:457)

na-sbuu, na-sfuu *Molo*. someone blows a dart from a blowpipe.
[*Note*: The form <**tfo**> 'kind of reed, cat's-tail, *Thypha latifolia*' may be related.] (M:479)

Out-comparisons:

hahuuk *East Tetun*. blowpipe, a long length of bamboo used for blowing darts (to hunt birds and sometimes small animals). (Mo:48)

B - 6

***faat** *PRM.* crossbeam. *Etym:* *baRat.
[minority from PMP: *b > *6]

na-ta-baa *Termanu.* across (lying, etc.). (J:17)

na-ta-ba~baa *Dengka.* lying down, of objects. (J:678)

o?ola?a na-ta-ba~baa *Oenale.* speech is obstructed or blocked. (J:678)

t|baa-t *Ro'is Amarasi.* something which lies across or in between two other things.

t|baa-t *Kotos Amarasi.* large thick beam that is supported by the **nii ainaf** ('mother post' = main supporting post) in a house. 'Each of the four 'mother posts' has a curved fork at the top, and they support two large beams termed **atbaat** which must run parallel to the centre-line of the house. Lying above and across them are beams called **kranit** that are each the same length and that number 8, 12, 16, or 24, depending upon house size. The rafters, **nesa?**, lie above and across these, parallel to the **atbaat**, and usually number the same as the **kranit**'. (Cunningham 1964:37, 43)

<**na-baat**> (2) <**na-kbata**> *Molo.*

1) closes with planks. 2) lays across. **a-moe lele na-kbata lalan neki hau uu? ees** someone who makes a garden lays a tree across the path (as a barrier) [*Form:* Medial *t* in **na-kbata** may be a retention of the final consonant with reanalysis of **baat as the metathesised form of **bata.] (M:51)

***bafa1** *Morph:* ***bafa-k.** *Rote.* valley. *Etym:* *babaaq 'lower surface, bottom; short, low; below, beneath, under'. [minority from PMP: *b > *6]

bafa-k *Termanu.* valley, space between the mountains. (J:21)

bafa-? *Korbafo.*

bafa-k *Bokai.*

ba~bafa-? *Bilbaa.*

bafa-? *Rikou.*

bafa-k *Ba'a.*

bafa-k *Tii.*

bafa-? *Dengka.*

bafa-? *Oenale.*

***bafaz** *Morph:* ***bafa-k.** *Rote.* mouth, opening. *See:* ***fefa.** *Etym:* *baqbaq 'mouth, opening; speak, say' (Reconstructed with the doublet *bəqbəq. Both forms are attested in the Timor region.). [minority from PMP: *b > *6]

bafa-k *Termanu.* mouth of a person or animal, beak of a bird, mouth of a river, opening of a water course.

bafa-? *Korbafo.*

bafa-k *Bokai.*

bafa-? *Bilbaa.*

bafa-? *Landu.* mouth. (own field notes)

bafa-? *Rikou.*

bafa-k *Ba'a.*

bafa-k *Tii.*

bafa-? *Dengka.*

bafa-? *Oenale.*

bafa-? *Dela.* mouth.

Out-comparisons:

baha *Semau Helong.* mouth.

waban *Habun.* mouth. [*Note:* language of east Timor ISO 639-3 [hbu]] (Dawson 2014)

kahan *Ili'uun.* mouth (of man or animal). [*irr. from PMP:* *b > (*Ø) > *k* (compare *paŋdan > **ketŋan**, *pusəj > **kusan**, and *hutək > **gutan**)] (dJ:119)

***baiafa** *PRM.* monitor lizard. *Varanus* species. *Etym:* *bayawak (PWMP). [minority from PMP: *b > *6]

- baʔiafa** *Termanu*. monitor lizard.
[History: Jonker attributes the irregular glottal stop to the word becoming associated with that for ‘grandfather’; **baʔi**.] (J:23)
- baʔiafa** *Korbafo*.
baʔiafa *Bokai*.
baiafa *Bilbaa*.
baiafa-ʔ *Landu*. monitor lizard. (own field notes)
baiafa *Rikou*.
baiafa *Dengka*.
baiafa *Oenale*.
bairafa *Timaus*. lizard. [Form: regular (*y) > *ɟ > r.]
baiafa, baidʒafa *Meto*. (J:23)
- ***bakos** *PRM*. barn owl. Pattern: k-8' (*k = k in Korbafo, Tii, and Oenale; expect ʔ).
kolo_baʔo-k *Termanu*. kind of bird called *koro baʔok* in Kupang. (J:248)
kolo_bako-ʔ *Korbafo*.
kolo_baʔo-k *Bokai*.
kolo_bako-ʔ *Bilbaa*.
koro_bako-ʔ *Rikou*.
kolo_baʔo-k *Ba'a*.
koro_bako-k *Tii*.
kolo_baʔo-ʔ *Dengka*.
koro_bako-ʔ *Oenale*.
baos *Ro'is Amarasi*. barn owl.
baos *Kotos Amarasi*. barn owl.
- Out-comparisons:**
baos *Semau Helong*. evil spirit, ghost, apparition.
- ***baʔi** *Rote*. grandfather. Etym: *baki (Reconstructed to PAN based only on Formosan reflexes.). [minority from PMP: *b > *ɟ]
baʔi *Termanu*. grandfather, also used in conjunction with proper names for all old men. (J:22)
baʔi *Korbafo*.
baʔi *Bokai*.
bai *Bilbaa*.
baʔi=na *Landu*. grandfather. (own field notes)

- baʔi** *Rikou*.
baʔi *Ba'a*.
baʔi *Tii*.
baʔi *Dengka*.
baʔi *Oenale*.
baʔi *Dela*. grandfather.
- Out-comparisons:**
baki *Semau Helong*. mother's brother.
- ***baʔu** *CERM*. several, many.
baʔu *Termanu*. many, great in number. (J:33)
baʔu *Korbafo*.
baʔu *Bokai*.
bau *Bilbaa*.
bau bea *Landu*. how many? (own field notes)
bau bea *Oepao*. how many? (own field notes)
baʔu|k *Kotos Amarasi*. several, many. [Form: Two forms with initial f are probably related: **mfaun** = ‘many’, and **fauk** = ‘how many?, several’.]
<**baʔu**> *Molo*. great, many. (M:52)
- Out-comparisons:**
bakun *Semau Helong*. how many, several.
waʔu *Waima'a*. many.
- ***6alafo** *Morph*: ***6alafo-k**. *PRM*. kamala tree. *Mallotus philippensis*. [Semantics: vague Rote semantics]
kai_lafo-k *Termanu*. kind of tree. (J:216)
kai_lafo-ʔ *Korbafo*.
kai_lafo-k *Bokai*.
kai_lafo-ʔ *Bilbaa*.
ai_lafo-ʔ *Rikou*. (J:33; own field notes)
ai_lafo-k *Ba'a*.
hau_lafo-ʔ *Dengka*.
bnafu|ʔ, bnafo|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. Kamala tree. *Mallotus philippensis*.
<**nafu**>, <**banafu**>, <**benafu**>
Molo. kind of tree. *Mallotus philippensis*. (M:341)

***6ali** *Rote*. mix, add something to something else. *Etym.*: *balik (PCMP. Blust and Trussel (ongoing) only give Yamdena and Fordata **valik** ‘mixture of liquid and dry substances’ and the Rote forms as evidence for this reconstruction.). [*minority from PMP*: *b > *6]

bali (2) **ba~bali-k** *Termanu*. 1) mix, add something to something else. (J:27) 2) mixture, mixing, all mixed up. (J:28)

bali *Korbafo*.

bali *Bokai*.

bali *Bilbaa*.

bali *Rikou*.

bali *Ba'a*.

6ali *Tii*.

bali *Dengka*.

6ali *Oenale*.

***6anafi** *PRM*. sea cucumber. [*irr. from PRM*: *n > r in Meto]

nafi *Termanu*. sea cucumber. (J:373)

nafi *Korbafo*.

nafi *Bokai*.

nafi *Bilbaa*.

nafi *Landu*. sea cucumber. (own field notes)

nafi *Rikou*.

nafi *Ba'a*.

nafi *Tii*.

nafi *Dengka*.

nafi *Oenale*.

brafi *Ro'is Amarasi*. sea cucumber.

brafi *Kotos Amarasi*. sea cucumber.

Out-comparisons:

nahe *Semau Helong*. sea cucumber. [*Note*: Jonker (1908:373) gives Helong **hnahe**.]

banahi *East Tetun*. round edible shellfish. (Mo:10)

<**kanewi**> *Kambera*. sea cucumber. (On:164)

<**kanawi**> *Kodi*. edible sea cucumber. (On:543)

<**nawi**> *Sika*. kind of blue fat fish without a shell. (Calon 1891:334)

***6bandae** *PRM*. hover, hang over. [*irr. from PRM*: *nd > d in Bilbaa; *nd > *d > r/l in Meto]

ndae *Termanu*. hang something over somewhere. (J:412)

ndae *Korbafo*.

lae *Bokai*.

dae *Bilbaa*.

rae *Rikou*.

ndae *Ba'a*.

ndae *Tii*.

ndae *Dengka*.

ndae *Oenale*.

na-brae *Kotos Amarasi*. hover.

na-blae *Molo*. it stays hanging from the hair (in a tree); it floats away. (M:72)

***6araka** *Rote*. box. *Pattern*: k-6. [*Form*: This could be a loan but no likely donor language has yet been identified.]

balaka *Termanu*. box or suitcase made from wood or iron. (J:26)

balaka *Korbafo*.

balaka *Bokai*.

balaka *Bilbaa*.

bara?a *Rikou*.

balaka *Ba'a*.

6araka *Tii*.

bala?a *Dengka*.

bara?a *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

baraka *Hawu*. box. (J:26)

barakaj *Sika*. wooden box for betel-vine. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:12)

***6asoko** *PRM*. slant, sway, dance. *Pattern*: k-7' (*k = k in Tii; expect *k > ʔ) for sense 1, *k-6 for sense 2, *k-irr for senses 3 and 4. [*irr. from PRM*: *k > Ø / V_V in Rote for senses 3 and 4.]

na-so?o (2) **soko~soko, so?o~so?o**

(3) **soo** (4) **so~soo bapa=a**

Termanu. 1) slant, sloping. (J:563)

2) very slanted. (J:557, 563)

3) swinging, swaying, wobbling, like a drunken man, etc. (J:550)

4) dancing to the sound of the

drum, including both men and women, each gender according to their way. (J:550)
na-soʔo (2) — (3) soo (4) so~soo *Korbafo*.
na-soʔo (2) soko~soko (3) soo (4) so~soo *Bokai*.
soʔo *Rikou*.
na-soʔo (2) — (3) soo (4) so~soo *Ba'a*.
na-soko (2) soko~soko Tii.
soko (2) soko~soko (3) — (4) ili_ so~soo *Dengka*.
soko (2) soko~soko (3) — (4) so~soo *Oenale*.
na-bsoʔo *Kotos Amarasi*. dance, sway (jocular).
na-sboʔo *Amanuban*. dance.
na-bsoʔo *Molo*. one dances. (M:85)
***bate** *Morph: *ka-bate*. *PRM*. edible grub. *Etym: *qabatəd* ‘sago grub’. [*irr. from PMP: *ə > *e* (expect *ə > a in *wRM*, possibly *ə > *a > e in *wRM*)] [*minority from PMP: *b > *6*]
ba~bate *Termanu*. kind of fat grub or worm, called *ular babate* in Kupang Malay, it occurs in the **bubuni** tree. These grubs are used as medicine to heal thrush in children. (J:32)
ba~bate *Korbafo*.
ba~bate *Bokai*.
ba~bate *Bilbaa*.
ba~bate *Rikou*.
6a~6ate *Tii*.
6uni_6ate *Oenale*.
6uni_6ate-ʔ *Dela*. kind of maggot usually found at the **6u~6uni** tree.
k|bate|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of edible grub that eats rotten wood, reported to turn into a cicada.
k|bate|ʔ *Molo*. grub that lives in a certain tree (Indonesian *tengguli*, Meto **nikis** = *Cassia fistula*), it is as long as a thumb, yellowish and very fat. When cooked in a pan its fat drips out and is used as

medicine against thrush. This grub makes itself a chrysalis and turns into a moth/butterfly. (M:189)
ka|bata|ʔ *Timaus*. kind of edible grub which eats rotten wood. [*Form: regular final *e > a.*]
k|ba~bate *Kusa-Manea*. kind of edible grub.
***6ati** *CERM*. distribute.
baʔe_ba~bati *Termanu*. distribute. (J:32f)
bati *Bokai*.
bati *Bilbaa*.
bati *Rikou*.
n-bati *Ro'is Amarasi*. distribute, share, divide.
n-bati (2) n-batis *Kotos Amarasi*.
 1) distribute, share, divide.
 2) separate.
n-bati *Molo*. distribute. (M:51)
bati *Kusa-Manea*. share, divide.
Out-comparisons:
batiŋ *Semau Helong*. divide, give.
ɸaka-ɸati *Maori*. cause to disperse. [*Note: language of New Zealand ISO 639-3 [mri].*] (Tregear 1891:615)
***6atus** *Morph: *ka-6atus*. *PwRM*. sea snail.
ba~batu-ʔ *Dengka*. shellfish. (J:681)
k|bautus *Ro'is Amarasi*. sea-snails; oysters.
k|batus *Kotos Amarasi*. sea-snails; oysters.
***6au** *Morph: *ka-6au-k*. *PRM*. bat, flying fox. [*Sporadic: *VV-k > *VVʔ > VʔV* in Meto (perceptual metathesis); consonant metathesis *kb > bk in *Amarasi*.]
bau-k *Termanu*. bat. (J:33)
bau-ʔ *Korbafo*.
bau-k *Bokai*.
bau-ʔ *Bilbaa*.
bau-ʔ *Landu*. bat. (own field notes)
bau-ʔ *Rikou*.
bau-k *Ba'a*.
6au-k *Tii*.

bau-ʔ *Dengka*.

ḡau-ʔ *Oenale*.

ḡau-ʔ *Dela*. bat.

bkaʔu *Ro'is Amarasi*. bat, flying fox.

bkaʔu *Kotos Amarasi*. bat, flying fox.

k|baʔu *Kopas*. bat, flying fox.

ʔ|baʔu *Molo*. bat. (M:52)

ʔ|baʔu *Kusa-Manea*. bat, flying fox.

Out-comparisons:

khau *Funai Helong*. bat, flying fox.

fau *Semau Helong*. bat, flying fox.
[Note: Jonker (1908:33) gives Helong **kfau**.]

hau *Bolok Helong*. bat, flying fox.

kabau *Kupang Malay*. bat.

***ḡeba** *Morph*: ***ka-ḡeba-k**. *PRM*. palm leaf stems or stalks (the middle bit without the leaves). *Etym*: *papaq ‘frond of a palm’. [irr. from *PMP*: *p > *ḡ; *a > *e]

beba-k *Termanu*. palm leaf stalks.
[Note: Jonker lists **beba** as the headword with the note that **beba-k** occurs in compounds. The examples have the bare form as the first member of the compound and the suffixed form phrase finally.] (J:36)

beba *Korbafo*.

beba *Bokai*.

beba *Bilbaa*.

beba *Rikou*.

beba *Ba'a*.

ḡeba *Tii*.

beba *Dengka*.

ḡeba *Oenale*.

ʔ|bebaʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. palm leaf stems, typically used to make walls for houses or fences.

<**beba**> *Molo*. gebang palm. (M:53)

Out-comparisons:

hepaŋ *Semau Helong*. gebang stem.

beba|k *East Tetun*. stalk or stem of a palm frond, used for building walls of houses and panels in fences. (Mo:12)

əpa *Dhao*. stem (of leaf).

əpa *Hawu*. stem (of leaf). [Note: Jonker (1908:36) gives Hawu **pipa**.]

***ḡee** *PRM*. where. [Note: Possibly combines two cognate sets: ***mee** and ***ḡee**, though the formal and semantic similarity leads me to present them together.] [irr. from *PRM*: *ḡ > m in Meto (also Ili'uun); *e > a in Bilbaa, Landu, Rikou, and Oepao]

bee *Termanu*. where? wherever (with a preposition); how, what, whatever. (J:35)

bee *Korbafo*.

bee *Bokai*.

bea *Bilbaa*.

bea *Landu*. who, where, how.
(own field notes)

(**u**)**bea** *Rikou*.

bea *Oepao*. who, where, how.
(own field notes)

bee *Ba'a*.

ḡee *Tii*.

bee *Dengka*.

ḡee *Oenale*.

ḡee *Dela*. where.

mee *Ro'is Amarasi*. where.

mee *Kotos Amarasi*. where.

mee *Molo*. where. (M:317)

mee *Kusa-Manea*. where.

Out-comparisons:

la mee *Ili'uun*. which, where; also used as a general interrogative particle. (dJ:128)

ḡee *Bima*. where. (Ismail et al. 1985:14)

***ḡei** *PRM*. grandmother. *Etym*: *baqi. [minority from *PMP*: *b > *ḡ] [Sporadic: *VV-k > *VVʔ > VʔV in Meto (perceptual metathesis).]

bei *Termanu*. grandmother, also used to address older women or before the name of older women. (J:37)

bei *Korbafo*.

bei *Bokai*.

bei *Bilbaa*.

bei *Rikou*.

bei *Ba'a*.

bei *Tii*.

bei *Dengka*.

bei *Oenale*.

bei *Dela*. grandmother.

beʔi *Roʼis Amarasi*. grandmother.

bei-f, **beʔi** *Kotos Amarasi*.
grandmother.

beʔi (2) bai-f *Molo*. 1) mother-in-law.

(M:54) 2) mother-in-law. (M:41)

beʔi *Kusa-Manea*. grandmother.

Out-comparisons:

bee (2) been *Semau Helong*.

1) mother's brother's wife.

2) mother-in-law.

bei-n *East Tetun*. grandparent,
ancestor. (Mo:12)

***beis** *PRM*. crocodile. *See: *foez*. [*irr*.
from *PRM*: *VV > VsV in many
varieties of Meto] [*Form*: As noted
by Jonker (1908:38) some of the
irregular correspondences (especially
forms with *a* and *ʔ*) probably arose
because the crocodile is addressed as
baʔi 'grandfather'.] [*History*: Possibly
connected with PMP *buqaya, though
the vowel correspondences and final
consonant are difficult to account
for. *buqaya is regularly inherited in
Nuclear Rote as *foe.]

beis *Termanu*. crocodile. (J:38)

bei *Korbafo*.

bei *Bokai*.

bai *Bilbaa*.

bais *Rikou*.

baʔis *Oepao*. crocodile. (own field
notes)

baʔis *Ba'a*.

bei *Tii*.

bei *Dengka*.

baʔi *Oenale*.

baʔi *Dela*. crocodile.

naiʔ_besi *Roʼis Amarasi*. crocodile.

[*Form*: Initial **naiʔ** from **naʔi**
'grandfather'.]

naiʔ_besi *Kotos Amarasi*. crocodile.

besi_mnasiʔ *Amanuban*. crocodile.

[*Form*: **mnasiʔ** = 'old'.]

besi_mnasiʔ *Molo*. crocodile. (M:61)

beʔi-dʒ *Amfoʼan*. crocodile.

naiʔ_bais *Amfoʼan*. name of an
Amfoʼan clan

na/basa-r, **na/besi_nasiʔ** *Timaus*.
crocodile.

beʔi *Kusa-Manea*. crocodile.

Out-comparisons:

°**naʔi_bei** *East Tetun*. respectful
name for the crocodile.
(Mo:145)

°**naʔibein** *Welaun*. crocodile.
Usage: Oele'u village.

bei liurai *Welaun*. crocodile.
Usage: Mahein village.

***beki** *Morph*: ***na-beki**. *PRM*. strong,
capable. *Pattern*: k-9' (*k > Ø in
Rikou; expect ʔ or k).

na-beʔi *Termanu*. strong, can, is able
to. (J:38)

na-beʔi *Korbafo*.

na-beki *Bilbaa*.

na-bei *Rikou*.

na-beʔi *Ba'a*.

na-beʔi *Tii*.

na-beʔi *Dengka*.

na-beʔi *Oenale*.

na-beʔi *Roʼis Amarasi*. strong,
capable, able, can.

na-beʔi *Kotos Amarasi*. strong,
capable, able, can.

na-beʔi *Molo*. strong, able, can.
(M:54)

na-beiʔ *Kusa-Manea*. able, possible.

Out-comparisons:

biki *Bolok Helong*. power,
exceptional strength.

biit *East Tetun*. force, strength.
[*irr*: from *PRM*: *k = Ø
correspondence] (Mo:14)

bik *Wersing*. strong. [*Note*: non-
Austronesian language of Alor
ISO 639-3 [kvw].] (Schapper
2017:263)

bi'ki *Sawila*. strong. [*Note*: non-
Austronesian language of Alor
ISO 639-3 [swt].] (Schapper
2017:263)

***ʃeko** *CERM.* sway, shake. *Pattern:* k-5/6.

ʃeko *Termanu.* shake from behind. (J:39)

na-ʃeko *Kotos Amarasi.* sway, shake.

na-ʃeko *Molo.* shake. (M:55)

Out-comparisons:

ʃeko (2) **heko** *Semau Helong.*

1) shake, move, sway. 2) shake.

***ʃeku** *Rote.* bent over. *Etym:* *bəŋkuq ‘bend, curve’. *Pattern:* k-6' (*k > Ø in Rikou, expect ? or k). [*minority from PMP: *b > *ʃ; *ŋk > *k*]

ʃeku_tee *Termanu.* hanging bent over like an ear of rice or a broken branch. (J:39)

ʃeku_tee *Korbafo.*

ʃeku_tee *Bokai.*

(**ʃeku_tee** ?) *Rikou.*

ʃeku_tee *Ba'a.*

ʃeku_tee *Tii.*

ʃeʔu_tee *Dengka.*

ʃeʔu_tee *Oenale.*

ʃeʔu_tee *Dela.* bow (in respect).

***ʃeʔe** *PRM.* stay awake.

ʃeʔe *Termanu.* watch, remain awake. (J:37)

ʃeʔe *Ba'a.*

ʃeʔe *Tii.*

ʃeʔe *Dengka.*

ʃeʔe *Oenale.*

ʃeʔe *Dela.* stay up late.

n-ʃeʔe *Kotos Amarasi.* stay awake. Normally implies someone has died, and one is staying awake overnight with the family of the deceased in the presence of the corpse.

n-ʃeʔe *Amfo'an.* be aware.

n-ʃeʔa *Molo.* watch. (M:53)

ʃeʔan *Kusa-Manea.* stay up overnight.

Out-comparisons:

ʃeke *Hawu.* (J:37)

***ʃela** *PRM.* spread out, flat. *Doublet:*

***ʃela.** *Etym:* *bəkəlaʃ ‘spread out, unroll (mats, etc.), open out, unfold (as the hand); wide’ (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PEMP

*bolaj and the Rote-Meto forms provide evidence for PCOMP *bəlaʃ.).

[*minority from PMP: *b > *ʃ*]

bela (2) **be~bela-k** *Termanu.*

1) spread out as a mat, cover something with something that is spread out. (J:39) 2) flat. (J:40)

bela (2) **be~bela-ʔ** *Korbafo.*

bela (2) **be~bela-k** *Bokai.*

bela (2) **be~bela-ʔ** *Bilbaa.*

bela (2) **be~bela-ʔ** *Rikou.*

bela (2) **be~bela-k** *Ba'a.*

ʃela (2) **ʃe~ʃela-k** *Tii.*

bela (2) **be~bela-ʔ** *Dengka.*

ʃela (2) **ʃe~ʃela-ʔ** *Oenale.*

ʃela (2) **ʃe~ʃela-ʔ** *Dela.* 1) unfold or place on the ground. 2) flat, smooth.

na-ʔbena *Kotos Amarasi.* spread out (e.g. mat, blanket).

na-ʔbena *Molo.* spreads something out. (M:57)

Out-comparisons:

bela *Semau Helong.* open eyes.

belar *East Tetun.* level, flat, even, broad; v. to spread, to strew, multiply. [*irr. from PMP: *ə > e* (expect o)] (Mo:13)

hele *Ili'uun.* unfold, open, spread out. (dJ:117)

bəla *Hawu.* spread out, expanse, open by separating.

***ʃesa** *Morph: *ʃesa-k. PRM.* reonja tree.

Vachellia leucophloea.

kai/ʃesa-k *Termanu.* kind of tree the bark of which is used to colour sails and nets brown, deer like to eat the leaves of this tree. *Vachellia leucophloea.* (J:215, Heyne 1950:713, lxxii)

kai/ʃesa-k *Bokai.*

kai_ʃesa-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

ai_ʃesa-ʔ *Rikou.*

kai/ʃesa-k *Ba'a.*

ai_ʃesa-k *Tii.*

hau_ʃesa-ʔ *Dengka.*

besa-ʔ *Oenale*.

besa|k *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of tree with branches like the white leadtree (= *Leucaena leucocephala*).

besa|k *Molo*. name of a screen tree. *Acacia leucophloea*. (M:60)

Out-comparisons:

besa|ʔ *Semau Helong*. kind of thorn tree.

***beta** *Rote*. cut vegetation. *Etym*: *bəntas ‘hack a passage through vegetation, blaze a trail’. [minority from PMP: *b > *6]

beta ai *Termanu*. cut a tree, cut off branches, prune. (J:46)

beta *Korbafo*.

beta *Bokai*.

beta *Bilbaa*.

beta *Rikou*.

beta *Ba'a*.

beta *Tii*.

beta *Dengka*.

beta *Oenale*.

***betə** *Morph*: ***na-ka-betə**. *PRM*. tense, tight. *Etym*: *bəntəŋ ‘extended, stretched taut, put under tension’. [minority from PMP: *b > *6] [Form: The unmetathesised form has not yet been attested in Meto. It could be ***kbeta** or ***kbete**.]

na-ka-bete *Termanu*. tense, tight. (J:46)

na-ka-bete *Korbafo*.

na-ka-bete *Bokai*.

na-ka-bete *Bilbaa*.

na-bete *Rikou*.

na-ka-bete *Ba'a*.

na-ka-bete *Tii*.

na-ʔa-beta *Dengka*.

na-ʔa-beta *Oenale*.

na-k|beet *Kotos Amarasi*. stiff, tight.

na-k|beet *Molo*. tight, braced. (M:189)

***betu** *Morph*: ***na-ka-betu**. *PRM*. bent, folded. Doublet: ***fedu**. *Etym*: *bəntuk ‘curve’. [minority from PMP: *b > *6]

na-ka-betu *Termanu*. flexible (mainly said of fingers); bent in, bent through; crooked; stick up crookedly. (J:47)

betu *Dengka*.

na-k|betu *Molo*. folded. [History: Middelkoop (1972:63) also gives **na-kfetu**, and **na-kfeti** as variants meaning ‘jumps or bounces back’ which may be connected.] (M:63)

Out-comparisons:

(**s**)**beton** *Helong*. (J:128)

***bia** *PRM*. split. *Etym*: *biqak. [Note: The irregularities in the Meto forms indicate that they may not be cognate with the Rote forms.] [minority from PMP: *b > *6] [irr. from PRM: *6 > p in Meto; *i > e in Meto] [Sporadic: glottal stop insertion in Meto]

bia *Termanu*. split. (J:48)

bia *Korbafo*.

bia *Bokai*.

bia *Bilbaa*.

bia *Rikou*.

bia *Ba'a*.

bia *Tii*.

bia *Dengka*.

bia *Oenale*.

n-peʔa *Ro'is Amarasi*. break.

n-peʔe *Kotos Amarasi*. break, crack.

n-peeʔ (2) peʔas *Molo*. 1) broken through. 2) fissure or split in the ground. (M:428)

Out-comparisons:

mbiʔa (2) fiʔa *Bima*. 1) piece, broken off from glass and earthenware, etc. in the meaning of Malay *pecah*. (Jonker 1893:55) 2) break something. (Jonker 1893:9, Ismail et al. 1985:15)

mbiʔa (2) piʔa *Ende*. 1) broken. 2) blow, hit, break.

***fi6i** *Morph*: ***ka-fi6i**. *PRM*. goat. [irr. from PRM: *6 > ʔ in Termanu, Korbafo, Bokai, and Ba'a] [Semantics: onomatopoeia]

bi?i_hii-k, bi?i_ae-k (2) bi?i_lopo
Termanu. 1) goat, buck. 2) ram, sheep. (J:49)

bi?i *Korbafo.*

bi?i *Bokai.*

bibi *Bilbaa.*

bibi *Rikou.*

bi?i *Ba'a.*

fi?i *Tii.*

bibi *Dengka.*

fi?i *Oenale.*

fi?i *Dela.* sheep, goat.

?|bibi *Kotos Amarasi.* goat.

?|bibi *Molo.* goat. (M:65)

?|bibi *Kusa-Manea.* goat.

Out-comparisons:

bibi *East Tetun.* goat. (Mo:14)

pipi *Ili'uun.* goat. (dJ:133)

biub *Mambae, South.* goat.
 (Grimes et al. 2014b:14)

pipi *Kisar.* goat.

kahibi *Dhao.* goat.

***6ife** *Rote.* lip. *Etym:* *bibiR 'lower lip'. [minority from PMP: *b > *6] [Sporadic: *i > *e /_*R#] [Form: Assimilations of *6 > d in the first sense are due to this term being compounded with reflexes of *doo-k 'leaf', compare *ndiki > di?i_doo-k and *ndake_doo-k > da?e_doo-k.]

difa_doo-k (2) bifa-k (3) na-bifa

ule-k *Termanu.* 1) lips (of people and animals). (J:86) 2) the cut off edge of a leaf. 3) shape the earth to follow the edge of a pot. (J:49)

bife_doo-? (2) bifa-? Korbafo.

difa_doo-k *Bokai.*

bife_doo-? *Bilbaa.*

bifi_doo-? *Landu.* lips. (own field notes)

bifi_doo-? *Rikou.*

bifi_doo-? *Oepao.* (own field notes)

difi_doo-k (2) bifa-k *Ba'a.*

fi?i_doo-k (2) fi?i-k *Tii.*

fi?i *Dela.* side of, edge.

***6ina** *Rote.* kind of volute shell. *Etym:* *biñaq. [minority from PMP: *b > *6]

bina *Termanu.* kind of shellfish; the shell or a part of the shell of this shellfish is used to rest the **ine** (spindle) on. (J:49)

bina *Korbafo.*

bina *Bokai.*

bina *Bilbaa.*

bina *Rikou.*

bina *Ba'a.*

fi?i *Tii.*

bina *Dengka.*

Out-comparisons:

biñan *Helong.* (J:49)

***6isu** *PRM.* ulcer, pimple. *Etym:* *bisul 'boil, abscess'. [minority from PMP: *b > *6]

bisu *Termanu.* ulcer, pimple; have an ulcer or wound. (J:50)

bisu *Korbafo.*

bisu *Bokai.*

bisu *Bilbaa.*

bisu *Rikou.*

bisu *Ba'a.*

fi?i *Tii.*

bisu *Dengka.*

fi?i *Oenale.*

fi?i *Dela.* wound.

bisu *Kotos Amarasi.* kind of wound, pustule.

na-bisu *Molo.* pimply. (M:71)

Out-comparisons:

fiñur, fiñul *East Tetun.* abscess, boil. (Mo:34)

viñu *Hawu.* (J:50)

***6iti** *PRM.* pinch. *Doublet:* *bifi, *fiñi. *Etym:* *bitbit 'pull at body part; hold something dangling from the fingers'. [minority from PMP: *b > *6] [irr. from PRM: *t > ? /V_V in Rote] [Form: The Meto forms meaning 'scorpion' are mostly from *ka-6iti with the nominal *ka- prefix.]

bi?i *Termanu.* pinch with the finger and thumb. (J:49)

fi?i *Tii.*

bi?i *Dengka.*

k|bifi *Ro'is Amarasi.* scorpion.

k|biti *Kotos Amarasi*. scorpion.
<biti> (2) ka|biti *Molo*. 1) give a little pinch. (M:71) 2) scorpion. (M:166)
biti *Kusa-Manea*. scorpion. *Usage*: Upper Manulea village.
ka|biti *Kusa-Manea*. scorpion. *Usage*: Uabau' village.
Out-comparisons:
bitin *Semau Helong*. flick something (especially rock or marble).
***bitinaa** *PRM*. guest tree. *Kleinhovia hospita*.
bitinaa *Termanu*. kind of tree. *Kleinhovia hospita*. (J:51, Heyne 1950:1064, lxxv)
bitinaa *Korbafo*.
bitinaa *Bilbaa*.
bitinaa *Ba'a*.
bitinaa *Tii*.
betinaa *Dengka*.
betinaa *Oenale*.
<bitna> *Molo*. kind of tree which becomes green quickly. *Kleinhovia hospita*. (M:72)
***boho** *PRM*. cough.
boʔo *Termanu*. cough. (J:58)
boʔo *Korbafo*.
boʔo *Bokai*.
boo *Bilbaa*.
boo *Landu*. cough. (own field notes)
boo *Rikou*. [Note: Jonker (1908) gives the Rikou form as **boʔo** and marks it as dubious. If this form is accurate, it would be only one of two forms with medial *h > ʔ in Rikou, the other being ***kahu** > **kaʔu**.] (own field notes)
bo~boo-s *Oepao*. cough. [Form: nominalisation]
boʔo *Ba'a*.
boʔo *Tii*.
boo *Dengka*.
boo *Oenale*.
boo *Dela*. cough.
n-boho *Ro'is Amarasi*. cough.

n-boho *Kotos Amarasi*. cough.
<boho> *Molo*. cough. (M:77)
ba~booh *Kusa-Manea*. cough.
***boki** *Morph*: ***ka-boki-k**. *PRM*. hollowed out coconut shell used as a container. *Pattern*: k-9.
bo~boʔi-k *Termanu*. whole hollowed out coconut shell with an opening used to contain sugar sap. (J:54)
bo~boʔi *Korbafo*.
bo~boʔi-k *Bokai*.
bo~boki *Bilbaa*.
bo~boki *Rikou*.
bo~boʔi-k *Ba'a*.
bo~boʔi-k *Tii*.
bo~boʔi *Dengka*.
bo~boʔi *Oenale*.
a-ʔ|boʔi *Meto*. (J:54)
Out-comparisons:
buki *Helong*. (J:54)
***bo/lau** *Rote*. spider. *Doublet*: ***k|naba|ʔ**.
Etym: *lawaq 'spider; spider web' (Possibly a chance similarity.). [irr. from PMP: *wa > *u in Rote] [Form: source of initial ***bo** unknown]
bolau *Termanu*. spider. (J:55)
bolau *Korbafo*.
bolau *Bokai*.
bolau *Bilbaa*.
bolau *Landu*. spider. (own field notes)
bolau *Rikou*.
bolau *Ba'a*.
bolau *Tii*.
bolau *Dengka*.
bolau *Oenale*.
Out-comparisons:
lailaon *Helong*. [irr. from PMP: *wa > o (expect pa)] (J:55)
***bole** *PRM*. areng palm. *Arenga pinnata*.
bole *Termanu*. areng palm, called *gemuti* in Kupang. (J:56)
bole *Korbafo*.
bole *Bokai*.
bole *Bilbaa*.
bole *Rikou*.
bole *Ba'a*.
bole *Tii*.

bole *Dengka*.

bole *Oenale*.

bone *Kotos Amarasi*. areng palm.
Arenga pinnata.

bone *Molo*. areng palm. *Arenga pinnata*. (M:82)

bone *Kusa-Manea*. areng palm.
Arenga pinnata.

Out-comparisons:

°**bone** *Fehan Tetun*. type of tree which is as tall as a sago palm.
Borrowed from: Meto, as shown by irr. *1 > n.

***bolol** *Morph: *bolo-k. PRM*. hole. [irr. from PRM: *1 > r/l in Meto]

bolo-k *Termanu*. hole, cavity, hollow, pit. (J:56f)

bolo-ʔ *Korbafo*.

bolo-k *Bokai*.

bolo-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

bolo-ʔ *Rikou*.

bolo-k *Ba'a*.

bolo-k *Tii*.

na-boor, n-boor *Kotos Amarasi*. make a hole.

bola|ʔ *Meto*. (J:57)

Out-comparisons:

boloʔ *Funai Helong*. hole.

bolo *Semau Helong*. hole.

***bolol** *PwRM*. scabies, smallpox.

bo~bolo *Oenale*. have scabies. (J:683)

bono *Kotos Amarasi*. smallpox.

bono *Molo*. smallpox. (M:83)

Out-comparisons:

bobolo *Helong*. smallpox. (J:683)

***bona** *Morph: *bona-k. CERM*. fragrant pandanus.

bona-k *Termanu*. fragrant pandanus. (J:57)

bona-k *Bokai*.

bona-k *Ba'a*.

bona|k, bono|k *Ro'is Amarasi*. fragrant pandanus.

bona|k *Kotos Amarasi*. fragrant pandanus.

bona|ʔ *Amfo'an*. fragrant pandanus.

bona|k *Molo*. fragrant pandanus. (M:82)

boan|k=aa *Kusa-Manea*. fragrant pandanus.

Out-comparisons:

bonak *Kupang Malay*. pandanus.

***bone** *CERM*. circle dance.

bo~bone *Termanu*. kind of circle dance, only performed by men. (J:57)

n-bone (2) bone-t *Molo*. 1) sings in a choir dance. 2) choir dance in a large circle, singing in a choir dance. (M:82)

***boni** *nRM*. hang, depend on.

tai_boni *Termanu*. hang out for something = desire something, demand something. (J:588)

tai_boni *Korbafo*.

tai_boni *Bokai*.

tai_boni *Bilbaa*.

tai_boni *Rikou*.

tai_boni *Ba'a*.

tai_boni *Tii*.

na-ʔboniʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. depending on.

<**na-boni**> *Molo*. it depends on something. (M:83)

ta-ʔboniʔ *Kusa-Manea*. hang.

***bongo** *PRM*. round, bulbous.

bo~bongo-k *Termanu*. round. (J:58)

bo~bongo-ʔ *Korbafo*.

bo~bongo-k *Bokai*.

bo~bongo-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

bo~bongo-ʔ *Rikou*.

bo~bongo-k *Ba'a*.

bo~bongo-k *Tii*.

bo~bongo-ʔ *Dengka*.

bo~bongo-ʔ *Oenale*.

bo~bongo-ʔ *Dela*. round.

siim tai_boko *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of large katydid with a large belly.
[Form: **simah** = 'katydid', **tai-f** = 'belly']

Out-comparisons:

bukas *Semau Helong*. round. [irr. from PRM: *u = o; final *o = a; *ŋg = k]

bokur *East Tetun*. fat, fatty, well fed; *n.* fat, tallow, grease. (Mo:16)

boku *Waima'a*. fat, round.

<kabunggulu> *Kambera*. squat of stature, short and round. [Note: also in Mangili and Lewa.] (On:126)

<kabugulu> *Anakalang*.

<kawonggila> *Mamboru*.

<kamunggila> *Weyewa*.

***bonggo** *Morph: *ka-bonggo*. *PRM*. gourd, pumpkin, squash.

bongo *Termanu*. calabash, called *bongko* in Kupang, which is hollowed out and used for the storage of liquids. (J:57f)

bongo *Korbafo*.

bongo *Bokai*.

bongo *Bilbaa*.

boko *Rikou*.

bonggo *Ba'a*.

bonggo *Tii*.

bonggo_melu? *Dengka*.

bonggo *Oenale*.

boko *Ro'is Amarasi*. kind of vegetable the skin of which is used as a water container. [Note: **uut bo?o** = 'pumpkin blossom' may be related with irr. *ŋg > (*k) > ?.]

?|boko *Kotos Amarasi*. pumpkin, squash.

?|boko (2) atoni na-k|boko *Molo*. 1) pumpkin. 2) bald-headed man (used for a Christian, who has had his hair cut off). (M:79)

Out-comparisons:

bonggo *Helong*. (J:58)

boko *Fehan Tetun*. type of chilli, so named as the fruits are fat.

bonggo *Ende*. vessel made of gourd.

***boto** *Morph: *na-ka-boto*. *CERM*. whisper, mutter.

na-ka-bo~boto-? *Bilbaa*. whisper. (J:684)

na-bo~boto-? *Rikou*.

na-?boto *Kotos Amarasi*. remind.

<bot~boto> *Meto*. mutter. (J:684)

Out-comparisons:

hakbotuk *East Tetun*. whisper, speak in a secret and low voice, to mutter to oneself. (Mo:51)

***boto** *PRM*. Indian beech tree. *Millettia pinnata*. [Semantics: Scientific identification given on the basis of the Molo reflex and the Termanu example sentence. 'While the oil and residue of the plant [*Millettia pinnata*] are toxic and will induce nausea and vomiting if ingested, the fruits and sprouts, along with the seeds, are used in many traditional remedies.' ('*Millettia pinnata*', *Wikipedia*. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Millettia_pinnata. Accessed 17 September 2020).]

bo~boto *Termanu*. plant kind. see **na?a boboto=a boa-na naa see mate** whoever eats the fruit of the **bo~boto** will die (J:59)

fo~boto *Dela*. kind of tree.

boto? *Kotos Amarasi*. cluster fig tree; Indian fig tree; goolar fig. *Ficus racemosa*. [Semantics: Scientific identification from Meijer-Drees (1950:4).]

<boto'is> *Molo*. kind of tree. *Millettia pinnata*. (M:85)

***boto** *PRM*. fontanelle. [Form: The second element of the Rote forms is a reflex of *lii < *liqR.]

boto_lii-k *Termanu*. neck. (J:59)

boto_lii-? *Korbafo*.

boto_lii-k *Bokai*.

boto_lii-? *Bilbaa*.

bo/lii-? *Landu*. neck. (own field notes)

bo/lii-? *Rikou*.

bo/lii-? *Oepao*. neck. (own field notes)

boto_lii-k *Ba'a*.

boto_lii-k *Tii*.

boto_lii-? *Oenale*.

boto-n *Ro'is Amarasi*. fontanelle.

boto-f *Kotos Amarasi*. fontanelle (the pulsating part of a baby's head).

boto-f *Kusa-Manea*. head.

Out-comparisons:

ba~boto-n *East Tetun*. fontanel [sic], the gap between the bones in the skull of young children. (Mo:7)

***bua** *PRM*. gather. [*Sporadic: *a > e / _#* in wRote]

na-ka-bua (2) **bua~bua** (3) **bu~bua-k** (4) **bebua** *Termanu*.

1) gathering, coming together, accumulating. 2) together, gathered, in piles. 3) being together, that which is together, heap, herd, swarm, clod, clump. 4) together in piles. (J:60)

na-ka-bua *Korbafo*.

na-ka-bua *Bokai*.

na-ka-bua *Bilbaa*.

na-bua *Rikou*.

na-ka-bua *Tii*.

na-ʔa-bue *Dengka*.

na-ʔa-bue *Oenale*.

na-bua *Ro'is Amarasi*. gather.

na-bua (2) **na-k|buaʔ**, **na-ʔ|buaʔ**

(3) **buaʔ~buaʔ** *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) gather together (intransitive).

2) gather (transitive). 3) together.

[*Note: kboʔes* 'clump' may be related with final *a > e, vowel height harmony, lowering *u > o, and addition of various affixes.]

na-bua (2) <atoni> **na-k|buaʔ**

(3) **buaʔ~buaʔ** (4) <anbua

nakan> *Molo*. 1) coming together.

2) man with his hair tied together in as opposed to a Christian who cuts his hair off. 3) close together.

4) makes a hair roll. (M:85)

ta-bua *Kusa-Manea*. gather.

Out-comparisons:

°**nakbua** (2) °**buan** *Semau Helong*. 1) gather. 2) gather, collect, group, cluster.

Borrowed from: Rote or Meto,

as indicated by the irregular lack of any reflex for pre-RM

*k which is evidenced by the Tetun form below (*k > ʔ is attested in Tetun).

fuʔa|k *East Tetun*. group of things or animals very close together. (Mo:36)

***buas** *Rote*. thing, equipment.

buas *Termanu*. equipment. (J:61)

bua-ʔ *Korbafo*.

bua-ʔ *Bokai*.

bua-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

buas *Rikou*.

buas *Ba'a*.

buas *Tii*.

buas *Dengka*.

buas *Oenale*.

buas *Dela*. generic clothes.

Out-comparisons:

buat *East Tetun*. thing, object. (Mo:18)

***bubu** *PRM*. bubbling, boiling. *Etym:*

*bukbuk₁. [*minority from PMP: *b >*

*b (both initially and medially)]

na-sa-bubu *Termanu*. bubbling up, boiling up of water. (J:61f)

bubu *Bokai*.

bubu *Bilbaa*.

bubu *Dengka*.

na-sa-bubu *Oenale*.

n-bubu *Molo*. boils, trembles. (M:87)

Out-comparisons:

bubu *East Tetun*. swell. (Mo:18)

bubu *Hawu*. boil over, overflow; anger.

***buə** *Morph: *buə-k. nRM*. head hair, frizzy haired. *Etym: *buhək* 'head hair'. [*minority from PMP: *b > *b*] [*irr. from PRM: *ə > u* in Ro'is Amarasi] [*Sporadic: *VV-k > *VVʔ > VʔV* in Ro'is Amarasi (perceptual metathesis)]

laŋa_bue-k *Bokai*. frizzy haired. (J:684)

laka doo bue-ʔ *Rikou*. frizzy haired. (own field notes)

(langa) bue-k *Tii*. frizzy haired.
(J:684)

naak_bu?u *Ro'is Amarasi*. head hair.
bu/ratu *Kotos Amarasi*. frizzy (of hair). [*Form*: Neither element of this (probable) historic compound is known to be attested independently.]

Out-comparisons:

fuhuk *Fehan Tetun*. hair of the head.

fuuk *East Tetun*. hair of the head.
(Mo:38)

***buit** *PRM*. rear, backside. *Etym*: *buRit 'hind part, rear, back'. [*minority from PMP*: *b > *6] [*irr. from PRM*: *i > a in Molo; *i > u in Kotos Amarasi (sense 1)] [*Sporadic*: *VV-k > *VV? > V?V in some Meto (perceptual metathesis)]

bui-k (2) tane_bui *Termanu*. 1) rear.
(J:62) 2) kind of black ant with an acutely painful sting. *Lit*: 'sharp rear'. (J:817)

bui-? (2) tane_bui *Korbafo*.

bui-k (2) tane_bui *Bokai*.

bui-? (2) tene_bui *Bilbaa*.

bui-? (2) tandē_bui *Rikou*.

(2) tane_bui *Ba'a*.

buī-k *Tii*.

na-?a-buit *Dela*. go last, from behind.

(2) kas/bu?i *Ro'is Amarasi*. 2) ant.

?|bu?u-f (2) sa/buit *Kotos Amarasi*.
1) buttocks, anus. 2) ant. [*Form*: I have an (unconfirmed) variant **bu?i** for the first sense in my dictionary. This would be a regular reflex.]

<bu'an> *Molo*. posterior. (M:86)

(2) as/bui|k *Kusa-Manea*. 2) ant.

Out-comparisons:

hui *Dhao*. stern of boat.

vui *Hawu*. stern, rear.

***buku** *Morph*: ***buku-k**. *PRM*. node, joint. *Etym*: *buku 'node (as in bamboo or sugarcane); joint; knuckle; knot in wood; knot in string or rope'. *Pattern*: k-7. [*minority from PMP*: *b > *6]

bu?u-k *Termanu*. protuberance, joint.
(J:66)

bu?u-? *Korbafo*.

bu?u-k *Bokai*.

buku-? *Bilbaa*.

buku-? *Rikou*.

bu?u-k *Ba'a*.

bu?u-k *Tii*.

buku-? *Dengka*.

buku-? *Oenale*.

bu?u-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. joints.

bu?u-f *Kotos Amarasi*. joints;
knuckles, wrist, ankle, etc.

Out-comparisons:

buku-n *Semau Helong*. joint,
knot, knee.

fuku-n *East Tetun*. knot (of trees, ropes, etc.); knuckle, joint (of limbs). (Mo:37)

***bula** *Rote*. open one's eyes wide. *Etym*: *bulat 'open the eyes wide, stare with round eyes'. [*minority from PMP*: *b > *6]

na-ka-bu~bula (2) bula~bula (mata de?e-n-) *Termanu*. 1) he opens his eyes wide. 2) his eyes are wide open. (J:63)

na-ka-bu~bula *Korbafo*.

na-ka-bu~bula *Bokai*.

na-ka-bu~bula *Bilbaa*.

na-bu~bula *Rikou*.

na-ka-bu~bula-k *Ba'a*.

na-ka-bu~bula-k *Tii*.

na-ta-bu~bula-? *Dengka*.

na-?a-bu~bula-? *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

<kabula> *Kambara*. with the eyes wide open. (On:125)

***buna** *Morph*: ***buna-k**. *PRM*. flower, blossom. *Doublet*: ***bungga**. *Etym*: *buŋa. [*minority from PMP*: *b > *6] [*irr. from PRM*: *u > o in Meto]

buna-k *Termanu*. flower, blossom.
(J:64)

buna-? *Korbafo*.

buna-k *Bokai*.

buna-? *Bilbaa*.

buna=na *Landu*. flower. (own field notes)

buna-ʔ *Rikou*.

buna-k *Ba'a*.

ḡuna-k *Tii*.

buna-ʔ *Dengka*.

ḡuna-ʔ *Oenale*.

fu/bonaʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. ornamental flower.

fu/bonaʔ, **fua_bonaʔ** *Kotos Amarasi*. ornamental flower. [Form: first element from **fuaʔ** = 'fruit'.]

Out-comparisons:

buḡaʔ *Semau Helong*. flower.

funan *East Tetun*. flower, bloom. (Mo:37)

***ḡuni** *PRM*. *Cassia* tree, kinds of legume trees.

bu~buni_hedu (2) bu~buni doo lutu *Termanu*. 1) kind of tree with hard wood the leaves of which can be used as medicine for ringworm. 2) kind of tree with small leaves the bark of which can be used as a substitute for betel nut. *Lit*: 'slender leaved **bubuni**'. [Semantics: Heyne (1950:741, lxxvi) gives <**boeboeni sèla**> as *Cassia fistula*.] (J:65)

bu~buni_hedu *Korbafo*.

bu~buni_hedu *Bilbaa*.

bu~buni_lama (2) bu~buni lutu (3) bu~buni sela-ʔ *Rikou*. 1) kind of tree the bark of which can be used as a substitute for betel nut. 2) kind of tree with white flowers. 3) kind of tree with yellow flowers. (own field notes)

bu~buni_hedu *Ba'a*.

ḡuni, ḡu~ḡuni_mali *Tii*.

bu~buni_meluʔ *Dengka*.

ḡuni_meruʔ *Oenale*.

ḡu~ḡuni *Dela*. kind of tree.

buni *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of tree the bark of which can be used as a substitute for betel nut.

buni *Molo*. kind of tree. *Cassia javanica*; *Cassia siamea*. (M:90)

Out-comparisons:

vuni *Hawu*. (J:65)

***ḡunda** *Rote*. fat bellied. *Etym*: *buntər 'distended, inflated (of the belly)' (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) give a host of semantically and formally similar reconstructions some of which they posit as doublets and some of which they mark as 'disjuncts': *buntər 'round', *bə(n)tur 'glutted, sated; swollen (of the belly)', *bə(n)tuR 'glutted, sated; swollen (of the belly)', *buntuʔ 'bloated, swollen (of the belly)', *buntuD 'swollen, distended, of the belly', *buntuR 'bloated, swollen', and *bu(n)tu 'bloated'. It seems extremely likely that several of these forms are spurious and we are dealing with cases of irregular sound change. Manggarai and Rembong forms are given as evidence for multiple reconstructions and are the only witnesses from Wallacea.). [irr. from PMP: *ə > *a (expect *ə > e in nRote)] [minority from PMP: *b > *ḡ; *nt > *nd (expect *t)]

buna_tei-k (2) iʔa_buna-k *Termanu*. 1) have a fat belly, get a fat belly (only said of children). 2) a kind of fish which inflates itself like a ball at the slightest touch. (J:64)

buna_tei-ʔ *Korbafo*.

buna_tei-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

bunda_tei-ʔ *Rikou*.

ḡunda_tei-k *Tii*.

bunda~bunda *Dengka*. stuffed. [Semantics: Jonker gives a cross reference to Termanu **lamu~lamu** which is glossed as 'very stuffed, of the belly'. Thus, it seems likely that the usual reference of the Dengka form was also to the belly.] (J:684)

***ḡusa** *Rote*. dog. [History: possibly connected with PWMP *musəŋ 'civet' or Dutch *poes* [pu:s] 'cat'.]

busa *Termanu*. dog. (J:65)

busa *Korbafo*.

busa *Bokai*.

busa *Bilbaa*.

busa *Landu*. dog. (own field notes)

busa *Rikou*.

busa *Ba'a*.

busa *Tii*.

busa *Dengka*.

busa *Oenale*.

busa *Dela*. dog.

Out-comparisons:

busa *East Tetun*. cat. (Mo:19)

busa *Kemak*. cat.

busan *Lamaholot, Ile Mandiri*.
cat. *Usage*: Lewoingu dialect.

[*Note*: language of east Flores
ISO 639-3 [slp].] (*Nishiyama*
and *Kelen* 2007:90)

***busu** *Rote*. bow for cleaning cotton.

Etym: *busuR ‘hunting bow’.

[*minority from PMP*: *b > *ʁ]

busu (2) bu~busu-k *Termanu*.

1) clean cotton with a bow.

2) cleaning; the bow used to clean
cotton. (J:65)

busu *Korbafo*.

busu *Bokai*.

busu *Bilbaa*.

busu *Rikou*.

busu *Ba'a*.

busu *Tii*.

busu (2) bu~busu-t *Dengka*.

(2) bu~busu-t *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

fusu *East Tetun*. an arched comb
used for carding cotton.
(Mo:38)

D - d

***daa** *Morph*: *daa-k. *PRM*. blood. *Etym*:

*daRaʔ.

daa-k *Termanu*. blood, sap. (J:66)

daa-ʔ *Korbafo*.

daa-k *Bokai*.

daa-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

daa-ʔ *Landu*. blood. (own field notes)

daa-ʔ *Rikou*.

daa-k *Ba'a*.

daa-k *Tii*.

laa-ʔ *Dengka*.

raa-ʔ *Oenale*.

naa|ʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. blood.

naa|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. blood.

naa|ʔ *Molo*. blood. (M:338)

naa|ʔ *Kusa-Manea*. blood.

Out-comparisons:

dala *Semau Helong*. blood.

raa-n *East Tetun*. blood. (Mo:159)

laa-t *Welaun*. blood.

rara *Kisar*. blood.

rara(n) *Ili'uun*. blood. (dJ:135)

***dae** *PRM*. soil, land, earth. *Etym*:

*daRaʔ ‘soil, probably clay’. [*irr. from*
PRM: *e > i in Meto with additional
subsequent irregularities in the Meto
vowels] [*Form*: regular *ə > e / _q#.]

dae *Termanu*. soil, land, earth. (J:68)

dae *Korbafo*.

dae *Bokai*.

dae *Bilbaa*.

dae *Rikou*.

dae *Ba'a*.

dae *Tii*.

lae *Dengka*.

rae *Oenale*.

nain (2) nai raʔe *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) ground. 2) clay. *Usage*: **nain**
occurs in place names and phrases,
such as **nai mutiʔ** ‘white ground’.
(The normal word for ground
in Amarasi is **afu**). [*History*:
The second element of **nai raʔe**
‘clay’ could also be an irregular
reflex of *dae.]

nain *Amanuban/Amanatun*. ground.

naidzan *Amfo'an*. earth.

naidzan *Molo*. earth. [Form: Insertion of medial *dʒ* is unexpected. It probably came about via a pathway such as **nain > **naiyin > **naiyan.] (M:342)

naidzaan *Baiken*. earth. (Charles E. Grimes pers. comm.)

nian *Kusa-Manea*. earth. [Form: This form is derivable from intermediate **naian with subsequent reduction of the initial vowel sequence.]

Out-comparisons:

dale *Semau Helong*. ground.

rai *East Tetun*. earth, soil, ground; land estate, kingdom; the world. (Mo:158)

°**rai** *Kisar*. king. Borrowed from: perhaps Tetun, as shown by irr. *R > Ø instead of expected *R > *r* combined with the semantic shift.

ra(ra), rare *Ili'uun*. land, ground, especially in contrast to sea, water. (dJ:134)

***daem** *nRM*. termites.

(?)**ana/dae** *Termanu*. termites. (J:12)

hana/dae *Korbafo*.

(?)**ana/dae** *Bokai*.

(?)**ana/dae** *Bilbaa*.

?**ana/dae** *Rikou*. [Form: My consultants gave ?**andae**.]

(?)**ana/dae** *Ba'a*.

(?)**ana/dae** *Tii*.

naem *Ro'is Amarasi*. termites.

naem *Kotos Amarasi*. termites.

<name> *Molo*. flying white ants. [Form: Molo may have unmetathesised an original CVVC root.] (M:347)

na~naem=aa *Kusa-Manea*. termites.

Out-comparisons:

°**naen** *Semau Helong*. termite. Borrowed from: probably Amarasi (shown by irr. *d = *n* correspondence).

***dai** *PMeto*. rooster comb or wattle. [irr. from PRM: *i > *e* in Ro'is]

took rae-n (2) iuk rae-n *Ro'is Amarasi*. 1) rooster wattle (the bit which hangs down). 2) the long tail feathers of a rooster.

fo/lai-n *Amanuban*. rooster wattle. [Form: **nai-n** = 'chicken/rooster comb'.]

Out-comparisons:

manu lain *East Tetun*. the long tail feathers of a rooster. (Mo:124)

***daki** *PRM*. body dirt. Etym: *daki 'dirt on skin; dandruff; tartar on teeth'. Pattern: k-irr. [irr. from PRM: *d > *r* in Meto (expect *n*); *k > *h* /V_V in Meto]

daʔi *Termanu*. dirt on the body. (J:71)

daʔi *Korbafo*.

daʔi *Bokai*.

da~daki *Bilbaa*.

daʔi *Rikou*.

daʔi *Ba'a*.

daʔi *Tii*.

rai *Oenale*.

rahi *Kotos Amarasi*. body filth.

lahi *Molo*. skin filth. (M:256)

Out-comparisons:

dakin *Semau Helong*.

raʔi *Hawu*. filth, dirt, body filth.

***dalo** *Morph*: ***dalo-k**. *PRM*. in, inside, feelings. Etym: *daləm 'in, area within, inner part of something; between; below, under; deep; mind, feelings, liver (fig.)'.

dale-k *Termanu*. a) inside. b) the interior of a person, the heart, the mind. (J:72)

dale-ʔ *Korbafo*.

dale-k *Bokai*.

dale-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

dale=na *Landu*. seat of emotions. (own field notes)

dale-ʔ *Rikou*.

dale-k *Ba'a*.

daʔale-k *Tii*.

lala-ʔ *Dengka*.

rala-ʔ *Oenale*.

nana? *Ro'is Amarasi*. inside. [Note: **nere-f** = 'seat of emotions'.]

nana-f *Kotos Amarasi*. inside, in. [Note: **neka-f** = 'seat of emotions'.]

<**nana**> *Molo*. inner, inside. (M:425)

naan *Kusa-Manea*. inside.

Out-comparisons:

dale *Semau Helong*. inside; seat of emotions, lower, ground.

laran *East Tetun*. the interior, the inside part. [Sporadic: consonant metathesis *IVr > rVl] (Mo:127)

raram (2) **rorom** *Kisar*. 1) inside. 2) down into earth or into seas, depth.

dara *Hawu*. 1) inside. 2) character, seat of emotions, heart, thoughts.

***damei** *PRM*. lick. *Pattern*: d-2. [irr. from *PRM*: *ei > i in *Meto*; *ei > oi in *Rikou* (possibly sporadic assimilation to previous m)] [Form: The *Galolen* and *Dadu'a* forms are similar to the *RM* forms, but it is unclear what vowels or medial consonant a higher level reconstruction might have.] [History: Ross and Osmond (2016a:268) reconstruct *POc* *d(r)am^{wi}(s) 'lick (intr.)'.]

na-la-mei (2) **mei~mei** *Termanu*.

1) lick. 2) the tongue of the snake constantly goes in and out, as in licking motion. (J:354)

na-la-mei *Korbafo*.

na-la-mei *Bokai*.

na-la-moi *Bilbaa*.

na-ra-moi, **na-la-moi** *Rikou*.

na-la-mei *Ba'a*.

na-ra-mei *Tii*.

na-la-mei *Dengka*.

na-ra-mei *Oenale*.

n-rami *Kotos Amarasi*. lick.

lami *Molo*. lick. [Note: Jonker (1908:354) gives *Meto* **lame**.] (M:261)

Out-comparisons:

rema *Galolen*. lick, flatter.

rabi *Dadu'a*. lick. (Penn 2006:103)

***daru** *Morph*: ***daru-k**, ***ma-daru**. *CER*. long, length. *Doublet*: ***naru**. *Etym*: *adaduq.

daluk (2) **ma-dalu** *Termanu*.

1) long. 2) long, length. (J:74)

daluk? *Korbafo*.

daluk *Bokai*.

daluk? *Bilbaa*.

daruk? *Rikou*.

daluk *Ba'a*.

***dei** *Morph*: ***dei-k**. *Rote*. forehead. *Etym*: *daqih.

de~dei-k *Termanu*. forehead. (J:81)

de~dei? *Korbafo*.

de~dei-k *Bokai*.

de~dei? *Bilbaa*.

de~dei? *Rikou*.

lee? *Dengka*.

ree? *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

ree-n *East Tetun*. forehead, brow. (Mo:160)

***deki** *CER*. kiss. *Pattern*: d-1/2, k-7/8/9/10. [Note: Jonker (1908:81) gives *Loura* (ISO 693-3 [lur]) **diki** as possibly cognate, but I have been unable to locate this form anywhere.] [irr. from *PRM*: *i > a in *Meto* (possibly influence from **neka-f** 'feelings')] [Form: The lack of reflexes in *wRote* and *Meto* means that the initial consonant is ambiguous between *d and *d̥. I have tentatively reconstructed *d on the basis of the *Helong* reflex as this may attest borrowing from *Meto* or *wRote* in which *d > *r had taken place. The other out-comparisons provide conflicting evidence for *PRM* *d and *d̥. *Fehan Tetun* would be consistent with *PRM* *d̥ but *East Tetun* would be consistent with *PRM* *d.]

de?i *Termanu*. kiss. (J:81)

de?i *Korbafo*.

de?i *Bokai*.

deki *Bilbaa*.

deʔi *Rikou*.

Out-comparisons:

liki *Semau Helong*. kiss, sniff.
[irr. from PRM: *d = l /#_ correspondence]

deʔi *Fehan Tetun*. kiss. [irr. from PRM: *d = d correspondence (expect r)]

rei *East Tetun*. kiss. (Mo:160)

riʔi *Sika*. kiss. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:174)

***deku** *PnMeto*. strike, knock. *Pattern*: k-5/6.

n-reku *Kotos Amarasi*. strike (e.g. clock).

n-leku *Molo*. knocks. (M:266)

reuk *Kusa-Manea*. hit, knock.

Out-comparisons:

diku *Semau Helong*. hit, pound, punish, flail, whip, beat.

deku *East Tetun*. give light blows, tap, knock. (Mo:23)

***deŋe** *PRM*. kapok tree.

dene *Termanu*. kapok, kapok tree. (J:84)

dene *Korbafo*.

dene *Bokai*.

dene *Bilbaa*.

dene *Rikou*.

dene *Ba'a*.

dene *Tii*.

lene *Dengka*.

rene *Oenale*.

neke *Ro'is Amarasi*. kapok tree.

neke *Kotos Amarasi*. kapok tree.

neke *Molo*. kapok tree. (M:361)

Out-comparisons:

deŋen *Semau Helong*. kapok.
[Note: Jonker (1908:84) gives Helong **kdeŋen/deŋen**.]

°**neke** *Fehan Tetun*. kapok.
Borrowed from: Meto
neke (shown by irr. *d = n correspondence).

riŋi *Bima*. kapok. (Jonker 1893:86)

***deras** *Morph*: ***ka-deras**. *PRM*. tree.

Erythrina species. *Etym*: *dəpdəp (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct doublets *dəpdəp and *dəpəp. The Termanu form appears as evidence for both, though the vowels are not regular from either. They would be regular from (unreconstructed) *dədəp (final *ə > e in Termanu, but *a > a).). [irr. from PMP: Ø > *s; *ə > *a /_(C)#] [irr. from PRM: *a > e in Amarasi; *d > l in Oenale (possibly sporadic dissimilation from earlier *rVr)]

delas *Termanu*. the dedap, or shadow-tree, varieties thereof. (J:82)

dela-ʔ *Korbafo*.

dela-k *Bokai*.

dela-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

deras *Rikou*.

delas *Ba'a*.

dferas *Tii*.

lelas *Dengka*.

relas *Oenale*.

ʔnenes *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of large tree.

<**nenas**> *Molo*. kind of tree. *Erythrina* species. (M:362)

Out-comparisons:

kdela *Helong*. (J:82)

***dete** *PMeto*. Blackboard tree. *Alstonia scholaris*. *Etym*: *ditaq. [irr. from PMP: *i > *e] [minority from PMP: *d = *d (expect *d > *r > *l > *n)] [Sporadic: *a > e /_# in Meto] [Form: The PMeto forms are probably cognate with the Tetun form, and both could be derived from earlier **dətəq which would require irregular PMP *d > *d' and *i > *ə. However, unless the Waima'a form is a borrowing from Tetun, it indicates that Tetun o is from earlier *o (*ə > e in Waima'a). Despite the phonological problems in explaining the Meto, Tetun and Waima'a forms, they are too similar (and furthermore too similar to PMP *ditaq) to be ignored.]

rete *Ro'is Amarasi*. Blackboard tree; a kind of evergreen tree. *Alstonia scholaris*.

rete *Kotos Amarasi*. Blackboard tree; a kind of evergreen tree. *Alstonia scholaris*.

lete *Molo*. kind of tree. *Alstonia scholaris*. (M:271)

Out-comparisons:

(k)**doti** *East Tetun*. tree whose bark is used as an antifebrile; the bark has two varieties, one white and the other black. *Alstonia scholaris*. [Note: **ai henak** is given as having the same meaning.] [History: Morris (1984:119) gives **kroti** 'a tree with a very straight trunk' with the same scientific name. Van Klinken (1995) identifies **kroti** as 'a tall thin palm with feathery leaves. Is used to make **balok**, **papan**, **ai riin** (house posts)'] (Mo:27, 104)

doti-buto, **doti** *Waima'a*. devil tree. *Alstonia scholaris*.

***dii** *Morph*: ***na-mba-dii**. *Rote*. stand. Doublet: ***dii**. *Etym*: *diRi. [irr. from *PRM*: *i > e in nRote (sporadic medial lowering before *R ?)]

na-pa-dei-? (2) **na-pa-de-dei** *Termanu*. 1) stand, stand still, remain standing. 2) stand something up. (J:80f)

na-pa-dei-? (2) **na-pa-de~dei-?** *Korbafo*.

na-pa-dei-k (2) **na-pa-de~dei** *Bokai*.

na-pa-dei-? (2) **na-pa-de~dei** *Bilbaa*.

na-pa-dei-? (2) **na-pa-de~dei** *Rikou*.

na-pa-dei-? *Oepao*.

na-mpa-dei-k (2) **na-mpa-de~dei** *Ba'a*.

na-mba-dei-k (2) **na-mba-de~dei** *Tii*.

na-mba-lii-? *Dengka*.

na-mba-rii-? *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

dili *Semau Helong*. stand.

harii *East Tetun*. stand upright, straight, erect, or raised. (Mo:78)

***dii** *PRM*. house post. Doublet: ***dii**. *Etym*: *hadiRi.

dii *Termanu*. pole, stile pillar. (J:86)

dii *Korbafo*.

dii *Bokai*.

dii *Bilbaa*.

dii *Rikou*.

dii *Ba'a*.

dii *Tii*.

lii *Dengka*.

rii *Oenale*.

nii *Kotos Amarasi*. pole, post, pillar.

nii *Molo*. pole, mast. (M:367)

Out-comparisons:

hdiin *Semau Helong*. [irr. from *PMP*: *R > Ø (expect l)]

rii(n) *East Tetun*. column, pillar, post, pier, or stake. (Mo:161)

gerii *Hawu*. pole, post.

agarii *Dhao*. pole, post.

***di?u** *PMeto*. chase, chase away. [History: Given that Kemak has both /r/ and /l/, the Kemak form is most likely a borrowing from a variety of Meto in which *PMeto* *d > *r > l.]

n-ri?u *Ro'is Amarasi*. chase out, expel.

n-ri?u *Kotos Amarasi*. chase out, expel.

n-li?u *Molo*. chase. (M:279)

Out-comparisons:

li?u *Kemak*. chase.

***dindi** *PRM*. wall made of dried palm leaf stems. *Etym*: *dindin 'wall of a house; partition off'. [irr. from *PRM*: *d > l in Lole (expect d)]

dini *Termanu*. wall, side (of a house) made of **bebak** ['palm leaf stems'], verb **dini uma**, provide a house with a wall. (J:88)

dindi *Rikou*. wall. (own field notes)
diri *Oepao*. wall. (own field notes)
lindi *Lole*. wall. (Zacharias et al. 2014)
li~lindi *Dengka*. (J:88)
ri~rindi *Dela*. palm wall.
ʔ|niki-t (2) <na-niki> *Molo*. 1) wall of a house. 2) protects. (M:369)
na~niki *Kusa-Manea*. edge.

Out-comparisons:

didin *East Tetun*. wall of house, both internal and external. (Mo:25)

***diu** *Morph: *na-diu*. *PRM*. bathe. *Etym: *diRus*.
na-diu *Termanu*. bathe. (J:90)
na-diu *Korbafo*.
na-diu *Bokai*.
na-diu *Bilbaa*.
na-diu *Rikou*.
na-diu *Ba'a*.
na-diu *Tii*.
na-liu *Dengka*.
na-riu *Oenale*.
na-niu *Ro'is Amarasi*. bathe.
na-niu *Kotos Amarasi*. bathe.
na-niu *Kusa-Manea*. wash, bathe.

Out-comparisons:

diu *Semau Helong*. bathe, wash. [irr. from *PMP: *R > Ø* (expect l)]

hariis *East Tetun*. bathe, take a bath. (Mo:78)

***domi** *PMeto*. love, like. [History: Ross and Osmond (2016b:545) reconstruct *POc *drom-i* (from *PMP *dəmdəm*) 'think, worry; love, be sorry for, long for', but the similarity between this form and the *PMeto* form may be chance.]

n-romi *Ro'is Amarasi*. like, want to.
n-romi *Kotos Amarasi*. like, want to.
n-lomi *Molo*. like. (M:285)

Out-comparisons:

hadomi *East Tetun*. love, give love, have an affection for. (Mo:43)

domi *Waima'a*. love.
domi *Mambae, South*. love. (Fogaça 2017:267)

adomi *Welaun*. love, like. (da Silva 2012:113)

***doo** *Morph: *doo-k*. *PRM*. leaf. *Etym: *dahun*. [Sporadic: *VV-k > *VVʔ > VʔV in *Amarasi* (perceptual metathesis)]

doo-k *Termanu*. leaf. (J:92)

doo-ʔ *Korbafo*.

doo-k *Bokai*.

doo-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

doo=na *Landu*. leaf. (own field notes)

doo-ʔ *Rikou*.

doo-k *Ba'a*.

doo-k *Tii*.

loo-ʔ *Dengka*.

roo-ʔ *Oenale*.

noʔo *Ro'is Amarasi*. leaf.

noʔo, noo-f *Kotos Amarasi*. leaf.

nooʔ *Molo*. leaves of trees. (M:375)

noʔo-k, noo-n *Kusa-Manea*. leaf.

Out-comparisons:

roon *Ili'uun*. leaf. (dJ:136)

***dua** *PRM*. two. *Etym: *duha*.

dua *Termanu*. two, both. (J:103)

dua *Korbafo*.

dua *Bokai*.

dua *Bilbaa*.

dua *Rikou*.

dua *Ba'a*.

dūa *Tii*.

lua *Dengka*.

rua *Oenale*.

nua *Ro'is Amarasi*.

nua *Kotos Amarasi*.

nuga *Amfo'an*. two. [Form: Medial consonants in *Amfo'an* and *Baikeno* are a result of fortition of a medial phonetic glide.]

nua *Molo*. two. (M:388)

nuban *Baikeno*. two. (Charles E. Grimes pers. comm.)

nua *Kusa-Manea*. two.

Out-comparisons:

dua *Semau Helong*. two.

rua *East Tetun*. two. (Mo:162)

woroʔo *Kisar*. two.

***dui**₁ *Morph*: ***dui-k**. *PRM*. bone. *Etym*:

***du**Ri ‘thorn, splinter, fish bone’
(*Helong* retains the meaning ‘thorn’.).

dui-k *Termanu*. bone. (J:106)

dui-ʔ *Korbafo*.

dui-k *Bokai*.

dui-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

dui-ʔ *Landu*. bone. (own field notes)

dui-ʔ *Rikou*.

dui-k *Ba'a*.

dui-k *Tii*.

lui-ʔ *Dengka*.

rui-ʔ *Oenale*.

nui-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. bone.

nui-f *Kotos Amarasi*. bone.

nui-f *Amanuban*. bone.

nui-f *Molo*. bone. (M:390)

nui-f *Kusa-Manea*. bone.

Out-comparisons:

duliʔ *Semau Helong*. thorn.

rui-n *East Tetun*. bone, bones of
the skeleton. (Mo:162)

lui-t *Welaun*. bone.

ruri (2) rurna *Kisar*. 1) thorn.
2) bones.

ruirin *Ili'uun*. bone. (dJ:136)

***dui**₂ *Rote*. dugong. *Etym*: ***duy**uŋ (Blust
and Trussel (ongoing) posit PCEMP
***ruy**uŋ, but initial ***r** cannot regularly
account for the PRM form or *Helong*
duiŋ.). *Pattern*: d-2.

lui-k *Termanu*. sea cow. (J:332)

lui-ʔ *Korbafo*.

lui-k *Bokai*.

lui-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

rui-ʔ *Rikou*.

lui-k *Ba'a*.

rui-k *Tii*.

lui-ʔ *Dengka*.

rui-ʔ *Oenale*.

lui *Metu*. (J:332)

Out-comparisons:

duiŋ *Helong*. (J:332)

***duman** *PRM*. some. *Pattern*: d-2.

[*Note*: Jonker (1908) gives **ruma** as
being found in *Seram* and *Ambon*, but
I have been unable to track down his
source.]

luma *Termanu*. portion, some, a few.
(J:333)

luma *Korbafo*.

luma *Bokai*.

luma *Bilbaa*.

ruma *Rikou*.

luma *Ba'a*.

ruma *Tii*.

luma *Dengka*.

ruma *Oenale*.

rumun *Ro'is Amarasi*. empty.

ruman (2) ruum *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) empty. 2) plain, ‘emptily’,
without anything extra. [*Note*:
Jonker (1908:333) glosses *Metu*
luum, **ruum** as ‘just, plainly’.]

luman *Molo*. empty. (M:292)

ruman *Kusa-Manea*. empty, blank.

Out-comparisons:

ruman *Fehan Tetun*. some.

ruma *East Tetun*. some, any,
several, few. (Mo:162)

dupi** *PnMetu*. wall. *Etym*: *dumbi**
(pre-*Metu*).

krupit, rupit *Kotos Amarasi*. wall.

klupit, lupit, klipi, klipit *Molo*.
wall (of a house). (M:218, 369)

Out-comparisons:

rupi *Kisar*. wall, make walls of the
house, plaster walls(?).

D - d

***dada** *PRM.* warm near a fire. *Etym:* *daŋdaŋ ‘warm oneself or something near a fire; heat or dry near a fire’. *Pattern:* d-2. [minority from *PMP*: *d > *dʰ (expect *d)]

dala (2) dala haʔi *Termanu.* 1) roast.
2) warm oneself by a fire, warm up, like a woman after childbirth. (J:72)

dala *Korbafo.*

dala *Bokai.*

dala *Bilbaa.*

dara *Rikou.*

dala *Ba'a.*

dara *Tii.*

dala *Dengka.*

dara *Oenale.*

n-rara *Ro'is Amarasi.* warm oneself by a fire.

n-rara *Kotos Amarasi.* warm oneself by a fire.

malalaʔ *Amfo'an.* hot.

n-lala *Molo.* roast, warm oneself. (M:259)

Out-comparisons:

eʔ-rara (2) eʔ-rara-n *Buru.*
1) warm over fire. 2) heat, fever. (Grimes and Grimes 2020:245)

***dade** *PRM.* basil. *Pattern:* d-2. [irr. from *PRM*: *a > e in *Meto*; *d > r in *Amarasi*] [*Sporadic*: antepenultimate vowel reduction in most *Rote*.]

dala_dae, dale_dae *Termanu.* basil. (J:72)

dali_dai *Bokai.*

dara_dae *Rikou.*

dala_dai *Ba'a.*

dara_dae *Tii.*

dale_mbake *Dengka.*

dare_dae *Oenale.*

dare *Dela.* basil.

to/rere *Ro'is Amarasi.* basil. [*Form:* The source of initial **to** is currently unknown.]

to/rere *Kotos Amarasi.* basil.

to/lene, to/nene *Molo.* kind of mint. (M:569)

to/nena-l *Timaus.* basil. [*Form:* regular *a > e word finally.]

***dafu₁** *Morph:* *ka-dafu. *PRM.* useless, waste. [*Form:* Helong indicates earlier medial *b.]

ka|dafu-k (2) na-ka-da~dafu *Termanu.* 1) garbage, dry garbage.
2) make dirty. (J:70)

ka|dafu-ʔ *Korbafo.*

ka|dafu-k *Bokai.*

ka|dafu-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

ka|dafu-ʔ *Rikou.*

ka|dafu-k *Ba'a.*

ka|dafu-k *Tii.*

ka|dafu-ʔ *Dengka.*

ka|dafu-ʔ *Oenale.*

k|rafun *Kotos Amarasi.* useless.

<ma(k)lafu> *Molo.* dust, riddle. (M:255)

Out-comparisons:

dabun *Semau Helong.* not enough.

(k)rahuk *East Tetun.* brittle, fragile. (Mo:158)

***dafu₂** *Morph:* *dafu~dafu. *PRM.* chaotic, random.

dafu~dafu *Termanu.* indifferent, wrong. (J:69)

dafu~dafu *Korbafo.*

dafu~dafu *Bokai.*

dafu~dafu *Bilbaa.*

dafu~dafu *Rikou.*

dafu~dafu *Ba'a.*

dafu~dafu *Tii.*

dafu~dafu *Dengka.*

dafu~dafu *Oenale.*

rafuʔ~rafuʔ *Kotos Amarasi.* without cause, reason, or purpose, or thought as to the consequences, usually resulting in chaos for someone.

lafuʔ~lafuʔ *Molo.* in a wild manner. (M:255)

Out-comparisons:

da~dahut, dahut~dahut

Semau Helong. messy, chaotic, commotion, uproar, tumult.

rahuk (2) rahun (3)

rahu~rahun *East Tetun.*

1) rain in large scattered drops.

2) powder, small fragments, small pieces. 3) small things, little objects. (Mo:158)

***ɖai**₁ *Morph.* ***na-ɖai**. *PRM.* store, put inside.

na-ɖai *Termanu.* put something in somewhere, store. (J:71)

na-ɖai *Korbafo.*

na-ɖai *Bokai.*

na-ɖai *Bilbaa.*

na-ɖai *Rikou.*

na-ɖai *Ba'a.*

na-ɖai *Tii.*

na-ɖai *Dengka.*

na-ɖai *Oenale.*

na-ɖai *Dela.* fill (bottle).

na-rai *Kotos Amarasi.* put inside, fill.

na-lai *Meto.* (J:71)

Out-comparisons:

rai *East Tetun.* put down, retain, remain, keep, to guard. (Mo:158)

rai *Waima'a.* put, lay.

***ɖai**₂ *Rote.* reach, arrive at.

ɖai *Termanu.* reach, arrive at. (J:70)

ɖai *Korbafo.*

ɖai *Bokai.*

ɖai *Bilbaa.*

ɖai *Rikou.*

ɖai *Ba'a.*

ɖai *Tii.*

ɖai *Dengka.*

ɖai *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

ɖai *Hawu.* arrive, until, the point that. [*Form:* **ɖae** = singular.]

***ɖalan** *PRM.* path. *Etym.* **zalan*.

dala-k *Termanu.* course. [*Semantics:*

In Termanu the meaning is restricted to 'course'; in other Rote varieties the meaning is broader.] (J:72)

dala-ʔ *Korbafo.* course, way.

dala-k *Bokai.*

dala-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

dala-ʔ *Rikou.*

dala-k *Ba'a.*

ɖala-k *Tii.*

ɖala-ʔ *Dengka.*

ɖala-ʔ *Oenale.*

ɖala-ʔ *Dela.* way, path, road.

ranan *Ro'is Amarasi.* way, path, road.

ranan *Kotos Amarasi.* way, path, road.

lanan *Amanuban.* way. (M:259)

lalan *Molo.* way. [*Form:* regular **n* > *l* / *IC* _.] (M:259)

ranan *Kusa-Manea.* way, path, road.

Out-comparisons:

lalan *Semau Helong.* road, trail, path.

dalan *East Tetun.* road, track, path. (Mo:22)

saal *Mambae, South.* road, path, way. (Grimes et al. 2014b:39)

salan *Galolen.* road, path, way.

ɟara *Dhao.* path, trail, road, way.

kalla *Kisar.* road, path, street.

sala(n) *Ili'uun.* road, path, way. (dJ:136)

rufara *Hawu.* way, path, road.

***dama** *PRM.* resin, gum, plaster. *Etym:*

**damaR* 'resin or gum exuded by certain trees, notably of the genera *Shorea* and *Hopea*; resinous torch; resinous tree'. [*minority from PMP:* **d* > **ɖ* (expect **d*)] [*Sporadic:* **a* > *e* / _# in Meto.] [*History:* If this is a borrowing (from Malay *damar* or similar), then it is an early borrowing as final **a* > *e* in Meto does not otherwise occur in loans.]

dama *Termanu*. a) gum, resin. b) **dama ofa-k** tar a boat. From that, more generally: cover with; also: work with mortar, or concrete masonry: **dama uma**, plaster a house; **dama lates**, make a grave with mortar; **late na-na-dama-k**, a plastered grave or a grave made with mortar. (J:74)

dama *Korbafo*.

dama *Bokai*.

dama *Bilbaa*.

dama *Rikou*.

dama *Ba'a*.

dama *Tii*.

dama *Dengka*.

dama *Oenale*.

dama *Dela*. build concrete wall.

rame? (2) n-rame *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) concrete wall, safety, security.

2) plaster, build concrete wall.

[*Semantics*: The semantic expansion to include 'concrete' is obviously recent.]

Out-comparisons:

°**dame** *Helong*. tar, plaster, cover. Borrowed from: Meto before *d' > r (shown by final *a = e correspondence). (J:74)

***dano** *Rote*. lake. *Etym*: *danaw. [minority from PMP: *d > *d' (expect *d)] [History: possibly a borrowing from Malay *danau* or similar.]

dano *Termanu*. lake, pool. (J:75)

dano *Korbafo*.

dano *Bokai*.

dano *Bilbaa*.

dano *Rikou*.

dano *Ba'a*.

dano *Tii*.

dano *Dengka*.

dano *Oenale*.

***danga**₁ *PRM*. step over. [History: possibly connected with PMP *lanqaq.]

daja *Termanu*. softly tiptoe, step over. <**ana danga seli-n**> he steps over him (J:75)

daja *Korbafo*.

daja *Bokai*.

daja *Bilbaa*.

daka *Rikou*.

dangga *Ba'a*.

dangga *Tii*.

dangga *Dengka*.

dangga *Oenale*.

n-raka, n-rakan *Kotos Amarasi*. step over, cross, stride.

n-laka *Molo*. steps over. (M:256)

***danga**₂ *PwRM*. hand span. *Etym*: *zanʔkal (PWMP. Blust and Trussel (ongoing) also reconstruct PMP *zanʔan 'hand span').

dangga *Dengka*. span. (J:621,686)

n-raka (2) raka-t *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) measure with hand span. 2) hand span.

hae-n laka-n (2) <nima-n> laka-n *Molo*. 1) step of foot. 2) span of hand. (M:256)

Out-comparisons:

daja *Semau Helong*. span of hand, inch. [Note: Jonker (1908:621) gives Helong **sdaja**.]

***dasi** *nRM*. discussion, speech.

dasi (2) dasi-k *Termanu*. 1) singing of birds; used in combination with **soda** [OE = 'sing']. Also (though less common in Termanu): say, tell (frequently with this meaning in poems). 2) song (also of people), speech, word. *Usage*: mainly poetic. (J:76)

dasi *Tii*. discuss, speak. (Grimes et al. 2014a)

rasi *Ro'is Amarasi*. matter, affair, issue.

rasi *Kotos Amarasi*. matter (non-physical), affair, issue.

lasi *Molo*. case, ritual, story, lawsuit. (M:263)

rasi *Kusa-Manea*. language, speech.

Out-comparisons:

dasi *Semau Helong*. language, matter, thing, dispute, litigation, affairs.

***dee** *PRM.* subordinating particle.

dee *Termanu.* and, and then, and therefore. (J:76)

dee *Korbafo.*

dee *Bokai.*

dee *Bilbaa.*

dee *Rikou.*

dee *Ba'a.*

dee *Tii.*

dee *Dengka.*

dee *Oenale.*

de *Dela.* then, thus, so.

he? *Ro'is Amarasi.* RELATIVISER.
[irr. from *PRM*: *r > h]

re? *Kotos Amarasi.* a) general purpose relativiser, including time ('when') and location ('where'). b) marker of an NP that is already a known referent.

le? *Molo.* which. (M:264)

on ro? *Kusa-Manea.* like, similar to. *Usage:* In *Amarasi* **on** and **on re?** (when the following NP is a topic) are used to mean 'like'. *Kusa-Manea ro?* has not yet been attested without preceding **on**. [irr. from *PRM*: *e > o]

Out-comparisons:

je *Hawu.* then, while. Realis, indicating actual action or result.

***deha** *Rote.* speak.

de?a (2) de~de?a-k *Termanu.* 1) say, speak. 2) that which is said, saying, word, language, report; therefore: matter. (J:79)

de?a (2) de~de?a-? *Korbafo.*

de?a (2) de~de?a-k *Bokai.*

dea (2) de~dea-? *Bilbaa.*

de~dea *Landu.* speak. (own field notes)

dea (2) de~dea-? *Rikou.*

de?a (2) de~de?a-k *Ba'a.*

de?a (2) de~de?a-k *Tii.*

(2) de~dea-t *Dengka.*

(2) de~dea-t *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

dehet (2) nahdehe *Semau Helong.*

1) story, news, language. 2) talk, tell a story. [irr. from *PRM*: *a = e correspondence]

de?an *Fehan Tetun.* speak angrily; speak abusively (e.g. 'you're a dog').

dehan *East Tetun.* speak. (Mo:23)

***deke** *Morph:* ***deke-k.** *Rote.* kernel, pip of fruit. *Pattern:* k-7.

de?e-k *Termanu.* kernel, pip of fruit. (J:80)

de?e-? *Korbafo.*

de?e-k *Bokai.*

deke-? *Bilbaa.*

deke-? *Rikou.*

de?e-k *Ba'a.*

de?e-k *Tii.*

deke-? *Dengka.*

deke-? *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

ai tahan dikin *East Tetun.* bud, shoot, sprout. [Form: Jonker (1908:80) gives Tetun Dili **dikin** = 'eye, knot of a plant'.] (Mo:2)

***de?u** *PwRM.* sacred, awe inspiring, awful, bad.

de?u *Dengka.* cattle plague. (J:688)

re?u (2) re?uf (3) n-re?u *Kotos Amarasi.* 1) sacred, holy, awe-inspiring. 2) bad, evil. 3) broken.

le?u *Molo.* magic. (M:272)

na-mreu? *Kusa-Manea.* broken.

***dele** *PRM.* Job's tears. *Coix lachryma-jobi.* Etym: *zəlay.

dele *Termanu.* kind of millet, which is a staple food in eastern Rote. (J:82)

dele *Korbafo.*

dele *Bokai.*

dele *Bilbaa.*

dele *Rikou.*

dele *Ba'a.*

dele *Tii.*

dele *Dengka.*

dele *Oenale.*

°sone *Ro'is Amarasi*. Job's tears.
Borrowed from: Welaun (or extinct related language) **sole** before *l > n in Meto. For Welaun *z > s and *ə > o are both regular.

°sone *Kotos Amarasi*. Job's tears.

°sone *Molo*. kind of grain. (M:513)

Out-comparisons:

sele *Kemak*. corn, maize.

sole (2) sole fatun *Welaun*.
1) corn, maize. 2) Job's tears.
[Note: **fatun** = 'stone'.]
[Semantics: It is likely that the original designation was 'Job's tears' and that maize was assimilated as a kind of Job's tears. With increased importance of corn at the expense of Job's tears, the core semantic meaning also shifted. See the discussion under *mbela.]

sela *Mambae, Northwest*. corn, maize. (Fogaça 2017:236)

°sele *Fataluku*. corn, maize.
Borrowed from: an Austronesian language. [Note: non-Austronesian language of east Timor ISO 639-3 [ddg].] (Heston 2015:84)

*déli *CERM*. tendril, vine.

déli *Termanu*. kind of climbing plant with bean shaped fruit, small oval leaves, and blue flowers with white calyx. (J:83)

uut k|reni|? *Ro'is Amarasi*. pumpkin tendril.

k|reni|? *Kotos Amarasi*. tendril (particularly of a pumpkin).

*dfene *nRM*. field, garden. [irr. from PRM: *d > r ~ l in Rikou and Bilbaa for the second sense]

na-dene *Termanu*. give a field (etc.) to others in return for the cost of wages. (J:84)

na-dene *Korbafo*.

na-dene *Bokai*.

na-dene (2) lene *Bilbaa*. 2) wet rice field. (J:721)

na-dene (2) rene *Rikou*. 2) wet rice field. (J:721)

na-dene *Ba'a*.

na-dene *Tii*.

rene *Ro'is Amarasi*. field.

rene *Kotos Amarasi*. field.

lene *Amanuban*. field. (M:267)

lele-l *Amfo'an*. field. [Form: regular *n > l /IC_]]

lele *Molo*. garden. [Form: regular *n > l /IC_] (M:267)

rene *Kusa-Manea*. field.

*dfenu *Morph: *na-denu*. PRM. order, command.

na-denu *Termanu*. send someone; command. (J:84)

na-denu *Korbafo*.

na-denu *Bokai*.

na-denu *Bilbaa*.

na-denu *Rikou*.

na-denu *Ba'a*.

na-denu *Tii*.

dfenu *Dengka*.

dfenu *Oenale*.

n-renu *Kotos Amarasi*. order, command.

n-lenu *Amanuban*. commands. (M:268)

n-lelu *Molo*. commands. [Form: regular *n > l /IC_] (M:268)

reun *Kusa-Manea*. order, command.

Out-comparisons:

donu *Welaun*. order, command.

*dfere *Rote*. beat a drum.

dele labu *Termanu*. beat the drum quickly, beat the ruffle, ruffle up. (J:82)

dele *Korbafo*.

dele *Bilbaa*. beat.

dere *Rikou*.

de~dele *Ba'a*.

dfere *Tii*.

dfere *Dengka*. beat.

dfere *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

- dele** *Helong*. beat. (J:82)
dere *East Tetun*. give repeated blows with a hitting implement. (Mo:24)
dere *Hawu*. (J:82)
***d̥ero** *Morph*: ***ka-d̥ero**. *PRM*. citrus. [History: Ultimately connected with Malay *jeruk* [d̥eru?] or a related form, but *l > n in Meto indicates this was an early borrowing.]
delo *Termanu*. all kinds of citrus trees and fruit. (J:83)
delo *Korbafo*.
delo *Bokai*.
d̥ero *Bilbaa*.
d̥ero munde *Landu*. (own field notes)
delo *Ba'a*.
d̥elo *Tii*.
d̥elo-ʔ *Dengka*.
d̥ero *Oenale*.
reno|ʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. sweet orange.
ʔ|reno|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. sweet orange.
<lelo> *Molo*. orange (fruit). *Citrus* species. (M:268)
ʔ|lelo|ʔ *Timaus*. citrus.
reno|ʔ *Kusa-Manea*. citrus.

Out-comparisons:

- derok** *East Tetun*. orange fruit. (Mo:24)
***d̥eta** *Rote*. dip, dunk.
d̥eta *Termanu*. dip. (J:85)
d̥eta *Korbafo*.
d̥eta *Bokai*.
d̥eta *Bilbaa*.
d̥eta *Rikou*.
d̥eta *Ba'a*.
d̥eta *Tii*.
d̥etaʔ *Dengka*.
d̥eta *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

- ket̥əɖa** *Hawu*. [irr. from *PRM*: consonant metathesis] (J:85)
<d̥atalu> *Kambara*. momentarily touch. [Note: also in Mangili, Lewa, and Anakalang.] (On:33)
<d̥atala> *Mamboru*.
<d̥etala> *Weyewa*.

- *d̥eu** *Rote*. make a fire, strike up a fire with a fire lighter.

- d̥eu** *Termanu*. make a fire, strike up a fire with a fire lighter. (J:85)

- d̥eu** *Korbafo*.

- d̥eu** *Bokai*.

- d̥eu** *Bilbaa*.

- d̥eu** *Rikou*.

- d̥eu** *Ba'a*.

- d̥eu** *Tii*.

- d̥eu** *Dengka*.

- d̥eu** *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

- d̥eu** *Hawu*. (J:85)

- *d̥əma** *PRM*. deep. [irr. from *PRM*: *d̥ > r in Dela (expect d̥); *ə > o in Dela]

- ma-dema** (2) **na-ma-dema** (3) **dema-k** (4) **na-dema** *Termanu*. 1) high, deep. 2) be or become high or deep. 3) high, height, deep, depth. 4) make high or deep. (J:83)

- ma-dema** *Korbafo*.

- ma-dema** *Bokai*.

- ma-dema** *Bilbaa*.

- ma-dema** *Rikou*.

- ma-dema** *Ba'a*.

- ma-d̥ema** *Lole*. tall, high, deep. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

- ma-d̥ema** *Tii*.

- ma-d̥ema** *Dengka*.

- roma-ʔ** *Dela*. deep.

- n-rema** *Kotos Amarasi*. drown.

- n-lema** *Molo*. drown. (M:268)

Out-comparisons:

- mer̥əma** *Hawu*. deep.

- ɹəma** *Ende*. deep.

- ləmaŋ** *Sika*. deep or far-away place. [irr. from *PRM*: *d̥ = l correspondence] (Pareira and Lewis 1998:12)

- ləma** *Ngadha*. deep. (Djawanai 1995:Part 4, 1)

- *d̥əmbə** *PRM*. dip into. [irr. from *PRM*: *ə > o in Rote]

- d̥ope** *Termanu*. dip. (J:101)

- d̥ope** *Korbafo*.

dope *Bokai*.

dope *Rikou*.

dompe *Ba'a*.

dombe *Tii*.

dombo *Dela*. dip, swim.

na-repa? *Kotos Amarasi*. dip.

<n-lepe> *Molo*. dip, dunk. (M:270)

Out-comparisons:

dopon *Semau Helong*. dip.

***dii**₁ *Morph*: ***ka-dii**. *PwRM*. left (side). *Doublet*: ***kii**. *Etym*: ***di-wiRi** (combination of ***di** 'locative case marker' and ***wiRi** 'left side or direction').

dii *Dengka*. left, north. (J:688)

dii-? *Oenale*. left, north. (J:688)

?rii *Kotos Amarasi*. left.

?lii *Molo*. left. (M:273)

Out-comparisons:

kliu *Semau Helong*. [*irr. from PRM*: ***d** = **l** correspondence]

mariri *Kisar*. left.

***dii**₂ *PRM*. whinny. [*Semantics*: onomatopoeia.]

na-ka-dii *Termanu*. make the sound *dii*, whinny of a horse. (J:86)

na-ka-dii *Korbafo*.

na-ka-dii *Bokai*.

na-ka-dii *Bilbaa*.

na-dii *Rikou*.

na-ka-dii *Ba'a*.

na-ka-dii *Tii*.

na-?a-dii *Dengka*.

na-?a-dii *Oenale*.

eku_lii, euk_rii *Meto*. whinny. (J:86)

***diki** *PRM*. small. *Etym*: ***dikit** 'little, few, small in amount'. *Pattern*: k-7. [*minority from PMP*: ***d** > ***d'** (expect ***d**)] [*irr. from PRM*: ***d** > **h** in *Dengka*]

ka-di?i *Termanu*. be(come) small. (J:86)

ka-di?i *Korbafo*.

ka-di?i *Ba'a*.

ka-di?i *Tii*.

ana_hiki-? *Dengka*. small. (J:677)

ana_diki-? *Oenale*. small. (J:677)

ana_diki-? (2) **ana_hiki-?** *Dela*.

1) small child. 2) small.

ri?i|t (2) **ri?/ana?** (3) **ri?/feto**

(4) **ri?/mone** *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) younger sibling. 2) child. 3) girl.

4) boy.

li?a|t (2) **li?/mone** (3) **li?/feto** *Molo*.

1) young man. 2) boy. 3) girl.

(M:273)

Out-comparisons:

ki?ik *East Tetun*. small or little in size. [*irr. from PMP*: ***d** > **k**] (Mo:107)

iki *Hawu*. tiny, small.

iki *Dhao*. tiny, small.

***dila**₁ *Morph*: ***dila-k**. *CER*. wing. *See*: ***lida**.

dila-? *Landu*. (own field notes)

dila-? *Rikou*.

dila-? *Oepao*. (own field notes)

Out-comparisons:

kdila?, klila? *Funai Helong*. wing.

dila? *Semau Helong*. wing.

dila/paan *Kemak*. wing. *Usage*: Leosibe dialect.

***dila**₂ *Rote*. shine, glitter. *Etym*: ***dilap** 'sparkle, shine'. [*minority from PMP*: ***d** > ***d'**]

na-ŋa-dila (2) **dila~dila** *Termanu*.

1) shine, glitter. 2) shine, glitter.

(J:87)

na-ŋa-dila *Korbafo*.

na-ŋa-dila *Bokai*.

na-ŋa-dila *Bilbaa*.

na-ka-dila *Rikou*.

na-ŋga-dila *Ba'a*.

na-ŋga-dilak *Tii*.

na-?a-dila? *Dengka*.

***dilah** *PRM*. bael, wood apple.

Aegle marmelos. [*Semantics*: The designation was almost certainly a native tree, probably the bael/wood apple (*Aegle marmelos*), which has fruit similar to the pomegranate. The pomegranate was then classified as a sub-type of this tree and eventually took over the meaning entirely.]

dila-k (2) dila dae loo-k *Termanu*.

1) kind of wild pomegranate tree.

2) the normal pomegranate. (J:87)

dila-ʔ *Korbafo*.

dila-k *Bokai*.

dila(-ʔ) *Bilbaa*. [Form: final -ʔ given with a question mark.]

dila(-ʔ) *Rikou*. [Form: final -ʔ given with a question mark.]

dila boi-k *Ba'a*.

dila-k *Tii*.

dila *Dengka*.

dila *Oenale*.

rinah *Ro'is Amarasi*. kind of tree with a fruit like a pomegranate.

rinah (2) riin fui *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) pomegranate. 2) kind of tree with a fruit like a pomegranate which grows in the wild.

liin hau (2) liin kase *Amanuban*.

1) kind of tree the fruit of which has a gelatinous fluid. *Aegle marmelos*.

2) kind of pomegranate. (M:275)

lilah (2) liil kase, lila kase *Molo*.

1) kind of tree whose fruit has gelatinous fluid. *Aegle marmelos*.

2) kind of pomegranate. *Punica granatum*. [Form: regular *n > l / lC_] (M:275)

rinah *Kusa-Manea*. pomegranate.

Out-comparisons:

dila *Fehan Tetun*. pomegranate, pawpaw.

ai dila (2) ai dila tukun, ai dila fatuk *East Tetun*. 1) pawpaw tree and fruit. (Mo:2) 2) tree known as the quince tree of Timor, bearing hard orange coloured fruit. (Mo:25)

kai dile wai *Waima'a*. bael fruit. *Aegle marmelos*.

<**diliméné**> *Kisar*. pomegranate. *Punica granatum*. (Heyne 1950:1158, lxxxv)

dila *Kemak*. papaya, paw-paw.

dila *Welaun*. papaya, paw-paw.

dila *Mambae, Northwest*. papaya.

(Fogaça 2017:235)

***dio** *Morph: *dio-t*. *PRM*. crushed grain.

di~dio-k (2) dio-k *Termanu*. 1) grit of grains. 2) kind of rash on the face with (the appearance of) the grit of granules. (J:89)

di~dio-ʔ (2) dio-ʔ *Korbafo*.

kadio-k (2) dio-k *Bokai*.

kadio-ʔ (2) dio-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

(2) **dio-ʔ** *Rikou*.

di~dio-k (2) dio-k *Ba'a*.

di~dio-k (2) dio-k *Tii*.

di~dio-ʔ (2) dio-t *Dengka*.

di~dio-ʔ (2) dio-t *Oenale*.

reo|t *Kotos Amarasi*. crushed grains (typically corn or rice). [Sporadic: vowel height harmony *i > e / _o.]

lio|t *Amanatun*. crushed rice grains. (M:278)

leo|t *Molo*. fine grains of crushed rice or maize. (M:270)

***ditə** *PRM*. gum, resin, glue, sticky, stick to. [irr. from *PRM*: *ə > a in Ba'a] [Sporadic: *ə > e / σ_# in wRote (perhaps *ə > *a > e / _#).] [History: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PAN *ditəq 'sticky substance' on the basis of the Termanu reflex and Amis **ditaʔ** 'a lump of clay for making pottery; clay; a type of soil'. Unless more evidence is forthcoming, I do not find this reconstruction convincing. They also reconstruct PMP *litəq 'sap of a tree or plant' on the basis of much better evidence, though this reconstruction cannot account regularly for the forms given here.]

di~dite (2) na-ka-dite *Termanu*.

1) plant gum, bird lime. 2) be sticky, stick to. (J:89)

di~dite *Korbafo*.

di~dite *Bokai*.

di~dite *Bilbaa*.

di~dita *Ba'a*.

di~dite *Tii*.

dite *Dengka*.

dite *Oenale*.

n-rita (2) a-rita-s *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) frozen, coagulated (can be said of blood or liquid). 2) thick (e.g. of milk).

n-liit (2) <lit> *Molo*. 1) sticks to, cures (milk). 2) glue, adhesive. (M:278)

Out-comparisons:

°litas *Semau Helong*. thick. **Eta unit ta litas son nam nakin tia**. When the sugar is thick, take it off the heat. *Borrowed from: Meto rita-s* (shown by irr. *d = l correspondence and final s).

ritan (2) ha-ritan *East Tetun*. 1) resin, gum. (Mo:161) 2) glue, stick together with glue, gum or resin. [*irr. from PRM: *d = r correspondence*] (Mo:78)

krite *Waima'a*. sticky.

***dɔa** *PRM*. burp, belch. [*Sporadic: glottal stop insertion in Meto.*]

dɔa *Termanu*. have an eructation, burp. (J:92)

dɔa *Korbafo*.

dɔa *Bokai*.

dɔa *Bilbaa*.

dɔa *Rikou*.

dɔa *Ba'a*.

dɔa *Tii*.

dɔa *Dengka*.

dɔa *Oenale*.

dɔa *Dela*. burp.

n-roʔa *Ro'is Amarasi*. vomit.

n-roʔa *Kotos Amarasi*. vomit.

n-looʔ *Molo*. throws up. (M:280)

roaʔ *Kusa-Manea*. vomit.

Out-comparisons:

dean *Semau Helong*. burp, belch. [*irr. from PRM: *o = e correspondence*]

***dodo** *PRM*. kill by stabbing. *Etym: *dodok* 'pierce, stab' (PCMP). [*minority from PMP: *d > *d' /#_ ; *d > *d' /V_V*]

dodo *Termanu*. slit the throat, slaughter. (J:94)

dodo *Korbafo*.

dodo *Bokai*.

dodo *Ba'a*.

dodo *Tii*.

dodo *Dengka*.

n-roro *Ro'is Amarasi*. kill.

n-roro *Kotos Amarasi*. kill by stabbing. [*Semantics: Does not refer exclusively to slitting the throat.*]

n-lolo *Molo*. slaughters. (M:284)

roor *Kusa-Manea*. kill.

Out-comparisons:

dodo *Semau Helong*. technique of multiple stabbing of carotid artery (for goat).

***doi** *PRM*. carry on shoulder with pole.

na-la-doi *Termanu*. carry something on a pole so that the load hangs from one end of the pole above one's back. (J:95)

na-la-doi *Korbafo*.

na-ŋa-doi *Bokai*.

na-ka-doi *Rikou*.

doi *Ba'a*.

na-la-doi *Tii*.

na-ŋa-doi *Dengka*.

doi *Oenale*.

n-roi *Kotos Amarasi*. carry on shoulder with pole.

n-loi *Molo*. carries a pole on his shoulder. (M:282)

roi *Kusa-Manea*. carry.

Out-comparisons:

dui, dui *Dhao*. carry on shoulder, carry with a pole.

dui *Hawu*. carry on shoulder.

doi *Keo*. carry something with stick on shoulder. [*Note: language of central Flores ISO 639-3 [xxk].*] (Baird 2002:547)

***doka** *Morph*: ***doka_dalə-k**. *Rote*. knee cavity. *Pattern*: k-5. [*History*: Perhaps related to PMP *dəkuk ‘bow, bend downward’, though this requires irr. *d > *d’ and *ə > *o.]

doka_dale(-k) *Termanu*. knee cavity. (J:96)

loka_dale-ʔ *Korbafo*.

doka_dale-k *Bokai*.

doka_dale-k *Ba’a*.

doka_dale-k *Tii*.

doka_rala-ʔ *Oenale*. [*Form*: This form is given as ‘resp. **doka_dale-ʔ**’ but the word for ‘inside’ in *Oenale* is **rala-ʔ**.]

Out-comparisons:

kerəki *Hawu*. (J:96)

<**karoka**> *Kambara*. cavity, bend. [*Note*: also in *Mangili*, *Lewa*, and *Anakalang*.] (On:188)

<**kaleka**> *Mamboru*.

***doki** *Morph*: ***dō-dōki**. *Rote*. desire. *Pattern*: k-5' (*k > Ø in *Rikou*; expect ʔ or k, and *k > ʔ in *Dengka*; expect *k = k).

dō~doki *Termanu*. desire or crave something. (J:97)

dō~doki *Korbafo*.

dō~doki *Bokai*.

dō~doi, (dō~dōʔi ʔ) *Rikou*.

dō~doki *Ba’a*.

dō~doki *Tii*.

dō~dōʔi *Dengka*.

dō~doki *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

duki *Hawu*. (J:97)

***dōʔi** *PRM*. prise out, lever out.

dōʔi *Termanu*. picks out, e.g. to lever something up with a stick like a lever. (J:96)

dōʔi *Korbafo*.

dōʔi *Rikou*.

dōʔi *Ba’a*.

dōʔi *Tii*.

dōʔi *Dengka*.

dōʔi *Oenale*.

n-roʔe *Kotos Amarasi*. pick out, pick seeds from a piece of fruit. [*Sporadic*: vowel height harmony *i > e /oC_.]

loʔi *Molo*. churns the ground up. (M:282)

roʔi *Kusa-Manea*. dig out.

Out-comparisons:

tuki *Semau Helong*. dig out, peck, adze. [*irr. from PRM*: *d’ = t correspondence]

<**ruki**> *Kambara*. take out. (On:449)

<**rauku**> *Lewa*.

<**rauki**> *Anakalang*.

dokit *Sika*. dig out. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:40)

***dole** *Morph*: ***dōle-k**. *nRM*. brains, marrow.

dō~dole-k (2) laŋa dō~dole-k

(3) mata dō~dole-k (4) na-

dō~dole *Termanu*. 1) anything like grease, therefore brains. 2) marrow from bones. 3) eye grease, dirt from the eyes. 4) have brains or marrow. (J:98)

dō~dole-ʔ *Korbafo*.

dō~dole-k *Bokai*.

dō~dole-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

dō~dole-ʔ *Rikou*.

dō~dole-k *Ba’a*.

dō~dōle-k *Tii*.

roene-f *Ro’is Amarasi*. brain.

rone-f (2) maat roneʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) brain. 2) rheum, eye gunk.

lone-f *Amanuban/Amanatun*. brains. (M:283)

lole-f *Molo*. brains. [*Form*: regular *n > l /lC_.] (M:283)

rone-f *Kusa-Manea*. brain.

Out-comparisons:

dole-n *East Tetun*. marrow (of bones). (Mo:26)

dole *Hawu*. marrow. (J:98)

***dolu** *PRM*. draw water, lower, fish with a rod.

dolu *Termanu*. a) draw water by tying the dipper onto a rope and lower it down into the well by means of a rope; also: lower on a rope. c) well (n.). b) fish, fish with a rod. (J:99)

dolu *Korbafo*.

dolu *Bokai*.

dolu *Bilbaa*.

dolu *Rikou*.

dolu *Ba'a*.

dolu *Tii*.

dolu *Dengka*. fish, fish with a rod.

[*Semantics*: Only the final *Termanu* sense is recorded as being present in *Dengka* and *Oenale*.] (J:99)

dolu *Oenale*. fish, fish with a rod. (J:99)

<**lolu**> (2) **an-lolu** *Molo*. 1) hook, anchor of ship. 2) taken with a harvesting hook. (M:284)

Out-comparisons:

dulu *Hawu*. enter deeply, pierce downward.

<**dulungu**> *Kambera*. hang down, dangle. [*Note*: also in *Mangili*.] (On:41)

<**dolungu**> *Lewa*.

<**daulungu**> *Anakalang*.

<**padulungu**> *Mamboru*.

<**döluna**> *Weyewa*.

<**dalungo**> *Kodi*.

***dombe** *Rote*. knife. *See*: ***kopi**.

dope *Termanu*. knife. (J:101)

dope *Korbafo*.

dope *Bokai*.

dope *Bilbaa*.

dope *Rikou*.

dompe *Ba'a*.

dombe *Tii*.

dombe *Dengka*.

dombe *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

supi *Sika*. knife. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:187)

jobe *Hawu*. knife. (J:101)

***doo** *Morph*: ***ka-doo**. *PRM*. far, distant.
Etym: ***zauq**.

doo-k *Termanu*. long of distance, far, long of time. (J:90)

doo-? *Korbafo*.

doo-k *Bokai*.

doo-? *Bilbaa*.

doo-? *Rikou*.

doo-k *Ba'a*.

doo-k *Tii*.

doo-? *Dengka*.

doo-? *Oenale*.

na-?|**roo** *Ro'is Amarasi*. far.

na-?|**roo** *Kotos Amarasi*. far.

na-k|**loo-g** *Amfo'an*. far. (own field notes)

?|**loo** *Molo*. far. (M:280)

roo *Kusa-Manea*. far.

Out-comparisons:

(**k**)**dook** (2) **dodook** *East Tetun*.

1) far, distant, remote. (Mo:27, 104) 2) go further away. (Mo:26)

soo *Galolen*. far.

ko?u *Kisar*. far.

soo *Ili'uun*. far. (dJ:137)

kafəu *Dhao*. far.

fəu *Hawu*. far.

***dosa** *Rote*. vinegar.

dosa (2) **na-ka-do~dosa** *Termanu*.

1) vinegar. 2) make sour. (J:102)

dosa *Korbafo*.

dosa *Bokai*.

dosa *Ba'a*.

dosa *Tii*.

dosa *Dengka*.

dosa *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

ei do kedoha *Hawu*. [*Form*: **ei** = 'water', **do** = 'relativiser'.] (J:102)

***doto** *Morph*: ***na-ka-doto**. *PRM*. thunder, make a loud noise.

na-ka-doto (2) **doto~doto** *Termanu*.

1) make noise, cause a din. 2) make a din. (J:102)

na-ka-doto *Korbafo*.

na-ka-doto *Bokai*.

na-ka-doto *Bilbaa*.

na-doto *Rikou*.

na-ka-doto *Ba'a*.

na-ka-doto *Tii*.

na-ʔa-doto *Dengka*.

na-ʔa-doto *Oenale*.

na-ʔ|roto (2) ʔ|roto-s *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) rumbling, thundering.
2) thunder.

na-ʔ|loto *Molo*. it thunders. (M:287)

na-ʔroot *Kusa-Manea*. noisy.

Out-comparisons:

loto *Semau Helong*. rumble, grumble. [*irr. from PRM: *d = l* correspondence]

đoro *Hawu*. thunder. [*irr. from PRM: *t = r* correspondence (expect *d*)]

***đudi** *PRM*. stoop, bow.

dudi *Termanu*. crouch down to go through or into somewhere, creep out or into somewhere, like a chick under or out of their mother's wing, or as a thief through the trees. (J:105)

dudi *Korbafo*.

dudi *Bokai*.

dudi *Bilbaa*.

dudi *Rikou*.

dudi *Ba'a*.

đudi *Tii*.

đudi *Dengka*.

đudi *Oenale*.

na-ʔruriʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. bend down, bow.

na-ʔruriʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. bow (in respect).

<**na-luli**> *Molo*. bows. (M:291)

***đudu** *Rote*. tinder, oakum.

dudu *Termanu*. tinder; also oakum used to plug up a vessel, and from that everything which is used to plug things up, e.g. putty. (J:105)

dudu *Korbafo*.

dudu *Bokai*.

dudu *Bilbaa*.

dudu *Rikou*.

dudu *Ba'a*.

đudu *Tii*.

đudu *Dengka*.

đudu *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

dudu *Semau Helong*.

duduk *East Tetun*. tinder, made from the velvety exterior of **tua naa**, a palm tree. (Mo:28)

dudu *Sika*. tinder from an areng palm used to make a fire. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:42)

đudu *Ende*. stuff for catching a fire, made of sugar palm.

<**kadudu**> *Kambera*. tinder (from the areng palm). (On:130)

nduru *Bima*. tinder. (Jonker 1893:65)

đzuʔđzuʔ (2) andzuʔđzuʔ *Makassar*. 1) coconut husk with rags twisted into a wick.
2) set on fire. (Cense 1979:190)

***đula** *PRM*. engrave, tattoo, pattern.

dula (2) dula-k *Termanu*. 1) making drawings, figures or patterns on sarongs and sheets, etc. 2) drawing, pattern, design on a scarf, sarong, etc. (J:106)

dula *Korbafo*.

dula *Bokai*.

dula *Bilbaa*.

dula *Rikou*.

dula *Ba'a*.

đula *Tii*.

đula *Dengka*.

đula *Oenale*.

đula-ʔ *Dela*. pattern.

runu-t *Ro'is Amarasi*. plan, scheme, event.

n-runa (2) runa-t *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) carve, chisel, inscribe. 2a) cloth pattern, tattoo, branding. 2b) plan, scheme, event.

luna (2) luna-t *Amanuban/Amanatun*. 1) engrave. (M:291)
2) tattooed figure, also pattern in cloth and carved figures in bamboo or bone. (M:291, 293)

lula (2) lula-t *Molo*. 1) engrave. (M:291) 2) tattooed figure, also pattern in cloth and carved figures in bamboo or bone. [Form: regular *n > l /IC_]/ (M:291, 293)

ruan *Kusa-Manea*. tattoo, writing.

Out-comparisons:

dula (2) hdulat *Semau Helong*. 1) write. 2) picture, illustration, portrait, image, sculpture, carving; colour, characteristic.

***dʊŋgu** *Rote*. insert.

dugu *Termanu*. insert somewhere, prod with something. (J:107)

dugu *Korbafo*.

dugu *Bokai*.

dugu *Bilbaa*.

duku *Rikou*.

dungu *Ba'a*.

dʊŋgu *Tii*.

dʊŋgu *Dengka*.

dʊŋgu *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

duŋun *Helong*. (J:107)

E - e

***eda** *PRM*. ladder, stairs. *Etym*: *haRəzan 'notched log ladder'. [Sporadic: Ø > ? /#_ in Dela-Oenale.]

eda-k (2) heda_huu-k *Termanu*. 1) stairs, ladder. (J:108) 2) ladder. [irr. from *PRM*: Ø > h in sense 2 probably influenced by following **huu-k**]. (J:167)

eda (2) heda_huu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

eda-k *Bokai*.

(2) heda_huu-k *Bilbaa*.

eda *Rikou*.

eda-k (2) heda_huu-k *Ba'a*.

eda-k (2) heda_huu-ʔ *Tii*.

(ʔ)e~(ʔ)eda-ʔ (2) (ʔ)e~(ʔ)eda_huu-ʔ *Dengka*.

ʔe~ʔeda-ʔ *Oenale*.

ʔe~ʔeda-ʔ *Dela*. ladder.

era|ʔ, era|k *Kotos Amarasi*. steps, ladder.

ela|k *Molo*. ladder. (M:98)

Out-comparisons:

elan *Semau Helong*. ladder.

oda(n) *East Tetun*. stairs, staircase. (Mo:156)

rokon *Kisar*. ladder.

***ee** *PwRM*. 3SG.ACC. [History: Possibly connected with *PRM* *ia 'this, here' (from *PMP* *ia), though this is retained with a demonstrative meaning in all branches of Rote-Meto.]

ee, nee *Dengka*. shortened form of *Dengka* and *Oenale* **eni** = *Termanu* **n, ana** (3SG) as direct object or subject suffix ... sometimes also **nee**. (J:691)

ee, nee *Oenale*.

ee *Dela*. 3SG.ACC.

=ee (2) =nee *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) 3SG. OBJ, 3DET. 2) 3SG.OBJ. *Usage*: Occurs with the verb **n-ok** 'with, accompany' and occasionally with **n-fee** 'give'.

***ei** *Morph*: ***ei-k**. *Rote*. foot, leg. *Doublet*: ***hae**. *Etym*: *qaqay. [irr. from *PMP*: *ay > *i; *a > *e (sporadic assimilation)]

ei-k *Termanu*. foot, leg of a person, paw of an animal. (J:109)

ei-ʔ *Korbafo*.

ei-k *Bokai*.

ei-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

ei-ʔ *Landu*. leg. (own field notes)

ei-ʔ *Rikou*.

ei-k *Ba'a*.

ei-k *Tii*.

ei-ʔ *Dengka*.

ei-ʔ *Oenale*.

ei-ʔ *Dela*. foot/leg.

Out-comparisons:

ii-n *Funai Helong*. foot/leg.

ii-n *Semau Helong*. foot.

ai-n *East Tetun*. leg, foot. (Mo:3)

- ai-n** *Habun*. leg/foot. [Note: language of east Timor ISO 639-3 [hbu].] (Dawson 2014)
- wei-r** *Idate*. leg/foot. [History: This form may be from *waqay, but initial [w] also occurs on at least two other words where it is unexpected: *qahəlu > **walu** ‘pestle’ and *hapuy > **wai** ‘fire.’] (Dawson 2014)
- ee-n** *Galolen*. foot/leg. *Usage*: Talur (Wetar Island) dialect. (Hinton 2000:104)
- ee** *Dadu’a*. foot/leg. (Penn 2006:93)
- ei-n** *Kisar*. foot/leg.
- ai-t** *Welaun*. leg, foot.
- *eki** *Rote*. shout, cry out. *Etym*: *əkɪt ‘squeak, shriek’ (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) give the Termanu form as evidence for both *əkɪt and the ‘disjunct’ *ə(ŋ)kɪk. The Termanu form is their only eastern evidence for *ə(ŋ)kɪk.). *Pattern*: k-5. [Sporadic: Ø > h /#_V? in Rikou.]
- eki** *Termanu*. shout, cry out loudly. (J:110)
- eki** *Korbafo*.
- eki** *Bokai*.
- eki** *Bilbaa*.
- he?i** *Rikou*.
- eki** *Tii*. shout, make a racket. (J:700)
- eki** *Oenale*.
- *eko** *Rote*. shake, sift. *Pattern*: k-5/6’ (Dengka ? Dela *k* correspondence, expect either *k* in both for pattern 5, or ? in both for pattern 6).
- (?)e~(?)eko** *Termanu*. sift the rice through the horizontal sift by rotating and shaking. (J:110f)
- (?)eko** *Korbafo*.
- (?)eko** *Bokai*.
- (?)eko** *Bilbaa*.
- ?e?o** *Rikou*. (J:110f; own field notes)
- (?)eko** *Ba’a*.
- (?)eko** *Tii*.
- e?o** *Dengka*.

eko *Dela*.

Out-comparisons:

keko *Semau Helong*. sift.

keku *East Tetun*. shake, wag. (Mo:105)

kerifi-keragu *Hawu*. tremble, shake. [Note: Jonker (1908:111) gives **herego**, **kereko**, **keko**.]

ekok *Sika*. sift rice round and round. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:45)

***ekut** *PRM*. palm fibres, woven ring from palm fibres. *Pattern*: k-6. [irr. from *PRM*: *u > e in Rote] [Form: I have reconstructed final *u rather than *e as irr. *u > e in Rote can be motivated as an instance of sporadic vowel assimilation, while alternate *e > u in Meto would be unmotivated.]

eke-k (2) eke_naa-k *Termanu*.

1) kind of ring braided from rattan or palm stems to put a hot pot or pan on, also something similar that is placed on the head to carry a load, a kind of braided ring around the opening of a popper. (J:110) 2) the outermost hard part of a young gebang palm (called **tula pato**), which is processed (called **duſi**) and separated from the useless inner part (called **tula tei-k**) and used to make a kind of rope or string called **tali_eke/naa-k** (in Kupang called *tali heknaak*), which is used to make various things (**lapik**). (J:110)

eke-? (2) eke_naa-? *Korbafo*.

eke-k (2) eke_naa-k *Bokai*.

eke-? (2) heke/na-? *Bilbaa*.

eke-? (2) ? hena-? *Rikou*.

eke-k (2) heke/naa-k *Ba’a*.

eke-k (2) aki/naa-k *Tii*. [irr. from *PRM*: *e > a; *e > i for second form]

e?e-t *Dengka*.

e?e-t *Oenale*.

eku|t *Kotos Amarasi*. base of a cooking pot on the ground.

eku|t *Molo*. braided ring of twigs used a support for a pot carried on the head. (M:98)

Out-comparisons:

eket *Helong*. (J:110)

ekat *East Tetun*. fibres of the palm Piassava. (Mo:29)

***ela₁** *PRM*. already, marker of perfective aspect. [*irr. from PRM: *l > n* in wRote; *Ø > h in Ro'is Amarasi]

la *Termanu*. an enclitic which attaches to the end of verbs to exclude something else; it can sometimes be represented with 'but, only'. (J:260)

ela *Rikou*. so that. (Nako et al. 2014)

ena, ela, la *Tii*. already, PRF. (Grimes et al. 2014a)

ena, en, na *Dengka*. already. (J:692)

ena *Oenale*. already. (J:692)

ena *Dela*. already. With active non-punctual verbs can either indicate that the situation (seen as a whole) is completed or that a particular stage of the situation, such as the beginning of the situation, is completed. With punctual verbs it indicates that the situation is completed.

=**hena** *Ro'is Amarasi*. perfective aspect.

=**ena** *Kotos Amarasi*. perfective aspect.

=**een** *Molo*. perfective suffix. [*Form: metathesised form of =ena.*] (M:101)

Out-comparisons:

ela *Semau Helong*. like that.

ele, le *Dhao*. already, PRF.

əla *Hawu*. already, PRF, has, completed.

***ela₂** *PwRM*. run, flee. [*Sporadic: diphthongisation *e > ae* in most Meto.]

n-ela *Dengka*. he flees. (J:736)

n-ela *Oenale*. he flees. (J:736)

n-ela-ʔ *Dela*. run.

n-aena *Ro'is Amarasi*. run.

n-aena *Kotos Amarasi*. run, evade, flee.

n-aen *Molo*. run away, flee. (M:10)

n-ʔean *Kusa-Manea*. run. [*irr. from PRM: Ø > ʔ*] [*Form: metathesised form of (currently unattested) *n-ʔena.*]

***ele** *nRM*. yonder, there. [*irr. from PRM: *e > Ø* in Amarasi]

ele *Termanu*. yonder, points at something that is further off than **naa**. (J:113)

ele *Korbafo*.

ele *Bokai*.

ele *Bilbaa*.

ele *Rikou*.

ele *Ba'a*.

ele *Tii*.

nee *Kotos Amarasi*. 3DEM, 3rd person demonstrative.

Out-comparisons:

nee, əne *Hawu*. that, there, then.

*Usage: Seba dialect. [irr. from PRM: *l = n correspondence]*

***elus** *PRM*. rainbow.

elus *Termanu*. rainbow. (J:113)

elu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

elu-ʔ *Bokai*.

elu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

elus *Rikou*.

elus *Ba'a*.

elus *Tii*.

elus *Dengka*.

elus *Oenale*.

elus *Dela*. rainbow.

eunus *Ro'is Amarasi*. rainbow.

enus *Kotos Amarasi*. rainbow.

enus *Molo*. rainbow. (M:102)

euns=aa *Kusa-Manea*. rainbow.

***ena** *Rote*. property, possession. [*Sporadic: Ø > ʔ /#_ in Dela-Oenale.*]

ena-na (2) na-ena *Ba'a*. 1) his property. 2) possess.

ena *Tii*.

(?)ena *Dengka*.

?ena *Oenale*.

?ena (2) ma-?ena-? *Dela*. 1) have, own. 2) possess, have, rich.

Out-comparisons:

nena *Semau Helong*. share, portion, own.

***eni** *PwRM*. third person.

eni *Dengka*. = **ndia** (3SG) as personal pronoun. (J:693)

eni *Oenale*.

eni *Dela*. 3SG.ACC.

=**eni** *Kotos Amarasi*. PL, DEF.PL.

***eno** *Morph*: ***eno-k**. *nRM*. way, path. *Etym*: *qənuR ‘animal path, trail’. [*Sporadic*: *u > *o / _ *R#.]

eno-k (2) na-eno *Termanu*. 1) way, path, road. *Usage*: in *Termanu*, **eno** is the more common word and **dala-k** the more unusual (Fox 2016b:11). 2) serve as a path. (J:114)

eno-? *Korbafo*.

eno-k *Bokai*.

eno-? *Bilbaa*.

eno-? *Rikou*.

eno-k *Tii*.

eno|? (2) eno_sneer *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) door. 2) window.

eno|? *Molo*. door. [*Form*: *Middelkoop* gives a parallelism with **lalan** ‘way’; **eno? ma lalan**. This probably attests older semantics.] (M:101)

Out-comparisons:

enon *Helong*. path. (J:114)

***endən** *PRM*. soak. *See*: ***lende**. *Etym*: *(R)ədəm (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct *ədəm with ‘disjunct’ *Rədəm. Blust and Trussel (ongoing) give *Termanu* **ene** and *Mongondow* **onop** as evidence for *əñəp ‘sunken, submerged’. This connection is spurious as the other Rote reflexes all point to medial *nd.). [*irr. from PMP*: *d > *nd] [*minority from PMP*: *ə > *e / _ # in second *Oenale*

form (expect *ə > a, possibly *ə > *a > e)] [*Sporadic*: diphthongisation *ə > (*e) > ae in *Meto*; Ø > ? / # _ in *Dela-Oenale*.] [*Form*: The nasal-stop cluster reconstructed for *PRM* is also supported by Malay **rəndam**.]

ene (2) oe ma-na|ene-k *Termanu*.

1) soak something, have something soak, make soak. 2) still-standing water. [*Form*: This form probably has consonant metathesis from earlier *na-ma-ene-k.] (J:114)

ene *Korbafo*.

ene *Bokai*.

ene (2) oe=a ene *Bilbaa*. 2) standing still, said of water. (J:692)

enden *Landu*. soak. (own field notes)

ende *Rikou*.

ere *Oepao*. (own field notes)

ene *Ba'a*.

ende *Lole*. submerge. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

ende *Tii*.

(?)enda *Dengka*.

?enda (2) ende~ende *Oenale*. 2) standing still, said of water. (J:692)

?enda *Dela*. soak.

na-?aera? *Ro'is Amarasi*. soak. [*Form*: automatic glottal stop insertion between CV- prefix and #V-initial stem.]

na-?aeka? *Kotos Amarasi*. soak.

<**n-aika**> *Molo*. soak. (M:9)

Out-comparisons:

nenen *Semau Helong*. soak.

***esa** *PRM*. one. *Etym*: *əsa.

esa *Termanu*. one. (J:115)

esa *Korbafo*.

esa *Bokai*.

esa *Bilbaa*.

esa *Rikou*.

esa *Ba'a*.

esa *Tii*.

esa *Dengka*.

esa *Oenale*.

esa, es, sa (2) ka-esan *Dela*. 1) one.
2) first.

=**esa** *Ro'is Amarasi*. one.

=**esa** *Kotos Amarasi*. one.

=**ees** *Molo*. one. [Form: metathesised form of =**esa**.] (M:103)

eas (2) =ees *Kusa-Manea*. 1) one.
2) one (enclitic). [Form: The second form apparently shows assimilation of final *a* after metathesis, which is not normally expected in Kusa-Manea.]

Out-comparisons:

esa *Semau Helong*. one.

***esak** *PRM*. day after tomorrow. See:
***afi**, ***beni**. [Form: Final **k* has been reanalysed in most Rote forms as the nominal suffix *-*k*.]

bina_esa-k (2) (ndee) bina_esa-k=a *Termanu*. 1) day after tomorrow. 2) day before yesterday. (J:50)

bina_esa-ʔ (2) bina_esak=a *Korbafo*.

bina_esa-k (2) bina_esa-k=a *Bokai*.

bin/esa-ʔ (2) bin/esak=a *Bilbaa*.

bina_esa-ʔ (2) bina_esa-ʔ=a *Rikou*.

bina_esa-k (2) bina_esa-k=a *Ba'a*.
bin/esa-k *Tii*.

feni_esa-ʔ *Dengka*.

feni_esa-ʔ *Oenale*.

esah *Kotos Amarasi*. day after the day after tomorrow, two days from now.

<**anesa**> *Molo*. day after tomorrow. (M:103)

***eti** *PRM*. come by, go by. [irr. from *PRM*: **t* > ʔ/V_V in *Termanu*]

n-eʔi *Termanu*. go, (often translated with 'come'). (J:387)

n-eti *Ba'a*. he goes. (J:737)

n-eti *Tii*. go. (Grimes et al. 2014a)

eti *Dengka*. go. (J:737)

n-eti *Dela*. indicates motion away from the speaker and motion towards the addressee.

n-eiti *Kotos Amarasi*. go, come.

eti *Molo*. come round. **au ʔ-eti** I'll come to you (M:105)

***eto** *Morph*: ***eto-ʔ**. *PwRote*. bran. See:

***taaʔ**. [Sporadic: Ø > ʔ /#_ in *Dela-Oenale*.] [History: Possibly related to *PMP* **qəta*, though this is retained as **taa-ʔ** in *wRote*.]

(ʔ)**eto-ʔ** *Dengka*. bran. (J:694)

ʔeto-ʔ *Oenale*. bran. (J:694)

ʔeto-ʔ *Dela*.

Out-comparisons:

əto *Hawu*. (J:694)

***etu**₁ *PRM*. catfish. [irr. from *PRM*: **t* > ʔ in *Keka*]

etu *Termanu*. kind of small poisonous fish. (J:116)

eʔu *Keka*. [Note: The form **eʔu** is noted as also occurring in other (unspecified) varieties.] (J:694)

etu *Korbafo*.

etu *Bokai*.

etu *Bilbaa*.

etu *Rikou*.

etu *Ba'a*.

etu *Tii*.

etu *Dengka*.

etu *Oenale*.

etu *Dela*. catfish.

iik etu *Ro'is Amarasi*. catfish.

Out-comparisons:

<**naétu**> *Hawu*. (J:116)

***etu**₂ *PMeto*. therefore, that is why. [History: The *Meto* and *Tetun* forms are likely borrowings, but the direction of borrowing is unclear.]

etu naa *Ro'is Amarasi*. that is why, because of that.

etun *Kotos Amarasi*. that is why, because of that.

etun *Amanuban*. therefore. (M:105)

Out-comparisons:

etuk *East Tetun*. therefore, for that reason. (Mo:30)

Θ - ə

əmə** *Morph*: 1SG ***kumə**, 2SG ***mumə**, 3SG ***nemə**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL ***mimə**, 1PL.INCL ***temə**, 3PL ***remə**. *PRM*. come. *See*: ***mai**. [*irr. from PRM*: *ə > a / # in Lole and Tii; initial *m > Ø in 2SG form in Lole, Tii, and wRM; initial *m > Ø in 2PL/1PL.EXCL form in wRM] [*Form*: With the exception of Tii and Lole, all the Nuclear Rote languages have a vowel initial root **-eme** which takes the expected consonantal agreement prefixes (see §2.6.5). The other languages all have irregular inflections none of which I can explain adequately at this stage. While I propose a possible account for these irregular forms here, I am not completely satisfied with it, as it requires positing several ad-hoc changes. Firstly, I have reconstructed irregular inflections to PRM as it seems simpler to posit regularisation of the paradigm between PRM and some daughter languages than to posit creation of irregular forms from an originally regular paradigm. Secondly, I propose that this root took vocalic prefixes for all forms at a stage prior to PRM and that the root was originally disyllabic *əmə**. Thus, I propose pre-RM 1SG ****ku-əmə**, 2SG ****mu-əmə**, 3SG ****na-əmə**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL ****mi-əmə**, 1PL.INCL ****ta-əmə**, 3PL ****ra-əmə**. The 3SG, 3PL, and 1PL.INCL forms all show ****aə > *e** which is supported by four other forms (***ma-əsa > *mesa** ‘alone’, ***ma-qəti > *meti** ‘low tide’, ***baqəRu > *baəRu > *beu** ‘new’, and ***haRəzan > *aəzan > *edfa** ‘ladder’), though there are also three forms that attest ***aə > *a** (***ma-həmis > **məəmis > *mamis** ‘insipid’, ***mahəyaq > *mae2** ‘shy’, ***qahəlu > **qaəlu > *halu** ‘pestle’).

Thus, I propose, as illustrated with the 3SG form, pre-RM ****na-əmə > PRM *nemə**. The Nuclear Rote languages (apart from Tii and Lole) then reanalysed 3SG ***nemə**, 3PL **remə**, and 1PL.INCL ***temə** as containing a root ***-emə** and a consonantal prefix. They then regularised the paradigm by using this root and a consonantal prefix for all persons. The PRM 1SG, 2SG, and 2PL/1PL.EXCL forms are a result of ****ə > Ø** in the inflected forms. This follows the normal pattern for trisyllables with medial schwa and initial *i or *u, though there are only three putative examples: ***binəhiq > *bini** ‘seed’, ***buqəni > *buni** ‘ringworm’, and perhaps ***quhənap > *unə** ‘scale’. Thus, the complete pathway for the 2PL/1PL.EXCL form in wRM, Tii, and Lole was probably: pre-RM ****mi-əmə > PRM *mimə > mima**. wRM further has loss of initial *m in both this form and the 2SG form, while Tii and Lole only have loss of *m in the 2SG form. Thus, ****mu-əmə > PRM *mumə > (2)uma**. The only explanation I can offer for initial *u* in Tii and Lole 3SG **numa** and 3PL **ruma/luma** is that this is due to the initial vowel of the 1SG/2SG form **(2)uma** exerting paradigmatic pressure. While this goes against cross-linguistic norms where we expect the more common 3SG form to be the one to exert paradigmatic pressure, it finds some support from the fact that in the inflection of ***əu** ‘go’ in Ro’is Amarasi it is also the 1SG/2SG stem that has spread to other parts of the paradigm. Regarding the vowels of the Meto forms, apart from the Amarasi and Amfo’an forms, other known varieties of Meto show irregular vowel

developments in the metathesised 1SG/2SG and 2PL/1PL.EXCL forms. These changes have three sequenced stages: (1) vowel breaking, as seen in Fatule'u 1SG/2SG ****uum** > **aum** and 2PL/1PL.EXCL ****iim** > **aim**, (2) partial assimilation, as seen in Amanatun 1SG/2SG ****aum** > **oum**, and (3) complete assimilation, as seen in Baikenō 2PL/1PL.EXCL ****aim** > ****eim** > **cem**. The unmetathesised forms of the 1SG/2SG and 2PL/1PL.EXCL forms in these varieties of Meto are unknown, and I cannot confidently predict what they might be.] *[History: The final syllable of *əmə is possibly related to *ma(R)i with irregular *ai > *ə, but note that *ma(R)i is regularly reflected as mai in the Nuclear Rote languages.]*

-eme Termanu. can sometimes mean 'come from or come out' but usually 'from' or 'out of'. *Morph:* 1SG **(?)-eme**, 2SG **m-eme**, 3SG **n-eme**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL **m-eme**, 1PL.INCL **t-eme**, 3PL **l-eme**. (J:387)

-eme Korbafo. *Morph:* 1SG **k-eme**, 2SG **m-eme**, 3SG **n-eme**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL **m-eme**, 1PL.INCL **t-eme**, 3PL **l-eme**.

-eme Bokai. *Morph:* 1SG **k-eme**, 2SG **m-eme**, 3SG **n-eme**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL **m-eme**, 1PL.INCL **t-eme**, 3PL **l-eme**.

-eme Bilbaa. *Morph:* 1SG **k-eme**, 2SG **m-eme**, 3SG **n-eme**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL **m-eme**, 1PL.INCL **t-eme**, 3PL **l-eme**.

-eme Rikou. *Morph:* 1SG **(?)-eme**, 2SG **m-eme**, 3SG **n-eme**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL **m-eme**, 1PL.INCL **m-eme**, 3PL **r-eme**.

-eme Ba'a. *Morph:* 1SG **(?)-eme**, 2SG **m-eme**, 3SG **n-eme**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL **m-eme**, 1PL.INCL **t-eme**, 3PL **l-eme**.

-Vma Lole. *Morph:* 1SG/2SG **(?)uma**, 3SG **numa**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL **mima**, 1PL.INCL (no form given), 3PL **luma**. *[Form: Zacharias et al. (2014) gives only Lole neme 'from, of'.] (J:739)*

-Vma Tii. *Morph:* 1SG/2SG **(?)uma**, 3SG **numa**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL **mima**, 1PL.INCL (no form given), 3PL **ruma**. *[Form: Grimes et al. (2014a) gives singular numa and plural ruma. A search of the Tii Bible indicates that ruma is used with third person plural subjects and numa with all other persons, including other plural persons.] (J:739)*

-Vma Dengka. come. *Morph:* 1SG/2SG **(?)uma**, 3SG **nema**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL, **(?)ima**, 1PL.INCL **tema**, 3PL **lema**. (J:736)

-Vma Oenale. come. *Morph:* 1SG/2SG **?uma**, 3SG **nema**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL **?ima**, 1PL.INCL **tema**, 3PL **rema**. (J:736)

-Vma Dela. come. *Morph:* 1SG/2SG **?uma**, 3SG **nema**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL **?ima**, 1PL.INCL **tema**, 3PL **rema**.

-Vma Ro'is Amarasi. come. *Morph:* 1SG **kuma**, 2SG **uma**, 3SG **nema**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL **ima**, 1PL.INCL **tema**, 3PL **nema-n**.

-Vma Kotos Amarasi. come. *Morph:* 1SG/2SG **uma**, 3SG **nema**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL **ima**, 1PL.INCL **tema**, 3PL **nema-n**.

-Vma Amanatun. come. *Morph:* 1SG/2SG **oum**, 3SG **neem**.

-Vma Amfo'an. come. *Morph:* 1SG/2SG **uma**, 3SG **nema**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL **ima**, 1PL.INCL **tema**, 3PL **nema-n**.

-Vma Fatule'u. come. *Morph:* 1SG/2SG **aum**, 3SG **neem**, 2PL/1PL.EXCL **aim**, 1PL.INCL **teem**, 3PL **nema-n**.

- Vma** *Baiken*. come. *Morph*: 1SG/2SG **o**um, 3SG **ne**em, 2PL/1PL.EXCL **ee**m or **ai**m, 1PL. INCL **te**em, 3PL **nema-n**. (Charles E. Grimes pers. comm.)
- Vma** *Kusa-Manea*. come. *Morph*: 1SG/2SG **o**om, 3SG **ne**am, 2PL/1PL.EXCL **ee**m, 1PL. INCL **te**am, 3PL **nema-n**. [*Form*: Although at first sight the 1SG/2SG form **o**om and 1PL/2PL. EXCL form **ee**m seem to show the third stage of development (full assimilation of earlier diphthong) as discussed above, this is not straightforward as in *Kusa-Manea* /a/ does not undergo assimilation after metathesis. Thus, I would predict that these forms are reflexes of earlier ***uam** and ***iam** rather than ***uum** and ***iim**.]
- *əndi** *Morph*: ***n-əndi**. *PRM*. bring, take. [*Form*: ***nd** > **n** /ə_ in *Tii* and *Rikou*.] [*History*: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) ACD give a *Minangkabau* and *Ngadha* cognate as ‘noise’.]
- n-əni** *Termanu*. brings. (J:388)
- n-əni** *Korbafo*.
- n-əni** *Bokai*.
- n-əni** *Bilbaa*.
- n-əni** *Rikou*.
- n-əni** *Oepao*. (own field notes)
- n-əni** *Ba’a*.
- n-əni** *Tii*.
- n-əndi** *Dengka*.
- n-əndi** *Oenale*.
- n-əndi** *Dela*. bring; use, with.
- n-əri** *Ro’is Amarasi*. bring, take.
- n-eki** *Kotos Amarasi*. bring, take, use.
- n-eki** *Molo*. brings. (M:99)
- Out-comparisons**:
- nini** *Semau Helong*. use, with, using.
- hodi** *East Tetun*. bring; *prep*. with (an instrument). (Mo:87)
- odi** *Galolen*. bring, carry, take. [*irr. from PMP*: ***ə** > **o** (expect **e**)]
- oid** *Mambae, South*. take, bring, use. [*irr. from PMP*: ***ə** > **o** (expect **e**)] (Grimes et al. 2014b:36)
- n-oŋi** *Kisar*. bring. [*irr. from PMP*: ***ə** > **o** (expect **e**)]
- n-əti** *Dhao*. carry, bring.
- məndi** *Ende*. bring, carry.
- n-əti** *Sika*. bring, carry. [*Form*: **n-əti** 3SG-bring, **m-əti** 2SG/1PL. EXCL-bring.] (Pareira and Lewis 1998:136)
- <**ngəndi**> *Kambera*. bring. [*Note*: also in *Kodi*.] (On:342)
- <**ngidi**> *Anakalang*.
- <**ngindi**> *Weyewa*. [*Note*: also in *Mamboru*.]
- nenti** *Bima*. hold, hold in the hand, e.g. a staff. (Jonker 1893:60)
- ənti** *Sumbawa*. [*Note*: language of *Sumbawa* ISO 639-3 [smw].] (J:389)
- *əu** *Morph*: 1SG ***kuu**, 2SG ***muu**, 3SG ***neu**, 1PL.INCL ***teu**, 2PL/1PL. EXCL ***miu**, 3PL ***reu**. *PRM*. go; dative marker: to, for. [*irr. from PRM*: ***u** > **i** in *wRM* (for 2PL/1PL.EXCL **mii**)] [*Form*: The inflection shows several irregularities which are not dissimilar to those seen in the inflection of ***əmə** ‘come, from’. As with that stem, I propose that these irregularities are due to this stem taking vocalic prefixes at a stage prior to *PRM* with subsequent loss of the root initial vowel in some cases. Similarly, for the 3SG, 3PL, and 1PL.INCL inclusive forms I propose ***aə** > **e** (e.g. ***na-əu** > **n-eu**). I have reconstructed the 1SG and 2SG forms with irregular double ***uu** as this is attested in all branches. Similarly, I have reconstructed the 2PL/1PL.EXCL form as ***miu** as this best explains

the Tii, Lole, and West Rote forms. West Rote further shows irregular assimilation of the final vowel of the 2PL/1PL.EXCL form. Other varieties of Rote have regularised the 2PL/1PL.EXCL slot of the paradigm with the stem **-eu**. Similarly, known varieties of Nuclear Meto have regularised the entire paradigm by using the stem **-eu** for all persons. In Ro'is Amarasi, on the other hand, the original 1SG/2SG stem **-uu** has spread at the expense of **-eu**, which is only retained in the third person in my data.]

-eu Termanu. go. *Morph:* 1SG (?)uu, 2SG muu, 3SG n-eu, 1PL.INCL t-eu, 2PL/1PL.EXCL m-eu, 3PL l-eu. (J:392f)

-eu Korbafo. *Morph:* 1SG kuu, 2SG muu, 3SG n-eu, 1PL.INCL t-eu, 2PL/1PL.EXCL m-eu, 3PL l-eu.

-eu Bokai. *Morph:* 1SG kuu, 2SG muu, 3SG n-eu, 1PL.INCL t-eu, 2PL/1PL.EXCL m-eu, 3PL l-eu.

-eu Bilbaa. *Morph:* 1SG kuu, 2SG muu, 3SG n-eu, 1PL.INCL t-eu, 2PL/1PL.EXCL m-eu, 3PL l-eu.

-eu Rikou. *Morph:* 1SG (?)uu, 2SG muu, 3SG n-eu, 1PL.INCL t-eu, 2PL/1PL.EXCL m-eu, 3PL r-eu.

-eu Ba'a. *Morph:* 1SG (?)uu, 2SG muu, 3SG n-eu, 1PL.INCL t-eu, 2PL/1PL.EXCL m-eu, 3PL l-eu.

-Vu Lole. *Morph:* 1SG (?)uu, 2SG muu, 3SG n-eu, 2PL/1PL.EXCL miu. [Note: miu is given by Jonker (1908:733). The other forms are from Zacharias et al. (2014). The 1PL.INCL and 3PL forms are missing from both sources.] (Zacharias et al. 2014; Jonker 1908:733)

-Vu Tii. *Morph:* 1SG (?)uu, 2SG muu, 3SG neu, 1PL.INCL teu, 2PL/1PL.EXCL miu, 3PL reu. [Form: Jonker (1908:393) implies

that the Tii 2PL/1PL.EXCL form is the same as the Termanu form, but does not explicitly list it. Grimes et al. (2014a) only has **miu** for the 2PL/1PL.EXCL form. This is also the form used throughout the Tii Bible translation.]

-eu/-uu/-ii Dengka. *Morph:* 1SG (?)uu, 2SG muu, 3SG neu, 1PL.INCL teu, 2PL/1PL.EXCL mii, 3PL leu.

-eu/-uu/-ii Oenale. *Morph:* 1SG ?uu, 2SG muu, 3SG neu, 1PL.INCL teu, 2PL/1PL.EXCL mii, 3PL reu.

-eu/-uu/-ii Dela. go, to. *Morph:* 1SG ?uu, 2SG muu, 3SG neu, 1PL.INCL teu, 2PL/1PL.EXCL mii, 3PL reu.

-uu/-eu Ro'is Amarasi. 3SG-DATIVE. *Morph:* 1SG kuu, 2SG muu, 3SG/3PL nuu/n-eu, 1PL.INCL tuu. [Form: The 2PL/1PL.INCL form is not currently known. Both **nuu** and **neu** are attested for the third person, though **neu** is about twice as common in my current database.]

n-eu Kotos Amarasi. DATIVE. [Form: All persons have the root **-eu**.]

n-eu Amanuban. DATIVE, ALLATIVE.

F - f

***fa** *PRM.* little, just, NEG.

fa *Termanu.* a little. In phrases that contain a negative **fa** also often means ‘a little’, but is mostly meaningless (like Meto **fa**). (J:117)

fa *Korbafo.*

fa *Bokai.*

fa *Bilbaa.*

fa *Ba'a.*

fa *Tii.*

fa *Dengka.*

faa *Dela.* some.

ka=...=fa *Kotos Amarasi.* negator.
[Semantics: Kotos Amarasi has a two part negator with the element =**fa** occurring after the negated predicate. Prescriptive norms dictate that =**fa** is always present, but in natural data it is occasionally omitted.]

fa *Molo.* still, not. (M:106)

Out-comparisons:

ve *Hawu.* just, only, mitigative; must, command. Particle used with manipulative verbs to indicate direct command or imperative.

<-**wa**> *Kamera.* modal particle after an imperative, request or proposal. (On:519)

***faa** *Rote.* current; flows, streams, overflows. *Etym:* *bahaq ‘flood; to overflow, be in flood’.

faa *Termanu.* current; flowing, streaming, overflowing. (J:116)

faa *Korbafo.*

faa *Bokai.*

faa *Bilbaa.*

faa *Rikou.*

faa *Ba'a.*

faa *Tii.*

faa *Dengka.*

fa~faa *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

baa *Semau Helong.* flow, spread.

ai-vaa *Hawu.* overflowing. (J:116)

***faat** *PRM.* rainy season, southwest monsoon. *Etym:* *habaRat ‘southwest monsoon’.

oe faa-k, fai oe faa-k (2) ani faa-k *Termanu.* 1) the rainy season, the west monsoon. (J:454) 2) in Termanu mostly sea wind, in the other varieties also west wind. (J:118)

oe faa-ʔ (2) ani faa-ʔ *Korbafo.* [Form: Jonker gives Korbafo, Bilbaa, Rikou <œ-fā> without a final glottal stop for the first form, but this probably a typographical error given that it is included for the second form and Termanu is clearly given as <œ-fāk> **oe faa-k** with the nominal suffix -k.]

oe faa-k (2) ani faa-k *Bokai.*

oe faa-ʔ (2) ani faa-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

oe faa-ʔ (2) ani faa-ʔ *Rikou.*

oe faa-k (2) ani faa-k *Ba'a.*

oe faa-k (2) ani faa-k *Tii.*

oe faat (2) ani faat *Dengka.*

oe faat (2) ani faat *Oenale.*

oe faat *Meto.* (J:454)

Out-comparisons:

oe haat (2) haat *Semau Helong.*

1) rainy season. 2) west monsoon. [Note: Jonker (1908:454) gives **ui haat** which has the normal Helong word for ‘water’, **ui**.] [irr. from PMP: *R > Ø (expect l)]

***fado** *PnMeto.* pierce.

faro *Kotos Amarasi.* ear-ring, nose ring.

falo, faol noni? (2) n-falo (3) n-falo bia (4) n-falon *Molo.*

1) silver earring. 2) wear or put on earrings. 3) put a rope through the nostrils of a buffalo. [Form: **bia** = cow, buffalo.] 4) stabs. (M:109)

Out-comparisons:

fadu *Fehan Tetun.* introduce, insert (key, etc.). **fadu karau inur** put a piece of wood through a buffalo's nose (to stop it suckling) (Mo:30)

***fada** *Morph: *na-fada. PRM.* say, speak, tell, inform. *Etym:* *bajaq 'know, understand; ask, inquire'. [*Note:* The putative Meto reflexes may be chance resemblances. The semantic match is not great and they have an unexplained final consonant.] [*Sporadic:* *a > e / _# in wRM.]

na-fada *Termanu.* speak, say, inform, enumerate. (J:118)

na-fada *Korbafo.*

na-fada *Bokai.*

na-fada *Bilbaa.*

na-fada *Rikou.*

na-fada *Ba'a.*

na-fada, i-fada *Tii.* (J:118,705)

na-fade *Dengka.*

na-fade *Oenale.*

na-fade *Dela.* tells.

n-fare? (2) uab fare? *Kotos Amarasi.* 1) ridicule, scoff at. *Usage:* collocates with **n-mani** 'laugh'. 2) round about talk, oblique speech.

n-falek *Molo.* care about, care for. **au ka ?-falek fa in uab** I don't care about what s/he said (M:109)

***fae** *Morph: *fae-k. CER.* kind of large lizard.

ngolo/fae-k *Termanu.* kind of lizard. (J:446)

ngolo/fae-? *Korbafo.*

Out-comparisons:

lafaek *East Tetun.* crocodile, and some large lizards. (Mo:123)

***fai** *PRM.* day, time. *Doublet: *hoi.* *Etym:* *waRi 'day, sun'.

fai *Termanu.* day, in the sense of time in general. (J:120f)

fai *Korbafo.*

fai *Bokai.*

fai *Bilbaa.*

fai *Rikou.*

fai *Ba'a.*

fai *Tii.*

fai *Dengka.*

fai *Oenale.*

fai *Ro'is Amarasi.* night.

fai *Kotos Amarasi.* night.

fai *Molo.* night. (M:108)

fai *Kusa-Manea.* night.

Out-comparisons:

wain *Foho Tetun.* day. *Usage:* archaic. [*Note:* variety of Tetun spoken in the northern part of the Tetun-speaking area of central Timor ISO 693-3 [tet].] (van Klinken 1995)

bai(n) (2) bai-bain, uai-uain (3)

bai(n)_hira, uai_hira(k) *East Tetun.* 1) day. 2) often, continually. (Mo:8) 3) when, how long, since when. (Mo:8, 191)

***faka** *Rote.* split in half. *Doublet: *faka₂, *paha.* *Etym:* *bakaq 'spread apart, split'. *Pattern:* k-8/9.

fa?a *Termanu.* split something cut through. (J:118)

fa?a *Korbafo.*

faka *Bilbaa.*

fa?a *Rikou.*

fa?a *Ba'a.*

fa?a *Tii.*

fa?a *Dengka.*

fa?a *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

baka *Hawu.* divide, split.

***faka₂** *Morph: *faka-k. Rote.* split in ground, crack in ground. *Doublet: *faka₁, *paha.* *Etym:* *bakaq 'spread apart, split'. *Pattern:* k-5.

faka-k *Termanu.* split, crack in the ground. (J:122)

faka-? *Korbafo.*

faka-k *Bokai.*

faka-? *Bilbaa.*

faka-? *Rikou.*

faka-k *Ba'a.*

faka-k *Tii.*

faka-ʔ *Dengka*.

fa~faka-ʔ *Oenale*.

***fake** *PRM*. petai tree; kind of tree with pods. *Parkia speciosa*. *Pattern*: k-8' (*k > Ø in Bilbaa; expect *k = k).

fa~faʔe *Termanu*. kind of hard flat round fruit, which is called *fafake* in Kupang Malay, children play with it. (J:120)

fa~faʔe *Korbafo*.

fa~faʔe *Bokai*.

fa~fae *Bilbaa*.

fa~fake *Rikou*.

fa~faʔe *Ba'a*.

fa~faʔe *Tii*.

fa~faʔe *Dengka*.

fa~faʔe *Oenale*.

fae *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of wild legume tree.

fae *Molo*. kind of liana, the fruits of which are cooked as bush-pods, the sap of which foams up. The sap or decoction is used as an anthelmintic [OE = kills parasitic worms] agent and is laid on bruises and cramps, a paste of the leaves heals unclean wounds. *Curanga amara*. (M:106)

Out-comparisons:

kbaki *Helong*. (J:120)

fae matan metan *East Tetun*. tree whose berries are used as glue by goldsmiths. (Mo:30)

<**kawaka**> *Kambera*. kind of creeper, or climbing plant on the riverbank; the fruit has the shape of long beans, the sap serves as an adhesive to seal a crack in a pot. (On:199)

***fakur** *PRM*. pull out. *Pattern*: k-10. [irr. from *PRM*: *u > i in Meto]

faʔu *Termanu*. pull out (e.g. grass). (J:126)

faʔu *Korbafo*.

faku *Bilbaa*. (J:122)

faʔu *Rikou*.

faʔu *Tii*.

na-ʔa-fa~faʔu *Dengka*.

na-ʔa-fa~faʔur *Oenale*.

n-faki *Kotos Amarasi*. draw (a weapon).

n-faki *Molo*. pull, draw (sword). (M:109)

***fali** *Rote*. help, stand with. *Etym*: *baliw₁ 'dual division, moiety = cluster (a) answer, oppose, opposite side or part; partner, friend, enemy'.

fali *Termanu*. help, stand with. (J:122)

fali *Korbafo*.

fali *Bokai*.

fali *Bilbaa*.

fali *Rikou*.

fali *Ba'a*.

fali *Tii*.

fali *Dengka*.

fali *Oenale*.

***falu** *PRM*. eight. *Etym*: *walu. [irr. from *PRM*: *u > a in Ro'is Amarasi]

falu *Termanu*. eight. (J:124)

falu *Korbafo*.

falu *Bokai*.

falu *Bilbaa*.

falu *Rikou*.

falu *Ba'a*.

falu *Tii*.

falu *Dengka*.

falu *Oenale*.

fana *Ro'is Amarasi*. eight.

fanu *Kotos Amarasi*. eight.

fanu *Molo*. eight. (M:111)

Out-comparisons:

falu *Funai Helong*. eight.

palu *Semau Helong*. eight.

walu *Fehan Tetun*. eight.

ualu *East Tetun*. eight. (Mo:192)

balu *Kemak*. eight.

***fandi** *PRM*. cut. *Etym*: **panti (pre-RM). [Note: Jonker (1908:125) also gives 'Bul.' **wanti** 'chop down', **panti** 'chop'. I have been unable to figure out which language/dialect 'Bul.' refers to.] [irr. from *PRM*: *nd > n in Meto]

fani *Termanu*. incising, cutting. (J:125)

fani *Korbafo*.

fani *Bokai*.

fani *Ba'a*.

fandi *Dengka*.

fani *Kotos Amarasi*. axe.

fani *Molo*. axe. (M:110)

Out-comparisons:

fani *Waima'a*. hook.

fati (2) **manti** *Bima*. 1) chop, chop down, e.g. a tree. (Jonker 1893:21) 2) chop, e.g. wood. (Jonker 1893:50)

***fandu** *Morph*: ***fandu-k**. *PRM*. dry season.

fanu-k *Termanu*. the dry season. (J:125)

fanu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

fanu-k *Bokai*.

fanu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

fai fandu-ʔ *Landu*. drought. (own field notes)

fandu-ʔ *Rikou*.

faru-ʔ *Oepao*. (J:x)

fanu-k *Ba'a*.

fandu-k *Tii*.

fandu-ʔ *Dengka*.

fandu-ʔ *Oenale*.

faur/nais *Ro'is Amarasi*. dry season.

fauk/nais *Kotos Amarasi*. dry season, drought.

fauk/?ais *Ketun*. dry season, drought. *Usage*: Bone village.

fauk/nais *Molo*. dry season. (M:288)

fak/nais *Kusa-Manea*. dry season, drought.

Out-comparisons:

vəru vadu *Hawu*. dry season, hot season. [*Form*: **vəru** = 'month, moon'.]

<**wandu**> *Kambera*. dry season. (On:525)

<**wadu**> *Anakalang*.

***fanduun** *PRM*. star. *Etym*: *bituqən. [*irr. from PMP*: *ə > *u (sporadic assimilation); *t > *nd (Several other languages show a medial *nt* cluster, such as Sikule **bintun** 'star')

(Kähler 1959:17, Barrier Islands ISO 693-3 [skh]), or Pazeh **bintun** (Blust 1999:361, Taiwan, ISO 693-3 uun), and it is likely that PRM *nd developed from earlier *nt.)/ [*Sporadic*: consonant metathesis *fk > kf in some Meto.] [*Form*: The change *i > *a is due to the general reduction of ante-penultimate syllables seen also, for instance in reflexes of *suməjəd > *sumanə. *nd follows the pattern for word initial *nd in Rote.]

nduu-k *Termanu*. star. (J:425)

nduu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

luu-k *Bokai*.

luu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

fanduu-ʔ *Landu*. (own field notes)

ruu-ʔ *Rikou*.

ruu-ʔ *Oepao*. (own field notes)

nduu-k *Ba'a*.

nduu-k *Lole*. star. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

nduu-k *Tii*.

nduu-ʔ *Dengka*.

nduu-ʔ *Oenale*.

fruun *Ro'is Amarasi*. stars.

kfuun *Kotos Amarasi*. stars. [*Form*: The final *n* has been reanalysed by at least some speakers as the plural enclitic/suffix.]

kfuun, fkuun *Molo*. star. (M:204)

fkuun *Kusa-Manea*. stars.

Out-comparisons:

bduun *Funai Helong*. star.

duun *Semau Helong*. star.

fitu(n) *East Tetun*. star. (Mo:15)

hiut *Mambae, South*. star. (Grimes et al. 2014b:22)

tuu *Ili'uun*. star. (dJ:140)

***fagga** *Morph*: ***fagga-k**. *Rote*. nail.

fagga-k *Termanu*. finger or toe nail. (J:124)

fagga-ʔ *Korbafo*.

fagga-k *Bokai*.

fagga-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

faka-ʔ *Rikou*.

fagga-k *Ba'a*.

fanga-k *Lole*. nail. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

fanga-k *Tii*.

fanga-ʔ *Dengka*.

fanga-ʔ *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

waŋa-n *Buru*. digit, limb, strip, finger, slat; counter for cylindrical shaped things. (Grimes and Grimes 2020:994)

***farəndən** *nRM*. thoughts, mind, feelings, hope. [*irr. from PRM: *r > (*l) > n in Korbafo*] [*Sporadic: consonant metathesis *rVnd > *ndVr in Termanu, Ba'a, and Korbafo.*] [*Form: *nd > n /ə_ in Rikou and Oepao.*] [*Semantics: It is questionable whether the required semantic shift from 'think, be mindful' in Rote to 'hope' in Meto is a likely one.*]

na-fa-ndele *Termanu*. think about something, be mindful, remember. (J:417)

na-fa-ndene *Korbafo*.

na-fa-lene *Bokai*.

na-fa-lene *Bilbaa*.

na-fa-rene *Rikou*.

na-fa-re~rene *Oepao*. remember. (own field notes)

na-fa-ndele *Ba'a*.

ni-fi-lende *Lole*. remember. (J:721)

na-fa-rende *Tii*. remember. (Grimes et al. 2014a)

(2) **nere-f** (4) **ma-nere-t** *Ro'is Amarasi*. 2) seat of emotions. 4) love (n.). [*Form: ma- = productive reciprocal prefix.*]

na-fneka, na-fnekan (2) **neka-f** (3) **n-neka** (4) **ma-neka-t** *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) hope, trust, have assurance. 2) seat of emotions; feelings, mind, thoughts. cannot be equated with any physical organ in the body. 3) love, nose kiss. 4) love (n.).

na-fnekan (2) **neka-n** (3) **n-ma-neka** (4) **ma-neka-t** *Molo*.

1) hopes. (M:122) 2) character, nature. 3) give one another a nose kiss, love one another. 4) beloved, dear. (M:360)

***fase** *PRM*. wash (clothes). *Etym: *basəq* 'wet; wash clothes'. [*Sporadic: consonant metathesis *fVs > sVf in all instances except Amfo'an and Timaus.*] [*Form: regular *ə > e /_q#.*]

safe *Termanu*. wash, clean with water. (J:511)

safe *Korbafo*.

safe *Bokai*.

safe *Bilbaa*.

safe *Rikou*.

safe *Ba'a*.

safe *Tii*.

safe *Dengka*.

safe *Oenale*.

n-safe *Ro'is Amarasi*. wash (clothes).

n-safe *Kotos Amarasi*. wash (clothes).

safe *Molo*. undergo cleaning. leaves of the **safe** plant would be used with water to clean clothes. (M:111, 465)

n-fase *Amfo'an*. wash. [*Form: Middelkoop (1972:111) gives Amfo'an fasef.*]

n-fasa *Timaus*. wash. [*Form: regular final *e > a.*]

Out-comparisons:

base *Semau Helong*. wash clean.

fasi, fase *East Tetun*. wash. (Mo:32)

bahe *Hawu*. wash.

wase *Ili'uun*. wash (objects). (dJ:141)

***fata** *Rote*. female. *Etym: **bata* (pre-RM. Blust (1993:277) reconstructs ***bat-bata** 'woman' as evidence for a Yamdena-North Bomberai subgroup and also notes cognates in Ili'uun and Wetan (Luang cluster).).

tua fata *Tii*. female lontar palm. (J:695)

Out-comparisons:**bata?** (2) **bi/hata** *Funai Helong*.1) sister of man. 2) woman, female. [Form: initial syllable of **bihata** from PMP *bahi (see *fee₁).]**bata** (2) **bi/hata**, **be/hata** *Semau Helong*.

1) sister, opposite sex sibling (male speaking). 2) female, woman.

babata *Galolen*. woman.**wawata** *Dadu'a*. woman, wife, female. (Penn 2006:111)**hahata** *Ili'uun*. female (of human beings), woman. (dJ:116)**fafata** *Tugun*. woman. (Hinton 2000:125)**awatwata** *Wetan*. woman. [Note: language of southwest Maluku, member of Luang language/dialect cluster ISO 639-3 [lex.]] (de Josselin de Jong 1987)**pata** *Roma*. woman. [irr. from PRM: *b = p correspondence (expect *b = w)] (Taber 1993:426)***fati** *Morph*: ***na-fa~fati**. *Rote*. feed, give a drink to.**na-fa~fati** *Termanu*. give a drink to a child. (J:126)**na-fa~fati** *Korbafo*.**na-fa~fati** *Bokai*.**na-fa~fati** *Bilbaa*.**na-fa~fati** *Rikou*.**na-fa~fati** *Ba'a*.**na-fa~fati** *Tii*.**na-ʔa-fa~fati** *Dengka*.**na-ʔa-fa~fati** *Oenale*.**Out-comparisons:****vati** *Hawu*. feed, maintain animals.***faun** *Morph*: ***ma-faun**. *PwRM*. thick.**fau-ʔ** *Dengka*. thick. (J:695)**fau-ʔ** *Oenale*. thick. (J:695)**fau-ʔ** (2) **na-ma-fau** *Dela*. 1) thick. 2) be thick (e.g. skin).**ma|faun** *Ro'is Amarasi*. thick.**ma|faun** *Kotos Amarasi*. thick.**n-ma|fau-b** *Molo*. it has many layers, thick. (M:113)**Out-comparisons:****ba~bakun** *Semau Helong*. thick, dense.***fedu** *Rote*. bent through. *Doublet*:***betu**. *Etym*: *bentuk. [irr. from PMP: *nt > *d]**fedu** (2) **fe~fedu** *Termanu*. 1) bent through. 2) be flexible. (J:128)**fedu** *Korbafo*.**fedu** *Bokai*.**fedu** *Bilbaa*.**fedu** *Rikou*.**fedu** *Ba'a*.**fedu** *Tii*.**fedu** *Dengka*.**fedu** *Oenale*.***fee₁** *PMeto*. wife, woman. *Etym*: *bahi 'female, woman, wife; female of animals'. [History: The forms **fenai** 'wife of an important person' and *Kusa-Manea* **fa/nai** 'woman' are historically compounds of *fee 'wife' + *laʔi 'male, grandfather, king'. Despite the superficial similarity, they are not from PMP *b<in>ahi.]**fee** (2) **bi/fee** *Ro'is Amarasi*. 1) wife. 2) woman. [Form: **bi** is used before female names in *Meto*.]**fee** (2) **fe/nai** (3) **bi/fee** *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) wife. 2) wife of an important person. [Form: **nai** in **fenai** is probably connected with **naʔi-f** 'grandfather'.] 3) woman.**fee** (2) **fe/nai** *Amanuban*. 1) wife. 2) woman. *Usage*: *Kualiin* village.**fee** (2) **fe/nai** (3) **bi/fee-l** *Molo*. 1) wife. (M:113) 2) wife of a chief. (M:113) 3) woman. (M:66)**fee** (2) **fa/nai** *Kusa-Manea*. 1) wife. 2) woman.**Out-comparisons:****bi/hata** *Funai Helong*. woman. [Form: second element **hata** from ****bata** (see *fata).]

bi/hata, be/hata *Semau Helong*. female, woman.
fee-n *East Tetun*. wife. (Mo:33)
***fee2** *PRM*. give. *Etym*: *bəRay.
fee *Termanu*. give, give gift. (J:127)
fee *Korbafo*.
fee *Bokai*.
fee *Bilbaa*.
fee *Rikou*.
fee *Ba'a*.
fee *Tii*.
fee *Dengka*.
fee *Oenale*.
n-fee *Ro'is Amarasi*. give.
n-fee *Kotos Amarasi*. give.
fee *Molo*. give. (M:113)
fee *Kusa-Manea*. give.
Out-comparisons:
bele *Semau Helong*. give.
foo *East Tetun*. give, grant, deliver. (Mo:35)
vie *Hawu*. give, present.
***fefa** *Morph*: *fefa-f. *PMeto*. mouth (internal). *See*: *bafa2. *Etym*: *bəqbəq ‘mouth, opening; speak, say’ (Reconstructed with the doublet *baqbaq. Both forms are attested in the Timor region.). [*irr. from PMP*: *ə > *a /_q# (expect *e)]
fe-fe-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. mouth.
fefa-f *Kotos Amarasi*. mouth (internal).
fefa-f *Molo*. mouth. (M:113)
Out-comparisons:
foha-t *Welaun*. voice.
***fei** *PRM*. open. *Etym*: *bəriq ‘split, tear open’. [*irr. from PMP*: *r > Ø (expect *r)]
fei *Termanu*. open. (J:130)
fei *Korbafo*.
fei *Bokai*.
fei *Bilbaa*.
fei *Rikou*.
fei *Ba'a*.
fei *Tii*.
fei *Dengka*.
fei *Oenale*.

n-fei *Kotos Amarasi*. open.
fai, fei *Amanuban/Amanatun*. (M:108)
***fekə** *Rote*. separate, other. *Doublet*:
***feka**. *Etym*: *bəkaq ‘split, crack open’. *Pattern*: k-8. [*irr. from PMP*: *aq > *ə (expect *a)]
fe?e (2) fe?e-k *Termanu*. 1) separate oneself out from, individuate oneself, be alone. 2) other. (J:128)
fe?e (2) fe?e-ʔ *Korbafo*.
fe?e *Bokai*.
feke *Bilbaa*.
feke (2) feke-ʔ *Rikou*.
fe?e (2) fe?e-k *Ba'a*.
fe?e (2) fe?e-k *Tii*.
fea (2) fea-ʔ *Dengka*.
fea (2) fea-ʔ *Oenale*.
Out-comparisons:
weke *Kisar*. split.
bəka (2) bəke *Hawu*. 1) divide, split (pl.). 2) divide, split (sg.).
***feku** *PRM*. flute. *Pattern*: k-5.
feku *Termanu*. kind of flute from wood or bamboo with two holes at each end, used to whistle at animals. (J:130)
feku *Korbafo*.
feku *Bokai*.
feku *Bilbaa*.
feku-k *Ba'a*.
feku *Tii*.
feku *Oenale*.
feku *Kotos Amarasi*. flute.
n-feku *Amfo'an*. blow.
feku *Molo*. flute. (M:114)
feku *Kusa-Manea*. trumpet.
Out-comparisons:
heko *Ende*. flute. [*Form*: Jonker (1908:130) gives Ende **feko**.]
***fela1** *PwRM*. get up, rise.
fela *Dengka*. get up. (J:695)
fela *Oenale*. get up. (J:695)
n-fena *Ro'is Amarasi*. get up.
n-fena *Kotos Amarasi*. get up.
n-fena *Molo*. gets up. (M:115)

***fela₂** *Morph*: ***na-fe~fela**. *CER*. spread out, flat. *Doublet*: ***fela**. *Etym*: ***bəkəlaɟ** ‘spread out, unroll (mats, etc.), open out, unfold (as the hand); wide’ (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PEMP ***bolaj** and there is also evidence for PCEMP ***bəlaɟ**).

na-fe~fela *Termanu*. spread out, said of plants; also to cover a large expanse, said of a landslide. (J:130)

na-fe~fela *Korbafo*.

na-fe~fela *Bokai*.

na-fe~fela *Bilbaa*.

na-fe~fela *Rikou*.

la-sa-fe~fela *Ba'a*.

Out-comparisons:

felar *East Tetun*. unfold, open. [*irr. from PMP*: ***ə > e** (expect o)] (Mo:33)

***felu** *Morph*: ***fe~felu-k**. *CER*. bend. *Doublet*: ***helu**, ***fenu**. *Etym*: ***bəluk**.

fe~felu-k *Termanu*. trap used to catch birds, the snare is attached to a bent piece of wood. (J:131)

***femba** *Rote*. hit in general, especially with a stick. [*irr. from PRM*: ***f > h** in wRote] [*History*: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct a number of similar terms the first or second syllable of which could be reconciled with this PRM reconstruction, but in no case can both syllables be regularly reconciled with ***femba**. Similar reconstructed terms include PAN ***pəkpək**, PMP ***tambak**, ***tambək**, and ***sambak**.]

fepa *Termanu*. hit in general, especially with a stick or something like that. (J:133)

fepa *Korbafo*.

fepa *Bokai*.

fepa *Bilbaa*.

fepa *Rikou*.

fempa *Ba'a*.

femba *Lole*. beat, hit. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

femba *Tii*.

hemba *Dengka*.

hemba *Oenale*.

hemba *Dela*. hit with a wooden stick.

Out-comparisons:

vəbe (2) dede vəbe *Hawu*.

1) beat, smash; as in waves against a boat. 2) hit, pound; Repeatedly. By hand, or with something else, most commonly with a stick. *Usage*: Raijua dialect.

***fenu** *PRM*. bend. *Doublet*: ***helu**, ***felu**.

Etym: ***bəluk**. [*irr. from PMP*: ***l > *n**] [*irr. from PRM*: ***f > p** in Meto]

fenu (2) fe~felu-k *Termanu*. 1) bend. (J:131) 2) trap used to catch birds, the snare is attached to a bent piece of wood.

fenu *Korbafo*.

fenu *Bokai*.

fenu *Bilbaa*.

fenu *Rikou*.

fenu *Ba'a*.

fenu *Tii*.

fenu *Dengka*.

fenu *Oenale*.

penu *Kotos Amarasi*. crooked, twisted.

n-penu *Molo*. crooked, bent. [*Note*: Jonker (1908:131) gives **fenu** as a Meto variant.] (M:433)

fera₁** *Morph*: ***na-fera**. *PMeto*. decide, break. [*Form*: Probably from earlier *fenda**.]

na-fera (2) na-t|fer~fera *Ro'is Amarasi*. 1) decide. 2) broken up, stop-start.

na-feka *Kotos Amarasi*. decide.

n-feek (2) na-t|feek *Molo*. 1) breaks. 2) broken off. (M:114)

fera₂** *Rote*. landslide, ravine. *See*: ***ndefa**. *Etym*: *fəran** (pre-RM). [*irr. from PRM*: ***f > h** in Oepao, Bilbaa and Korbafo (also Tetun)] [*Form*: Interference/collapse with ***ndefa**, which is likely related with consonant metathesis.]

fela (2) (fe~)fela-k *Termanu*.
1) landslide, but only said about the ground (not stones). **dae=a fela** the ground has collapsed/there has been a landslide [*Semantics*: Sense one is a verbal form.] 2) ravine. (J:130)

hela (2) hela-ʔ *Korbafo*.

fela (2) fela-k *Bokai*.

hela *Bilbaa*.

hera *Oepao*. landslide into a space. (own field notes)

fela (2) fela-k *Ba'a*.

fera (2) fera-k, re~refa-k *Tii*.
[*Form*: Jonker actually gives *Tii feraʔ* but this is surely a typographical error.]

(fe~)fera-ʔ *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

horun *Fehan Tetun*. cliff.

rai hourun, horun *East Tetun*.
precipice, chasm. [*irr. from PRM*: *a = u correspondence] (Mo:88)

werne *Kisar*. cliff.

***feto** *Morph*: ***feto-k**. *PRM*. man's sister, female. *Etym*: *bat̪aw 'sister (man speaking)'. [*irr. from PRM*: *t > ʔ /V_V for third and fourth uses in *Termanu*]

feto-k (2) tua feto (3) feʔo (4) ana feʔo-k *Termanu*. 1) sister of a man. 2) the female, that is, the fruit-bearing lontar palm. (J:134)
3) sister, used to address a sister, young girl, or young woman. Also used as a friendly word when speaking about her. (J:132f)
4) daughter, girl, young daughter.

feto-ʔ (2) tua feto *Korbafo*.

feto-k (2) tua feto *Bokai*.

feto-ʔ (2) tua feto *Bilbaa*.

feto-ʔ (2) tua feto *Rikou*.

feto-k (2) tua feto *Ba'a*.

feto-k *Tii*.

feto-ʔ (2) tua feto *Dengka*.

feto-ʔ (2) tua feto *Oenale*.

feto|ʔ (2) feto *Ro'is Amarasi*. 1) sister (of man). 2) female, feminine.

feto-f (2) feto *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) sister (of man). 2) female, feminine.

<feto> *Molo*. sister. (M:117)

feto|ʔ *Kusa-Manea*. sister.

Out-comparisons:

bata *Semau Helong*. sister (male speaking).

°feto (2) °feto-n *East Tetun*.
1) woman. 2) sister, cousin.
Borrowed from: *Meto feto* (shown by *irr. *ə = e* correspondence, expect *o*). (Mo:33)

***fetu** *Morph*: ***ka-fetu**. *CERM*. trap, snare.

fe~fetu-k *Termanu*. kind of trap (like **hi~hiʔi-k**), which is placed on the ground. (J:134)

na-k|fetu (2) k|fetu-s *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) set a **kfet̪us** trap. 2) snare trap for catching wild chickens made by bending part of a tree down to the ground so that when a chicken steps on it, it flips out.

na-k|fetu *Molo*. sprung back into its original position. (M:203)

***feu** *Morph*: ***feu-k**. *PRM*. in-law. *Doublet*: ***beu₁**. *Etym*: *baq̪aRu 'new, fresh; recent(ly)'. [*Form*: PMP *b > *f (rather than *b = *b as in the doublet ***beu₁** may have been due to this term always occurring as the second member of a compound and thus intervocalic.] [*Semantics*: Only used in the phrases for 'daughter-in-law' and 'son-in-law'. The semantic association between 'new' and 'in-law' is connected with the fact that from someone who has just married into a family is the newest member of that kin group.]

mane_feu-k (2) feto_feu-k *Termanu*. 1) son-in-law. 2) daughter-in-law. (J:134)

mana/feu-ʔ *Korbafo*. child-in-law (ambiguous between male and female).

mana/feu-k *Bokai*. child-in-law (ambiguous between male and female).

mana/feu-ʔ *Bilbaa*. child-in-law (ambiguous between male and female).

mana/feu-ʔ (2) fetu/feu-ʔ *Rikou*.

mone_feu-k (2) fetu_feu-k *Ba'a*.

mone_feu-k (2) fetu_feu-k *Tii*.

mone_feu-s (2) fetu_feu-s *Dengka*.

mone_feu-s (2) fetu_feu-s *Oenale*.

moen feʔu, moen feu-f *Kotos Amarasi*. son-in-law, opposite sex sibling's son.

moen feʔu *Molo*. son-in-law. (M:117)

Out-comparisons:

°**manhiu** *Funai Helong*. son-in-law, opposite sex sibling's son. Borrowed from: either Rote or Meto, as shown by irr. *R > Ø compared with regular *maRuqanay > **blanen** 'brother of woman' and **balu** 'new'.

mane foun (2) fetu foun *East Tetun*. 1) son-in-law, nephew. 2) daughter-in-law, niece. (Mo:36)

***fia** *PRM*. wild taro, elephant's ear or itching taro. *Alocasia* species. *Etym*: *biRaq.

fia *Termanu*. yam. *Usage*: poetic. (Fox 1991:256)

fia *Dengka*. kind of aquatic plant. (J:696)

fia-l *Molo*. kind of wild tuber. (M:118)

Out-comparisons:

fia *East Tetun*. variety of yam, edible but care must be taken in cooking otherwise it will irritate the mouth and tongue to cause swelling (a member of the *Arum* family). (Mo:34)

***fiti** *Rote*. jerk up, flip upwards with great force. *Doublet*: ***biti**. *Etym*: *bitik 'snare, noose trap; spring up suddenly, jerk up (as a fishing line or noose trap)'.

fiti-k (2) na-ka-fi~fiti-k (3) ma-ka-fi~fiti-k, ma-ka-fi~fiti ana-k (4) fiti *Termanu*. 1) go upwards with great strength, or go back to one end. **ai=a fiti-k** one end of the piece of wood goes upwards because someone stood on the other end (or it did this because after someone bent it they released the other end). 2) go as high up as possible. 3) the outermost point. 4) come up with a jerk, like a fishing rod. (J:137)

fiti-ʔ *Korbafo*.

fiti-k *Bokai*.

fiti-ʔ *Rikou*.

fiti-k *Ba'a*.

fiti-k *Tii*.

fiti-ʔ *Dengka*.

fiti-ʔ *Oenale*.

***fiti** *Rote*. kick. *Etym*: *bintiq 'calf-kicking contest'.

fiti *Termanu*. kick, give a kick, stick the leg out sideways (also of a horse). (J:137)

fiti *Korbafo*.

fiti *Bokai*.

fiti *Bilbaa*.

fiti *Rikou*.

fiti *Ba'a*.

fiti *Tii*.

fiti *Dengka*.

***fiti** *CERM*. carry something hanging from the hand. *Doublet*: ***bifi**, ***biti**. *Etym*: *bitbit 'pull at body part; hold something dangling from the fingers'. [irr: from *PRM*: *t > ʔ in Rote and Kusa-Manea] [Form: The parallel irregular sound change in both Rote and Kusa-Manea suggests a doublet at the level of *PRM*; ***fiti** and ***fiʔi**.]

fiʔi *Termanu*. pinch with the tip of the fingers or fingernails. From that: hold fast with the tips of the fingers. (J:135)

fiʔi *Korbafo*.

fiʔi *Ba'a*.

fiʔi *Tii*.

n-fiʔi *Kotos Amarasi*. carry an item hanging below the waist, typically hanging from a rope or strap.

n-fiʔi *Molo*. one carries something hanging from a rope. (M:121)

fiʔiʔ *Kusa-Manea*. carry an item hanging below the waist. [*irr. from PRM: *t > ?*] [*Form: metathesised form of (currently unattested) *fiʔi.*]

Out-comparisons:

biʔit (2) fiʔit *East Tetun*. 1) lift by the fingers. (Mo:14) 2) remove with the points of the fingers, to lift up suspended in the paw or claw. *Usage: Luka village*. (Mo:34)

tiwi *Bima*. carry something hanging from the hand. [*Sporadic: consonant metathesis *wVt > tVw.*] (Jonker 1893:105)

***foe₁** *PRM*. white spots. [*irr. from PRM: *f > p in Amarasi (also Funai Helong)*] [*History: The Funai Helong and Amarasi forms are probably borrowings as both have irr. *f > p. Both forms may come from Bolok Helong or Semaui Helong that has undergone a *f > p sound change.*]

foe-k *Termanu*. white (albino) spot or spots on the hand or foot of a person, or on other places on an animal. (J:139)

foe *Korbafo*.

foe-k *Bokai*.

foe *Bilbaa*.

foe *Rikou*.

(muti)/foe-k *Ba'a*.

muti/foe-k *Tii*.

foe *Dengka*.

foe *Oenale*.

pe/muti(-s) *Kotos Amarasi*. tinea.

mut/foe, met/foe *Metu*. (J:139)

Out-comparisons:

poemuti *Funai Helong*. tinea.

***foe₂** *CER*. crocodile. *See: *beis*. *Etym:*

*buqaya. [*Form: Through the pathway*

*buqaya > **buaya > **boya > **boe

> ***foe** in which all the intermediate steps are regular.]

foe *Landu*. crocodile. (own field notes)

foe *Ba'a*. crocodile. [*Note: This form is given with a note that this form occurs in other dialects, but which other varieties are not specified.*] (J:697)

Out-comparisons:

voe *Hawu*. (J:697)

***foe₃** *PRM*. move, struggle.

foe *Termanu*. get up in a metaphorical sense. **tasi=a foe** the sea is turbulent (J:139)

foe *Korbafo*.

foe *Bokai*.

foe *Bilbaa*.

foe *Rikou*.

foe *Ba'a*.

foe *Tii*.

foe *Dengka*.

foe *Oenale*.

n-foe *Kotos Amarasi*. move around a lot, struggle hard.

n-foe *Molo*. severe (disease). (M:124)

***foʔa** *Rote*. get up, wake up.

foʔa *Termanu*. get up. (J:138)

foʔa *Korbafo*.

foʔa *Bokai*.

foa *Bilbaa*.

foa *Landu*. get up. (own field notes)

foʔa *Rikou*. [*Form: Nako et al. (2014) gives foa.*]

foʔa *Ba'a*.

foʔa *Tii*.

foa *Dengka*. sally forth.

foa *Oenale*. sally forth.

Out-comparisons:

buka *Semaui Helong*. wake up, awaken.

***foʔi** *PRM.* lever (v.), turn. [*irr. from PRM: *ʔ > Ø in Termanu, Korbafo, Bokai, and Ba'a*]

foi *Termanu.* tilt by means of a lever, or with a crowbar or machete, which one sticks in the ground and then raises earth. (J:139f)

foi *Korbafo.*

foi *Bokai.*

foi *Bilbaa.*

foi *Rikou.*

foi *Ba'a.*

foi *Tii.*

foʔi *Dengka.*

foʔi *Oenale.*

n-foʔi, n-foʔe *Kotos Amarasi.* lever.

<an-foi> (2) ʔ-foʔi *Molo.* 1) turns (e.g. ground). 2) key. (M:125)

Out-comparisons:

fokit *East Tetun.* pull along abruptly, jerk along. (Mo:35)

vuki *Hawu.* tilt with a lever, grub around (in dirt). (J:139)

***foo** *Morph: *kai_foo-k. PRM.* moringa tree. [*Moringa oleifera. [Sporadic: *VV-k > *VVʔ > VʔV in Meto (perceptual metathesis).] [Form: initial *kai probably from *kaiu 'tree, plant, wood'.]*]

kai/foo-k, ka/foo-k *Termanu.* moringa tree, the fruits of the moringa tree. (J:215)

kai/foo-ʔ *Korbafo.*

kai/foo-k *Bokai.*

kai_foo-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

ai/foo-ʔ *Rikou.*

kai/foo-k *Ba'a.*

kai/foo-k *Tii.*

ai/foo-ʔ *Dengka.*

ai/foo-ʔ *Oenale.*

ai/foo-ʔ *Dela.* moringa.

uut hau_ʔ|foʔo *Ro'is Amarasi.* moringa leaves.

uta_ʔ|foʔo *Kotos Amarasi.* moringa leaves. [*Form: utan = 'vegetable'.*]

<hau_fo'> *Molo.* moringa tree. [*Moringa oleifera.* (M:124)]

Out-comparisons:

°uut hau fooʔ *Funai Helong.* moringa leaves. [*Borrowed from: Ro'is Amarasi (shown by first two elements).*]

ut_poo *Semau Helong.* moringa leaves.

***fora** *PRM.* grate, scour.

fola *Termanu.* scour, scrub, file, e.g. the fingers. (J:141)

fola *Korbafo.*

fola *Bokai.*

fola *Bilbaa.*

fora *Rikou.*

fola *Ba'a.*

fora *Tii.*

fola *Dengka.*

fora *Oenale.*

n-fona (2) ʔ-fona-ʔ *Kotos Amarasi.*

1) grate, rasp. 2) grater.

n-fona (2) ʔ-fona-ʔ *Molo.* 1) sharpen (knife). 2) rasp, grater. (M:127)

Out-comparisons:

hola *Semau Helong.* sharpen sword or knife.

pəla *Hawu.* [*irr. from PRM: p = *f; ə = *o*] (J:141)

***foti** *PRM.* race back and forth.

foti *Termanu.* a) run or jump back and forth, e.g. deer in the wood. b) dance, dance of men, also perform the king's dance. c) horses running and jumping, do a dance, which takes place on the occasion of a **kuus** party. (J:142)

foti *Korbafo.*

foti *Bokai.*

foti *Bilbaa.*

foti *Rikou.*

foti *Ba'a.*

foti *Tii.*

foti *Dengka.*

foti *Oenale.*

n-foti *Kotos Amarasi.* back and forth.

n-foti *Molo.* racing, dances. (M:128)

***fua**₁ *Rote*. carry a burden, load. *Etym*: *buhat ‘stand up, arise, emerge, begin, carry; cargo; take something; take a wife’.

fua *Termanu*. lay on something, load, have as a burden, carry. (J:143)

fua *Korbafo*.

fua *Bokai*.

fua *Bilbaa*.

fua *Rikou*.

fua *Ba'a*.

fua *Tii*.

fua *Dengka*.

fua *Oenale*.

***fua**₂ *PMeto*. traditional religion, traditional beliefs. [*History*: No entry for **fua** or a similar form with a similar meaning has been found in Morris (1984), this term is probably thus a loan from Meto into Fehan Tetun.]

fuan (2) **fua-t** *Ro'is Amarasi*.

1) traditional worship/religion.

2) objects or matters associated with traditional religion.

n-fua (2) **fua-t** *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) traditional worship/religion.

2) objects or matters associated with traditional religion.

n-fua *Molo*. sacrifice, used in the meaning of **anʔonen** = ‘calls upon, invokes’. (M:129)

n-fua (2) **uma ʔ-fuʔa** *Timaus*.

1) worship. 2) house of traditional religion.

Out-comparisons:

ai_fuan, afuan *Fehan Tetun*. divination. [*Semantics*: Therik (2004:122) gives **afuan** as ‘spear divination’.]

***fudi** *PRM*. persuade.

fu~fudi *Termanu*. cajole, entice, seduce. (J:145)

fu~fudi *Korbafo*.

fu~fudi *Bokai*.

fu~fudi *Rikou*.

fu~fudi *Ba'a*.

fu~fudi *Tii*.

fu~fudi *Dengka*.

fu~fudi *Oenale*.

n-furi *Kotos Amarasi*. persuade, beg, coax.

n-fuli (2) <**fuli**> *Molo*. 1) persuade. 2) bait. (M:132)

***fudʒə** *PRM*. foam, foaming. *Etym*:

*bujəq ‘foam, bubbles, lather, scum, froth; to foam, to bubble; foam at the mouth; fond of talking; type of white bead’ (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) provide the third Termanu form as evidence for PCEMP *budeq ‘sponge’ and the first two forms for PMP *bujəq. However, the retention of PCEMP *d as *d* in Termanu would be irregular and the complete semantics of **tasi_fude**, which includes ‘foam’, shows that this third form is also from PMP *bujəq. PCEMP *budeq is probably spurious.). [*irr. from PMP*: *ə = *ə / q# (expect *e)] [*minority from PMP*: *j > *dʒ (expect *d)] [*Sporadic*: *ə > e /C+palatal_ in all except Kusa-Manea.] [*Form*: The correspondences for the medial consonant are not the same as either *d or *d̥. Reconstructing medial *dʒ has the potential to both explain these (otherwise) irregular correspondences, as well as explaining the final vowel correspondences. We can propose that regular final *ə > *a took place in wRM, followed by sporadic raising of *a > e under the influence of preceding palatal *dʒ, followed by the change of *dʒ > *d > r > l. This raising has not taken place in Kusa-Manea, thus indicating that two forms ***fude** (from ***fudʒe** with raising of final *a > e) and ***fuda** (from ***fudʒa** without raising of the final vowel) probably existed in PMeto.]

na-fu~fude (2) **fude-k** (3) **tasi_**

fude *Termanu*. 1) foaming.

2) foam. (J:145) 3) sea foam, also: sponge. (J:144)

na-fu~fude *Korbafo*.

na-fu~fude *Bokai*.

na-fu~fude *Bilbaa*.

na-fu~fude *Rikou*.

na-fu~fude *Ba'a*.

na-fu~fude *Tii*.

na-fu~fule *Dengka*.

na-fu~fure *Oenale*.

fure-ʔ *Dela*. foam.

fuiri-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. foam.

ʔ|furi|ʔ, ʔ|furi-f *Kotos Amarasi*.
bubble, foam. [*Sporadic*: vowel
height harmony *e > i /uC_ in
Amarasi.]

<**fule**> (2) <**na-fule**> *Molo*. 1) foam.
2) it foams. (M:132)

ʔ|fula|ʔ, ʔ|fula-f (2) na-ʔ|fula|ʔ
Timaus. 1) foam. 2) foaming.
[*Form*: regular final *e > a.]

fa~fura-f *Kusa-Manea*. foam.

Out-comparisons:

budat ['bʊrɛt] *Funai Helong*.
foam.

bulat *Semau Helong*. foam, froth.

furin *East Tetun*. foam (of water),
froth (of mouth). (Mo:38)

nawuri *Kisar*. froth, foam at
mouth.

***fue** *PRM*. legumes, beans. *Etym*: *buay
(Helong, Tetun, Kemak, and Tagalog
attest PMP *buday or *bujay.).
[*Sporadic*: vowel height harmony *u
> o /_e in some Meto.]

fu~fue *Termanu*. generic name of
beans and legumes. (J:146)

fu~fue *Korbafo*.

fu~fue *Bokai*.

fu~fue *Bilbaa*.

fu~fue *Rikou*.

fu~fue *Ba'a*.

fu~fue *Tii*.

fu~fue *Dengka*. mung beans, green
grams. (J:146)

fu~fue *Oenale*.

foe *Ro'is Amarasi*. mung beans, green
grams.

foe *Kotos Amarasi*. mung beans, green
grams.

fue, fua *Amanuban*. beans.

foe-l *Fatule'u*. beans (generic).

fue *Molo*. legumes (generic). (M:130)

fa~foa *Kusa-Manea*. beans. [*Form*:
regular *e > a /V_# in Upper
Manulea.]

Out-comparisons:

bula *Semau Helong*. bean, nut.
[*irr. from PMP*: *ay > a]

fore *East Tetun*. bean, plants with
pods and edible seeds. (Mo:35)

hure *Kemak*. mung bean, green
gram.

bue *Sika*. mung bean, green gram.
(Pareira and Lewis 1998:28)

mbue *Ende*. bean, pea.

wue *Manggarai*. kind of small
bean. *Phaeaeolu ?angularis*.
(Verheijen 1967:768)

kebui *Hawu*. (J:146)

kaʔoe (2) buwe *Bima*. 1) mung
bean. (Ismail et al. 1985:48)
2) kind of long bean. (Jonker
1893:12)

buwe *Bugis*. long beans. (Masse
2013:96)

tambue *Pamona*. kind of edible
bean of which the leaves are
also eaten. *Phaseolus* species.
[*Note*: language of central
Sulawesi ISO 639-3 [pmf].]
(Adriani 1928:796)

bulai *Tagalog*. [*Note*: language
of the Philippines ISO 639-3
[tgl].] (J:146)

***fufu** *PMeto*. peak of the skull,
ridgepole of house. *Doublet*: ***fumbu**.
Etym: *bubun 'fontanelle; crown of
the head; ridge of the roof; ridge of a
mountain, peak; deck of a boat; cover
the ridgepole with thatch'.

fufu-n *Ro'is Amarasi*. peak of the
skull.

fufu-f *Kotos Amarasi*. peak of the
skull, ridgepole of house.

fufu-f *Molo*. skull, crown, top of head.
(M:130)

Out-comparisons:

fuhur *East Tetun*. fontanelle.
(Mo:35)

***fufu2** *Morph*: ***ka-fufu-k**. *PRM*. weevil.
Etym: *bukbuk₃ ‘weevil that infests wood, bamboo, and rice; dust produced by the boring of this insect’.

fufu-k *Termanu*. rice worm, woodworm, rotten. (J:146)

fufu-? *Korbafo*.

fufu-k *Bokai*.

fufu-? *Bilbaa*.

fufu-? *Rikou*.

fufu-k *Ba'a*.

fufu-k *Tii*.

fufu-? *Dengka*.

fufu-? *Oenale*.

?[fufu]? Kotos Amarasi. weevil.

<fufuk> *Molo*. black beetle with a boring snout, with which it drills holes in corn, rice and wood.
(M:130)

Out-comparisons:

hupu *Semau Helong*. black corn beetle. [*irr. from PMP*: *b > h /#_ ; *b > p /V_V (possibly with consonant metathesis from earlier **puhu, but initial *b > p would still be irregular)]

fuhuk *East Tetun*. weevil that eats grain. (Mo:36)

vuβu *Hawu*. [*Form*: Jonker’s entry is ambiguous between [b] and <β> [β].] (J:146)

***fui1** *nRM*. pour water on, douse (as a fire). *Etym*: *buqi (PCOMP).

fui *Termanu*. pour on, douse. (J:146)

fui *Korbafo*.

fui *Bokai*.

fui *Bilbaa*.

fui *Rikou*.

fui *Ba'a*.

fui *Tii*.

n-fui *Kotos Amarasi*. pour on, sprinkle on.

Out-comparisons:

fui *East Tetun*. pour liquids, pour out, empty, pour water upon, water, irrigate. (Mo:37)

***fui2** *PRM*. wild. *Etym*: *bukij ‘mountain; forested inland mountain areas’. [*irr. from PMP*: *k > Ø] [*History*: The loss of the medial consonant in *bukij (even in languages that otherwise retain *k) is common in the greater Timor area, as is the semantic shift to ‘wild’. That the same semantic shift is accompanied by the same irregular sound change in a number of languages indicates these forms have spread by contact.]

fui-k *Termanu*. the opposite of **ae-k** [OE = tame], wild in the expression.
(J:146)

fui-? *Korbafo*.

fui-k *Bokai*.

fui-? *Bilbaa*.

fui-? *Rikou*.

fui-k *Ba'a*.

fui-k *Tii*.

fui-? *Dengka*.

fui-? *Oenale*.

fui *Ro'is Amarasi*. wild.

fui *Kotos Amarasi*. wild.

fui *Molo*. wild. (M:131)

Out-comparisons:

huin *Semau Helong*. wild, untamed.

fuik *East Tetun*. wild, savage, untamed. (Mo:37)

hui *Ili'uun*. forest, used only in connection with beings living in the forest, e.g. **hahi hui**, ‘wild boar’. (dJ:118)

hui *Dhao*. wild.

***fui3** *Morph*: ***na-fui**. *Rote*. wash (hands). *Etym*: *buRiq.

na-fui oe *Termanu*. wash the hands.
(J:146)

na-fui oe *Korbafo*.

na-fui oe *Bokai*.

na-fui oe *Bilbaa*.

na-fui oe *Rikou*.

na-fui oe *Ba'a*.

na-fui oe *Tii*.

(na-fui oe ?) *Oenale*.

°n-boe *Kotos Amarasi*. wash.
Borrowed from: probably Helong,
 but there are phonological
 irregularities no matter whether we
 posit borrowing from Helong into
 Meto or vice-versa. I tentatively
 identify Helong as the source
 language as it usually preserves
 initial *b = b.

°an-boe hae-n *Molo*. washes one's
 feet. (M:78)

Out-comparisons:

boe *Semau Helong*. wash. [irr.
*from PMP: *R > Ø (expect l),*
 vowel lowering]

***fuka** *Rote*. dig or work the ground
 around a plant. *Doublet: *huka*. *Etym:*
 *buka 'open, uncover, expose' (Blust
 and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct
 PCEMP *buqal 'levered up; uprooted'
 on the basis of Rembong **boal** 'levered
 up', Termanu **fu?a**, Tetun **fu?a** 'pull
 out roots and dirt together' and Maori
hua 'lever; raise with a lever; steer,
 paddle'. Bilbaa **fu~fuka** with medial
 k shows that any connection between
 putative *buqal and the Rote forms is
 spurious. Likewise, medial ? in Tetun
 attests earlier *k not *q.). *Pattern:*
 k-8/9. [Semantics: While the sound
 changes from PMP *buka are regular,
 I am not completely confident that the
 required semantic shift is justified.]
(fu)~fu?a *Termanu*. a) dig or work
 the ground around a plant. b) also
 used for: fertilisation of the ground.
 (J:144)

fu~fu?a *Korbafo*.

fu~fu?a *Bokai*.

fu~fuka *Bilbaa*.

fu~fu?a *Rikou*.

fu~fu?a *Ba'a*.

fu~fu?a *Tii*.

fu~fu?a *Dengka*.

Out-comparisons:

boka (2) voka *Hawu*. 1) open,
 undo, reveal, confess, begin;
 dismantle, tear apart. 2) work
 open the ground, work with a
 spade. (J:144)

***fula** *Rote*. white. *Etym:* *bula[n/R]
 'unnaturally white, albino'.

fula (2) fula-k *Termanu*. 1) be(come)
 white. 2) white. (J:146f)

fula *Korbafo*.

fula *Bokai*.

fula *Bilbaa*.

fula *Rikou*.

fula *Ba'a*.

fula *Tii*.

fula *Dengka*.

fula *Oenale*.

fula-? *Dela*. silver, white (used for
 skin colour and colour of leaves
 that are drying up).

***fulə** *nRM*. wrap around.

fule *Termanu*. twist around. **mepe a**
fule manu the snake wraps itself
 around the chicken (J:147)

fule *Korbafo*.

fule *Bokai*.

fule *Bilbaa*.

fule *Rikou*.

fule *Ba'a*.

(fule ?) *Tii*.

n-funa *Kotos Amarasi*. go around,
 wrap around.

n-fuun *Molo*. go throughout. [Form:
 metathesised form of **n-funa**.]
 (M:132)

***fuli** *Rote*. cowrie shell. *Cypraea*
mauritiana. *Etym:* *buliq.

fuli *Termanu*. a) kind of shell. b) shells
 or pieces of lead used to weight a
 net. (J:147)

fuli *Korbafo*.

fuli *Bokai*.

fuli *Bilbaa*.

fuli *Rikou*.

ful *Ba'a*.

fuli *Tii*.

meo_fuli (2) fuli *Dengka*. 1) kind of shell. 2) shells or pieces of lead used to weight a net. (J:147)

ndai_fuli (2) fuli *Oenale*. 1) kind of shell. 2) shells or pieces of lead used to weight a net. (J:147)

Out-comparisons:

vovuri (2) vuri *Hawu*. (J:147)

***fuloat** *PRM*. kind of tropical chestnut tree. *Sterculia urceolata*. [irr. from *PRM*: *a > o in wRM, glottal stop insertion in Meto]

faloa *Termanu*. kind of tree. *Sterculia urceolata*. [Semantics: Scientific identification comes from Middelkoop (1972:123) who has Molo '<flogo>' = kind of tree; *Sterculia urceolata* Smith; Rote **faloa**. J (J:124)

faloa *Korbafo*.

faloa *Bokai*.

faloa *Bilbaa*.

faloa *Rikou*.

faloa *Ba'a*.

faloa *Tii*.

fuloo *Dengka*.

fuloo *Oenale*.

filoo *Dela*. kind of tree.

fno?ot *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of tropical chestnut tree. *Sterculia urceolata*.

***fumbu** *Morph*: ***ka-fumbu-k**. *PRM*. crown of the head, ridgepole, peak. *Doublet*: ***fufu**. *Etym*: *bubun 'fontanelle; crown of the head; ridge of the roof; ridge of a mountain, peak; deck of a boat; cover the ridgepole with thatch'. [irr. from *PMP*: *b > *mb] [irr. from *PRM*: *f > p in Meto (sporadic assimilation?); *f > h in Oenale]

fupu-k (2) na-fupu *Termanu*. 1) crown of the head. 2) be hot. (J:149)

fupu-? (2) na-fupu *Korbafo*.

fupu-k (2) na-fupu *Bokai*.

fupu-? (2) na-fupu *Bilbaa*.

fupu-? (2) na-fupu *Rikou*.

(2) na-fumpu *Ba'a*.

(2) na-fumbu *Tii*.

humbu-? *Oenale*.

maans=ii na-?|pupu *Ro'is Amarasi*. midday, noon. [Form: **maans=ii** = 'sun'] [Semantics: Literally '(when) the sun peaks'.]

maans=ee na-?|pupu (2) ?|pupu-n *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) midday, noon. 2) house ridge.

<**ume pupu-n**> *Molo*. ridge of a house. (M:457)

Out-comparisons:

muhun *Semau Helong*. peak, ridge cap.

bβəŋu *Dhao*. ridgepole.

***funi** *PRM*. hide, conceal. *Etym*: *buni.

funi (2) na-funi *Termanu*. 1) hide oneself. 2) hide something. (J:148)

funi (2) na-funi *Korbafo*.

funi (2) na-funi *Bokai*.

funi (2) na-funi *Bilbaa*.

funi (2) na-funi *Rikou*.

funi (2) na-funi *Ba'a*.

funi (2) na-funi *Tii*.

(2) na-?a-funi *Dengka*.

na-?a-funi-? (2) ma-?a-funi-? *Dela*. 1) hide something from someone. 2) hidden.

<**na-funi**> *Molo*. hides something. [Note: Middelkoop identifies this as a loan from Rote, though the reason for this is not clear.] (M:133)

Out-comparisons:

huni *Semau Helong*. hide.

hakfunin *Fehan Tetun*. hide or conceal oneself. (Mo:54)

***funi** *Rote*. placenta, afterbirth. *Etym*: *tabuni. [irr. from *PRM*: *f > h in wRote]

funi-k *Termanu*. after birth, placenta. (J:148)

funi-? *Korbafo*.

funi-k *Bokai*.

funi *Landu*. afterbirth, placenta. (own field notes)

funi-k *Ba'a*.

funi-k *Tii*.

huni-ʔ *Dengka*.

huni-ʔ *Oenale*.

***funu** *PnMeto*. betel-pepper. *Etym*: *burun ‘inferior kind of betel nut’ (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct this on the basis of cognates in Mongondow, Pamona, and Tetun. They note it may be a chance resemblance.).

funu *Amanuban*. betel-vine fruit.

Usage: Kusi village.

Out-comparisons:

fur *East Tetun*. creeper with leaves similar to the betel-pepper. (Mo:38)

huru roon *Galolen*. betel.

Usage: Talur dialect. (Hinton 2000:120)

buru *Welaun*. betel-vine fruit.

huru *Kemak*. betel-vine fruit.

***fura** *Rote*. trim lontar palm leaves. [*irr* from PRM: *a > i in wRote]

fula so~soŋa (2) fu~fula-k *Termanu*.

1) cut off the edge of young lontar palm leaves. 2) cutting off; the tool for cutting off: a leaf vein folded in half against which one holds a knife. (J:147)

fula *Korbafo*.

fula *Bokai*.

fula *Bilbaa*.

fura *Rikou*.

fula *Ba'a*.

fura *Tii*.

fuli *Dengka*.

furi *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

hula *Helong*. (J:147)

***futu** *PRM*. bundle up, tie, bind. *Doublet*:

***mbutu**. *Etym*: *butu ‘group, crowd, flock, school, bunch, cluster’ (PCEMP).

futu-s *Termanu*. yarn tied in bundles for weaving. (J:149)

futu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

futu-k *Bokai*.

futu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

futu-s *Rikou*.

futu-s *Ba'a*.

futu-s *Oenale*.

n-futu *Ro'is Amarasi*. tie together.

n-futu (2) ʔ-futu-ʔ (3) na-ʔ-futu-ʔ

Kotos Amarasi. 1) bind. 2) band, sash. 3) wear a sash.

n-futu (2) ʔ-futu-ʔ (3) ʔ-futu-ʔ (4)

futu-s *Molo*. 1) bind. 2) girdle. 3) wears a girdle. 4) bound thread ready to be dyed. (M:133)

Out-comparisons:

butu *Semau Helong*. tie, tie up.

futu *East Tetun*. tie into a bundle, bundle up. (Mo:38)

futu (2) fuut *Mambae, South*.

1) gather, come together.

2) accompany, together with. (Grimes et al. 2014b:19)

wuku *Kisar*. tie.

***fu** *PRM*. blow. *Doublet*: ***sabuu**. *Etym*:

*buu (PCEMP. Blust and Trussel (ongoing) provide the Termanu form as evidence for both PCEMP *buu and PMP *qəmbus ‘blow hard; snort, pant’. The connection between *qəmbus and **fu** is spurious. (The expected regular reflex would be *epu.) The Termanu form is, furthermore, their only eastern evidence for positing *qəmbus at PMP rather than PWMP.).

fu *Termanu*. blow, blow with the mouth. (J:143)

fu *Korbafo*.

fu *Bokai*.

fu *Bilbaa*.

fu *Rikou*.

fu *Ba'a*.

fu *Tii*.

fu *Dengka*.

fu *Oenale*.

n-fu *Kotos Amarasi*. blow.

n-fu (2) ʔ-fuʔu *Molo*. 1) blows (e.g. wind). 2) harmonica. (M:128)

Out-comparisons:

huu *Semau Helong*. blow.

huu *East Tetun*. blow on. (Mo:89)

H - h

***ha** *Morph: *na-ha. PRM. eat. Etym: *kaən. [irr: from PMP: *k > *h (expect *k = *k)] [Form: This is one of the few monosyllabic roots reconstructed to PRM. Similarly, it is the only monosyllabic verb root in the Rote-Meto languages. *h develops as though it were a medial consonant in all daughters, thus providing evidence that this root obligatorily took vocalic agreement prefixes in PRM. The verbal inflection is irregular (and historically more conservative) in the Nuclear Rote languages with the prefixes having vowels other than /a/. (The segmentation in the entries below follows their historical analysis for these languages.) The wRM forms are regular for a verb that takes vocalic prefixes (see §2.6.5).]*

-ʔa *Termanu. eats. Morph: 1SG (ʔ)u-ʔa, 2SG mu-ʔa, 3SG na-ʔa, 2PL/1PL.EXCL mi-ʔa, 1PL.INCL ta-ʔa, 3PL la-ʔa. (J:368)*

-ʔa *Korbafo. Morph: 1SG ku-ʔa, 2SG mu-ʔa, 3SG na-ʔa, 2PL/1PL.EXCL mi-ʔa, 1PL.INCL ta-ʔa, 3PL la-ʔa.*

-ʔa *Bokai. Morph: 1SG ku-ʔa, 2SG mu-ʔa, 3SG na-ʔa, 2PL/1PL.EXCL mi-ʔa, 1PL.INCL ta-ʔa, 3PL la-ʔa.*

-a *Bilbaa. Morph: 1SG ku-a, 2SG mu-a, 3SG na-a, 2PL/1PL.EXCL mi-a, 1PL.INCL ta-a, 3PL la-a.*

-a *Landu. eat. Morph: 3SG na-a. [Note: Forms for other persons are currently unknown.] (own field notes)*

-a *Rikou. Morph: 1SG (ʔ)u-a, 2SG mu-a, 3SG na-a, 2PL/1PL.EXCL mi-a, 1PL.INCL ta-a, 3PL ra-a.*

-a *Oepao. eat. Morph: 3SG na-a, 1PL.INCL ta-a. [Note: Forms for other persons are currently unknown, but are probably the same as Rikou.] (own field notes)*

-ʔa *Ba'a. Morph: 1SG (ʔ)u-ʔa, 2SG mu-ʔa, 3SG na-ʔa, 2PL/1PL.EXCL mi-ʔa, 1PL.INCL ta-ʔa, 3PL la-ʔa.*

-ʔa *Lole. Morph: 1SG (ʔ)u-ʔa, 2SG mu-ʔa, 3SG na-ʔa, 2PL/1PL.EXCL mi-ʔa, 1PL.INCL ta-ʔa, 3PL la-ʔa.*

-ʔa *Tii. Morph: 1SG (ʔ)u-ʔa, 2SG mu-ʔa, 3SG na-ʔa, 2PL/1PL.EXCL mi-ʔa, 1PL.INCL ta-ʔa, 3PL ra-ʔa.*

-a *Dengka. Morph: 1SG (ʔ)u-a, 2SG mu-a, 3SG na-a, 2PL/1PL.EXCL mi-a, 1PL.INCL ta-a, 3PL la-a.*

-a *Oenale. Morph: 1SG ʔu-a, 2SG mu-a, 3SG na-a, 2PL/1PL.EXCL mi-a, 1PL.INCL ta-a, 3PL ra-a.*

-a *Dela. eat. Morph: 1SG ʔu-a, 2SG mu-a, 3SG na-a, 2PL/1PL.EXCL mi-a, 1PL.INCL ta-a, 3PL ra-a.*

-ha *Ro'is Amarasi. eat (soft food). Morph: 1SG ku-ha, 2SG mu-ah, 3SG na-ah, 2PL/1PL.EXCL mi-ah, 1PL.INCL ta-ah. [Form: Not all forms have been attested unmetathesised, but 1SG ku-ha, 3SG na-ha, and 3PL na-ha-n (the last two in Kotos below) indicate that metathesis is fully productive with this verb.]*

-ha *Kotos Amarasi. eat (soft food). Morph: 1SG ʔu-ah, 2SG mu-ah, 3SG na-ha, 2PL/1PL.EXCL mi-ah, 1PL.INCL ta-ah, 3PL na-ha-n.*

-ha *Molo. eat. Morph: 3SG na-ha. (M:51)*

-ah *Kusa-Manea*. eat. *Morph*: 1PL. INCL **ta-ah**. [*Form*: metathesised form of **ta-ha**.]

Out-comparisons:

kaa *Semau Helong*. eat.

haa *East Tetun*. eat. (Mo:101)

-ʔon, -ʔan *Kisar*. eat. *Morph*: 1SG **oʔon**, 2SG/2PL/1PL.EXCL **moʔon**, 3SG **naʔan**, 1PL.INCL **kaʔan**, 3PL **raʔan**.

***haa**₁ *CER*. lontar thorn.

beba haa-k *Termanu*. the edge of the branching thorn of the **beba**; also in **paja haa-k**. (J:150)

Out-comparisons:

haa *Semau Helong*. lontar stem.

***haa**₂ *PRM*. four. *Etym*: *əpat. [*irr*: from *PMP*: *ə > Ø with doubling of the final vowel to create a disyllable] [*Form*: External witnesses suggest earlier **paat. The Welaun correspondence indicates #VC > #CV metathesis of *əpat > **pəat.]

haa *Termanu*. four. (J:150)

haa *Korbafo*.

haa *Bokai*.

haa *Bilbaa*.

haa *Rikou*.

haa *Ba'a*.

haa *Tii*.

haa *Dengka*.

haa *Oenale*.

haa *Ro'is Amarasi*. four.

haa *Kotos Amarasi*. four.

haaʔ *Molo*. four. (M:134)

Out-comparisons:

aat *Semau Helong*. four.

haat *East Tetun*. four. (Mo:39)

paat *Kemak*. four.

hoat *Welaun*. four.

faat *Mambae, South*. four. (Grimes et al. 2014:17)

ihaat *Galolen*. four.

woʔakka *Kisar*. four.

***habu** *PnMeto*. cloud, fog. *Etym*: *kabut 'fog, haze, mist; indistinct, blurry'. [*Note*: Reconstructed with initial *h

(not *k) as this is a Proto-Nuclear Meto form. Thus, I am proposing *PRM* *k > Proto-Nuclear Meto *h in this form.] [*minority from PMP*: *b (> *6) = *b /V_V (expect *f)] [*Form*: If this form were ***kaʔu** in *PRM* it would exemplify pattern k-3/4 for initial *k.] **habu** *Kusa-Manea*. cloud, fog.

***hade** *PRM*. rice in the field; rice plant.

Etym: *pajay. [*minority from PMP*: *j > *d (expect *d)] [*Sporadic*: *h > Ø in *wRM*.]

hade *Termanu*. rice, the plant and the crop, the grains as long as they have not yet been husked. (J:151)

hade *Korbafo*.

hade *Bokai*.

hade *Bilbaa*.

hade *Rikou*.

hade *Ba'a*.

hade *Tii*.

ale *Dengka*.

are *Oenale*.

are *Dela*. rice plant.

aan/ʔoe|k *Ro'is Amarasi*. wet rice field. [*Form*: The final element is from **oe** 'water' with **k** presumably from nominal suffix *-k.]

ain/ʔoe|k *Kotos Amarasi*. wet rice field.

ane *Amanuban/Amanatun*. field rice.

ane (2) **aan/ʔoe|k** *Molo*. 1) paddy rice. 2) wet rice field. (M:22)

ane (2) **aen/oa|k** *Kusa-Manea*. 1) field rice. 2) wet rice field. [*Form*: no medial glottal stop.]

Out-comparisons:

ale *Semau Helong*. field rice.

hare *East Tetun*. rice (plant and unhusked grain). (Mo:77)

are *Dhao*. rice on stalk; grain plant.

are *Hawu*. rice on stalk; grain plant.

***hae** *PRM*. breathe.

hae (2) **hae, hai** *Termanu*. 1) breathe. 2) rest, stop. (J:152)

hae (2) **hae, hai** *Korbafo*.

hae (2) hae, hai *Bokai*.
hae (2) hae, hai *Bilbaa*.
hae (2) hae, hai *Rikou*.
hae (2) hae, hai *Ba'a*.
hae (2) hae, hai *Tii*.
hae (2) hae, hai *Dengka*.
hae (2) hae, hai *Oenale*.
n-hae *Kotos Amarasi*. physically
 tired, exhausted.

Out-comparisons:

kae, hkae *Semau Helong*. tire,
 weary. [irr. from PRM: *h = (h)
 k correspondence]

a~ae, ae *Dhao*. breath, stop.

***hae|?** *PMeto*. foot/leg. Doublet: ***ei**.
Etym: *kakay (Wolff 2010:862)
 (Reconstructed with the doublets
 *waqay and *qaqay.). [Note:
 Reconstructed with initial *h (not *k)
 as this is a Proto-Meto form. Thus,
 I am proposing PRM *k > PMeto *h
 in this form.] [Sporadic: *VV-k >
 *VV? > V?V in Amarasi (perceptual
 metathesis).] [Form: If this form is
 regular from *kakay it exemplifies
 pattern k-3/4 for initial *k and pattern
 k-8 for medial *k).]

hae-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. foot/leg.

ha?e, hae-f *Kotos Amarasi*. foot/leg.

hae-k *Molo*. leg. (M:134)

Out-comparisons:

kae, fəla *Hawu*. foot, leg.

***hai₁** *Morph:* ***hai-k**. *Rote*. container
 woven from lontar leaves. *Etym:* **pai
 (pre-RM).

hai-k *Termanu*. bucket woven from
 lontar leaves. (J:154)

hai-? *Korbafo*.

hai-k *Bokai*.

hai-k *Bilbaa*.

hai-? *Rikou*.

hai-k *Ba'a*.

hai-k *Tii*.

hai-? *Dengka*.

hai-? *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

pai *Semau Helong*. basket.

fai *Bolok Helong*. basket.

pai *Hawu*. plate (woven from
 lontar leaves).

***hai₂** *PRM*. stingray. *Etym:* *paRih 'skate,
 stingray (generic); a constellation'.

hai *Termanu*. (sting)ray. (J:153)

hai *Korbafo*.

hai *Bokai*.

hai *Bilbaa*.

hai *Rikou*.

hai *Ba'a*.

hai *Tii*.

hai *Dengka*.

hai *Oenale*.

hai|f *Meto*. (J:153)

Out-comparisons:

ai *Helong*. [irr. from PMP: *R > Ø
 (expect l)] (J:153)

***ha(?)i** *Rote*. take.

hai (2) hai (3) hai (4) hai (5) hai

(6) ha?i *Termanu*. 1) dismiss.

2) take out in certain expressions.

3) bring in the expressions **ala hai**

oe=a leo dae neu 'someone brings

the water to the lower regions'

and **manakolu-la hai soo** 'the

harvesters have brought (the ears

of corn) to the big mat'. 4) decamp,

leave, in the expression **ala hai**

leo dea leu 'they leave, they go to

the field to stay there temporarily

during the harvest season'. 5) as

a separate word usually **haik**

e.g. **hai(k) ndai, (bufu)** 'pull

up a scoop-net (or a trap), take

something out of the water'.

6) take, fetch, take away. (J:153f)

hai (2) ha?i (3) hai (4) hai (5) hai

(6) ha?i *Korbafo*.

(2) hai (3) ha?i (4) hai (5) hai (6)

ha?i *Bokai*.

hai (3) hai (4) hai (5) hai (6) hai

Bilbaa.

(2) hai (3) hai (4) hai (5) hai (6)

(hai ?) *Rikou*.

hai (2) hai (3) ha?i (4) hai (5) hai

(6) ha?i *Ba'a*.

hai (2) hai (3) haʔi (4) hai (5) hai (6) haʔi *Tii*.

hai (2) haʔi (3) haʔi (4) hai (6) haʔi *Dengka*.

hai (3) hai (4) hai (6) haʔi *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

əgo *Hawu*. take. [Note: Jonker (1908:154) gives **agi** 'take out', which may be from Malay *angkit*.]

ahi *Bima*. take something out of somewhere, take away. (Jonker 1893:1)

***halu** *Morph*: ***halu-k**. *PRM*. pestle. *Etym*: *qahəlu. [minority from *PMP*: *q > *h] [irr. from *PRM*: *h > Ø in Rote]

alu-k *Termanu*. pestle. (J:8)

alu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

alu-k *Bokai*.

alu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

alu-ʔ *Rikou*.

alu-k *Ba'a*.

alu-k *Tii*.

alu-ʔ *Dengka*.

alu-ʔ *Oenale*.

alu-ʔ *Dela*. pounder.

haunu|k *Ro'is Amarasi*. pestle.

hanu|k *Kotos Amarasi*. pestle.

hanu *Amanuban/Amanatun*. pestle.

hanu *Kopas*. pestle.

hanu *Kusa-Manea*. pestle.

Out-comparisons:

alu *Semau Helong*. pestle, pounder.

alu(k) *East Tetun*. pestle for grinding grain. (Mo:3)

***hambu** *PRM*. overtake, catch up with. [History: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct Proto-Philippine *qabut 'reach, overtake, catch up with'.]

hapu *Termanu*. overtake. (J:162)

hapu *Korbafo*.

hapu *Bokai*.

hapu *Bilbaa*.

hapu *Rikou*.

hampu *Ba'a*.

hambu *Tii*.

hambu *Dengka*.

hambu *Oenale*.

n-hapu *Molo*. overtakes, finds. [Note: Jonker (1908:162) specifies **hapu** as being from *Taebenu*.] (M:140)

Out-comparisons:

hapu *Semau Helong*. get, obtain, able.

abβu *Dhao*. get, find, receive; able, can, be able to; exist, be, there are.

abu (2) abo *Hawu*. 1) get, find, encounter (pl.). 2) get, find, encounter (sg.).

***hanas** *Morph*: ***ma-hanas**, ***na-hana**. *PRM*. warm, hot. *Etym*: *panas.

hanas (2) na-ma-hana (3) na-hana *Termanu*. 1) hot, warm of water and everything which can be heated up, also of the body; warmth. 2) be warm, such as water or the body. 3) warm up. (J:158f)

hana-ʔ *Korbafo*.

hana-k *Bokai*.

hana-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

hanas *Rikou*.

hanas *Ba'a*.

hanas *Tii*.

hanas *Dengka*.

hanas *Oenale*.

m|anas *Ro'is Amarasi*. sun.

m|anas (2) na-hana (3) k|hanas *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) sun, midday. 2) cook. 3) drought.

m|anas (2) na-hana *Molo*. 1) sun. 2) cooks. (M:304)

m|anas *Kusa-Manea*. hot. [Semantics: **maputuʔ** is also 'hot'. The semantic difference between **manas** and **maputuʔ** is currently unclear.]

Out-comparisons:

manas *East Tetun*. hot, warm, burning; pungent, caustic, hot to the taste; *n*. heat. (Mo:138)

manha *Kisar*. hot.

***hani** *Rote*. bait, feed (animals). *Etym*: *paniŋ ‘bait; fodder; to feed animals’.

hani-k *Termanu*. bait, bait for fishing. (J:161)

hani-ʔ *Korbafo*.

hani-k *Bokai*.

hani-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

hani-ʔ *Rikou*.

hani-k *Ba'a*.

hani-k *Tii*.

hani-ʔ *Dengka*.

ha~hani-ʔ *Oenale*.

hani *Dela*. feed animals.

Out-comparisons:

hani *Semau Helong*. feed the chickens.

ani *Hawu*. bait, chicken-feed. (J:161)

<pàni> (2) <pàningu>
Kambera. 1) feed especially for chickens. 2) bait. (On:398)

pəniŋ *Sika*. give food to chickens. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:158)

***hani** *Morph*: ***hani-k**. *PnRote*. kind of shell, turtle shell. *Etym*: **napi (pre-RM). [*Sporadic*: consonant metathesis *nVp > *pVn > *hVn.]

hani-k (2) **kea hani-k** (3) **poe hani-k** *Termanu*. 1) kind of shell. 2) the shell of a turtle. 3) the shell/shuck of a shrimp. (J:161)

hani-ʔ *Korbafo*.

hani-k *Bokai*.

hani-ʔ *Rikou*.

hani-k *Ba'a*.

(**hani-k** ?) *Tii*.

Out-comparisons:

<**nepi**> *Kambera*. scale. (On:317)

<**napi**> *Anakalang*. [*Note*: also in Mamboru, Weyewa, and Kodi.]

<**napu**> *Lewa*.

***hano** *Morph*: ***ka-hano**. *PRM*. fungus infection which produces light patches on the skin: *Tinea flava* or *Pityriasis*. *Etym*: *panaw.

ha~hano *Termanu*. spots of a lighter colour on the skin. (J:161)

ha~hano *Korbafo*.

ha~hano *Bokai*.

ha~hano *Bilbaa*.

ha~hano *Rikou*.

ha~hano *Ba'a*.

ha~hano *Tii*.

hano *Dengka*.

hano *Oenale*.

ʔ|**hano** *Kotos Amarasi*. tinea.

<**hano**> *Molo*. rash on the face. (M:139)

Out-comparisons:

ano *Helong*. (J:161)

***hanga** *PwRote*. hand span. *See*: ***tenga**. *Etym*: **panga (pre-RM).

hanga *Dengka*. span. (J:699)

hanga *Oenale*. span. (J:699)

Out-comparisons:

<**āga**> *Hawu*. (J:621)

<**pangga**> *Kambera*. span (from thumb to middle-finger), to measure that distance. (On:400)

paga *Sika*. span. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:155)

***hao** *PRM*. feed. *Etym*: **pao (pre-RM).

hao *Termanu*. eat with the hand, put a bite (of food) in one's mouth. (J:161)

hao *Korbafo*.

hao *Bokai*.

hao *Bilbaa*.

hao *Rikou*.

hao *Ba'a*.

hao *Tii*.

hao *Dengka*.

hao *Oenale*.

n-hao *Ro'is Amarasi*. feed.

n-hao *Kotos Amarasi*. feed.

Out-comparisons:

pao *Bima*. mouthful, make mouthfuls, place into the mouth. (Jonker 1893:79)

***hapi** *PRM*. pinch, clamp. *Doublet*: ***kabi**. *Etym*: *kapit ‘pinch, press between; fasten thatch together with

slats in roofing a house'. [irr. from PMP: *k > *h] [minority from PMP: *p = *p] [irr. from PRM: *h > h, Ø in Oenale]

hapi *Keka*. pinch. (J:699)

hapi *Ba'a*.

na-ka-hapi *Tii*.

hapi *Dengka*.

hapi (2) api *Oenale*. 1) pinch. (J:699)
2) clamps. (J:678)

n-hapi *Kotos Amarasi*. clasp, entreaty.

n-hapi *Molo*. cuts through the skin with a clamp. (M:134)

***hara** *Morph*: ***hara-k**. *PRM*. voice, sound.

hala-k *Termanu*. voice, noise of a person or animal. (J:156)

hala-ʔ *Korbafo*.

hala-k *Bokai*.

hala-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

hara-ʔ *Rikou*.

hala-k *Ba'a*.

hara-k *Tii*.

hala-ʔ *Dengka*.

hara-ʔ *Oenale*.

hana-f (2) na-hana *Ro'is Amarasi*.
1) voice. 2) make a sound.

hana-f (2) na-hana *Kotos Amarasi*.
1) voice, sound, news. 2) make a sound, hum, resound (like a bell).

hana-f (2) na-haan *Molo*. 1) sound.
2) resound. (M:138)

Out-comparisons:

bhala, khala *Funai Helong*.
voice, sound.

fala *Semau Helong*. taste; voice,
sound.

hala *Bolok Helong*. voice, sound.

***haru** *Morph*: ***haru-k**. *PRM*. shoulder.
[irr. from PRM: *h > Ø in Rote]

alu-k *Termanu*. shoulder of people
and animals. (J:8)

alu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

alu-k *Bokai*.

alu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

aru-ʔ *Landu*. shoulder. (own field
notes)

aru-ʔ *Rikou*.

alu-k *Ba'a*.

aru-k *Tii*.

alu-ʔ *Dengka*.

aru-ʔ *Oenale*.

aru-ʔ *Dela*. shoulder.

haunu-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. shoulder.

hanu-f *Kotos Amarasi*. shoulder.

hanu-k *Amfo'an*. shoulder.

hanu-f *Kusa-Manea*. shoulder.

Out-comparisons:

adu *Semau Helong*. shoulder.

***hatahori** *PRM*. man, person. *Doublet*:

***ata**. *Etym*: *qaRta + *qudip 'person +
living' (Charles Grimes pers. comm.).

[*Note*: Osmond and Ross (2016b:47)
reconstruct POc *[qa]ta-maqui
'living person' noting it '... spans
a large piece of Oceania, but it has
few reflexes and may reflect parallel
innovations'. Kemak has **atamoas**
'human being', which is similarly a
compound of a reflex of *qaRta with
moas 'living'.] [*minority from PMP*:
*q > *h; *q > *h] [*Sporadic*: *h > Ø
in wRM.] [*Form*: Loss of medial *h
in Meto is probably due to historic
antepenultimate vowel reduction
with subsequent simplification of
the resulting consonant cluster; e.g.
***hatahori** > **ataholi > **atholi
> pre-Meto **atoli > Proto-Meto
*atoni.]

hataholi *Termanu*. person. (J:164f)

hataholi *Korbafo*.

hataholi *Bokai*.

hataholi *Ba'a*.

hataholi *Lole*. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

hatahori *Tii*.

atahori *Oenale*.

atahori *Dela*. person.

atoni? *Ro'is Amarasi*. man, person.

atoni? *Kotos Amarasi*. man, person.

[*Semantics*: By default this term
refers to males, but can be used
more generally to refer to 'person'.]

atoni-dʒ *Amfo'an*. man, person.

<atoni> *Molo*. human, man. (M:34)

atoin *Kusa-Manea*. person.

Out-comparisons:

°**atuli** *Semau Helong*. person, people. Borrowed from: Meto before *l > n.

***hauk** *PRM*. soothe.

na-ka-ha~hau-k (2) **hau-k** *Termanu*. 1) calm down, soothe, e.g. a crying child. 2) quieten down, stop crying (e.g. like a small child). (J:166)

na-ka-ha~hau? *Korbafo*.

na-ka-ha~hau-k *Bokai*.

na-ha~hau-? *Rikou*.

na-ka-ha~hau-k *Ba'a*.

na-ka-ha~hau-k *Tii*.

na-?a-ha~hau-? *Oenale*.

(na-)hauk *Meto*. stop crying. (J:166)

***hedu** *Morph*: ***hedu-k**. *PRM*. gall bladder, bitter. *Etym*: *qapəju ‘gall, gall bladder, bile’. [minority from *PMP*: *j > *d (expect *d)] [Sporadic: *h > Ø in *wRM*.] [Form: *PwRM* *meru can be reconstructed. It is from earlier **ma-hedu.]

hedu-k (2) **ma-ka-hedu-k** *Termanu*. 1) gallbladder. 2) bitter. (J:169)

hedu-? (2) **ma-ka-hedu-?** *Korbafo*.

hedu-k (2) **ma-ka-hedu-k** *Bokai*.

hedu-? *Bilbaa*.

hedu=na *Landu*. gallbladder. (own field notes)

hedu-? (2) **ma-hedu-?** *Rikou*.

hedu-k (2) **ma-ka-hedu-k** *Ba'a*.

hedu-k (2) **ma-ka-hedu-k** *Lole*. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

hedu-k *Tii*.

elu-? (2) **m|elu** *Dengka*.

eru-? (2) **m|eru** *Oenale*.

eru-? (2) **m|eru** *Dela*. 1) gallbladder. 2) bitter.

ēunu-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. gallbladder.

enu-f (2) **m|enu|?** *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) gallbladder. 2) bitter.

<enu> (2) **m|enu|?** *Molo*. 1) gall bladder. (M:102) 2) bitter. (M:319)

enu-f (2) **m|enu|?** *Kusa-Manea*. 1) gallbladder. 2) bitter.

Out-comparisons:

ilu-n *Semau Helong*. gall bladder.

horun *Fehan Tetun*. gall, if you vomit till vomit is blue, this stuff comes from the **horun**.

na?an hourun *East Tetun*. bile. (Mo:88)

?eru-?eru-n *Kisar*. gallbladder.

***hedis** *Rote*. sick, pain. Doublet: ***meras**. *Etym*: *hapəjis ‘smarting, stinging pain’.

hedis (2) **na-ma-hedi** *Termanu*. 1) pain, sickness, painful. 2) be or become sick. (J:168)

hedi-? *Korbafo*.

hedi-k *Bokai*.

hedi-? *Bilbaa*.

(2) **na-ma-hedi** *Landu*. s/he's sick. (own field notes)

hedis *Rikou*.

hedis *Ba'a*.

hedis *Tii*.

hedis *Dengka*.

hedis *Oenale*.

hedis (2) **na-ma-hedi-?** *Dela*. 1) illness, sickness. 2) be sick.

Out-comparisons:

ili *Semau Helong*. sick, pain.

***hee₁** *CERM*. lobster.

poe_hee-k *Termanu*. kind of big lobster. (J:166)

poe_hee-? *Korbafo*.

poe_hee-? *Bilbaa*.

kpoe_hee oo *Ro'is Amarasi*. lobster.

poe_hee *Kotos Amarasi*. lobster.

Out-comparisons:

eeŋ *Semau Helong*. lobster, crayfish.

***hee₂** *Rote*. press out. *Etym*: *pəRəq ‘squeeze out juice, wring out water’. [irr. from *PRM*: Ø > ? ~ Ø in *Termanu* and *Bokai*] [Form: regular *ə > e / _q#.

Forms with medial *ʔ* are perhaps due to influence from **keʔe* and/or reflexes of PMP **gəmgəm*.]

heʔe, hee *Termanu*. press, press out. (J:169)

hee *Korbafo*.

heʔe, hee *Bokai*.

hee *Bilbaa*.

hee *Rikou*.

hee *Ba'a*.

hee *Tii*. [Form: A putative alternate form **heʔe** is given with question mark.]

hee, ee *Dengka*.

hee *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

hele *Helong*. (J:169)

***hela** *nRM*. pull. [irr. from *PRM*: **l* > *r/l* in *Meto*]

hela *Termanu*. pull, drag, drag along. (J:170)

hela *Korbafo*.

hela *Bokai*.

hela *Bilbaa*.

hela *Rikou*.

hela *Ba'a*.

hela *Tii*.

n-hera *Kotos Amarasi*. pull.

n-hela *Molo*. pulls. (M:144)

Out-comparisons:

pela *Semau Helong*. pull.

***helu** *Rote*. bend. Doublet: ***fenu**, ***felu**. Etym: **bəluk*. [irr. from *PMP*: **b* > **h*]

helu *Termanu*. bend something, bent back to the point of breaking. (J:172)

helu *Korbafo*.

helu *Bokai*.

helu *Bilbaa*.

helu *Rikou*.

helu *Ba'a*.

helu *Tii*.

helu *Dengka*.

helu *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

hilu *Semau Helong*. curve, bend. [irr. from *PMP*: **b* > *h* /#_ (possibly a loan from *Rote*)]

***hena** *PRM*. hope.

na-ma-hena (2) **dale=na**

hena~hena *Termanu*. 1) hope, wish, expect, trust. 2) her/his heart is full of hope, s/he is full of hope. (J:173)

na-ma-hena *Korbafo*.

na-ma-hena *Bokai*.

na-ma-hena *Bilbaa*.

na-ma-hena *Rikou*.

na-ma-hena *Ba'a*.

na-ma-hena *Tii*.

na-ma-hena *Dengka*.

na-ma-hena *Oenale*.

na-mhena *Meto*. (J:173)

Out-comparisons:

°namhena *Semau Helong*. Borrowed from: *Meto*. (J:173)

***hene** *PRM*. climb. Etym: **panahik*. [Sporadic: antepenultimate **a* > ***ə* > **e*.]

hene *Termanu*. in the other varieties of *Rote* still means 'climb' but in *Termanu* only in the phrase **hene (noo): 'climb a coconut tree to pick the fruit'**. Also in metaphorical senses: climb = 'increase, grow'. (J:174)

hene *Bokai*.

hene *Bilbaa*.

hene *Rikou*.

hene *Ba'a*.

hene *Tii*.

hene *Oenale*.

***henu** *CERM*. full. Etym: **pənuq*.

henu-k *Termanu*. full. (J:176)

henu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

henu-k *Bokai*.

henu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

henu-ʔ *Rikou*.

henu-k *Ba'a*.

na-henu *Ro'is Amarasi*. be full, fill up.

na-henu *Kotos Amarasi*. be full, fill up.

<**henu**> *Molo*. full. (M:145)

na-heun *Kusa-Manea*. fill, full.

Out-comparisons:

inu *Semau Helong*. full.

benu *Kemak*. full.

penu *Kisar*. full.

henuh** *PRM*. beads. *Etym.* *penuk** (pre-RM). [*Sporadic*: *h > Ø in wRM; vowel height harmony *e > i / _Cu in wRM] [*Form*: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PMP *hinuq, and PAN *SiNuq. The eastern correspondences point to ****penuk**, and it may be that we have to reconstruct a doublet to P(CE)MP. If so, the wRM reflexes could reflect PMP *hinuq (but with irregular final *q > h as retained by Meto), while the other Rote reflexes reflect ****penuk**.]

henu *Termanu*. bead, beads. (J:176)

henu *Korbafo*.

henu *Bokai*.

henu *Bilbaa*.

henu *Rikou*.

henu *Ba'a*.

henu *Tii*.

inu *Dengka*.

inu *Oenale*.

inu *Dela*. beads.

inuh *Kotos Amarasi*. beads.

inuh *Molo*. bead. (M:161)

inuh *Kusa-Manea*. necklace, beads.

Out-comparisons:

henu *East Tetun*. wear on the neck, anything worn on the neck. (Mo:85)

enu *Ili'uun*. bead. (dJ:114)

pinu (2) pinu e-wadun *Buru*.

1) carry with strap over shoulder (e.g. hunting pouch).

2) necklace. [*Form*: **wadun** = 'nape of neck'.] (Grimes and Grimes 2020:745)

penu *Ende*. hang on the neck.

***hendam** *PRM*. wild pandanus. *Etym.* ***paŋdan** 'pandanus'. [*irr. from PMP*: *a > *e; *n > *m] [*Sporadic*: *h > Ø in wRM; Ø > ʔ / #_ in Dela-Oenale.] [*Form*: The initial ʔ in Dela-Oenale

may point to an earlier initial ****k**. Additional evidence for this comes from Ili'uun **ketʃan**. The source of this initial ****k** could be the nominal prefix ***ka-**.]

hena-k *Termanu*. pandanus, also: pineapple. (J:174)

hena-k *Bokai*.

hena-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

henda-ʔ *Landu*. pandanus. (own field notes)

henda-ʔ *Rikou*.

hera-ʔ *Oepao*. (own field notes)

hena-k *Ba'a*.

henda-k *Lole*. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

henda-k *Tii*.

(ʔ)enda-ʔ *Dengka*.

ʔenda-ʔ *Oenale*.

ʔenda-ʔ *Dela*. pandanus.

eram, erem *Ro'is Amarasi*. wild pandanus.

ekam *Kotos Amarasi*. wild pandanus.

ekam *Molo*. pandanus. (M:99)

ekam *Kusa-Manea*. wild pandanus.

Usage: Upper Manulea village.

ekom *Kusa-Manea*. wild pandanus.

Usage: Uabau' village. [*Sporadic*:

*a > o / _m (compare PMP

*maqitəm > PMeto ***metam** > **metom** 'black').]

Out-comparisons:

edan *Semau Helong*. pandanus.

ketʃan *Ili'uun*. pandanus. [*irr. from PMP*: *p > (*Ø) > k (compare *pusəj > **kusan**, *hutək > **gutan**, and *baqbaq > **kahan**)] (dJ:121)

***henge** *PRM*. hang (rope/cord), tie. [*History*: possibly connected with PMP ***hikət**.]

heje *Termanu*. tie (general). (J:174)

heje *Korbafo*.

heje *Bilbaa*.

heke *Rikou*.

hegge *Ba'a*.

hegge *Tii*.

hegge *Dengka*.

na-ʔ|heke (2) ʔ-heke-ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) hang/suspend around the neck. 2) necklace.

na-ʔ|heke *Molo*. garland with a cord. (M:143)

Out-comparisons:

eki *Kisar*. living beings that hang from something, e.g. bat hanging from branch, people hanging from a branch.

***henggu** *PRM*. eat something hard. *Etym*: *pagut ‘snap at with the mouth’ (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) note regarding their reconstruction: ‘The semantics of this comparison leave something to be desired.’ They also reconstruct the root *-gut ‘gnaw’). [*irr. from PMP*: *a > *e] [*Sporadic*: *h > Ø in Meto.]

hegu *Termanu*. nibble on something hard; bite a piece of something with the teeth. (J:175)

hegu *Korbafo*.

hegu *Bokai*.

hegu *Bilbaa*.

heku *Rikou*.

henggu *Ba'a*.

henggu *Tii*.

henggu *Dengka*.

henggu *Oenale*.

n-eku *Kotos Amarasi*. eat; implies eating something hard such as sugar, coconut, bread, cake.

n-eku *Molo*. eats. (M:98)

Out-comparisons:

<**pànggitu**> *Kambera*. chew on. [*Form*: The final vowels in the forms from languages of Sumba is epenthetic.] (On:401)

<**pànggutu**> *Lewa*.

<**pàgutu**> *Anakalang*.

<**pangguta**> *Mamboru*.

***heo** *Morph*: ***he~heo**. *Rote*. move.

he~heo-k *Termanu*. he turns himself, rotates himself. (J:178)

he~heo-ʔ *Korbafo*.

he~heo-k *Bokai*.

he~heo-ʔ *Rikou*.

he~heo-k *Ba'a*.

he~heo-k *Tii*.

he~heo-ʔ *Dengka*.

he~heo-ʔ *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

he~heon *Semau Helong*. move.

***hesu** *PnRote*. fart. *Etym*: **pəsu (pre-RM). [*irr. from PRM*: *h > Ø in Central East Rote]

esu *Termanu*. fart, wind. (J:116)

esu *Korbafo*.

esu *Bokai*.

esu *Bilbaa*.

esu *Rikou*.

esu *Ba'a*.

hesu *Tii*.

Out-comparisons:

nisu *Semau Helong*. fart.

hosu, housu *East Tetun*. expel flatus through the anus, break wind, fart. (Mo:88)

pəhu *Hawu*.

<**kapihu**> *Kambera*. wind, flatulence, pass wind. (On:165)

<**kapisu**> *Anakalang*.

<**kapasu**> *Mamboru*.

<**pou**> *Weyewa*.

<**pasu**> *Kodi*.

poŋu *Bima*. wind, pass wind. (Jonker 1893:82)

***həndi** *Rote*. finish, finished. *Etym*: *qəti ‘stop, end, finish, complete; finished, used up’. [*irr. from PMP*: *t > *nd (also in Helong)] [*minority from PMP*: *q > *h] [*Form*: *nd > n /ə_ in Tii and Rikou.]

heni *Termanu*. out or gone, disappeared or drained away. (J:175)

heni *Korbafo*.

heni *Bokai*.

heni *Bilbaa*.

heni *Rikou*.

heni *Ba'a*.

heni *Tii*.

hendi *Dengka*.

hendi *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

hidi *Semau Helong*. finish, end.

- ***hia** *PRM.* want. *Etym:* *pian ‘want, desire, wish or long for’. [*irr. from PRM: *a > i in Rote; *ia > (*e) > a in Kusa-Manea*] [*Form: Medial *ia is required to account for e in Amarasi.*]
hii *Termanu.* want, be inclined to, desire, wish, consent. (J:179)
hii *Korbafo.*
hii *Bokai.*
hii *Bilbaa.*
hii *Rikou.*
hii *Ba’a.*
hii *Tii.*
hii *Dengka.*
hii *Oenale.*
hii *Dela.* like.
he *Kotos Amarasi.* irrealis marker; want, will. [*Note: hena and henati?* appear to have the same functions.]
ha *Kusa-Manea.* irrealis marker.
***hida** *PRM.* how much, how many. *Doublet: *hida.* *Etym:* *pija ‘interrogative of quantity: how much?, how many?; adjective of indefinite quantity: some, several, a few’. [*minority from PMP: *j > *d (expect *d)*]
hida *Termanu.* how much/many? (J:182)
hida *Korbafo.*
hida *Bokai.*
hida *Bilbaa.*
hida *Rikou.*
hida *Ba’a.*
hida *Lole.*
hida *Tii.*
hira *Oenale.*
hira *Dela.* several, how many, some, how much.
hian *Kusa-Manea.* how much/many? [*Form: metathesised form of (currently unattested) *hina.*]
Out-comparisons:
ila *Semau Helong.* how many?, several.
hira *East Tetun.* how much, how many? (Mo:86)

- ***hida** *PwRote.* few, reduce. *Doublet:*
***hida.** *Etym:* *pija ‘interrogative of quantity: how much?, how many?; adjective of indefinite quantity: some, several, a few’. [*irr. from PRM: *h > Ø in Dengka*]
ida-ʔ (2) na-ma-ida *Dengka.* 1) few. 2) reduce. (J:705)
na-ma-hida *Oenale.* reduce. (J:702)
hida(k) *Dela.* few.
***hine** *PwRM.* know. [*Sporadic: vowel height harmony *e > i /iC_ in some Meto*]
na-hine *Dengka.* know. (J:702)
na-hine *Oenale.* know. (J:702)
na-hini *Ro’is Amarasi.* know.
na-hini, na-hine (2) ma-hine-ʔ *Kotos Amarasi.* 1) know. *Usage:* The form **na-hini** is much more common than **na-hine**. 2) knowledge, wisdom.
na-hiin (2) <hine-n> *Molo.* 1) knows. 2) knowledge. (M:148)
na-hini *Kusa-Manea.* know.
***hiri** *PRM.* choose, select; to pick out. *Etym:* *piliq. [*irr. from PMP: *l > *r*] [*irr. from PRM: *i > e in Rote*] [*Sporadic: *h > Ø in Meto; diphthongisation in Meto: *i > ai.*]
hele *Termanu.* choose, select. (J:170)
hele *Korbafo.*
hele *Bokai.*
hele *Bilbaa.*
here *Rikou.*
hele *Ba’a.*
here *Tii.*
hele *Dengka.*
here *Oenale.*
<**anaini**> *Molo.* one chooses stones in a row for the sequence, in which one tells a story or investigates a matter. (M:11)
Out-comparisons:
huli *Semau Helong.* choose, select, appoint, pick; select out from a bunch. [*irr. from PMP: *i > u*]

hili *East Tetun*. pick up from the ground; to arrange. (Mo:86)

pidi *Hawu*. choose, select, appoint, set aside.

***hitu** *PRM*. seven. *Etym*: *pitu.

hitu *Termanu*. seven. (J:185)

hitu *Korbafo*.

hitu *Bokai*.

hitu *Bilbaa*.

hitu *Rikou*.

hitu *Ba'a*.

hitu *Tii*.

hitu *Dengka*.

hitu *Oenale*.

hitu *Ro'is Amarasi*. seven.

hitu *Kotos Amarasi*. seven.

hitu *Molo*. seven. (M:149)

hiut *Kusa-Manea*. seven.

Out-comparisons:

itu *Semau Helong*. seven.

hitu *East Tetun*. seven (7). (Mo:86)

itu *Kemak*. seven.

(**ha?**)**itu** *Ili'uun*. seven. (dJ:119)

***hoi** *PRM*. dry in the sun. *Doublet*: ***fai**.

Etym: *waRi 'day, sun'. [*irr. from PMP*: Ø > *h] [*Sporadic*: vowel

height harmony *i > e / o_ in Amarasi.]

[*Form*: Tetun provides evidence that the unexpected initial *h* in the reflexes could be retention of a causative prefix; e.g. **pa-waRi.]

hoi *Termanu*. expose something to the heat of the sun, dry something in the sun. (J:186)

hoi *Korbafo*.

hoi *Bokai*.

hoi *Bilbaa*.

hoi *Rikou*.

hoi *Ba'a*.

hoi *Tii*.

hoi *Dengka*.

hoi *Oenale*.

n-hoe *Ro'is Amarasi*. dry in the sun.

n-hoe *Kotos Amarasi*. dry in the sun.

n-hoi *Molo*. dry in the sun, scorch. (M:151)

hoi *Kusa-Manea*. dry in sun.

Out-comparisons:

°**hui?** *Semau Helong*. dry in sun.

Borrowed from: Meto (shown by irr. *R > Ø, expect *R > l).

[*Form*: regular Helong mid-vowel raising before/after a high vowel *o > u / _i.]

hawai *Fehan Tetun*. dry by placing in the sun.

habai, hauai *East Tetun*. expose in the sun, dry in the sun. (Mo:39, 83)

noe *Hawu*. dry in sun.

***hoka** *PRM*. call up, invite. *Pattern*: k-5.

hoka *Termanu*. call up, convene for public work. (J:187)

hoka *Korbafo*.

hoka *Bokai*.

hoka *Bilbaa*.

ho?a *Rikou*.

hoka *Ba'a*.

hoka *Tii*.

hoka *Dengka*.

hoka *Oenale*.

n-hoka *Ro'is Amarasi*. call up.

n-hoka *Kotos Amarasi*. invite, call up.

<**hoka**> *Molo*. invite, first announcement of an invitation. (M:151)

Out-comparisons:

hoka *Helong*. (J:187)

***holas** *PRM*. naked. [*Sporadic*: *h > Ø in Meto.]

ma-ka-hola-k (2) hola~hola, tao

hola (3) na-ka-hola *Termanu*.

1) naked, someone who is usually

naked. 2) naked, be unclothed.

3) bare; bare oneself, mainly unknowingly while asleep. (J:188)

ma-ka-hola-? *Korbafo*.

ma-ka-hola-k *Bokai*.

(2) **hola~hola** *Bilbaa*.

ma-ka-hola-k *Ba'a*.

hola *Lole*. naked. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

ma-ka-hola-k *Tii*.

ma-ʔa-hola-ʔ (2) hola~hola
Dengka.

ma-ʔa-hola-ʔ (2) hola~hola
Oenale.

monos *Ro'is Amarasi.* naked.

mutiʔ_monas (2) n-ʔafaʔ_monas
Kotos Amarasi. 1) openly. 2) stark naked. [Form: **n-ʔafaʔ** = 'clean, shaved, naked'.]

n-monas (2) <amonak> *Molo.* 1) be naked. (M:xxxiii, 88) 2) naked. (M:129)

Out-comparisons:

keʔula *Hawu.* [irr. from PRM: *l = r correspondence; *o = u correspondence] (J:188)

holar *Sika.* naked. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:78)

***holu₁** *PRM.* hug, embrace. *Etym:* *pəluk 'bend, curve'. [irr. from PMP: *ə > *o] [irr. from PRM: *l > Ø in Meto; *u > o in Meto]

holu *Termanu.* hug, embrace. (J:190)

holu *Korbafo.*

holu *Bokai.*

holu *Bilbaa.*

holu *Rikou.*

holu *Ba'a.*

holu *Lole.*

holu *Tii.*

holu *Dengka.*

holu *Oenale.*

holu *Dela.* hug.

n-hoo *Kotos Amarasi.* hug, embrace, put one's arm around.

n-hoo *Molo.* hug. (M:149)

***holu₂** *Rote.* help, assist. [History: Possibly connected with PMP *tulung and/or Malay *tolong*, though this would require irregular *t > *h.]

holu *Termanu.* help, assist. (J:190)

holu *Korbafo.*

holu *Bokai.*

holu *Bilbaa.*

holu *Ba'a.*

(holu ?) *Tii.*

holu *Dengka.*

Out-comparisons:

huluŋ *Semau Helong.* help, assist.

[Form: regular Helong mid-vowel raising before/after a high vowel *o > u / _u.]

***horis** *PRM.* life, living. *Doublet:* ***mori.** *Etym:* *qudip 'live'. [irr. from PMP: *u > *o] [minority from PMP: *q > *h] [Form: expected *p > s / _# (§3.5.1.3).]

holis *Keka.* living. (J:703)

horis *Oenale.* living. (J:703)

ka-hoinis (2) na-honiʔ *Ro'is Amarasi.* 1) living one. 2) give birth to.

ʔihonis (2) na-honis (3) na-honiʔ (4) honiʔ (5) a-mahoni-t *Kotos Amarasi.* 1) life. 2) give birth to. 3) be born. 4) genetic (of relation). 5) parent, clan elders.

<honi> (2) oe ʔhonis (3) na-honiʔ (4) au mahoni-k *Molo.* 1) live. 2) spring that never dries up. 3) bears (child). 4) my parent. (M:152)

Out-comparisons:

nulis (2) nuli *Semau Helong.* 1) life. 2) live.

horis *Fehan Tetun.* living.

houris *East Tetun.* alive, with life. (Mo:188)

ʔori~ʔori *Kisar.* life, foliage.

***hosu** *PRM.* loosen. [Form: The Rote forms with initial *m* probably come from earlier **ma-hosu.] [History: Jonker (1908:496) also gives Termanu, Korbafo, Bokai, Bilbaa, and Rikou **posu** 'loosen, come off, slip', which is probably related and points to earlier **posu. This term is related to a network of formally and semantically similar terms including Termanu, Korbafo, Bokai **podu** 'slip, slip off, loosen' (Jonker 1908:489), Termanu, Korbafo, Bokai, Ba'a **odu** 'pull on, put on, pull something on, put something on' (Jonker 1908:452), and all Rote **olu**

‘pull on, put on’ (Jonker 1908:457), Termanu, Korbafo, Bokai, Bilbaa, Tii **kosu** ‘remove skin, loosening of the skin’. Among these terms, the first could have reinforced irregular retention of pre-RM *p = p in **posu**.]

m|osu Termanu. be loose. (J:362)

m|osu Korbafo.

m|osu Bokai.

m|osu Bilbaa.

m|osu Rikou.

m|osu Ba'a.

m|osu Tii.

m|osu Dengka.

m|osu Oenale.

n-osu Kotos Amarasi. pull out.

n-osu (2) n-hosu (3) na-t|hosu

Molo. 1) draws (sword). (M:408)

2) draws (sword). (M:154) 3) come

loose. (M:154)

***hotu** PRM. burn. See: ***mbutu** ‘hot, burning’. [Sporadic: *h > Ø in Meto]

hotu Termanu. burning, set on fire. (J:191)

hotu Korbafo.

hotu Bokai.

hotu Bilbaa.

hotu Rikou.

hotu Ba'a.

hotu Tii.

hotu Dengka.

hotu Oenale.

n-otu Ro'is Amarasi. burn.

n-otu Kotos Amarasi. burn.

n-otu (2) ma?-otu-? Molo. 1) burns.

2) hot. (M:409)

n-out Kusa-Manea. burn.

Out-comparisons:

otot Semau Helong. hot.

hotu Waima'a. firewood.

***huka** Rote. open. Doublet: ***fuka**.

Etym: *buka ‘open, uncover, expose’. Pattern: k-6. [irr. from PMP: *b > *h]

huka Termanu. open. (J:195)

huka Korbafo.

huka Bokai.

huka Bilbaa.

huka Ba'a.

huka Tii.

hu?a Dengka.

hu?a Oenale.

Out-comparisons:

boka Semau Helong. open. [irr. from PMP: *u > o]

***hu?e** PnMeto. eucalyptus. Etym: **pue (pre-Meto). [History: Several Alor-Pantar languages have likely cognates of this form, e.g. Kabola has **pu?**.]

hu?e-l Amfo'an. eucalyptus tree.

hu?e Molo. eucalyptus. *Eucalyptus alba*. [Form: Other varieties of Meto are known to have **ho?e**.] (M:154)

Out-comparisons:

poe Kemak. eucalyptus.

oe Welaun. eucalyptus.

***hulu** PRM. first, in front. Doublet: ***ulu**.

Etym: *qulu ‘head; top part; leader, chief; headwaters; handle of a bladed implement; prow of a boat; first, first-born’. [minority from PMP: *q > *h] [irr. from PRM: *h > Ø in Rikou]

na-ka-hulu-k Termanu. be in front, first, be the first. (J:196)

na-ka-hulu-k Bokai.

na-ulu Rikou. first. (own field notes)

na-ka-hulu-k Ba'a.

na-ka-hulu-k Tii.

na-?a-hulu-? Dengka.

na-?a-hulu-? Oenale.

na-hunu Ro'is Amarasi. go first, be first.

na-hunu Kotos Amarasi. go first, be first, at first.

na-hunu Molo. go in front of. (M:156)

***humək** PRM. smile, be joyful. [Sporadic: *ə > e /σ_# in wRote (perhaps *ə > *a > e /_#).]

hume Termanu. smile. (J:197)

hume Korbafo.

hume Bokai.

hume Bilbaa.

hume Rikou.

hume Ba'a.

hume Tii.

hume~hume, humel *Dengka.*

humek *Oenale.*

humek *Dela.* smile.

humu-f (2) huma? *Ro'is Amarasi.*

1) face. 2) kind, type.

huma-f (2) huma? (3) na-huma

(4) n-huma?_moe *Kotos*

Amarasi. 1) face. 2) kind, type.

3) beautiful. 4) smile, be joyful, be glad.

huma-n (2) n-huma?_moe *Molo.*

1) his form, his face. 2) smiles, chuckles. (M:156)

humu? *Kusa-Manea.* face.

***hundi** *PRM.* banana. *Etym:* *punti. [minority from PMP: *nt > *nd (expect *t)] [Sporadic: *h > Ø in Meto.]

huni *Termanu.* banana. (J:197)

huni *Korbafo.*

huni *Bokai.*

huni *Bilbaa.*

hundi *Landu.* (own field notes)

hundi *Rikou.*

huri *Oepao.* (own field notes)

huni *Ba'a.*

hundi *Tii.*

hundi *Dengka.*

hundi *Oenale.*

uri *Ro'is Amarasi.* banana.

uki *Kotos Amarasi.* banana.

uki *Molo.* banana. (M:663)

uki *Kusa-Manea.* banana.

Out-comparisons:

hudi *East Tetun.* banana. (Mo:88)

***hunga** *PRM.* chop with force, chop big branches. *Etym:* *pu(ŋ)kaq ‘break off’. [Sporadic: *h > Ø in Meto.]

hunga *Termanu.* chop with an axe or machete firmly held with both hands. (J:197)

huka *Rikou.*

hunga *Ba'a.*

hunga *Tii.*

hunga *Oenale.*

uka-l *Molo.* chop big branches. [Form: insertion of /l/ after /a/ to mark a third person object.] (M:585)

Out-comparisons:

<punggu> *Kambera.* chop, chop down, fell. [Note: also in Mangili.] (On:423)

<ponggu> *Mamboru.* [Note: also in Lewa.]

<pogu> *Anakalang.*

<ponggo> *Kodi.* [Note: also in Weyewa.]

pongo *Bima.* chop, chop with an axe, split or cut with an axe. (Ismail et al. 1986:121)

***husə** *Morph:* ***husə-k.** *PRM.* navel.

Etym: *pusəj ‘navel, umbilicus; mid-point or centre of something’. [irr. from *PRM:* *h > ? in most Rote] [Sporadic: *h > Ø in Meto.] [Form: The initial ? in wRote possibly from earlier *k, also attested by Ili'uun **kusan**. These forms are perhaps via intermediate ***ka-husə-k.**]

(?)use-k *Termanu.* navel. (J:671)

(?)use-? *Korbafo.*

(?)use-k *Bokai.*

(?)use-? *Bilbaa.*

?use-? *Rikou.*

(?)use-k *Ba'a.*

huse-k *Lole.* (Zacharias et al. 2014)

huse-k *Tii.*

(?)usa-? *Dengka.*

?usa-? *Oenale.*

?usa-? *Dela.* belly button, navel.

usu-f *Ro'is Amarasi.* navel, belly button.

usa-f *Kotos Amarasi.* navel, belly button; shoot, sprout, off-shoot.

<usa> *Molo.* navel. (M:591)

usa-f *Kusa-Manea.* navel.

Out-comparisons:

husar, husor *East Tetun.* umbilicus, navel. (Mo:89)

huso *Waima'a.* navel.

ohor-ne *Kisar.* navel.

kusan *Ili'uun.* navel. [irr. from *PMP:* *p > (*Ø) > k (compare *paŋdan > **ketŋan**, *hutək > **gutan**, and *baqbaq > **kahan**)] (dJ:122)

əhu *Hawu.* navel.

***huti** *CERM.* provoke, incite.
[*Form.*: There is also a variant
***huhi** found outside wRote, e.g.
Termanu **na-ka-hu~hu?i-k**, Bilbaa
na-ka-hu~hui-? and others (Jonker
1908:195).]

huti, **na-ka-hu~huti-k** *Termanu.*
provoke. **na-ka-hu~huti-k au**
nonook=a busa he provokes me
like I was a dog (J:198)

<n-huit(a)> *Molo.* incite. **a|n-huit**
asu incites a dog (M:154)

***hutu** *Morph.*: ***na-hutu.** *nRM.* rub,
smear.

na-hutu (2) na-la-hu~hutu
Termanu. 1) rub, rub in, besmear
oneself or one another. 2) pulverise
by rubbing. (J:199)

na-hutu (2) na-la-hu~hutu
Korbafo.

na-hutu (2) na-la-hu~hutu *Bokai.*

na-hutu (2) na-la-hu~hutu *Bilbaa.*

na-hutu (2) na-la-hu~hutu *Rikou.*

(2) na-la-hu~hutu *Ba'a.*

na-hutu (2) na-la-hu~hutu *Tii.*

n-huta *Kotos Amarasi.* rubs, smears
(e.g. oil).

n-huut *Molo.* smears (e.g. blood).
(M:157)

***huu** *Morph.*: ***huu**, ***huu-k**, ***ma-huu-k.**
PRM. base of a tree; cause; source,
origin; beginning. *Etym.*: ***puqun**
'base of a tree; cause; source; origin;

beginning; foot of a hill or mountain;
first wife; model or example (to be
copied); expression for the mother's
brother'. [*Sporadic.*: ***h** > **Ø** in Meto;
***VV-k** > ***VV?** > **V?V** in Meto
(perceptual metathesis).]

huu-k (2) huu (3) ma-huu-k
(4) na-ta-huu, mete/huu-n

Termanu. 1) trunk of a tree.

2) cause reason. 3) having a trunk.

4) starting from, from. (J:193f)

huu-? **(2) huu** *Korbafo.*

huu-k (2) huu *Bokai.*

huu-? **(2) huu** *Bilbaa.*

huu-? **(2) huu** *Rikou.*

huu-k (2) huu *Ba'a.*

huu-k (2) huu *Tii.*

huu-? **(2) huu** *Dengka.*

huu-? **(2) huu** *Oenale.*

uu-f *Ro'is Amarasi.* source, tree trunk.

u?u (2) uu-f (3) ma?-u?u (4) na?-

uu-b=oo-n *Kotos Amarasi.* 1) tree

counter. 2) source, beginning.

3) based on. 4) go back to; finds its

source in. *Lit.*: '3-base-TR=REFL-
3SG.GEN'.

uu|? **(2) uu-f** *Molo.* 1) tree counter.

2) trunks. (M:583)

Out-comparisons:

uun *Semau Helong.* bamboo.

huun *East Tetun.* base, foot,
bottom, the lower part of flank;
the beginning, the source; the
trunk of any tree. (Mo:89)

I - i

***ia** *PRM.* this, here. *Etym.*: ***ia**
'demonstrative pronoun and adverb:
this, here; that, there'.

ia *Termanu.* this, here. (J:199)

ia *Korbafo.*

ia *Bokai.*

ia *Bilbaa.*

ia *Rikou.*

ia *Ba'a.*

ia *Tii.*

ia *Dengka.*

ia *Oenale.*

ia *Dela.* this, here.

ai *Ro'is Amarasi.* here, this.

ia (2) =ii *Kotos Amarasi.* 1) here,
this. 2) 1DET, definiteness
marker for things (physically or
metaphorically) near the speaker.

ii *Amanuban*. here.

iin, ii *Fatule'u*. here.

ii *Molo*. this. (M:158)

ii *Amfo'an*. here.

ain, iin *Timaus*. here.

ia *Kusa-Manea*. here.

Out-comparisons:

ia *Semau Helong*. here.

***idu** *Rote*. nose, kiss. *Etym.*: *ijun 'nose'.

[*Sporadic*: Ø > ʔ /#_ in Dela-Oenale.]

idu ai-k (2) pana_idu *Termanu*.

1) back of the nose. 2) nostrils. (J:200)

idu-ʔ *Bilbaa*. nose. (own field notes)

idu-ʔ *Landu*. nose. (own field notes)

idu-ʔ *Rikou*. nose. (own field notes)

idu-ʔ *Oepao*. nose. (own field notes)

idu *Ba'a*. kiss. [*Note*: In Timor 'kissing' is to rub noses.] (J:705)

idu-k *Lole*. nose. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

idu-k (2) idu *Tii*. 1) nose. 2) kiss. (J:705)

(ʔ)idu *Dengka*. kiss. (J:705)

ʔidu *Oenale*. kiss. (J:705)

ʔidu *Dela*. kiss.

Out-comparisons:

ilu *Semau Helong*. nose.

ilu-r *Kemak*. nose. *Usage*: Lemia, Atsabe, Saneri, and Diirbati dialects.

ilug-aan *Kemak*. nose. *Usage*: Kutubaba dialect.

iliguur *Kemak*. nose. *Usage*: Leolima dialect. [*Form*: The correct morphological analysis of this form is unclear. It could be **ilug-uur** or **iliguu-r**. Either way, *g* is a retention of PMP *ŋ.]

iluk-aat *Welaun*. nose.

***ifa** *PRM*. lap. *Etym.*: *riba. [*irr. from PMP*: *r > Ø (expect *r)] [*Sporadic*: diphthongisation *i > ai in Meto; Ø > ʔ /#_ in Dela-Oenale.]

ifa (2) ifa-k *Termanu*. 1) hold in the lap. 2) lap. (J:200)

ifa *Korbafo*.

ifa *Bokai*.

ifa *Bilbaa*.

ifa *Rikou*.

ifa *Ba'a*.

ifa *Tii*.

(ʔ)ifa *Dengka*.

ʔifa *Oenale*.

(2) ʔifa-ʔ *Dela*.

na-ʔaifa|ʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. carry in the lap. *Usage*: poetic, only currently known in the parallelism **na-skau** = ma_na-ʔaifaʔ metaphor 'cares for people' where **na-skau** = 'hold in the arms, hug'. [*Form*: automatic glottal stop insertion between CV- prefix and #V-initial stem.]

ifa-n (2) aifa-f (3) n-aifan (4)

a-fafa-t = ma a-mn-aifa-t

Molo. 1) intestinal fat. (M:158)

2) lap. 3) held in the lap (said of a child who has the same character as its mother). 4) the one who cares and holds (us) in his lap. (M:9)

Out-comparisons:

iha *Semau Helong*. lap.

***iha** *PnRote*. sister-in-law. *Etym.*: *hipaR 'sibling-in-law (probably of the same sex only)'. [*irr. from PRM*: *h > ʔ /V_V in wRote (expect Ø); *Ø > h in Tii and Lole] [*Sporadic*: Ø > h /#_Vʔ in Termanu, Korbafo, Bokai, Ba'a and Lole.] [*History*: The irregularities in wRote, Tii, and Lole indicate that this term is a borrowing in these lects.]

hiʔa *Termanu*. sister-in-law, used mutually by sisters. (J:182)

hiʔa *Korbafo*.

hiʔa *Bokai*.

ia *Bilbaa*.

ia *Rikou*. (own field notes)

hiʔa *Ba'a*.

hiʔa *Lole*. sister-in-law (male speaking). (Zacharias et al. 2014)

hiʔa *Tii*.

hiʔa *Dengka*.

hiʔa *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

iha *Semau Helong*. cousin, in-law.

***ika** *Morph: *ika-k. PRM. fish. Etym:*

*hikan. *Pattern:* k-10.

iʔa-k *Termanu. fish. (J:200)*

iʔa-ʔ *Korbafo*.

iʔa-k *Bokai*.

ika-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

ika-ʔ *Landu. fish. (own field notes)*

ika-ʔ *Rikou*.

ika-ʔ *Oepao. fish. (own field notes)*

iʔa-k *Ba'a*.

iʔa-k *Tii*.

ia-ʔ *Dengka*.

ʔuʔu ia-ʔ *Dela. all kinds of fish.*

[*Form: ʔuʔu is the normal word for 'fish' in Dela.*]

ika|ʔ *Ro'is Amarasi. fish.*

ika|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi. fish.*

ika|ʔ *Molo. fish. (M:159)*

ika|ʔ *Kusa-Manea. fish.*

Out-comparisons:

ikan *Semau Helong. fish.*

ikan *East Tetun. fish. (Mo:90)*

iʔa *Dhao. fish.*

***ikə** *Rote. snare, noose. Etym: *hikət 'tie, bind, attach to by tying'. Pattern: k-6' (*k > Ø in Bilbaa, *k > ʔ in Ba'a; expect *k = k in both). [irr. from PRM: *ə > a in Termanu, Korbafo, Ba'a, and Tii] [Sporadic: Ø > h /#_V? in Bilbaa, Rikou and Ba'a.] [Form: *ə > (*e) > i in Bilbaa can be explained by the prohibition against the vowel sequences *ie* and *uo*.] [History: Rote *iʔi-k 'kind of liana suitable for tying' may also be from PMP *hikət. Reflexes of Rote *iʔi-k are as follows: Termanu, Bokai, Tii, iʔi-k Korbafo, Rikou, Dengka iʔi-ʔ, Bilbaa ii-ʔ, and Ba'a hiʔi-k.]*

ika (2) i~ika-k, ika-k *Termanu.*

1) snare with a noose attached to a stick. 2) snare, noose, which is

tied to a stick and used to catch wild animals (and chickens, etc.). (J:200f)

ika (2) i~ika-ʔ *Korbafo*.

ike (2) i~ike-k *Bokai*.

na-ka-hi~hii (3) hi~hii *Bilbaa*.

hiʔe (2) hi~hiʔe *Rikou*.

(2) hi~hiʔa-k *Ba'a*. [Note: Jonker (1908:200) gives the Ba'a equivalent of Termanu **ika** as **ike**, but on page 705 he indicates that this is not certain.]

ike (2) i~ike-k, ike-k *Tii*.

(ʔ)iʔa (2) (ʔ)iʔa-t *Dengka*.

ʔiʔa (2) ʔi~ʔiʔa-t *Oenale*.

ʔiʔa *Dela*.

***iko** *Morph: *iko-k. PRM. tail. Etym: *ikuR. Pattern: k-5. [Sporadic: *u > *o /_*R#.]*

iko-k *Termanu. tail of a four-footed animal or of a fish. (J:201)*

iko-ʔ *Korbafo*.

iko-k *Bokai*.

iko-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

iko=na *Landu. tail. (own field notes)*

iko-ʔ *Rikou*.

iko-k *Ba'a*.

iko-k *Tii*.

iko-ʔ *Dengka*.

iko-ʔ *Oenale*.

iko-ʔ *Dela. tail.*

iuku-f *Ro'is Amarasi. tail.*

iku-f *Kotos Amarasi. tail. [Sporadic: vowel height harmony *o > u /iC_ in Amarasi and Kusa-Manea.]*

iko-f *Molo. tail. (M:159)*

iku-f *Kusa-Manea. tail.*

Out-comparisons:

ikun *Semau Helong. tail.*

iku-n *East Tetun. tail, buttocks; final. (Mo:90)*

hiʔon *Kemak. tail.*

***ila** *Rote. mole, freckle, birthmark. Etym:*

*qila 'any natural mark on human skin: birthmark, freckle, mole'.

- i~ila** *Termanu*. spots on the skin or the body, including: **i~ila ngeok** [OE = ‘black spot’] freckles, and **i~ila pilas** [OE = ‘red/brown spot’] birthmark. (J:201)
- i~ila** *Korbafo*.
- i~ila** *Bokai*.
- ila** *Bilbaa*.
- ila** *Rikou*. [Form: My consultants gave vowel initial **i~ila**.]
- ila** *Ba'a*.
- ila** *Tii*.
- ila** *Dengka*.
- ila** *Oenale*.
- ila** *Dela*. mole.
- *imun** *PMeto*. kind of biting flying insect; midge, mosquito.
- imun** *Ro'is Amarasi*. kind of small white mosquito whose bite is worse than a normal mosquito.
- imun** *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of small white mosquito whose bite is worse than a normal mosquito.
- <imu>** *Molo*. flies. (M:160)
- Out-comparisons:**
- əmu** *Central Nage*. mosquito with a horizontally striped black-and-white body. (Forth 2016:332)
- xəmu, səmu, əmu** *Ngadha*. mosquito. [History: The variant forms suggest Proto-Central Flores *kləmu, as discussed by Elias (2018:84, 115). Thus the similarity between the Meto forms and Central Flores forms may be due to chance.] (Arndt 1961)
- *ina** *Morph*: ***ina-k**. *PRM*. mother, mother's sister. *Etym*: *ina. [Sporadic: diphthongisation *i > ai in Meto.]
- ina-k** *Termanu*. woman, a female human being; mother. (J:202f)
- ina-?** *Korbafo*.
- ina-k** *Bokai*.
- ina-k** *Bilbaa*.
- ina-?** *Landu*. woman. (own field notes)

- ina-?** *Rikou*.
- ina-k** *Ba'a*.
- ina-k** *Tii*.
- ina-?** *Dengka*.
- ina-?** *Oenale*.
- ina-?** (2) **ina-n** *Dela*. 1) female human. 2) mother.
- ina?** *Ro'is Amarasi*. mother.
- aina-f, aina?** *Kotos Amarasi*. mother.
- aina?, oin** *Molo*. mother. (M:88)
- ena-f** *Baikeno*. mother. (Charles E. Grimes pers. comm.)
- ene?** *Kusa-Manea*. mother.
- Out-comparisons:**
- ina** *Semau Helong*. mother.
- ina-n** (2) **inan** *East Tetun*. 1) mother, maternal aunt. 2) female (animals). (Mo:90)
- ina** *Hawu*. mother, mother's older sister (maternal aunt), father's brother's wife.
- *inu** *Morph*: ***n-inu**. *PRM*. drink. *Etym*: *inum.
- n-inu** *Termanu*. drinks. (J:397)
- n-inu** *Korbafo*.
- n-inu** *Bokai*.
- n-inu** *Bilbaa*.
- n-inu** *Rikou*.
- n-inu** *Ba'a*.
- n-inu** *Tii*.
- n-inu** *Dengka*.
- n-inu** *Oenale*.
- n-inu** *Dela*. drink.
- n-inu** *Ro'is Amarasi*. drink.
- n-inu** *Kotos Amarasi*. drink.
- n-inu** *Molo*. drink. (M:160)
- Out-comparisons:**
- n-inu** *Semau Helong*. drink.
- *inus** *CER*. certain kind of bird called *burung angin* in Kupang Malay.
- inus** *Termanu*. kind of bird called *burung angin* (wind bird) in Kupang. (J:205)
- inu-?** *Korbafo*.
- inu-k** *Bokai*.
- inu-?** *Bilbaa*.
- inus** *Ba'a*.

Out-comparisons:

maun_inus *Helong*. (J:205)

***ingu** *PRM*. country, land.

igu *Termanu*. in the proper sense means ‘country, place’, but also used in the game of **te~teja-k** (Malay *congkak*), in which the holes which belong to one side are called **igu** (those holes that belong to the opposite side are called **igu fe?e-k**, ‘foreign land’). (J:204)

igu *Korbafo*.

igu *Bokai*.

igu *Bilbaa*.

iku *Rikou*.

ingu *Ba’a*.

ingu *Tii*.

ingu *Dengka*.

ingu *Oenale*.

ingu *Dela*.

iku *Kotos Amarasi*. place of rest in the centre of the fields for the spirits of the rice and corn. ‘The new seeds, which are called **peen iku** [corn *iku*] and **maak iku** [rice *iku*], are made with a ritual in the field. There are no restrictions as to which seeds from home should be planted. A planting of **peen iku** is placed in the middle of the field, and the same affair occurs with rice seed which is called **maak iku**. They place a border (**nakat**) around it using a sign (**?soko**) made from a coconut which has been drained of water. This mark is meant to inform people that the crop of corn and rice in the middle of the field is like a house of rest for the spirit of the corn and the spirit of the rice. This marker is called **iku**. The **iku** is intended to be a house of rest for the spirits of the rice and corn which come from all four corners of the globe.’ (Heronimus Bani, unpublished typescript).

Out-comparisons:

igu *Funai Helong*. village, island.

igu *Semau Helong*. village.

[*Semantics*: Jonker (1908:204)

gives the meaning of Helong

igu as ‘country, village’.]

***isa1** *PRM*. tie together. [*Note*: Those languages with only one form given use it for both the Termanu senses unless otherwise indicated.] [*irr*: from *PRM*: *a > e in several lects and senses] [*Sporadic*: diphthongisation *i > ai in Meto.]

isa (2) ise (3) ise-k *Termanu*. 1) tie something so that it stays hanging. 2) tie something with a rope, tie a rope around something so that it can be picked up or hung up. (J:205) 3) the loop, or the part of a rope, by which something is picked up or hung. [*Semantics*: Some Rote varieties have different forms for each of these senses, and some varieties have only one form which covers both senses.] (J:206)

isa (2) ise *Korbafo*.

ise *Bokai*.

isi (2) (ise) *Bilbaa*.

ise *Rikou*.

isa (2) isa *Ba’a*.

ise *Tii*.

(?)isa *Dengka*.

?isa *Oenale*.

?isa *Dela*. tie with a rope, tie something so that it hangs.

na-?aisa *Kotos Amarasi*. tie something so that there is a handle which hangs out. [*Form*: automatic glottal stop insertion between CV-prefix and #V-initial stem.]

aisa-t *Molo*. four or eight corn cobs tied/hung together in pairs. (M:11)

aisi-t *Timaus*. tied bundle. [*Form*: regular assimilation of *a in final closed syllables.]

***isa2** *Morph*: ***n-isa**. *PRM*. utterly, the final point.

n-isa *Termanu*. s/he kills. (J:398)

n-isa *Korbafo*.

n-isa *Bokai*.

n-isa *Bilbaa*.

n-isa *Rikou*.

n-isa *Ba'a*.

n-isa *Tii*.

n-isa *Dengka*.

n-isa *Oenale*.

n-isa *Kotos Amarasi*. completely, totally, the logical end point; win.

n-isa *Molo*. death; wins. (M:161)

Out-comparisons:

isi *Semau Helong*. too, very.

***isi** *Morph*: ***isi-k**. *Rote*. contents, fruit flesh. *Etym*: *isi? ‘flesh (of humans, animals, fruits, tubers); reside; blade of a knife; inhabitants, residents’.

isi=na, **isi-k** *Termanu*. contents of something; flesh, muscles; the contents as the main part of something. (J:206)

isi=na *Korbafo*.

isi=na *Bokai*.

isi=na *Bilbaa*.

isi=na *Rikou*.

isi=na *Ba'a*.

isi=na *Tii*.

isi-? *Dengka*.

isi=na *Oenale*.

isi-? *Dela*. flesh, contents.

Out-comparisons:

isi-n *Semau Helong*. contents.

isi-n *East Tetun*. the body or torso; the product, the internal part, the contents, the useful part, a layer; a keen cutting edge of a knife, etc. (Mo:91)

***ita** *Morph*: ***n-ita**. *PRM*. see; try, attempt. *Etym*: *kitaz. [irr. from PMP: *k > Ø /#_]

n-ita (2) **n-ita-k** *Termanu*. 1) sees. 2) mainly used in more metaphorical senses including those where ‘see’ = attempt. (J:398f)

n-ita *Korbafo*.

n-ita *Bokai*.

n-ita *Bilbaa*.

n-ita *Rikou*.

n-ita *Ba'a*.

n-ita *Tii*.

n-ita *Dengka*.

n-ita *Oenale*.

n-ita (2) **n-ita-?** *Dela*. 1) see. 2) suppose.

n-ita *Ro'is Amarasi*. see; try.

n-ita *Kotos Amarasi*. see, look at; try, see if.

n-ita *Molo*. see. (M:239)

iat *Kusa-Manea*. see.

Out-comparisons:

n-eta *Semau Helong*. see.

***iu** *PRM*. shark. *Etym*: *qihu.

iu *Termanu*. shark. (J:207)

iu *Korbafo*.

iu *Bokai*.

iu *Bilbaa*.

iu *Rikou*.

iu *Ba'a*.

iu *Tii*.

iu *Dengka*.

iu *Oenale*.

iu *Dela*. shark.

iu *Ro'is Amarasi*. shark.

iik_iu *Kotos Amarasi*. shark.

iu *Molo*. shark. (M:163)

Out-comparisons:

iu *Semau Helong*. shark.

uu *Fehan Tetun*. shark, some long thin sea animal, about 1–2 m long, 5' wide. It is claimed that it also lives in the **wee knuuk** (underground water), along with crocodile. [irr. from PMP: *i > u] [Form: East Tetun has **uud** ‘large whale’ (Morris 1984:76), and if this is cognate with Fehan Tetun **uu**, it would indicate that these forms are not from PMP *qihu.]

K - k

***kaa₁** *Rote*. bite. *Etym*: *kaRat. *Pattern*: k-1/2/3.

kaa *Termanu*. take something between the teeth, bite off, bite, also said of snakes and birds. (J:208)

kaa *Korbafo*.

kaa *Bokai*.

kaa *Bilbaa*.

?aanan *Landu*. bite. [*Form*: The correct morphological analysis of this form is unclear.] (own field notes)

?aa *Rikou*.

?aa *Oepao*. bite. (own field notes)

kaa *Ba'a*.

kaa *Dela*. bite.

***kaa₂** *PRM*. crow (the bird). *Pattern*: k-1. [*History*: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct ***wakwak** which may be cognate.] [*Semantics*: onomatopoeia.]

kaa *Termanu*. crow (the bird). (J:208)

kaa *Korbafo*.

kaa *Bokai*.

kaa *Bilbaa*.

kaa *Rikou*.

kaa *Ba'a*.

kaa *Tii*.

kaa? *Dengka*.

kaa? *Oenale*.

koor_kaa? *Ro'is Amarasi*. crow.

koor_kaa? *metan Kotos Amarasi*. crow.

kool_kaa? *Molo*. crow. (M:164)

Out-comparisons:

kakalo *Semau Helong*. crow.

kaoa *East Tetun*. crow (bird). (Mo:101)

***ka|benu** *PMeto*. fly. Doublet: ***mbena**.

Etym: *bəRŋaw (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct both *bəRŋaw and *baŋaw.). [*irr. from PMP*: *aw > *u (expect *o)] [*minority from PMP*: *b > (*6) > *b]

kbenu *Ro'is Amarasi*. fly.

kbenu *Kotos Amarasi*. fly.

akbenu *Kusa-Manea*. fly.

***kabi** *PRM*. clamp. Doublet: ***hapi**.

Etym: *kapit 'pinch, press between; fasten thatch together with slats in roofing a house'. *Pattern*: k-3. [*irr. from PMP*: *p > *6]

kabi *Termanu*. clamp, squeeze with pliers, press with a press. (J:209)

kabi *Korbafo*.

kabi *Bokai*.

kabi *Bilbaa*.

?abi *Rikou*.

kabi *Ba'a*.

kabi *Tii*.

(?)abi *Dengka*.

?abi *Oenale*.

?abi *Dela*. squeeze the lontar palm flowers with a squeezer made of the rib of a lontar palm leaf.

<**abi**> (2) **n-habi** (3) <**kiba habi**> *Molo*. 1) clamp. (M:3) 2) clamping. (M:134) 3) kind of ant which bites. (M:134)

n-?aib *Kusa-Manea*. pinch, clamp.

Out-comparisons:

habit *East Tetun*. squeeze between two things, put in a splint. (Mo:40)

***kade** *Morph*: ***kade-k**. *Rote*. charcoal.

Etym: *qajəŋ. *Pattern*: k-1' (*k > ? in Ba'a, expect *k = k). [*minority from PMP*: *ə > *e / # (expect *ə > a in wRote, possibly *ə > *a > e)] [*Sporadic*: *a > *e /*C+palatal_.] [*Form*: The initial *k may be from the PRM nominal prefix *ka-.]

(ha?i) kade-k *Termanu*. charcoal. (J:211)

kade-k *Bokai*.

kade-? *Bilbaa*.

?ade-? *Rikou*.

(?)ade-k *Ba'a*.

kade-k *Tii*.

kade-? *Dengka*.

kade-? *Dela*. burned.

Out-comparisons:

aleŋ *Semau Helong*. charcoal.

arne *Kisar*. charcoal. (Rinnooy 1886:169)

***kae** *PRM*. cockatoo. *Pattern*: k-1. [*History*: Clark (2011:321) reconstructs Proto Papuan Tip *wakeke ~ *kakawe which may be cognate.] [*Semantics*: onomatopoeia.]

ka~kae *Termanu*. cockatoo. (J:211)

ka~kae *Korbafo*.

ka~kae *Bokai*.

ka~kae *Bilbaa*.

ka~kae *Rikou*.

ka~kae *Dengka*.

koor kae *Ro'is Amarasi*. Yellow Crested Cockatoo.

koor kae muti? *Kotos Amarasi*. Yellow Crested Cockatoo.

kool kae, kae muti? *Molo*. cockatoo. (M:167)

Out-comparisons:

ka~kae, ka~kai *East Tetun*. cockatoo (bird). (Mo:96)

***kahi** *PRM*. pull towards oneself. *Pattern*: k-2b.

ka?i *Termanu*. pull towards oneself. (J:214)

ka?i *Korbafo*.

(?)**ai** *Rikou*. [*Form*: Whether the initial glottal stop is underlying or epenthetic is not clear. I could not elicit this form from my consultants.]

ka?i *Ba'a*.

ka?i *Tii*.

(?)**ai** *Dengka*.

?**ai** *Oenale*.

?**ai** *Dela*.

n-?ai *Kotos Amarasi*. push down.

n-?ai (2) na-?ai-b=on (3) na-?ai-b-a? *Molo*. 1) pushes down. 2) withdraws. 3) moves someone sideways. (M:8)

Out-comparisons:

kahi *Helong*. (J:214)

***kahi** *Rote*. count. *Pattern*: k-2/3.

ka?i *Termanu*. count, calculate. (J:214)

ka?i *Korbafo*.

ka?i *Ba'a*.

ka?i *Tii*.

(?)**a~(?)ai** *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

kahi, kasi *Semau Helong*. count, one, a.

***kahin** *PRM*. stop, prevent. *Pattern*: k-2a. [*irr. from PRM*: *k > ŋ in Bilbaa]

ka?i *Termanu*. stop, prevent. (J:214)

ka?i *Bokai*.

na-sa-ŋai *Bilbaa*.

?**ai** *Rikou*. [*Form*: My consultants gave **na-sa-?ai**.]

ka?i *Ba'a*.

ka?i *Tii*.

(?)**ai** *Dengka*.

?**ai** *Oenale*.

?**ai** *Dela*. rebuke.

na-kain-a? *Kotos Amarasi*. forbid.

Out-comparisons:

kaŋ *Semau Helong*. prohibit, forbid.

hakahik *East Tetun*. prohibit, prevent, retain, hold, to not allow the action of any practice. (Mo:49)

***kahu** *Rote*. kind of fish. *Pattern*: k-1. [*irr. from PRM*: *h > ? in Rikou (expect *h > Ø)] [*Semantics*: vague semantics weaken reconstruction.]

ka?u *Termanu*. kind of ocean fish. (J:224)

ka?u *Korbafo*.

ka?u *Bokai*.

kau *Bilbaa*.

ka?u *Rikou*.

ka?u *Ba'a*.

ka?u *Tii*.

kau *Dengka*.

kau *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

khau *Helong*. (J:224)

***kai** *Rote*. stiff, awkward. *Pattern*: k-2/3.

na-ma-kai (2) bala/kai-k *Termanu*.

- 1) have a stiff or tired feeling, like someone who has been sitting for, lying on one side or carrying something for a long time, often combined with **sota**. (J:214)
 2) stiff, hard, strong, powerful. (J:26)

na-ma-kai (2) bala/kai-ʔ *Korbafo*.**na-ma-kai (2) bala/kai-k** *Bokai*.**na-ma-kai (2) bala/kai-ʔ** *Bilbaa*.**na-ma-ʔai (2) bara/ai-ʔ** *Rikou*.**na-ma-kai (2) bala/kai-k** *Ba'a*.**na-ma-kai (2) bara/kai-k** *Tii*.**(2) balaʔai-ʔ** *Dengka*.**Out-comparisons:****kalkait (2) kain** *Semau Helong*.

- 1) stiff, awkward. 2) tighten.

[Note: Jonker (1908:213) gives

Helong **balakaik** and **bkain**.]

kai *Ili'uun*. fixed, stiff, hard, taut, stuck fast; avaricious. (dJ:120)***kaiʔ PRM**. hook. *Etym.*: *kawit. *Pattern*: k-1.**kai** *Termanu*. hook, be hooked. (J:212)**kai** *Korbafo*.**kai** *Bokai*.**kai** *Bilbaa*.**ʔai (2) ʔa~ʔai** *Rikou*. 1) hook, be hooked. (J:212) 2) hook which is affixed to one's waist from which buckets can be hung while ascending a lontar palm. (own field notes)**kai** *Ba'a*.**kai** *Tii*.**kai** *Dengka*.**kai** *Oenale*.**ʔ-kaʔi** *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of hook with a sharp angle, these used to be put on the saddle of a horse and people would hang goods from them for transportation. [Note: **tanu** = 'fish-hook'.]**<nak'ai>** *Molo*. fetches towards oneself with a hook. (M:169)**Out-comparisons:****kait** *Semau Helong*. fish hook.***kai/ou PRM**. *Casuarina* tree. *Casuarina* species. *Etym.*: *qaRuhu 'shore tree *Casuarina equisetifolia*'. *Pattern*: k-2b' (*k > ʔ in Tii, expect *k = k). [irr. from PMP: *a > *o (sporadic assimilation)] [Sporadic: *k > ʔ /#_ in Tii.] [Form: initial ***kai** probably from ***kaiu** 'tree, plant, wood'.]**kai/ou** *Termanu*. the *cemara* tree (in Kupang *pohon kasuwari[s]*). (J:216f)**kai/ou** *Korbafo*.**kai/ou** *Bokai*.**kai_ou** *Bilbaa*.**kai/ou** *Landu*. *Casuarina* tree. (own field notes)**(ʔ)ai/ou** *Rikou*.**kai/ou** *Ba'a*.**(ʔ)ai/ou** *Tii*.**(ʔ)ai/ou** *Dengka*.**(ʔ)ai/ou** *Oenale*.**kaidʒoʔo** *Ro'is Amarasi*. *Casuarina*.**ʔaidʒoʔo** *Kotos Amarasi*. *Casuarina* tree. [Form: expected epenthetic consonant in *VVV Final ʔo disappears when modified. This also occurs for **naisoʔo** 'onion'.]**ʔaioo, ʔaiyoo** *Amanuban, South*. *Casuarina*.**ʔudʒau** *Kopas*. *Casuarina* tree. *Usage*: Usapisonba'i village.**ʔaidʒoo** *Kopas*. *Casuarina* tree. *Usage*: Bone village.**ʔadʒau** *Molo*. *Casuarina*. *Casuarina junghuhniana*. [Form: Middelkoop (1972:4) transcribes this <adjau>. Meijer Drees (1950) gives the Molo form as <adjáo>.] (M:4, Meijer Drees 1950:1)**ʔaidʒau** *Amfo'an*. *Casuarina* tree.**ʔaroo-gw** *Timaus*. *Casuarina* tree. *Usage*: Sanenu village.**ʔuroʔ** *Timaus*. *Casuarina* tree. *Usage*: Oekona' village.

ʔaioo *Kusa-Manea. Casuarina tree.*

Out-comparisons:

ka/keu *Fehan Tetun. Casuarina tree (e.g. found at the beach and near the river).*

ka/keu *East Tetun. Casuarina tree. (Mo:97)*

kʔau *Waima'a. Casuarina. Casuarina junghuhniana.*

gou *Kemak. Casuarina tree.*

ai hou *Welaun. Casuarina tree.*

<kajú> *Kambera. kind of Casuarina tree. Casuarina junghuhniana. [Note: Another name for a (possibly different) kind of Casuarina tree is <kajiu> for which Lewa has **kadiu**, indicating that Kambera *dj* may be from palatalisation of earlier *d and that this term is not cognate.] [Form: <j> = [dʒ]] (On:137)*

***kais** *Morph: *ma-kais. PRM. sour. Pattern: k-3.*

ma-keis (2) ma-kei *Termanu.*

1) sour. 2) become sour, has become sour. (J:228)

ma-kei-ʔ *Korbafo.*

ma-kei-ʔ *Bokai.*

ma-kei-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

ma-ʔeis *Rikou.*

ma-keis *Ba'a.*

ma-keis *Tii.*

ma-ʔeis *Dengka.*

ma-ʔeis *Oenale.*

ma-ʔei *Dela. sour.*

<ma|hai> *Molo. sour. (M:297)*

***kaiu** *PRM. tree, plant; wood. Etym: *kahi. Pattern: k-4. [Note: Several names of specific trees in Rote lects begin with a (fossilised) reflex of *kaiu. These reflexes of *kaiu are not always identical to the reflexes given here.]*

ai *Termanu. tree, stem, wood. (J:5)*

ai *Korbafo.*

ai *Bokai.*

kai *Bilbaa.*

ai *Landu. tree, wood. (own field notes)*

ai *Rikou.*

ai *Ba'a.*

ai *Tii.*

hau *Dengka.*

hau *Oenale.*

hau *Ro'is Amarasi. wood, tree.*

hau *Kotos Amarasi. wood, tree.*

hau *Molo. tree, plant, wood. (M:141)*

hau *Kusa-Manea. tree, wood.*

Out-comparisons:

kai *Semau Helong. wood, tree.*

ai *East Tetun. tree, bush, shrub, plant, vegetable; stick, wood, timber, firewood. (Mo:2)*

kau *Habun. tree. [Note: language of east Timor ISO 639-3 [hbu].] (Dawson 2014)*

ai *Kemak. plant, wood.*

au *Kisar. wood.*

afu *Hawu. tree, wood.*

afu *Dhao. tree, wood.*

***kai/usu** *Rote. ribs. Etym: *Rusuk. Pattern: k-2/3. [irr. from PRM: *Ø > h in Tii] [Form: Source of initial *kai unclear, Jonker connects it with the prefix ka-]*

kai/usu-k *Termanu. rib(s). (J:217)*

kai/usu-ʔ *Korbafo.*

kai/usu-k *Bokai.*

(ʔ)ai/usu-ʔ *Rikou.*

kai/usu-k *Ba'a.*

kai/usu-k *Tii.*

(ʔ)ai/usu-ʔ *Dengka.*

ʔai/usu-ʔ *Oenale.*

ʔai/usu-ʔ *Dela. ribs.*

Out-comparisons:

rusan *Kisar. ribs.*

***kaka** *Morph: *kaka-k. Rote. elder sibling of the same sex. Etym: *kaka. Pattern: initial k-2/3', medial k-8'. [Form: The alternate Dengka form with initial k is not regular under pattern k-2/3, similarly medial k in the alternate Dengka and Tii forms is not regular under pattern k-8.*

These irregularities may be due to borrowing, though the nearest Rote form with medial *k* is Bilbaa which does not neighbour either Tii or Dengka. If a borrowing hypothesis is taken to explain these irregularities Malay *kakak* would be the most likely source.]

kaʔa-k *Termanu*. older brother or sister, used by brothers for brothers and sisters for sisters. (J:209)

kaʔa-ʔ *Korbafo*.

kaʔa-k *Bokai*.

kaka-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

ʔaʔa=na *Landu*. older sibling. (own field notes)

ʔaʔa *Rikou*.

kaʔa-k *Ba'a*.

kaʔa *Lole*. older sibling (same sex). (Zacharias et al. 2014)

kaka-k, **kaʔa** *Tii*. [Form: Jonker (1908:209) gives **kaka-k**, Grimes et al. (2014a) gives **kaʔa**.]

kaka-ʔ, **ʔaʔa** *Dengka*. [Note: Jonker (1908:209) gives the putative Dengka form **ʔaʔa** with the note: 'also surely Dengka'.]

ʔaʔa *Oenale*.

ʔaʔa *Dela*. older sibling.

Out-comparisons:

kaka *Semau Helong*. older sibling.

kaka *Kisar*. older relatives.

aʔa *Hawu*. elder sibling same sex.

***kalati** *Rote*. earthworm. *Etym*: *kali-wati. *Pattern*: k-1/2/3. [irr. from PMP: *w > Ø] [irr. from PRM: Ø > n in Landu] [Sporadic: antepenultimate syllable loss in wRote.]

kalati-k (2) **kelati dae** *Termanu*.

1) worm, both earthworm and intestinal worm. 2) earthworm. (J:219)

kalati-ʔ *Korbafo*.

kalati-k *Bokai*.

kalati-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

kalnati *Landu*. earthworm. (own field notes)

kalati-ʔ *Rikou*.

sikalati-k *Ba'a*.

sikalati-k *Tii*.

la~lati-ʔ *Dengka*.

la~lati-ʔ *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

blatiʔ *Semau Helong*. worm, earthworm, roundworm.

[Form: Probably from the alternate PMP form *bulati.]

(k)la~latik *East Tetun*. earthworm, intestinal worm. (Mo:108)

***kali** *PRM*. dig. *Etym*: *kali. *Pattern*: k-3.

kali *Termanu*. dig, excavate. (J:219)

kali *Korbafo*.

kali *Bokai*.

kali *Bilbaa*.

ʔali *Rikou*.

kali *Ba'a*.

kali *Tii*.

(ʔ)ali *Dengka*.

ʔali *Oenale*.

ʔali *Dela*. dig.

n-hani *Ro'is Amarasi*. dig.

n-hani *Kotos Amarasi*. dig.

n-hani *Molo*. dig. (M:139)

Out-comparisons:

kali *Semau Helong*. dig.

***kalusa** *PMeto*. fingernail, toenail, claw.

Etym: **kilusa (pre-Meto). *Pattern*: k-1/2a. [irr. from PRM: *l > l ~ n in Kualiin Amanuban] [Form: I have posited an original trisyllable as most varieties of Meto show regular *l > n, unlike PRM *kl which is reflected as kl or kr. However, the alternate form in Kualiin Amanuban, **klusa-n**, points to early reduction of the antepenultimate syllable. Thus, ***kalusa** may have had the alternate form ***klusa** in PMeto.]

tnusu-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. fingernail, toenail, claw.

knusa-f *Kotos Amarasi*. fingernail, toenail, claw. [Note: An alternate form for 'nail' is **ʔtusa-f**, though **knusa-f** seems more common.]

knusa-f *Amanuban*. fingernail, toenail, claw.

klusa-n, knusat *Amanuban*. fingernail, toenail, claw. *Usage*: Kualiin village.

Out-comparisons:

kalusun, klusun *Ili'uun*. nail, claw. (dJ:120)

kilusu *Tugun*. fingernail. (Hinton 2000:124)

***kame** *Rote*. knead. *Doublet*: ***keʔe**, ***keme**, ***kumu₂**, ***ŋgumu**. *Etym*: *gəmgəm. *Pattern*: k-2/3. [*minority from PMP*: *ə > *a /#C_ ; *ə > *e /_#] **kame (2)** **ka~kame** *Termanu*. 1) knead. 2) knead repeatedly. (J:220)

kame *Korbafo*.

kame *Bokai*.

kame *Bilbaa*.

keme *Rikou*.

kame *Ba'a*.

kame *Tii*.

(?)ame *Dengka*.

(?)ame *Oenale*.

***ka(m)i** *PRM*. we, first person plural exclusive pronoun. *Etym*: *kami. *Pattern*: k-4. [*Form*: Lynch et al. (2002) state that POc *kami 'sometimes occurred as *kai'. Reflexes of putative *kai also occur outside of the Oceanic subgroup. In the Bungku-Tolaki subgroup, for example, Mead (1998:154) gives 18 isolects with **kami**, **mami** and 11 isolects with **kai**, **mai**. The Moronene language has both **ikami** and **ikai** as free pronouns. Likewise, Moronene has genitive **-mami/-mai** and absolutive **-kami/-kai**. (In Moronene the forms without medial *m* are optionally used when certain enclitics attach to the pronoun.) Another area in which forms without medial *m* are known to occur is in the Barrier Islands where Enggano has **?ai** and Mentawai has **kai**. Based on such forms, it seems possible to

reconstruct the reduced variant *kai to PMP. Among the RM languages most nRote languages show only reflexes of *kami, while wRM, Ba'a, Tii and Lole have reflexes of *kai.]

ami *Termanu*. 1PL.EXCL. (J:10)

ami *Korbafo*.

ami *Bokai*.

ami *Bilbaa*.

ami *Landu*. (own field notes)

ami *Rikou*.

ai *Ba'a*.

ai *Lole*. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

ai *Tii*.

hai *Dengka*.

hai *Oenale*.

hai *Ro'is Amarasi*. 1PL.EXCL.

hai (2) =kai *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) 1PL. EXCL.NOM. 2) 1PL.EXCL.ACC.

hai *Molo*. 1PL.EXCL. (M:135)

Out-comparisons:

kami *Semau Helong*. 1PL.EXCL.

ami *East Tetun*. we, 1PL.EXCL. (Mo:4)

***kamiri** *Rote*. candlenut tree: *Aleurites moluccana*. *Etym*: *kamiri (This reconstruction is not without its problems and reflexes may have been distributed by Malay, though Blust and Trussel (ongoing) note '[Malay borrowing] is much harder to argue for Hanunóo, since the term is unknown in many Philippine languages that have borrowed much more heavily from Malay'.) *Pattern*: k-1. [*irr. from PRM*: *ri > ?a in Termanu, Bokai, and Ba'a; *k > ŋg in Oenale] [*Semantics*: The reflexes in eastern Timor point to earlier **kamiRi.]

kami?a *Termanu*. candlenut. (J:220)

kami?a *Bokai*.

kamili *Bilbaa*.

(kamia ?) *Rikou*.

kami?a *Ba'a*.

kamiri *Tii*.

kamili *Dengka*.

ŋgamiri *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

kamii(n), kmii *East Tetun*. tree with oily fruit, the candlenut.

Aleurites Moluccana. (Mo:100)

mii *Galolen*. candlenut.

***kambe** *PRM*. saliva, spittle. *Etym*: *kambeR (own reconstruction) (PCMP). *Pattern*: k-4. [*irr*: from *PRM*: *e > u in Dela] [*Form*: I have tentatively reconstructed final *e (rather than *ə) as this best explains the forms in Rote-Meto, Ili'uun and central Maluku. However, it seems unlikely that *e can account for the Central Timor forms or the alternate Tetun form **kaban**.] [*History*: May be connected with PMP *ibəR 'saliva in the mouth; drool; desire, crave, lust for'.]

ape *Termanu*. saliva, spittle. (J:14)

ape *Korbafo*.

ape *Bokai*.

ape *Bilbaa*.

ape=na *Landu*. saliva. (own field notes)

ape *Rikou*.

ape *Oepao*. (own field notes)

ampe *Ba'a*.

ambe *Tii*.

hambu oe-? *Dela*. saliva.

hape *Ro'is Amarasi*. saliva.

hape *Kotos Amarasi*. saliva, spit.

hape *Molo*. saliva. (M:139)

hape *Kusa-Manea*. saliva.

Out-comparisons:

kapen *Semau Helong*. saliva, spittle.

kaba-n, kabe-n, kabuee-n *East Tetun*. saliva, slobber (of animals). [*Form*: **uee** = water] (Mo:91)

ape(n) *Ili'uun*. cheek, throat. [*Note*: de Josselin de Jong (1947:112) also gives **apore(n)**, **apure(n)** 'spittle' which is probably also related.] (dJ:112)

apar *Kisar*. spittle.

aba *Mambae, South*. saliva, spittle. (Grimes et al. 2014b:9)

aba-r *Kemak*. saliva, spittle.

aba-t been *Welaun*. saliva, spittle.

aper *Kamarian*. mucus. (van Ekris 1864:76)

apel *Haruku*. [*Note*: also in some varieties of Kaibobo.] (van Ekris 1864:76)

apel *Nusa Laut*. mucus, snot. [*Note*: language of Lease Islands, central Maluku ISO 639-3 [nul].] (van Hoëvell 1877:105)

***kambu** *PwRM*. belly, uterus. *Etym*: *kambu 'lower stomach, bladder'. *Pattern*: k-2b.

(?)ambu-? *Dengka*. stomach. (J:678)

?ambu-? *Oenale*. belly. (J:678)

?ambu-? *Dela*. belly, stomach.

na-kapu? *Ro'is Amarasi*. pregnant.

?apu-f (2) na-?apu? *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) womb. 2) pregnant.

?apu-f *Amfo'an*. side. (M:27)

?apu-f (2) <na-apu> *Molo*. 1) uterus in general; a kind of little basket. 2) pregnant. (M:27)

na-?aup *Kusa-Manea*. pregnant.

Out-comparisons:

kabu-n *East Tetun*. stomach, abdomen (of humans). (Mo:93)

kapun *Ili'uun*. belly. (dJ:120)

?apun *Kisar*. pregnant.

***kandi** *PwRM*. whetstone. *Pattern*: k-2b. **(?)andi** *Dengka*. whetstone. (J:678)

?andi *Oenale*. whetstone. (J:678)

?andi *Dela*. whetstone.

kari *Ro'is Amarasi*. whetstone.

?aki *Kotos Amarasi*. whetstone.

?aki *Molo*. whetstone. (M:14)

Out-comparisons:

kadi *East Tetun*. sharpen to a keen edge (any cutting instrument). (Mo:94)

katji *Ili'uun*. whetstone, grind. (dJ:120)

atji *Kisar*. sharpen.

***kao** *PRM.* scrape, scratch. *Etym:* *kaRaw (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct many forms of a similar shape which mean ‘scrape, scratch’: PMP *kaRus, PMP *gadus, PMP *garut, PWMP *kaus, PWMP *kərud, PWMP *kərus, PMP *kaRud, PAN *karut, PWMP *aRud, PWMP *karus. Of these, the RM reflexes would be regular from *kaRaw.). *Pattern:* k-1/2a. [irr. from PMP: *u > *o] [irr. from PRM: *k > ŋg in Dengka]
kao *Termanu.* scrape the hands together. (J:221)
kao *Korbafo.*
kao *Ba'a.*
kao *Tii.*
ŋgao *Dengka.* scrape, scratch. (J:743)
n-kao *Kotos Amarasi.* scratch.
kao *Meto.* scratch. (J:221)
Out-comparisons:
kau *Hawu.* (J:221)
 <kau> *Kambera.* scratch. (On:197)
 <kaü> *Weyewa.*
 <kayo> *Kodi.*
***kara** *Morph:* *kara-k. *nRM.* chest. *Etym:* **karas (pre-RM). *Pattern:* k-2b.
kala-? *Bilbaa.* breast. (J:708)
ara-? *Rikou.* chest. [Form: Jonker (1908:708) gives <arā> = araa?, my consultants gave ara-?.]
ara-? *Oepao.* chest. (own field notes)
kala-k *Lole.* chest. (Zacharias et al. 2014)
kara-k *Tii.* breast. (J:708)
kan/sao-f *Ro'is Amarasi.* chest.
?an/sao-f *Kotos Amarasi.* pit of the stomach, solar plexus, ‘heart’ in the metaphorical sense. *Usage:* Occurs in parallelisms with **neka-f** ‘feelings’.
?an/sao-n *Molo.* feelings, chest. (M:145, 360)
?a/sao-f *Kusa-Manea.* chest.
Out-comparisons:
kalas *Funai Helong.* chest.

karas *East Tetun.* breast, the outer front part of the chest; a half fathom, measured from the tips of the outstretched fingers to the middle of the chest. (Mo:101)

kakara *Dhao.* chest, breast.

***karu** *Morph:* *ka~karu. *Rote.* scrape, rasp; scratch. *Etym:* *karut (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct many forms of a similar shape which mean ‘scrape, scratch’: PMP *gadus, PMP *garut, PWMP *kaus, PAN *kaRus, PWMP *kərud, PWMP *kərus, PMP *kaRud, PWMP *aRud, PWMP *karus. Of these, the RM reflexes would be most regular from *karut or *gadus.). *Pattern:* k-1/2/3' (Dengka ? Oenale k correspondence; expect both to have either ? for pattern 2/3, or k for pattern 1).
ka~kalu *Termanu.* scratch. (J:220)
ka~kalu *Korbafo.*
ka~kalu *Bokai.*
ka~kalu *Bilbaa.*
(?)a~(?)aru *Rikou.*
ka~kalu *Ba'a.*
ka~karu *Tii.*
(?)a~(?)alu *Dengka.*
ka~karu *Oenale.*
Out-comparisons:
kalo *Semau Helong.* scratch.
haruk *Kisar.* scratch.
***kase** *PMeto.* foreigner, foreign. *Pattern:* k-1/2a. [History: This is probably a borrowing from Meto into Kemak. Waima'a has raising of final *a > o in open syllables, from which final u could further be derived. Similarly, Meto has sporadic raising of *a > e in final open syllables. Kemak, however, does not have such sound changes thus suggesting pre-Meto **kasa with *a > e in Meto and subsequent borrowing into Kemak.] [Semantics: It could be that the original meaning was ‘person’. This meaning occurs in

the Meto phrase **kase ʔnaek** literally ‘great foreigner’ (Amarasi **kaes koʔu**) which is used poetically to refer to any highly honoured dignitary, including members of the Atoni ethnolinguistic group.]

kase *Roʼis Amarasi*. foreign, foreigner.

kase *Kotos Amarasi*. foreign, foreigner.

kase *Molo*. foreigner from overseas. (M:182)

kase *Kusa-Manea*. foreign, foreigner.

Out-comparisons:

wasu-kasu *Waimaʼa*. enemy.

kase *Kemak*. foreigner.

***katefuan** *CERM*. wasp, hornet. *Etym*: *tabuqan ‘yellow-jacket wasp’. *Pattern*: k-2b. [irr. from PRM: *a > e in Termanu and Landu] [Sporadic: consonant metathesis *kVt > tVk in Termanu and Landu.] [Form: The source of initial ***kate** is unclear, but reflexes of ***kate**- occur with at least two other biting insect terms (see the note for the Termanu reflex). Jonker connects it with Termanu **kete** ‘itch’, (probably from PMP *gatəl) and this is possible.]

teke/fua-k *Termanu*. kind of wasp. [Form: Initial **teke** occurs with at least two other biting insect terms, **tekefia-k** ‘tick’, **tekemela-k** ‘bedbug’ (from *qatiməla). It also occurs with **tekelaba-k** ‘house gecko’.] (J:614)

tekefua-ʔ *Landu*. wasp. (own field notes)

katfuaʔ *Roʼis Amarasi*. kind of stinging/biting wasp. [Form: From intermediate **kaetfua with regular CV > VC metathesis of the first element of a compound.]

ʔatfuan *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of stinging/biting wasp.

ʔatfuan *Molo*. wasp. (M:32)

ʔaetfuan *Kusa-Manea*. kind of stinging or biting wasp.

Out-comparisons:

tohan *Semau Helong*. wasp. [irr. from PMP: *a > o (perhaps via intermediate consonant metathesis, *tabuqan > **taquban > **tauban)]

***katə** *PRM*. itch, feel itchy. *Doublet*: ***ŋgete**. *Etym*: *gatəl. *Pattern*: k-3. [irr. from PRM: *a > e in Rote] [Sporadic: *ə > e /σ_# in wRote (perhaps *ə > *a > e /_#).]

kete (2) **na-kete** (3) **ma-kete** (4) **ma-kete-k** *Termanu*. 1) biting, burning on the tongue. 2) hot, biting on the tongue; itch. 3) have an itch. 4) hot burning. (J:232f)

kete *Korbafo*.

kete *Bokai*.

kete *Bilbaa*.

ʔete *Rikou*. [Form: My consultants gave **na-ʔete** ‘spicy’ and **ma-ʔete** ‘itchy’.]

kete *Baʼa*.

kete *Tii*.

(?)**ete** *Dengka*.

ʔete *Oenale*.

ma-ʔete-ʔ *Dela*. hot (spicy).

ma|hataʔ *Roʼis Amarasi*. itchy.

ma|hataʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. itchy.

n-ma|haat *Molo*. itchy. (M:140)

ma|haat *Kusa-Manea*. itchy.

Out-comparisons:

katen *Semau Helong*. itch.

katal, katar *East Tetun*. feel itchy, itch, sting. (Mo:103)

katal *Welaun*. itchy.

akal *Kisar*. itchy.

***kati** *PRM*. call a dog. *Etym*: *kati (PCMP). *Pattern*: k-3' (*k = k in Dela-Oenale; expect *k > ʔ).

kati *Termanu*. call a dog. (J:223)

kati *Korbafo*.

kati *Bokai*.

kati *Bilbaa*.

(?)**a-(ʔ)ati** *Rikou*.

kati *Baʼa*.

kati *Tii*.

(?)a~(?)ati *Dengka*.
ka~kati *Oenale*.
kati-? *Dela*. call a dog. (Theresia Tamelan pers. comm. 2017)
n-hait *Amanuban*. calls (dog). (M:135)
n-haet (2) ka= ha~hati *Molo*. 1) calls (dog). 2) in farewell poems: no longer able to be called, that is due to leaving and falling outside the reach of those who cry out. (M:135)
***kea** *PRM*. turtle. *Etym*: *keRa ‘hawkbill turtle’ (PCEMP). *Pattern*: k-2a. [*Sporadic*: *a > e / _# in wRM.]
kea *Termanu*. turtle. (J:225)
kea *Korbafo*.
kea *Bokai*.
kea *Bilbaa*.
kea *Landu*. (own field notes)
?ea *Rikou*.
kea *Ba'a*.
kea *Tii*.
(?)ee *Dengka*.
?ee *Oenale*.
?ee *Dela*. turtle.
kee *Ro'is Amarasi*. turtle, tortoise.
kee, kea *Kotos Amarasi*. turtle, tortoise.
<ke'>, <ke'a> *Molo*. turtle. [*Form*: <ke'> is almost certainly **kee**, but the correct interpretation of <ke'a> is not clear] (M:191)
***kees** *Morph*: ***na-kees**. *CERM*. squeeze around the waist. *Pattern*: k-1/2a.
na-kee *Termanu*. wear around the belly. (J:225)
na-kee *Korbafo*.
na-ee *Rikou*.
na-kes~kees *Kotos Amarasi*. have contractions.
na-kees *Meto*. press. (J:225)
Out-comparisons:

kees *Semau Helong*. strangle. [*Semantics*: Jonker gives the meaning for Helong **kees** as ‘tie, e.g. around the belly, also: knead’.]
***kei** *PRM*. tickle. *Pattern*: k-3' (*k = k in wRote and Rikou; expect *k > ?).
na-la-kei *Termanu*. touch someone softly, e.g. with a finger or stick in order to get his attention. (J:228)
na-la-kei *Korbafo*.
na-la-kei *Bokai*.
na-la-kei *Bilbaa*.
ke~kei *Rikou*.
na-la-kei *Ba'a*.
na-la-kei *Tii*. tickle. (J:710)
keis *Dengka*.
keis *Oenale*.
keis *Dela*. touch to get attention.
mahei *Kotos Amarasi*. ticklish.
mahei, mahai *Meto*. ticklish. (J:710)
***ke?e** *PnRote*. knead. *Doublet*: ***kame, *keme, *kumu2, *ngumu**. *Etym*: *gəmgəɱ. *Pattern*: k-2/3. [*irr. from PMP*: *g > *?] [*minority from PMP*: *ə > *e / _#]
ke?e (2) ke~ke?e *Termanu*. 1) pinch, knead, from that: squeeze out. 2) knead into a ball. (J:227)
ke?e *Bokai*.
kee *Bilbaa*.
(?)ee *Rikou*.
ke?e *Ba'a*.
ke?e *Tii*.
***kela** *Rote*. leave behind. *Pattern*: k-4.
ela *Termanu*. leave over, leave behind; leave. (J:111)
ela *Korbafo*.
ela *Bokai*.
kela *Bilbaa*.
ela *Rikou*.
ela *Ba'a*.
ela *Tii*.
hela *Dengka*.
hela *Oenale*.
Out-comparisons:

hela *East Tetun*. stay, remain, reside; to abandon, to reject; *adv.* at rest, in the same state; *particle* the action is completed. [*irr. from PRM: *k* = *h* correspondence] (Mo:85)

kera *Hawu*. overshoot. (J:111)

***kelas** *Morph: *ka-kelas. PRM.* winter melon. *Benincasa hispida*. *Pattern:* k-irr. [*irr. from PRM: *k* > **ŋg* in nRote; **a* > *e* Meto] [*Form:* This is the only known form with a nRote **ŋg* = wRM **h* correspondence set. We could propose PRM **g* to account for this correspondence, though in the absence of additional examples of this correspondence set I prefer not to posit an additional PRM proto-phoneme.]

ŋgelas *Termanu*. gourd, squash. (J:437)

ŋgela-ʔ *Korbafo*.

ŋela-k *Bokai*.

ŋela-k *Bilbaa*.

kelas *Rikou*.

ŋgelas *Ba'a*.

helas *Oenale*.

helas *Dela*. pumpkin.

heens *Ro'is Amarasi*. winter melon.

Benincasa hispida.

ʔ|henes *Kotos Amarasi*. winter melon.

Benincasa hispida.

Out-comparisons:

kelij *Ili'uun*. pumpkin (with red flesh and black stones). [*irr. from PRM: *a* = *i* correspondence; **s* = *ŋ* correspondence] (dJ:121)

helas *Central Manggarai. Benincasa hispida*. (Verheijen 1984:46)

yelas *East Manggarai. Benincasa hispida*. (Verheijen 1984:46)

kelas *West Manggarai. Benincasa hispida*. (Verheijen 1984:46)

halaʔ *Komodo. Benincasa hispida*. (Verheijen 1984:46)

hala *Bima. Benincasa hispida*. (Verheijen 1984:46)

***kele** *CERM*. pant, breathe heavily. *Pattern:* k-3. [*Note:* Termanu and Tii have **ŋgile** 'heavy breathing like a sick person, panting' which may be related.]

kele~kele *Keka*. heavy coughing.

boʔo tao leo bee ndia dee lee

kele~kele-ŋemi What kind of coughing is that! You cough like you are choking. (J:710)

kele~kele *Korbafo*. heavy breathing. (J:710)

na-ʔheneʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. neigh, whinny.

<**hene**> *Molo*. the whinny of a mating stallion. (M:145)

***keme** *Rote*. knead. *Doublet:* ***kame**, ***keʔe**, ***kumuz**, ***ŋgumu**. *Etym:* **gəmgəm*. *Pattern:* k-2/3. [*minority from PMP: *ə* > **e* / _#]

keme (2) ke~keme *Termanu*.

1) knead. 2) knead, hold tightly in the hand. (J:230)

keme *Korbafo*.

keme *Bokai*.

keme *Bilbaa*.

keme *Rikou*.

keme *Ba'a*.

keme *Tii*.

(ʔ)eme *Dengka*.

(ʔ)eme *Oenale*.

***ke(m)i** *PRM*. 2PL nominative, you all.

Etym: **kamuyu*. *Pattern:* k-4.

[*Form:* The loss of medial **m* in wRM, Ba'a, Tii, and Lole is parallel to the loss of medial **m* in the first person plural exclusive pronoun.]

emi *Termanu*. 2PL. (J:113)

kemi *Korbafo*.

kemi *Bokai*.

kemi *Bilbaa*.

emi *Landu*. 2PL, you. (own field notes)

emi *Rikou*.

ei *Ba'a*.

ei *Lole*. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

ei *Tii*.

- hei** *Dengka*.
hei *Oenale*.
hii *Ro'is Amarasi*. 2PL.
hii (2) =kii *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) 2PL. NOM. 2) 2PL.ACC.
hii *Molo*. 2PL. (M:147)
hei *Kusa-Manea*. 2PL. [Form: Usually pronounced [he:] with a single mid-high vowel in isolation.]
Out-comparisons:
mia, mi *Semau Helong*. 2PL.
emi, imi *East Tetun*. 2PL. (Mo:29)
imi *Kemak*. 2PL.
iim *Mambae, South*. 2PL. (Grimes et al. 2014b:23)
miu, mi *Dhao*. 2PL.
muu *Hawu*. 2PL.
***keni** *Morph: *keni-k. Rote*. keel. Pattern: k-2/3.
keni-k *Termanu*. keel of a vessel. (J:231)
keni-ʔ *Korbafo*.
keni-k *Bokai*.
keni-ʔ *Bilbaa*.
?eni *Rikou*. [Note: The lack of any final glottal stop in Rikou, Oenale and Dengka may be due to a typographical error. Jonker (1908:231) gives 'D., On., R. eni'.]
keni-k *Ba'a*.
keni-k *Tii*.
(?)eni *Dengka*.
(?)eni *Oenale*.
Out-comparisons:
kəni *Hawu*. (J:231)
***kendi** *Morph: *ma-(sa)-kendi-k. nRM*. slippery, smooth. Pattern: k-2b. [Form: The Meto alternates without s are reflexes of *ma-kendi-k.]
masakeni *Termanu*. slippery, slick, polished, clean, shiny, glossy. (Fox 2016b:32)
masakendi-k *Tii*. clean, pure. (J:710)
maskeriʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. slippery.
masʔekiʔ (2) maʔekiʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) slippery. 2) fine, smooth, flat.

- maʔekiʔ** *Molo*. slippery, smooth. (M:296)
***kengga** *Morph: *kengga-k. PRM*. kind of sea-weed. Pattern: k-irr. [irr. from PRM: *k > Ø/? /#_ in nRote (expect *k = k in all except Rikou)]
eŋa-k *Termanu*. kind of seaweed which is eaten as a vegetable. (J:114)
eŋa-ʔ *Korbafo*. [Note: Jonker (1908:114) gives two entries for 'T.' (Tii) but the first is surely a mistake and should be 'K.' (Korbafo).]
eŋa-k *Bokai*.
eŋa-ʔ *Bilbaa*.
eka-ʔ *Rikou*. [Form: My consultants gave vowel initial **ika doo-ʔ**. The initial part could be **ika-ʔ** 'fish'.]
engga-k *Ba'a*.
engga-k *Tii*.
(?)engga-ʔ *Dengka*.
?engga-ʔ *Oenale*.
?engga-ʔ *Dela*. kind of seaweed.
kekaʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. seaweed.
Out-comparisons:
kəka *Hawu*. (J:114)
***kepe** *PMeto*. tick (parasite).
kepe *Ro'is Amarasi*. tick.
kepe *Kotos Amarasi*. tick.
Out-comparisons:
kepi *Central Nage*. small tick or mite that infests genital hair and embeds itself in the flesh; transferred through sexual intercourse. (Forth 2016:335)
***kera₁** *PRM*. brother-in-law. Pattern: k-1.
kela *Termanu*. brother-in-law (used reciprocally by men). (J:229)
kela *Korbafo*.
kela *Bokai*.
kela *Bilbaa*.
?era *Rikou*.
kela *Ba'a*.
kera *Tii*.
kela *Dengka*.
kera *Oenale*.

ken/baʔe *Roʼis Amarasi*. same-sex cross-cousin, person of the same gender as the speaker who is married to the speaker's opposite sex sibling; mate, friend. [Form: This is a historic compound of *kena + baʔe with regular metathesis of the first element to *keen with subsequent reduction of the double vowel. baʔe is the normal term for 'same-sex cross-cousin' in other varieties of Meto.]

Out-comparisons:

kela *Semau Helong*. cousin, brother-in-law.

kela *Kemak*. woman's brother. Usage: Kutubaba dialect. [Semantics: Elicited from a wordlist with *saudara laki-laki dari perempuan* 'male sibling from a woman', the semantics should be properly checked.]

kela *Welaun*. same-sex cross-cousin.

kera *Sika*. brother-in-law. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:94)

hera *Bima*. brother-in-law. (Jonker 1893:24)

<yera> *Kambera*. brother-in-law, wife's brother. (On:558)

<wera> *Weyewa*.

kesa *Manggarai*. brother-in-law, wife's brother, sister's husband; friend, companion (of a man). (Verheijen 1967:203)

ʔedʒa, ʔedʒa kera *Ende*. man's sister's husband, wife's brother, man's male cross-cousin.

***kera** *Morph: *ma-kera*. *Rote*. tickle. Pattern: k-1. [History: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct a number of similar forms: *gidik, *giri, *kidi, and *kirik.]

ma-kelas (2) ma-kela *Termanu*. 1) ticklish. 2) have a ticklish feeling. (J:230)

ma-kela-ʔ *Korbafo*.

ma-kela-ʔ *Bokai*.

ma-kela-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

ma-eras *Rikou*.

ma-kelas *Ba'a*.

ma-kera-k *Tii*.

ma-kelas *Dengka*.

Out-comparisons:

kede *Semau Helong*. tickles.

kakedek, kede *East Tetun*. tickle. Usage: Samoro village. (Mo:95)

***kerumatu** *Morph: *kerumatu-k*. *Rote*. leech. Etym: *kalimatək 'jungle leech *Haemadipsa* species'. Pattern: k-2/3. [irr: from PMP: *ə > *u] [Form: Initial *keru in Rote may be related to the original *qali-/*kali- prefix, though this requires irregular sound changes, most problematically *l > *r, and *i > *u which are not otherwise attested.] [History: Osmond (2011b:414) reconstructs Proto-Polynesian *kele-mutu 'earthworm, grub' which also attests a similar initial element as well as final *ə > u.]

kelumatu-k *Termanu*. leech; usually refers to a small kind, but can also be used for an ordinary leech. (J:230)

kelumatu-k *Bokai*.

kelumatu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

(?)**erumatu-ʔ** *Rikou*. [Note: not known by my consultants.]

kelumatu-k *Ba'a*.

(kelumatu-k ?) *Tii*.

(?)**elumutu-ʔ** *Dengka*.

Out-comparisons:

matak *East Tetun*. leech. (Mo:139)

makak *Ili'uun*. blood-sucker. (dJ:126)

***kesu/fani** *PRM*. sneeze. Etym: *bañən (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct three similar forms: *bañən, *bañan and *bāñan.). Pattern: k-2b. [Sporadic: vowel height

- harmony *e > i / _Cu in nRote and Ro'is Amarasi] [*Form*: The source of initial *kesu is currently unknown.]
- kisu/fani** *Termanu*. sneeze. (J:239f)
- kisu/fani** *Korbafo*.
- kisu/fani** *Bokai*.
- kisu/fani** *Bilbaa*.
- ?isu/fani** *Rikou*.
- kisu/fani** *Ba'a*.
- kisu/fani** *Tii*.
- (?)esu/fani** *Dengka*.
- (?)esu/fani** *Oenale*.
- ?esu/fani** *Dela*. sneeze.
- n-kius/fani, n-kis/fani** *Ro'is Amarasi*. sneeze.
- n-?eus/fani** *Kotos Amarasi*. sneeze.
- n-?eus/fani** *Molo*. sneeze. (M:105)
- Out-comparisons:**
- haŋi** *Semau Helong*. sneeze.
- fani** *Fehan Tetun*. sneeze.
- *ketembau** *PRM*. kind of insect. *Pattern*: k-2a. [*irr. from PRM*: *au > *u in Meto; vowel metathesis in Meto *eCu > *uCe (***ketembau** > Proto-Meto ***ketepu** > **ketupe**)]
- ketepau-?** *Bilbaa*.
- tekepau-?** *Landu*. tick. [*Sporadic*: consonant metathesis *kVt > tVk] (own field notes)
- etepau-?** *Rikou*.
- ketempau-k** *Ba'a*.
- ketembau-k** *Tii*.
- (?)etembau-?** *Dengka*.
- ?etembau-?** *Oenale*.
- ?etembau** *Dela*.
- ketupe** *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of beetle similar to a longhorn beetle.
- *ketu** *PRM*. break off, pluck off. *Etym*: *kətuq 'pick, pluck, break off' (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) also reconstruct PAN *kətuŋ 'cut, sever' on the basis of Formosan reflexes.). *Pattern*: k-2a.
- ketu** *Termanu*. break off, pluck off. (J:234)
- ketu** *Korbafo*.
- ketu** *Bokai*.
- ketu** *Bilbaa*.
- ?etu** *Rikou*.
- ketu** *Ba'a*.
- ketu** *Tii*.
- (?)etu** *Dengka*.
- ?etu** *Dela*. pick fruit or harvest beans, break (e.g. rope). [*Note*: **na-ma-?etu** = 'become broken (rope), stop', **na-?etu-?** = 'break, decide'.]
- n-ketu** *Kotos Amarasi*. cut off, cut until broken.
- n-ketu** *Molo*. breaks off. (M:203)
- Out-comparisons:**
- kotu** *East Tetun*. break, fracture. (Mo:117)
- *ketu|k** *PMeto*. bedbug. *Pattern*: k-2b.
- ketu?** *Ro'is Amarasi*. bedbug.
- ?etu?** *Kotos Amarasi*. bedbug. *Cimicidae* species.
- ?etuk** *Kotos Amarasi*. bedbug. *Usage*: Tais Nonof sub-dialect.
- <etu>** *Molo*. bedbug. (M:105)
- ?eto** *Kusa-Manea*. bedbug. [*Sporadic*: vowel height harmony *i > e/oC_.]
- *kənda** *PRM*. close (v.). *Pattern*: k-2b. [*Form*: *nd > n / ə_ in *Rikou*, *Oepao*, *Landu*, *Lole*, *Tii*, and *wRote*.]
- kena** *Termanu*. close, e.g. door. (J:231)
- kena** *Korbafo*.
- kena** *Bokai*.
- kena** *Bilbaa*.
- (?)ena** *Landu*. close (door). (own field notes)
- ena** *Rikou*.
- (?)ena** *Oepao*. (own field notes)
- kena** *Ba'a*.
- kena** *Lole*. close. (Zacharias et al. 2014)
- kena** *Tii*.
- (?)ena** *Dengka*.
- ?ena** *Oenale*.
- ?ena** *Dela*. close.
- na-kera** *Ro'is Amarasi*. close.
- na-?eka (2) n-?eka** *Kotos Amarasi*.
1) close (transitive). 2) closed.

na-ʔeka (2) n-ʔeka *Molo*. 1) hold together. 2) close. (M:99)

***kibo** *Rote*. edible shellfish. *Etym*: *qibaw (Regarding initial PMP *q Blust and Trussel (ongoing) state: ‘Wolio **hiwo** is a loan from one of the languages of the Munic group (van den Berg 1991). Although such a phonologically irregular form would not normally be cited in the main comparison, in this case it serves to disambiguate the stem-initial phoneme as *q.’ The Bokai and Dengka forms provide evidence for initial *k rather than *q. However, the irregularities in the Rote forms caution against using them as deciding witnesses for initial *q or *k in PMP. It is also possible that the initial *k* in Bokai and Dengka is a reflex of the nominal *ka- prefix.). *Pattern*: k-irr. [*irr. from PMP*: *Ø > *k (accretion of nominal prefix *ka- ?)] [*irr. from PRM*: *b = *b* in Rikou and Bilbaa; *k > Ø in all nRote except Bokai (expect *k = *k* in all except Rikou), Dengka *k* Oenale ʔ/Ø correspondence (expect both to have *k* or ʔ/Ø)]

(ʔ)ifo(-k) *Termanu*. kind of shellfish. (J:200)

(ʔ)ifo *Korbafo*.

kifo *Bokai*.

(ʔ)ibo *Bilbaa*.

(ʔ)ibo *Rikou*. [Note: not known by my consultants.]

(ʔ)ifo *Ba'a*.

(ʔ)ifo *Tii*.

kifo *Dengka*.

(ʔ)ifo *Oenale*.

***kii** *PnRote*. left side or direction. Doublet: ***ɖii**. *Etym*: *ka-wiRi. *Pattern*: k-1/2/3.

kii *Termanu*. left, left side, north. (J:234f)

kii *Korbafo*.

kii *Bokai*.

kii *Bilbaa*.

ʔii *Rikou*.

kii *Ba'a*.

kii *Lole*. left, north. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

kii *Tii*.

***kili** *Morph*: ***ki~kili**. *Rote*. tickle. *Etym*: *kilik. *Pattern*: k-1.

ki~kili *Termanu*. tickle. (J:237)

ki~kili *Korbafo*.

ki~kili *Bokai*.

ki~kili *Bilbaa*.

ki~kili *Ba'a*.

ki~kili *Tii*.

ki~kili *Dengka*.

ki~kili *Oenale*.

ki~kili *Dela*. tickle.

Out-comparisons:

hakili(k), **kili** *East Tetun*. tickle. (Mo:117)

***kilu** *Rote*. crooked, twisted. *Etym*: *kiluq ‘bend, curve; bent, curved, crooked’. *Pattern*: k-1.

kilu (ka~)kaʔi (2) kilu hoʔe-k (3) kilu koʔe-k *Termanu*. 1) be or become crooked and twisted, confused. 2) crooked and bent over. 3) crooked and distorted. (J:237f)

kilu kaʔi *Korbafo*.

kilu kaʔi *Bokai*.

(ʔ)ilu **ai** *Rikou*. [Form: This form is given with a note ʔilu-aʔi indicating a possible alternate form with a medial glottal stop.]

kilu kaʔi *Ba'a*.

kilu kai *Tii*.

kilu kai *Dengka*.

kilu kai *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

bkilu *Helong*. crooked. (J:237)

***kima** *nRM*. giant clam. *Tridacna gigas*. *Etym*: *kima. *Pattern*: k-1/2a' (*k > ʔ in Tii, expect *k = *k*). [Sporadic: *k > ʔ/#_ in Tii.]

kima *Termanu*. kind of shellfish, one of the smaller kinds is used as a lamp. (J:238)

kima *Korbafo*.

kima *Bokai*.

kima *Bilbaa*.
?ima *Rikou*.
kima *Ba'a*.
(?)ima *Tii*. clam.
kima? *Kotos Amarasi*. clam.
<kima> *Molo*. empty shell. (M:208)
Out-comparisons:
kima *East Tetun*. sea-shell.
 (Mo:107)
***kingi** *Morph: *ki-kingi*. *PRM*.
 cockroach. *Pattern: k-irr. [irr. from PRM: *k > h in all nRote except Tii; *ŋg > r in Ro'is Amarasi] [Form: The Ro'is Amarasi form would be regular from earlier medial **nd. Perhaps a case of dissimilation of *ŋg > *nd /k_ in Meto. Compare *kari 'kidneys'. Similarly, compare *mangu₂ 'dry fruit skin' which shows irr. *ŋg > nd in wRote and Tii.]*
hi~hiŋi *Termanu*. cockroach. (J:185)
hi~hiŋi *Korbafo*.
hi~hiŋi *Bokai*.
hi~hiŋi *Bilbaa*.
hi~hiki *Rikou*.
hi~hiŋi *Ba'a*.
hi~hiŋi *Lole*. cockroach. (Zacharias et al. 2014)
(?)i~(?)iŋi *Tii*.
(?)i~(?)iŋi *Dengka*.
?i~?iŋi *Oenale*.
?i~?iŋi *Dela*. cockroach.
kir~kiri *Ro'is Amarasi*. cockroach.
ik~iki *Kotos Amarasi*. cockroach.
iki *Molo*. cockroach. (M:159)
***kiri₁** *Rote*. hold. *Pattern: k-2/3*.
kila *Termanu*. hold, in the metaphorical sense. (J:236)
kila *Korbafo*.
kila *Bokai*.
kila *Bilbaa*.
?ira *Rikou*. responsible for household arrangements. (J:236; own field notes)
kila *Ba'a*.
kira *Tii*.
(?)ila *Dengka*.

?ira *Oenale*.

ma-?ira-? (2) na-sa-?ira *Dela*.

1) have an agreement. 2) chokes.

Out-comparisons:

kila *Semau Helong*. hold.

***kiri₂** *Rote*. stingy. *Pattern: k-2/3' (*k > ? in Tii; expect *k = k). [Sporadic: *k > ? /#_ in Tii.]*

kila *Termanu*. skimp on something. (J:237)

kila *Korbafo*.

kila *Bokai*.

kila *Bilbaa*.

?ira *Rikou*.

kila *Ba'a*.

(?)ira *Tii*.

(?)ila *Dengka*.

?ira *Oenale*.

?ira *Dela*. stingy.

Out-comparisons:

kila? *Semau Helong*. stingy.

***kiri₁** *Morph: *kiri_ei-k*. *Rote*. little bells. *Etym: *giRiŋ* 'ringing sound' (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) only give Paiwan **giriŋ** 'growl' and Batak **giriŋ** 'bell' as evidence for their reconstruction. They note that Paiwan *R > r is irregular.). *Pattern: k-1/2/3'* (Dengka ? Oenale k correspondence; expect both to have either ? for pattern 2/3, or k for pattern 1). [*minority from PMP: *R = *r (expect Ø)*] [*History: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) also reconstruct Proto-Philippine *kilŋ 'ringing of a bell'.]* [*Semantics: The final element may be connected with Rote ei-k 'leg, foot' with the original meaning being 'bells on ankles' (like in Malay) with later shift to 'bells on a horse's neck'.*]

kili_ei-k, kila_ei-k, kil/ei-k
Termanu. little bells on the neck of a horse. (J:237)

kili_ei-k *Bokai*.

kili_ei-? *Bilbaa*.

(?)iri_ei-? *Rikou*.

kili_ei-k *Ba'a*.

ki~kir/ei-k *Tii*.

(?)i~(?)ilel/ei-? *Dengka*.

kiri_ei-? *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

giri~giri *Malay*. bells (on anklets), bicycle bell; various plants with seeds that rattle in their shells and which can be used for green manure.

***kiri₂** *PRM*. sharpen to have a point.

Pattern: k-2b' (*k = k in Kotos Amarasi, expect *k > ?).

kili *Termanu*. sharpen to have a point. (J:237)

kili *Korbafo*.

kili *Bokai*.

kili *Bilbaa*.

kiri *Tii*.

(?)ili *Dengka*.

?iri *Oenale*.

?iri *Dela*.

n-kini *Kotos Amarasi*. use a knife to remove the skin of betel nut, use a knife to sharpen to a point.

n-?ini *Molo*. sharpen (e.g. pencil), pointing sharply. [*Form:* Given as <anini> and <atini> with the glottal stop deduced from the initial vowel before a single consonant in each form. If this were a vowel initial root I would expect <nini> and <tini>.] (M:160)

***kisa** *Morph:* ***kisa-k**. *CER*. single, unique. *Pattern:* k-1/2/3.

kisa-k *Termanu*. single. (J:238)

kisa-? *Korbafo*.

kisa-k *Ba'a*.

Out-comparisons:

kisa *Semau Helong*. different.

***kisi** *PRM*. peel, remove skin. *Pattern:* k-irr. [*irr. from PRM:* *k > Ø in Rote except Rikou (expect other nRote *k = k, wRote *k > ?)] [*History:* Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PCMP *isi 'peel, strip off' on the basis of the Termanu form and some Oceanic forms. They also list this cognate set

as noise. The Ro'is (and Helong) forms indicate an initial *k, though this *k is irregularly lost in Rote.]

na-isi (2) nisi *Termanu*. 1) peel, e.g. onions. (J:207) 2) peel with a knife. (J:398)

na-isi (2) nisi *Korbafo*.

na-isi (2) nisi *Bokai*.

na-isi (2) nisi *Bilbaa*.

na-isi (2) nisi *Rikou*.

na-isi (2) nisi *Ba'a*.

na-isi (2) nisi *Tii*.

(na-)isi *Dengka*.

na-isi *Oenale*.

n-kisi *Ro'is Amarasi*. peel (e.g. banana).

n-?isi *Kotos Amarasi*. peel (e.g. banana).

<**isi**> *Molo*. peel, remove the skin of fruit. (M:162)

Out-comparisons:

kisi *Semau Helong*. nip.

***kita** *PRM*. 1PL.INCL. *Etym:* *kita₁. *Pattern:* k-4.

ita *Termanu*. 1PL.INCL. (J:207)

ita *Korbafo*.

ita *Bokai*.

ita *Bilbaa*.

ita *Landu*. 1PL.INCL, we. (own field notes)

ita *Rikou*.

ita *Ba'a*.

ita *Tii*.

hita *Dengka*.

hita *Oenale*.

hiit *Ro'is Amarasi*. 1PL.INCL.

hiit, hiti, hita (2) =kiit, =kiti, =kita *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) 1PL. INCL.NOM. 2) 1PL.INCL.ACC. [*Form:* Unmetathesised forms with final /a/ are only (optionally) used before a consonant cluster. Other unmetathesised forms are used as expected (with a discourse function), with the exception that the alternation is not fully productive.]

hiit *Molo*. 1PL.INCL. (M:149)

hita, hiat *Kusa-Manea*. 1PL.INCL.

Out-comparisons:

kit *Semau Helong*. 1PL.INCL.

ita *East Tetun*. we, us (inclusive of the person or person spoken to). (Mo:91)

klaha** *Morph*: ***klaha-k**. *PRM*. glowing coals. *Etym*: *klaRa** (pre-RM). *Pattern*: k-1. [*irr. from PMP*: *R > *h (also in ***noh** and ***taha**)] [*Form*: regular *h > Ø /a_a in Rote, regular *kl > Rote k Meto kr/kl.]

ha?i_kaa-k (2) pana_kaa-k *Termanu*. 1) glowing coal. 2) dry snot. (J:209)

ha?i_kaa-? (2) pana_kaa-? *Korbafo*. 1) charcoal.

ha?i_kaa-k (2) pana_kaa-k *Bokai*.

ai_kaa-? (2) idu_kaa-? *Bilbaa*.

ai_?aa-? (2) idu_?aa-? *Rikou*.

ha?i_kaa-k (2) idu_kaa-k, mpinu-kaa-k *Ba'a*.

a?i_kaa-k (2) idu_kaa-k *Tii*.

ai_kaa-? (2) mbana_kaa-? *Dengka*.

ai_kaa (2) mbana_kaa-? *Oenale*.

kraha|? *Ro'is Amarasi*. burning coals.

kraha|? *Kotos Amarasi*. burning coals, embers; glory.

na-klaah (2) klaha|? (3) a-klaha-t *Molo*. 1) emits flames. 2) flames. 3) the flaming one. (M:214)

Out-comparisons:

klaak *Fehan Tetun*. red-hot coals, red (of sunburn, coals, red hair, betel-lips).

ahi klaak *East Tetun*. ember or live coals. (Mo:108)

klara *Ili'uun*. charcoal. (dJ:121)

***kleet** *Morph*: ***na-kleet**. *CERM*. mock, tease. *Pattern*: k-1. [*Sporadic*: glottal stop insertion in Meto.] [*Form*: regular *kl > Rote k Meto kr/kl.]

na-ke~kee-k *Termanu*. tease someone, make someone angry, or tease a child to make it cry. [*Form*: It is unclear if the final consonant in Termanu is a suffix or not.] (J:225)

na-kre?et *Kotos Amarasi*. mock.

***klou** *PRM*. bow (e.g. bow and arrow). *Pattern*: k-1. [*Form*: regular *kl > Rote k Meto kr/kl.]

ko~kou-k (2) kou *Termanu*. 1) shooting of a bow and arrow, bow. 2) shoot with a bow and arrow. (J:253)

ko~kou-? *Korbafo*.

ko~kou-k *Bokai*.

ko~kou-? *Bilbaa*.

?o~?ou-? *Rikou*.

ko~kou-k *Ba'a*.

ko~kou-k *Tii*.

ko~kou-? *Dengka*.

ko~kou-? *Oenale*.

krau-t *Kotos Amarasi*. bow.

na-klau (2) a-klau-t *Molo*. 1) shoots with a bow. 2) bow. (M:216)

***koa?i** *PRM*. Friarbird. *Philemon* species. *Pattern*: k-1. [*Semantics*: onomatopoeia.]

koa, koa? *Termanu*. kind of bird, called *koak* or *burung siang* = 'midday bird' in Kupang. (J:241)

koa, koa? *Korbafo*.

koa, koa? *Bokai*.

koa, koa? *Bilbaa*.

koa, koa? *Rikou*. Friarbird. *Philemon* species. [*Form*: My consultants only gave **koa?**] (J:241; own field notes)

koa, koa? *Ba'a*.

koa, koa? *Tii*.

koa, koa? *Dengka*.

koa, koa? *Oenale*.

koa? (2) koa ko?u (3) koa maat me?e *Ro'is Amarasi*. 1) kind of bird (unsure identification). 2) Friarbird. *Philemon* species. 3) Green Figbird. *Sphecotheres viridis*.

koa? (2) koa kiko? (3) koa ko?u

Kotos Amarasi. 1) Green Figbird. *Sphecotheres viridis*. 2) Timor Friarbird. *Philemon inornatus*. 3) Helmeted Friarbird. *Philemon buceroides*.

kool <koa> *Molo*. calling bird. (M:225)

Out-comparisons:

koa? *Semau Helong*. koak bird.

ko?ak *Fehan Tetun*. bird that calls in a voice like this word. (Mo:115)

kau-ko?ak *East Tetun*. bird that calls in a voice like this word. (Mo:104)

koak *Welaun*. friarbird.

***koa?2** *PRM*. cry out loudly. *Pattern*: k-2a' (*k = k in Rikou, expect *k > ?/Ø). [*Semantics*: onomatopoeia.]

ko~koa *Termanu*. crowing, of a rooster. (J:242)

ko~koa *Bokai*.

ko~koa *Bilbaa*.

ko~ko?oa *Rikou*.

ko~koa *Ba'a*.

ko~koa *Tii*.

(?)o~(?)oa *Dengka*. [*Note*: On page 242, Jonker gives the Dengka form as <ooä> ?o~o?a. That this is probably a typographical error is shown by the entry on page 745 in which he gives <oöa> ?o~?oa.] (J:242, 745)

na-?oa *Dela*. cry loudly, make ?oa sound.

n-koa? *Kotos Amarasi*. yell out, whoop, make a loud sound without words.

n-koa? *Molo*. calls out loudly an announcement call. (M:225)

***koba** *PRM*. cover. *Pattern*: k-2a. [*irr. from PRM*: *o > u in Meto; *a > o in Rote]

kobo *Termanu*. hold one's hand in front of something and thereby cover it. (J:243)

kobo *Korbafo*.

kobo *Bokai*.

kobo *Bilbaa*.

?obo *Rikou*.

kobo *Ba'a*.

kofo *Tii*.

(?)obo *Dengka*.

?obo *Oenale*.

?obo *Dela*. cover.

n-kuba *Kotos Amarasi*. cover.

n-kuub *Molo*. cover. (M:243)

***kodo** *PRM*. bird. *Pattern*: d-2, k-1.

kolo/ba?o-k *Termanu*. kind of bird called koro ba?ok in Kupang. (J:536)

kolo/bako-? *Korbafo*.

kolo/ba?o-k *Bokai*.

kolo/bako-? *Bilbaa*.

koro/bako-? *Rikou*.

kolo/ba?o-k *Ba'a*.

koro/bako-k *Tii*.

kolo/ba?o-? *Dengka*.

koro/bako-? *Oenale*.

koro *Ro'is Amarasi*. bird.

koro *Kotos Amarasi*. bird.

kolo *Molo*. bird. (M:232)

koro *Kusa-Manea*. bird.

Out-comparisons:

koro jawa *Hawu*. dove.

kolon *Lamaholot, Ile Mandiri*. bird. *Usage*: Lewoingu dialect. [*Note*: language of east Flores ISO 639-3 [slp].] (Klamer 2015b)

kolon *Alorese*. bird. (Klamer 2011:61)

kolo/ndasi *Palu'e*. pigeon. [*Note*: language of central Flores ISO 639-3 [ple].] (Donohue 2003:8)

kolo *Ngadha*. dove. (Djawanai 1995:Part 2, 327)

olo *Oirata*. quail. [*Note*: non-Austronesian language of Kisar Island ISO 639-3 [oia].] (Nazaruddin pers. comm. May 2017)

***kode** *PRM.* monkey. *Pattern:* k-2a. [*irr. from PRM:* vowel metathesis in Meto *oCe > eCo]

kode *Termanu.* monkey. (J:243)

kode *Korbafo.*

kode *Bokai.*

kode *Bilbaa.*

kode *Landu.* monkey. (own field notes)

?ode *Rikou.*

kode *Ba'a.*

kode *Tii.*

(?)ode *Dengka.*

(?)ode *Oenale.*

?ode *Dela.* monkey.

kero *Ro'is Amarasi.* monkey.

kero *Kotos Amarasi.* monkey.

kelo *Amanuban.* monkey. (M:196)

Out-comparisons:

kode *Manggarai.* crab-eating macaque. *Macaca fascicularis.* (Verheijen 1967:224)

kode *Ngadha.* monkey. (Djawanai 1995:Part 2, 356)

***kodo** *PRM.* swallow. *Pattern:* k-2b. [*History:* Lynch (2001:339) reconstructs Proto-Meso-Melanesian *kodom that may be connected. This term is connected to a larger network of phonetically similar terms.]

kodo *Termanu.* swallow, gulp. (J:244)

kodo *Korbafo.*

kodo *Bokai.*

kodo *Bilbaa.*

?odo *Rikou.*

kodo *Ba'a.*

kodo *Tii.*

(?)odo *Dengka.*

?odo *Oenale.*

?odo *Dela.* swallow.

n-koro *Ro'is Amarasi.* swallow.

n-?oro *Kotos Amarasi.* swallow.

n-?olo *Molo.* swallows. (M:404)

Out-comparisons:

holo *Semau Helong.* swallow.

kakorok *Dadu'a.* throat. (Penn 2006:13)

kodo *Hawu.* stay stuck in the throat. (J:244)

***koko** *Rote.* carry in hand. *Pattern:* initial k-2/3, medial k-8/9.

ko?o *Termanu.* carry on one's arm or hip, also: carry and lift something with both hands or arms. (J:250)

ko?o *Korbafo.*

ko?o *Bokai.*

koko *Bilbaa.*

(?)o?o *Rikou.*

ko?o *Ba'a.*

ko?o *Tii.*

(?)o?o *Dengka.*

?o?o *Oenale.*

?o?o *Dela.* carry with hands.

Out-comparisons:

koko *Semau Helong.* carry in arms.

kokkonj *Bugis.* carry in front of oneself, for example a child, like Jesus does, to show it to the crowd. (Mathes 1874:6)

***kola** *Morph:* ***kola-?** *PwRM.* hole. *Pattern:* k-1. [*irr. from PRM:* *a > o in wRote (positing irr. *a > o can be motivated as a sporadic case of assimilation in wRote, while alternate *o > a in Meto would be unmotivated)]

kolo-? *Dengka.* hole, opening, pit. (J:712)

kolo-? *Oenale.* hole, opening, pit. (J:712)

kona|? *Ro'is Amarasi.* hole.

kona|? *Kotos Amarasi.* hole.

kona|? *Molo.* hole. (M:234)

***komba** *PwRM.* pour out. *Pattern:* k-2b. [*irr. from PRM:* *a > o in Dela (sporadic assimilation?)]

?ombo *Dela.* pour, water (plants).

n-kopa? *Ro'is Amarasi.* pour out.

n-?opa? *Kotos Amarasi.* pour out.

n-?opan *Molo.* pours it entirely out. (M:407)

***kona** *Rote.* right (side), south. *Etym:* *kawanan 'right (side, hand, direction)'. *Pattern:* k-2/3.

kona *Termanu*. right, right-hand side;
the south, south. (J:249)

kona *Korbafo*.

kona *Bokai*.

kona *Bilbaa*.

?ona *Rikou*.

kona *Ba'a*.

kona *Tii*.

(?)ona *Dengka*.

?ona *Oenale*.

?ona *Dela*. right, south.

Out-comparisons:

kanan *Semau Helong*. right.

kwana *Fehan Tetun*. right (hand side).

kuana *East Tetun*. right, the right side; right, of the right side. (Mo:120)

keḡana, ḡana *Hawu*. right (side).
Usage: Dimu dialect. [*Form:* The Seba and Mehara dialects have *keḡana*.]

***koo1** *Morph:* ***koo-k**. *Rote*. ber tree. *Ziziphus mauritiana*. *Pattern:* k-2/3' (*k = k in *Rikou*; expect *k > ?/Ø). [*Form:* Kupang Malay attests a final *m* which may have originally been present in pre-RM.]

koo-k *Termanu*. the ber tree, called *kom* in Kupang; specific kinds: **koo na?u, koo sina**. (J:241)

koo-? *Korbafo*.

koo-k *Bokai*.

koo-? *Bilbaa*.

koo-? *Rikou*.

koo-k *Ba'a*.

koo-k *Tii*.

(?)oo-? *Dengka*.

(?)oo-? *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

koon *Helong*. (J:241)

koo *Hawu*. thorny tree species. Can grow to a few metres tall. Parts are eaten.

kom *Kupang Malay*. ber tree. *Ziziphus mauritiana*.

***koo2** *PRM*. 2SG, you. *Etym:* **kahu*. *Pattern:* k-4.

oo *Termanu*. 2SG. (J:450)

koo *Korbafo*.

koo *Bokai*.

koo *Bilbaa*.

oo *Landu*. you, 2SG. (own field notes)

oo *Rikou*.

oo *Ba'a*.

oo *Lole*. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

oo *Tii*.

hoo *Dengka*.

hoo *Oenale*.

hoo *Dela*. 2SG.

hoo *Ro'is Amarasi*. 2SG.

hoo (2) =koo *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) 2SG. NOM. 2) 2SG.ACC.

hoo *Molo*. you (sg.). (M:149)

hoo *Kusa-Manea*. you (sg.).

Out-comparisons:

ku *Semau Helong*. 2SG.

oo *East Tetun*. you (sg.). (Mo:155)

***koro** *Morph:* ***ko~koro-k**. *PRM*. Rainbow Bee-eater. *Merops ornatus*. *Pattern:* k-1' (*k > Ø/? in *Meto*, expect *k = k). [*irr. from PRM:* w*Rote* k = *Meto* ?/Ø correspondence]

ko~kolo-k *Termanu*. kingfisher. (J:248)

ko~kolo-? *Korbafo*.

ko~kolo-k *Bokai*.

ko~kolo-? *Bilbaa*.

?o~?oro-? *Rikou*. Rainbow Bee-eater. *Merops ornatus*. (J:248; own field notes)

ko~kolo-k *Ba'a*.

ko~koro-k *Tii*.

ko~kolo-? *Dengka*.

ko~koro-? *Oenale*.

on~ono|? *Ro'is Amarasi*. Rainbow Bee-eater. *Merops ornatus*.

on~ono|? *Kotos Amarasi*. Rainbow Bee-eater. *Merops ornatus*.

***koru** *PRM*. strip leaves or grain from branch, harvest rice. *Pattern:* k-3.

kolu *Termanu*. strip off the rice plant culm with a closed hand. (J:248)

kolu *Korbafo*.

kolu *Bokai*.

kolu *Bilbaa*.

?oru *Rikou*.

kolu *Ba'a*.

koru *Tii*.

(?)olu *Dengka*.

?oru *Oenale*.

?oru *Dela*. harvest rice, harvest mung beans.

n-honu (2) n-ono *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) strip leaves off a branch.

2) harvest rice.

honu *Molo*. remove paddy rice from the grain head. (M:153)

Out-comparisons:

n-ulu *Semau Helong*. strip grain off stalk with hand.

***kose** *Rote*. rub, wipe. *Pattern*: k-2/3.

ko~kose *Termanu*. rub. (J:251f)

ko~kose *Korbafo*.

ko~kose *Bokai*.

ko~kose *Bilbaa*.

?o~?ose *Rikou*.

ko~kose *Ba'a*.

ko~kose *Tii*.

(?)o~(?)ose *Dengka*.

?o~?ose *Oenale*.

?ose *Dela*. rub.

Out-comparisons:

koos *Semau Helong*. rub, clean, wipe.

kose *East Tetun*. scrape, rub, wipe, polish. (Mo:117)

kose *Ili'uun*. whet, sharpen. (dJ:121)

kose *Dhao*. rub, wipe.

***koti** *PRM*. cut. *Etym*: *koti 'cut off' (own reconstruction) (PCEMP). *Pattern*: k-irr. [irr. from PRM: *k > Ø in nRote except Rikou (expect *k = k)] [Sporadic: vowel height harmony *i > e /oC_ in Meto.]

oti *Termanu*. chop, cut away, e.g. shrubs, brushwood. (J:459)

oti *Korbafo*.

oti *Bokai*.

oti *Bilbaa*.

oti *Rikou*.

oti *Ba'a*.

oti *Tii*.

(?)oti *Dengka*.

?oti *Oenale*.

?oti *Dela*.

n-kote *Ro'is Amarasi*. cut.

n-?ote *Kotos Amarasi*. cut.

n-?ote *Molo*. cuts. (M:408)

?oet *Kusa-Manea*. cut down.

Out-comparisons:

***koti** *Proto-Oceanic*. cut off (hair, taro tops +). (Osmond 1998:130)

***k|teom** *PMeto*. sea urchin. *See*: ***tii**.

Etym: **tayum (pre-RM). [Form: To account for the apparently irregular correspondence between pre-RM **tayum, PMeto ***k|teom** and Tetun **teon** we could posit vowel height harmony of *u > o /e_. However, this is a rare pattern of vowel height harmony.]

k|teom *Ro'is Amarasi*. sea urchin.

k|teom *Kotos Amarasi*. sea urchin.

Out-comparisons:

tiu/?oe *Semau Helong*. sea urchin.

[Form: regular Helong mid-vowel raising before/after a high vowel; *ay > *e > i /_u.]

teo(n) *East Tetun*. sea urchin.

Echinus esculenta. (Mo:184)

tadʒuŋ *Komodo*. sea-urchin.

Echinoidea. (Verheijen 1982:126)

tadʒuŋ *Manggarai*. sea-urchin. (Verheijen 1982:126)

***kua** *Morph*: ***ku~kua-k**. *Rote*. nit. *Pattern*: k-2/3'. [irr. from PRM: *u > o in Tii and wRote]

ku~kua-k *Termanu*. very young lice. (J:254)

ku~kua-? *Korbafo*.

ku~kua-k *Bokai*.

ku~kua-? *Bilbaa*.

u~ua-? *Rikou*.

ku~kua-k *Ba'a*.

ko~koa-k *Tii*.

(?)o~(?)oa-? *Dengka*.

?o~?oa-? *Oenale*.

?o~?oa-? *Dela*.

Out-comparisons:

kuar *East Tetun*. nits of lice.
(Mo:120)

***kue** *Rote*. civet. *Pattern*: k-2/3.

kue *Termanu*. kind of predator, civet.
(J:255)

kue *Korbafo*.

kue *Bokai*.

kue *Bilbaa*.

(?)ue *Rikou*.

kue *Ba'a*.

kue *Tii*.

(?)ue *Dengka*.

(?)ue *Oenale*.

***kuku** *PRM*. finger, toe. *Etym*: *kuhkuh
'claw, talon, fingernail'. *Pattern*:
initial k-3, medial k-10.

ku?u-k (2) kuku_haa-k, kuku_
telu-k *Termanu*. 1) finger, toes.
Usage: Normally in combination
with **lima-k** ('hand, arm') or **ei-k**
('foot, leg'). (J:259) 2) two kinds
of birds with four and three toes
respectively, neither has a tail and
both are called *bondo* in Kupang.
(J:256)

ku?u (2) kuku_haa-?, kuku_
telu-? *Korbafo*.

ku?u-k (2) kuku_haa-k, kuku_
telu-k *Bokai*.

kuku-? (2) kuku_haa-?, kuku_
telu-? *Bilbaa*. 2) quail. (J:256;
own field notes)

lima kuku-? *Landu*. fingernails.
(own field notes)

?u?u (2) ?u?u_haa-?, ?u?u_telu-?
Rikou. 2) quail. (J:256; own field
notes)

ku?u-k (2) kuku_haa-k, kuku_
telu-k *Ba'a*.

kuku-k (2) kuku_haa-k, kuku_
telu-k *Tii*.

(?)u?u *Dengka*.

?u?u *Oenale*.

?u?u-? *Dela*. fingers, toes.

huku *Molo*. catch, grab. [*Form*: The
existence of the alternate form
heke 'catch' could indicate that
Molo **huku** 'catch, grab' is not
a reflex of ***kuku**. However, the
sound changes are regular and
the semantic shift from 'finger' >
'catch, grab' is a plausible semantic
shift.] (M:155)

Out-comparisons:

ku?u *East Tetun*. pinch, wound
with the thumb-nail pressed
against the forefinger; to gather
with a pinching action (fruit,
flowers, etc.). (Mo:122)

hu?u-t *Welaun*. fingernail, toenail.

kaba ku?u *Dhao*. fingernail.

kolo ku?u *Hawu*. fingertip.

***kukur** *PRM*. wallow. *Pattern*: initial
k-1, medial k-5.

kuku *Termanu*. wallow in dirt or sand,
said of a bird. (J:255)

kuku *Korbafo*.

kuku *Bokai*.

kuku *Bilbaa*.

?u~?u?u *Rikou*.

kuku *Ba'a*.

kuku *Tii*.

kuku *Dengka*.

kukur *Oenale*.

n-kuku *Kotos Amarasi*. have
diarrhoea without making it to the
bathroom in time, wallow in the
mud (e.g. of a pig or buffalo).

n-kuku *Molo*. wallows (also said of
buffalo). (M:245)

***kumu**₁ *PMeto*. wild pigeon, wild dove.
Etym: ****kumu** (pre-RM). *Pattern*:
k-1/2a. [*Semantics*: onomatopoeia.]

kumu *Ro'is Amarasi*. all kinds of wild
pigeons and wild doves.

kumu *Kotos Amarasi*. all kinds of
wild pigeons and wild doves.

umu *Amanuban*. kind of dove.
(M:248, 588)

kumu (2) <umu hene> *Molo*. dove.
(M:248) 1) kind of dove. 2) kind of
dove. (M:588)

aʔumab *Kusa-Manea*. pigeon.

Out-comparisons:

manu_kumu, kumo *Waima'a*.
wild pigeon.

***g(a)umu** *Proto-Oceanic*. Fruit
Dove. *Ptilinopus* species.
(Clark 2011:15)

***kumu₂** *Morph*: *ku~kumu. *Rote*. make
a fist. *Doublet*: *kame, *keʔe, *keme,
*ʔgumu. *Etym*: *gəmgəm ‘fist; hold
in the fist’. *Pattern*: k-2/3. [*irr. from*
PMP: *ə > *u (sporadic assimilation
to previous velar consonant and/or
following labial consonant)] [*History*:
The Tii and Oenale forms additionally
mean ‘knead’ (Jonker 1908:714).]
ku~kumu *Termanu*. make a fist.
(J:257f)

ku~kumu *Korbafo*.

ku~kumu *Bokai*.

ku~kumu *Bilbaa*.

(ʔ)u~(ʔ)umu *Rikou*. [*Form*: My
consultants gave **ku~kumu** and
kumu.]

ku~kumu *Ba'a*.

ku~kumu *Tii*. (J:704)

(ʔ)u~(ʔ)umu *Dengka*.

ʔu~ʔumu *Oenale*.

ʔu~ʔumu *Dela*. clench one's fist.

Out-comparisons:

kumu *Helong*. (J:258)

kumu *East Tetun*. hold in the
hand. (Mo:121)

akam *Kisar*. squeeze, press,
flatten.

***kuna** *PwRM*. hide in folds of clothing.
Pattern: k-1. [*Form*: The Meto
unmetathesised form has not yet been
attested. It could be *kuna or *kunu.]

ku~kuna *Dengka*. his belly has layers
or folds due to its fat. (J:714)

ku~kuna *Oenale*. his belly has layers
or folds due to its fat. (J:714)

na-kuun *Meto*. hides something in
the folds of clothing. (J:714)

***kuni** *Morph*: *kuni-k. *PRM*. turmeric.
Etym: *kunj. *Pattern*: k-4' (*k = k
in Termanu, Landu, Ba'a, and Lole;
expect *k > Ø).

kuni-k *Termanu*. turmeric. (J:258)

kuni-ʔ *Korbafo*.

kuni-k *Bokai*.

kuni-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

kuni *Landu*. yellow. (own field notes)

uni-ʔ *Rikou*.

kuni-k *Ba'a*.

kuni-k *Lole*. turmeric, yellow.
(Zacharias et al. 2014)

uni-k *Tii*.

huni-ʔ *Dengka*.

huni-ʔ *Oenale*.

huini|k *Ro'is Amarasi*. turmeric.

huni|k *Kotos Amarasi*. turmeric.

<**huki**> *Molo*. turmeric, dye in tissues.

[*Form*: The Molo form could be
related with sporadic metathesis of
*nVk > **hukin and loss of final
n. Jonker (1908:258) gives Meto
hukim which would additionally
show irr. *n > m.] (M:155)

Out-comparisons:

kinur *Fehan Tetun*. turmeric.

kinur (2) kinu *East Tetun*.

1) plant whose tubers are
reduced to powder with the
colour and taste of saffron.

2) yellow (colour). [*irr. from*
PMP: vowel metathesis: *uCi
> iCu] (Mo:107)

hinu *East Tetun*. tree from which
turmeric is made. *Usage*:
Samoro village. [*irr. from*
PMP: vowel metathesis: *uCi
> iCu] (Mo:86)

***kunu₁** *PMeto*. breadfruit. *Etym*: *kuluR.
Pattern: k-1/2a. [*irr. from PRM*: Ø >
*m in Ro'is Amarasi]

kunum *Ro'is Amarasi*. breadfruit.

<**kunu**> *Molo*. Cluster fig tree.
Ficus glomerata. [Note: possibly
 unrelated.] (M:251)

Out-comparisons:

kulu? (2) **kulu** **naunu?**
Funai Helong. 1) jackfruit.
 2) breadfruit.

kulu *East Tetun*. fruiting trees in
 various types of *Artocarpus*
 genus. (Mo:121)

***kunu**₂ *Rote*. kind of plant. *Pattern*: k-irr.
 [irr. from PRM: *k > Ø /#_ in wRote
 (expect k or ?)]

kunu *Termanu*. used in a few plant
 names, as in: **kunu doo**, (**unu loo**);
kunu meo-?. [Semantics: No other
 semantic details are given for this
 term.] (J:258)

kunu *Korbafo*.

kunu *Bokai*.

kunu *Bilbaa*.

kunu *Ba'a*.

kunu *Tii*.

unu *Dengka*.

unu *Oenale*.

unu hau ana? *Dela*. weed.

Out-comparisons:

kunu *Helong*. (J:258)

***kupu** *PMeto*. fog. *Pattern*: k-1/2a.
 [History: Jonker (1908:230) compares
 the Meto forms with Termanu,
 Korbafo, Bokai **kelupua** 'become
 murky of water', Ba'a **kelempua**, and
 Dengka, Oenale **elembua**, but the
 sound correspondences and semantics
 are too much of a stretch for me.]

kupu *Ro'is Amarasi*. fog. [Form:
 Jonker (1908:230) gives Meto
meukupa/kupa.]

kupu (2) **pupu** *Kotos Amarasi*.
 1) water vapour, like in fog. 2) fog.
 [Form: The second form possibly
 has sporadic assimilation of *k >
 p. Kotos Amarasi also has **nipu**
 'fog'.]

Out-comparisons:

kuput *Funai Helong*. fog.

api kupu *Tokodede*. smoke.
 (Klamer 2002)

***kura** *Morph*: ***kura-k**. *Rote*. scorpion.
Etym: **sakuraŋ (pre-RM). *Pattern*:
 k-2/3'. [History: possibly connected
 with PMP *qudaŋ 'shrimp, crayfish,
 lobster'.]

kula-k *Termanu*. scorpion. (J:256)

kula-? *Korbafo*.

kula-k *Bokai*.

kula-? *Bilbaa*.

kura-? *Landu*. scorpion. (own field
 notes)

ura-? *Rikou*.

kula-k *Ba'a*.

kura-k *Tii*.

(?)**ula-?** *Dengka*.

?**ura-?** *Oenale*.

?**ura-?** *Dela*. scorpion.

Out-comparisons:

khulaŋ *Funai Helong*. scorpion.

hkulaŋ *Semau Helong*. scorpion.

sakunaŋ *East Tetun*. scorpion
 (poisonous insect). [Sporadic:
 consonant metathesis *rVn >
 nVr.] (Mo:165)

sa?unar *Galolen*. scorpion.
 [Sporadic: consonant
 metathesis *rVn > nVr.]

sa?uro *Waima'a*. scorpion.

sayorne *Kisar*. scorpion.

kəru *Hawu*. (J:256)

kuraŋ *Sika*. lobster. (Calon
 1891:318)

***kurə** *Morph*: ***ka-kurə-k**. *PRM*. clay/
 stone jar or pot. *Etym*: *kudən 'clay
 cooking pot'. *Pattern*: k-4.

ule-k *Termanu*. pot both for cooking
 and storing things. (J:665)

ule-? *Korbafo*.

ule-k *Bokai*.

kule-? *Bilbaa*.

ure-? *Rikou*. [Form: Whether this is
 vowel initial or glottal stop initial
 is currently unknown, but no Rikou
 form that fits into the first pattern
 for *k (pattern 1) has an initial
 underlying glottal stop.]

ule-k *Ba'a*.

ure-k *Tii*.

hula-ʔ *Dengka*.

hura-ʔ *Oenale*.

ʔ|huna|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. large clay or stone jar or jug.

<**huun**> **oe** *Molo*. clay pot which is filled with water as opposed to **naiʔ** **oe** 'iron pot' in which water is boiled. (M:156)

***kuru**₁ *PRM*. call chickens, summon chickens. *Etym*: *kur(u) 'word used to call chickens, etc.'. *Pattern*: k-1. [*irr. from PRM*: *u > o in all Rote except Korbafo and Tii (assimilation to following ***roroo**)] [*Form*: All varieties with lowering of *u > o attest a second element derivable from ***roroo** except for Dengka which would require irr. *r > d.] [*Semantics*: onomatopoeia.]

kolo/loloo *Termanu*. call chickens, summon chickens. (J:248)

kulu~kulu *Korbafo*.

kolo/loloo *Bokai*.

koro/ruruu *Rikou*.

kolo/loloo *Ba'a*.

kuru~kuru, ku~kuru *Tii*.

kolo/dodo, ko~kolo *Dengka*.

koro/roroo *Oenale*.

***kur**₂ *Rote*. wrinkly. *Etym*: *kurut 'curly-haired' (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) also reconstruct *kulut 'curly haired' and PWMP *kərut 'shrivelled, wrinkled'). *Pattern*: k-1/2/3. [*irr. from PRM*: *r > *nd in Tii and Ba'a] [*Form*: Tii and Ba'a attest ***kundu**, others attest ***kuru**, the Rikou alternate form with medial l is irregular from both these forms.] [*History*: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PWMP *kərut 'shrivelled, wrinkled' on the basis of Malay **kərut** and Pamona **koru**. They give an apparent doublet *kədut, for which I cannot find a main entry. Blust and Trussel (ongoing) assign the Termanu

form to PMP *kulun 'curl, curve' where it is one of three languages attesting this reconstruction, but this reconstruction cannot account for the reflexes in other varieties of Rote.]

ku~kulu (2) ku~kulu-k *Termanu*.

1) be or become wrinkly.

2) wrinkle. (J:258)

ku~kulu *Korbafo*.

ku~kulu *Bokai*.

ku~kulu *Bilbaa*.

(ʔ)u~(ʔ)uru, (ʔ)u~(ʔ)ulu *Rikou*.

ku~kunu *Ba'a*.

ku~kundu *Tii*.

ku~kulu *Dengka*.

ku~kuru *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

kurut *East Tetun*. wrinkled, rough, curled. (Mo:122)

***kur**₃ *PRM*. chilli. *Pattern*: k-2b' (*k = k in Kusa-Manea; expect *k > ʔ/Ø).

kulus *Termanu*. chilli pepper. (J:257)

kuluʔ *Korbafo*.

kuluʔ *Bokai*.

kuluʔ *Bilbaa*.

ʔurus *Rikou*.

kulus *Ba'a*.

kur₃ *Tii*.

kun₃ *Ro'is Amarasi*. chilli.

ʔun₃ *Kotos Amarasi*. chilli.

kun₃ *Kusa-Manea*. chilli.

Out-comparisons:

kulus *Semau Helong*. chilli.

***kun**₃ *Foho Tetun*. chilli plant.

Borrowed from: Meto (shown by irr. *r = n correspondence).

[*Note*: variety of Tetun spoken in the northern part of the Tetun-speaking area of central Timor ISO 693-3 [tet].] (van Klinken 1995)

***kun**₃ *East Tetun*. capsicum.

Capsicum annuum. *Borrowed from*: Meto (shown by irr. *r = n correspondence). (Mo:121)

kur₃ *Kupang Malay*. chilli.

uus *Welaun*. chilli. [*irr. from PRM: *r = Ø* correspondence] (da Silva 2012:186)

koro *Sika*. chilli. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:101)

koro *Ende*. chilli.

ngurus *Manggarai*. (Verheijen 1984:14)

mburus *Waerana*. [*Note: language of central Flores ISO 639-3 [wrx].*] (Verheijen 1984:14)

***kuta** *PnRote*. close eyes. *Pattern: k-1/2/3*.

na-kuta *Termanu*. close the eyes out of fright, for example like someone who is afraid of being hit. (J:256)

na-kuta *Korbafo*.

na-kuta *Bokai*.

(na-kuta ?) *Tii*.

Out-comparisons:

huta *Semau Helong*. close eyes. [*irr. from PRM: *k = h* correspondence]

***kutə** *Morph: *kutə-k*. *Rote*. brains, mantle. *Doublet: *kuta*. *Etym: *hutək* ‘brain, marrow’. *Pattern: k-2b'* (*k > ? in *Tii*, expect *k = k). [*irr. from PMP: Ø > *k*] [*irr. from PRM: *ə > a* in *Termanu Korbafo*, and *Bilbaa*] [*Form: The initial *k may be from the nominal prefix *ka- prefix.*] [*History: It is possible that PMP *hutək spit into a doublet in PRM: *kuta-k* ‘mantle’ and **(k)utə-k* ‘brains’.]

kuta-k *Termanu*. the mantle of a squid. (J:258)

kuta-? *Korbafo*. the mantle of a squid. (J:258)

kuta-? *Bilbaa*. the mantle of a squid. (J:258)

(?)ute-k *Lole*. brains. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

(?)ute-k *Tii*. brains. (J:777)

(?)uta-? *Dengka*. brains. (J:777)

?uta-? *Oenale*. brains. (J:777)

?uta-? *Dela*. brain.

Out-comparisons:

kuta *Semau Helong*. brain.

ka~kutak *East Tetun*. brains, the mind, the thinking part. (Mo:98)

gutan (2) ai gutan *Ili'uun*.

1) brains. (dJ:115)

2) heartwood. [*irr. from PMP:*

*h > (*Ø) > g (compare

*pandan > **keŋan**, *pusəj >

kusan, and **baqbaq** > **kahan**)]

(dJ:111)

***kutu** *PRM*. head-lice. *Etym: *kutu*. *Pattern: k-4*.

utu *Termanu*. louse. (J:672)

utu *Korbafo*.

utu *Bokai*.

utu *Bilbaa*.

utu *Landu*. louse. (own field notes)

utu *Rikou*.

utu *Ba'a*.

utu *Tii*.

hutu *Dengka*.

hutu *Oenale*.

hutu *Dela*. lice.

hutu *Ro'is Amarasi*. head-lice.

hutu *Kotos Amarasi*. head-lice.

hutu *Molo*. head-lice. (M:157)

hutu *Kusa-Manea*. head-lice.

Out-comparisons:

kutu *Semau Helong*. louse.

utu *East Tetun*. louse. (Mo:194)

uku *Kisar*. fleas.

***kutus** *PRM*. windstorm, cyclone, whirlwind. *Pattern: k-irr.* [*irr. from PRM: *k > n* in *Meto* (fossilised prefix?)] [*Sporadic: diphthongisation *u > au* in most *Meto*.] [*Form: One way to account for the initial nasal in *Meto* would be to reconstruct PRM *ŋ, but this would require unexpected *ŋ > k in the Rote languages (expect *ŋ > n) and unexpected *ŋ > n in Kusa-Manea (expect *ŋ > k).*]

kutus *Termanu*. whirlwind, tornado. (J:259)

kutu-? *Korbafo*.

kutu-ʔ *Bokai*.

kutu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

utus *Rikou*.

kutus *Ba'a*.

kutus *Tii*.

(ʔ)utus *Dengka*.

(ʔ)utus *Oenale*.

nautus *Ro'is Amarasi*. whirlwind, tornado.

ain nautus (2) nautus, autus *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) storm with strong winds, windstorm, cyclone, whirlwind, tornado. 2) beetle.

ani nautus *Molo*. storm with strong winds. (M:357)

nutus *Kusa-Manea*. whirlwind, tornado.

***kuu** *Rote*. blow the nose. *See: *ŋguu*. *Pattern: k-1. [Semantics: onomatopoeia.]*

na-sa-kuu (2) kuu~kuu *Termanu*. blow hard; **na-sa-kuu pana-na** he blows his nose hard, e.g. to get snot out. **anin=a na-sa-kuu koʔas=a** the strong wind blows the clouds away. (J:254) 2) blow through the nose somewhat gently. (J:253)

na-sa-kuu *Korbafo*.

na-sa-kuu *Bokai*.

na-sa-uu *Rikou*.

na-sa-kuu *Ba'a*.

na-sa-kuu *Tii*.

na-sa-kuu *Dengka*.

***kuun** *PRM*. kind of tall grass. *Pattern: k-4' (*k = k in Termanu, Ba'a, and Tii; expect *k > Ø).*

ku/mea *Termanu*. kind of long grass, called *rumpu kumee* in Kupang. *[Form: The source of the second element in Rote is unknown. It could be related to *mea 'red'.]* (J:257)

ku/mea *Korbafo*.

ku/mea *Bokai*.

ku/mee *Bilbaa*.

u/mee *Rikou*. *[Form: Whether this is vowel initial or glottal stop initial is currently unknown, but no Rikou form which fits into this pattern for *k has an initial underlying glottal stop.]*

ku/mea *Ba'a*.

ku/mea *Tii*.

hu/mee *Dengka*.

hu/mee *Oenale*.

huu_musuʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. sword grass, alang-alang grass.

huun (2) huu_musuʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) grass. 2) sword grass, alang-alang grass.

huun *Molo*. grass. (M:156)

ʔ - ʔ

***ʔ|fenu** *PMeto*. candlenut. *Aleurites moluccana*. *Etym: **ka-felu* (pre-Meto).

fenu *Ro'is Amarasi*. candlenut.

ʔ|fenu *Kotos Amarasi*. candlenut.

ʔ|fenu *Molo*. kind of tree. *Aleurites moluccana*. (M:116)

fenu *Kusa-Manea*. candlenut.

Out-comparisons:

<**kawilu**> *Kambera*. candlenut tree. *Aleurites moluccana*. (On:201)

welu *Manggarai*. candlenut. (Verheijen 1984:45)

felu *Rongga*. candlenut. *[Note: language of central Flores ISO 639-3 [ror].]* (Verheijen 1984:45)

felu *Ngadha*. candlenut. (Verheijen 1984:45)

***ʔ|mauka|ʔ** *PnMeto*. cuscus. *See: *arum*. *Etym: *mansər* (PCEMP). *[irr. from PMP: *a > *au] [irr. from PRM: *a > a ~ u]* *[Form: The best reconstruction*

of the vowels is unclear, whatever form is posited requires positing irregularities. The Ketun (Nai'oni') form appears to attest penultimate *a, but if this is reconstructed it requires positing otherwise unattested *a > au in all other lects. I thus posit that Ketun (Nai'oni') **ʔmakuʔ** attests irregular reduction of the earlier diphthong. The reconstructed diphthong *au could come from earlier *u (i.e. earlier **muka) given that diphthongisation of penultimate vowels sporadically occurs in Meto. Reconstruction of final *a can account for reflexes with final u by assuming irregular assimilation to previous u in closed syllables. Reconstruction of final *u does not seem to be able to account for reflexes with final *a.] [History: This reconstruction is possibly consistent with PCEMP *mansər given PRM *nd > PMeto *r > Proto-Nuclear Meto k. (Though note that Proto-Nuclear Meto *k can also be a reflex of PRM *ŋg or *k.) However, if the hypothesis that penultimate *au is from earlier *u is correct, then comparison of *mansər with ***ʔ|mauka|ʔ** would require irregular initial *a > *u.]

ʔmaukuʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. cuscus. Usage: Not known by all speakers.

The usual word is **ukum**.

maukuʔ *Amanuban*, *South*. cuscus. Usage: Oebelo village, other known varieties of South Amanuban have **ukum**.

ʔmakuʔ *Ketun*. cuscus. Usage: Nai'oni' village.

ʔmaukaʔ *Ketun*. cuscus. Usage: Taloetan village.

ʔmaukaʔ *Kopas*. cuscus. Usage: Masikolen, Bone, Usapisonba'i, and Oben villages.

maukaʔ *Kopas*. cuscus. Usage: Oepaha village.

ʔmaukuʔ *Kopas*. cuscus. Usage: Tuale'u village.

maukuʔ, maukaʔ *Fatule'u*. cuscus.

<mauku> *Molo*. cuscus. *Phalangeridae*. (M:316,586)

ʔmaukuʔ *Timaus*. cuscus.

Out-comparisons:

°**mauka** *Funai Helong*. cuscus. Borrowed from: Meto.

meda *East Tetun*. small savage marsupial animal. [irr. from PMP: *a > e] (Mo:140)

k|meda *Fehan Tetun*. small savage marsupial animal. [irr. from PMP: *a > e] (Mo:112)

matʃa *Ili'uun*. cuscus. (dJ:127)

madar *Galolen*. cuscus. (Schapper 2011:264)

maat *Mambae, South*. cuscus. (Schapper 2011:264)

la/mara *Welaun*. cuscus.

mada *Kemak*. cuscus. Usage: Kailaku, Lemia, Atsabe, and Saneri dialects.

°**meda** *Kemak*. cuscus. Usage: Leolima, Leosibe, and Diirbati dialects. Borrowed from: probably Tetun (shown by irr. *a = e correspondence).

***ʔuta** *PwRM*. cut.

(ʔ)u~(ʔ)uta *Dengka*. cutting, usually cutting meat. (J:777)

ʔu~ʔuta *Oenale*. cutting, usually cutting meat. (J:777)

ʔuta *Dela*. cut.

<naút> *Meto*. [Form: This is presumably **na-ʔuut**, the metathesised form of **na-ʔuta**.] (J:777)

Out-comparisons:

kʔuta *Waima'a*. cut, slice meat into small mouth-sized pieces.

L - l

***laa₁** *Morph: *laa-k. PRM. kind of tree.*
[Semantics: vague semantics.]

ka/laa-k *Termanu. kind of tree called lalaak in Kupang. (J:218)*

ka/laa-ʔ *Korbafo. [Note: Bilbaa and Korbafo given as <kalá> with only a single final vowel (rather than expected <kalá>), but this is surely a typo.]*

ka/laa-k *Bokai.*

ka/laa-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

la~laa-ʔ *Rikou.*

ka/laa-k *Ba'a.*

la~laa-k *Tii.*

la~laa-ʔ *Dengka.*

la~laa-ʔ *Oenale.*

<naa>, <apnaa> *Molo. kind of tree, a forest giant. Planchonia valida, Barringtonia spicata. [Form: **nao** is given as an alternate form of Planchonia valida in Middelkoop (1972:349).] (M:338, 26)*

***laa₂** *PRM. temporary hut. [irr. from PRM: *l > r/l in Meto] [Sporadic: *VV-k > *VVʔ > VʔV in Meto (perceptual metathesis).]*

laa-k *Termanu. temporary storage hut. (J:261)*

laa-ʔ *Korbafo.*

la~laa-k *Bokai.*

laa-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

laa-ʔ *Rikou.*

la~laa-k *Ba'a.*

laa-k *Tii.*

la~laa-ʔ *Dengka.*

laa-ʔ *Oenale.*

raʔa-t (2) n-raʔan *Kotos Amarasi.*

1) temporary shelter; tent, hut.

2) reside somewhere temporarily.

laʔa-t *Molo. leaf-hut. (M:254)*

Out-comparisons:

laen *Fehan Tetun. hut in the fields, or at the beach, where the farmer/fisherman can rest. [irr. from PRM: *a = e correspondence]*

klaen *East Tetun. hut on raised legs for guarding crops.*

*Usage: Luka village. [irr. from PRM: *a = e correspondence]*

(Mo:108)

salaak *East Tetun. small hut. (Mo:108)*

***laa₃** *Rote. sail. Etym: *layaR.*

laa *Termanu. sail. (J:260)*

laa *Korbafo.*

laa *Bokai.*

laa *Bilbaa.*

laa *Rikou.*

laa *Ba'a.*

laa *Tii.*

laa *Dengka.*

laa *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

laa *Semau Helong. sail.*

laan *East Tetun. sails (of a boat). (Mo:98)*

walara *Kisar. sail.*

***laa₄** *PnRote. fly. Etym: *layap.*

laa *Termanu. flying. (J:260)*

laa *Korbafo.*

laa *Bokai.*

laa *Bilbaa.*

laa *Rikou.*

laa *Ba'a.*

laa *Tii. [Note: given as 'also surely T']]*

***laa₅** *Morph: *na-laa-k, *laa-k. Rote. open the eyes. Etym: *-lat 'open the eyes wide'.*

na-laa-k mata=na (2) mata

laa-k *Termanu. 1) open the eyes.*

2) someone who can see well (lit. someone whose eyes are open).

(J:261)

na-laa-ʔ *Korbafo.*

na-laa-k *Bokai.*

na-laa-ʔ *Rikou.*

na-laa-k *Ba'a.*

na-laa-k *Tii.*

na-laa-ʔ *Dengka*.

na-laa-ʔ *Oenale*.

***la6a** *nRM*. wind around, of plants. [*irr. from PRM: *l > r/l in Meto*]

na-ka-(la~)laba *Termanu*. 1) wind all the way around something, said of plants. 2) wind around, entwine, tie around. (J:262)

na-ka-laba *Korbafo*.

na-ka-laba *Bilbaa*.

na-la~laba (2) na-laba *Rikou*.

na-ka-laba *Ba'a*.

na-ka-laba *Tii*.

k|raba-t *Kotos Amarasi*. obstacles, thorns. *Usage*: poetic, only in the parallel pair **kisan ma krabat** (**kisan** = 'thorny weed').

n-laba (2) okan aklab~laba (3)

n-buun ma na-klaab *Molo*.

1) creeping or winding of plants. (M:254) 2) creeping cucumber. (M:254) 3) he surrounds and encloses, referring to the protective power of the chief. *Usage*: poetic. (M:91)

Out-comparisons:

ra6a *Hawu*. wind around with thorns. [*Sporadic: *l = r correspondence.*] (J:262)

***ladu** *PRM*. palm wine. *Pattern*: d-2. [*Sporadic: consonant metathesis **lVr > rVl in Dela-Oenale and Rikou.*] [*Form: That it is Dela-Oenale and Rikou that show consonant metathesis rather than Tii, is indicated by other reconstructions with *lVr which have cognates outside of the RM languages including: *lari 'comb of rooster' and *ledo 'sun' (PMP *qaləjaw) which have undergone the same consonant metathesis *lVr > rVl in Dela-Oenale and Rikou.*]

lalu *Termanu*. areng palm sap, fermented palm sap. (J:274)

lalu *Korbafo*.

lalu *Bokai*.

lalu *Bilbaa*.

ralu *Rikou*.

lalu *Ba'a*.

laru *Tii*.

lalu *Dengka*.

ralu *Oenale*.

ralu *Dela*. palm-wine.

raru *Kotos Amarasi*. palm-wine.

lalu *Molo*. lontar sap in which roots which promote fermentation have been placed. (M:260)

***lafa** *PRM*. kind of traditional cloth. [*Sporadic: *a > e / _# in wRM.*]

lafa *Termanu*. well woven piece of a sarong which is tied by men around the hips and also worn as a kind of coat. (J:267)

lafa *Korbafo*.

lafa *Bokai*.

lafa *Bilbaa*.

lafa *Rikou*.

lafa *Ba'a*.

lafa *Tii*.

lafa *Dengka*.

lafa *Oenale*.

lafa *Dela*. traditional cloth worn by men.

nafa *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of cloth worn traditionally as a belt.

Out-comparisons:

lahan *East Tetun*. thread, fibre, or filament. (Mo:123)

***lafo** *Morph: *ka-lafo*. *PRM*. rat, mouse. *Etym: *balabaw. [irr. from PRM: initial i ~ bi in Molo]*

lafo *Termanu*. rat, mouse. (J:267f)

lafo *Korbafo*.

lafo *Bokai*.

lafo *Bilbaa*.

lafo *Landu*. mouse, rat. (own field notes)

lafo *Rikou*.

lafo *Ba'a*.

lafo *Tii*.

lafo *Dengka*.

lafo *Oenale*.

k|nafo *Ro'is Amarasi*. mouse, rat.

k|nafo *Kotos Amarasi*. mouse, rat.

nafo *Amanuban/Amanatun*.

ifo, bifo *Molo*. mouse. (M:158)

nafo *Kusa-Manea*. mouse, rat.

Out-comparisons:

blaho *Semau Helong*. mouse, rat.

laho *East Tetun*. rat (rodent).

(Mo:123)

***laha** *Morph*: ***na-ma-laha**, ***laha-s**.

CERM. hungry. *Etym*: *lapaR. [*Form*: This is the only form in which *h /a_a is not universally lost in Rote. Instead, it follows the pattern for *h between other vowels.]

na-ma-laʔa (2) laʔas *Termanu*.

1) hungry. 2) hunger, famine.

(J:262)

na-ma-laʔa (2) laʔa-ʔ *Korbafo*.

na-ma-laʔa (2) laʔa-ʔ *Bokai*.

na-ma-laa (2) laa-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

na-ma-laa *Landu*. hungry. (own field notes)

na-ma-laa (2) laas *Rikou*.

na-ma-laa *Oepao*. hungry. (own field notes)

na-m|naha *Ro'is Amarasi*. hungry.

na-m|naha *Kotos Amarasi*. hungry.

na-m|naha *Molo*. hunger. (M:325)

na-m|naah *Kusa-Manea*. hungry.

[*Form*: metathesised form of **na-mnaha**.]

Out-comparisons:

halaʔa *Fehan Tetun*. hungry.

Usage: Betun village.

hamlaha *East Tetun*. be hungry.

(Mo:71)

***lai** *Rote*. run, flee; fast, quick. *Etym*:

*laRiw 'run, run away, flee, escape'.

na-lai (2) lai~lai *Termanu*. 1) flee,

run away. (J:270) 2) fast, quickly,

speedy. (J:268)

na-lai (2) lai~lai *Korbafo*.

na-lai (2) lai~lai *Bokai*.

na-lai (2) lai~lai *Bilbaa*.

na-lai (2) lai~lai *Rikou*.

na-lai (2) lai~lai *Ba'a*.

na-lai (2) lai~lai *Tii*.

(2) **lai~lai** *Dengka*.

(2) **lai~lai** *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

lali *Semau Helong*. run.

lai~lais *East Tetun*. quickly,

hastily, without delay. (Mo:123)

***laia** *PRM*. ginger. *Etym*: *laia.

[*Sporadic*: *a > e /_# in wRM (PwRM

*laie).] [*Form*: The Rote languages

have reduced this to a disyllable by

deletion of the antepenultimate vowel.

In Meto both initial vowels were

retained with subsequent doubling of

the final vowel, probably to achieve a

form composed of two disyllabic feet.

The Meto reflexes additionally show

expected consonant insertion to break

up a disallowed sequence of three

vowels.]

lia *Termanu*. ginger. (J:310)

lia *Korbafo*.

lia *Bokai*.

lia *Bilbaa*.

lia *Rikou*.

lia *Ba'a*.

lia *Tii*.

lie *Dengka*.

naidʒee *Ro'is Amarasi*. ginger.

[*History*: Expected epenthetic consonant in *VVV.]

naidʒeer *Kotos Amarasi*. ginger.

[*History*: Final *r* indicates that this

is a borrowing from a variety of

Meto with word final insertion of

l after *Ve#*.]

naiyeeʔ *Amanuban*. ginger.

naidʒee-l *Molo*. ginger. (M:342)

Out-comparisons:

***lai/ee** *Semau Helong*. ginger.

Borrowed from: Meto before

*l > n and medial consonant

insertion (shown by final *a

= *e* correspondence). [*Form*:

Given as **lai ee** with white

space, probably indicating that

this has been reanalysed as

some kind of compound.]

ai lia *East Tetun*. ginger. *Zingibii*

officinale. (Mo:2)

***lako** *PRM.* go. *Etym.*: *lakaw. *Pattern*: k-8.

laʔo *Termanu.* go = break up, leave, go away (to land or over sea). (J:279f)

laʔo *Korbafo.*

laʔo *Bokai.*

lako *Bilbaa.*

laʔo *Rikou.*

laʔo *Ba'a.*

laʔo *Tii.*

lao *Dengka.*

lao *Oenale.*

n-nao *Ro'is Amarasi.* go.

n-nao *Kotos Amarasi.* go.

n-nao *Molo.* go. (M:355)

nao *Kusa-Manea.* go.

Out-comparisons:

lako *Semau Helong.* go.

laʔo *East Tetun.* walk, travel on foot, go. (Mo:127)

la *Hawu.* go, to, IRREALIS.

***laʔi** *PwRM.* male, grandfather, king. *Etym.*: *laki 'male, masculine; man'.

manu_lai *Dengka.* rooster, cock. (J:716)

manu_lai *Oenale.* rooster, cock. (J:716)

naʔiʔik *Ro'is Amarasi.* grandfather.

naʔi-f (2) nai? (3) maun_nai (4)

fe/nai (5) nai mnuki? *Kotos*

Amarasi. 1) grandfather. [*Form*:

The medial glottal stop is not deleted in Meto after suffixation, which shows that this glottal stop does not ultimately derive from the *-k suffix and is instead a retention of PMP *k.] 2) Mr. (used obligatorily before male names). [*Form*: metathesised form.] 3) rooster, cock. 4) wife of a dignitary. 5) royal son.

<nai> (2) <nai uuf>, <naidʒuuf>

(3) <manu naif> *Molo.* 1) prince.

(M:342) 2) princes, greats of the

land. (M:342) 3) rooster, cock.

(M:230)

naʔi *Kusa-Manea.* grandfather.

Out-comparisons:

lahi *Semau Helong.* king. [*irr.*

from PMP: *k > h] [*History*:

The irregular sound changes combined with the semantics indicate that this is a loan, but a precise donor cannot be confidently identified. Meto seems unlikely as this requires positing that the medial glottal stop went through intermediate *h that would be an irregular sound change for medial *k in Meto.]

°naʔi (2) °naʔin *Fehan Tetun.*

1) an honourable term of address for nobles, or for people much younger than the speaker (e.g. one's children). 2) noble, owner, boss, player (in a game); Can be used as title. *Borrowed from*: Meto (shown by irr. *l = n correspondence).

°naʔi (2) °naʔin *East Tetun.*

1) form of address always preceding the word it qualifies, not translatable to English, but can be used instead of 'Mr', 'Your Honour', 'Your Excellency'. 2) respectful title with the same meaning as **naʔi** placed before numerals and some pronouns when referring to people. (Mo:145)

***laʔus** *Morph*: *ka-laʔus. *PRM.* cactus.

laʔus *Termanu.* cactus. (J:286)

laʔu-ʔ *Korbafo.*

lau-ʔ *Bokai.*

lau-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

laus *Rikou.*

laʔus *Ba'a.*

laʔus *Tii.*

laus *Dengka.*

laus *Oenale.*

ʔ|naus *Molo.* cactus leaves. (M:357)

Out-comparisons:

klaus *Helong.* cactus. (J:286)

- k(a)latun** *East Tetun.* cactus.
(Mo:98)
- oplakun** *Kisar.* pear cactus.
- *lalu** *Morph: *lalu-k. PnRote.* cock, rooster. *Etym: *laluŋ.*
- manu_lalu-k** *Termanu.* rooster.
(J:274)
- manu_lalu-ʔ** *Korbafo.*
- manu_lalu-k** *Bokai.*
- manu_lalu-ʔ** *Bilbaa.*
- manu_lalu-ʔ** *Rikou.*
- manu_lalu-k** *Ba'a.*
- manu_lalu-k** *Tii.*
- *lamat** *Morph: *ka-lamat. PRM.* grasshopper. [*irr. from PRM: *l = l in Amanuban and Kusa-Manea*] [*Form: The irregular retention of PRM *l as l in Amanuban may be due to early reduction of the antepenultimate syllable in *ka-lamat > **klamat, with subsequent loss of the initial consonant. Compare *kalusa, with reflexes klusa-n, and knusa-n in Amanuban from Kualiin village. Irregular initial l in Kusa-Manea may be due to borrowing from Kemak or antoher language with initial l.*]
- lama-k** *Termanu.* grasshopper. (J:274)
- lama-ʔ** *Korbafo.*
- lama-k** *Bokai.*
- lama-ʔ** *Bilbaa.*
- lama-ʔ** *Landu.* grasshopper. (own field notes)
- lama-ʔ** *Rikou.*
- lama-k** *Ba'a.*
- lama-k** *Tii.*
- lamat** *Dengka.*
- lamat** *Oenale.*
- k|namat** *Ro'is Amarasi.* grasshopper.
- k|namat** *Kotos Amarasi.* grasshopper.
- lamat** *Amanuban.* grasshopper.
[*Form: Middelkoop (1972:196) also gives Amanuban <nama>.*]
- lamat** *Kusa-Manea.* grasshopper.
- Out-comparisons:**
- klamat** *Funai Helong.* grasshopper.

klamat *Semau Helong.*
grasshopper, locust.

l'ama *Waima'a.* grasshopper.

lamat *Kemak.* grasshopper.

***lamu** *CER.* seaweed species. *Etym: *lamut* (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) include 'Rote' **lamu** and Ngadha **lamu** form as evidence for both ***lamut** and the PMP 'disjunct' ***lamu**. ***lamu** is only otherwise supported by Malay **lamu**). [*Note: Helong has similar hlamun 'moss, lichen, algae, seaweed' which is probably a reflex of PMP *lamun 'swamp grass'.*]

lamu_doo-k *Termanu.* kind of seaweed, kind of algae. (J:275)

Out-comparisons:

klamur *East Tetun.* seaweed.
(Mo:135)

***lani** *Rote.* heaven, firmament, air. *Etym: *lanit 'sky'. [irr. from PRM: *n > Ø in all except Oenale]* [*Form: The irregular loss of medial *n in all varieties may be due to influence from semantically similar lain 'upper part', though this form may itself be from *lani with final *CV > VC metathesis. (Jonker suggests that the final n in lain is from the third person genitive enclitic =n). Jonker does not record Dengka as having lain 'upper'.*]

la~lai *Termanu.* heaven, the firmament, air space. (J:269)

la~lai *Korbafo.*

la~lai *Bokai.*

la~lai *Bilbaa.*

la~lai *Rikou.*

la~lai *Ba'a.*

la~lai *Tii.*

la~lai *Dengka.*

la~lai (2) lani *Oenale.* 1) heaven, the firmament, air space. *Usage: usually in the religious sense, otherwise lani.* (J:269) 2) the firmament. (J:718)

la~lai (2) lani *Dela.* 1) sky. 2) sky.

***lanu** *Rote*. tired. *Etym.*: *lanu ‘vertigo’ (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) include Termanu **langu** ‘langu-dizziness: expression in ritual language for serious illness’ (Fox 2016b:24) as evidence for this form, but this would require irregular retention of *ŋ.).

na-ma-lanu *Termanu*. feel uncomfortably tired. (J:279)

na-ma-lanu *Korbafo*.

na-ma-lanu *Bokai*.

na-ma-lanu *Bilbaa*.

na-ma-lanu *Tii*.

lanu~lanu *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

lanu (2) lanuk *East Tetun*.

1) intoxicate, inebriate, be drunk; poison. 2) intoxicated, drunk. (Mo:127)

melanu *Hawu*. dizzy. [*irr. from PMP*: *ŋ > n] (J:278)

***langa** *Morph.*: *ka-langa, *ka-langa-k. *PRM*. head hair.

langa (2) langa-k *Termanu*. 1) head. 2) leader, village head, upper part. (J:276)

langa *Korbafo*.

langa *Bokai*.

langa *Bilbaa*.

laka-ʔ *Landu*. head. (own field notes)

laka *Rikou*.

langa *Ba'a*.

langa *Tii*.

langa-ʔ *Dengka*.

langa-ʔ *Oenale*.

naka-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. head, head-hair. [*Semantics*: Ambiguous between both meanings, ‘head-hair’ can be specified by **naak buʔu**.]

ʔ|naka-f *Kotos Amarasi*. head; leader, boss.

ʔ|naka-f *Molo*. head. (M:344)

Out-comparisons:

klaam/buuʔ *Funai Helong*. head-hair.

klaja *Semau Helong*. head-hair; prow of boat. [*Note*: **boon** = ‘head’.]

laka/nuri (2) laka/nuri maka, nak/nuri makan (3) laka/nuri wiʔi, naknuri wiʔin

Kisar. 1) coconut shell. [*Note*: **nor** or **noro** is the normal word for ‘coconut’, **nuri** could also be connected with *niuR, though the final vowel would be unexplained.] 2) the top half of a coconut shell, part with holes. [*Form*: **maka** = ‘eye’] 3) the bottom half of the coconut shell without holes. [*Form*: **wiʔi** = ‘butt’]

laga-na *Tokodede*. head, head-hair. (Lekede’e Study Group 2006:15)

gala-r *Kemak*. head. *Usage*: Diirbati dialect (Manumutin desa). [*Sporadic*: consonant metathesis *IVg > gVI.]

gōraa-ŋ *Kemak*. head. *Usage*: Kutubaba dialect.

gara-r *Kemak*. head. *Usage*: other known Kemak varieties.

***lange** *PRM*. stocks, block of wood placed around the head of an animal to prevent it from moving or suckling.

lange *Termanu*. stocks for criminals, block of wood tied around the neck of a buffalo or pig (or also a piece of bamboo on the neck of a dog, a coconut shell around the neck of a cat) to impede the movement of the animal. (J:278)

lange *Korbafo*.

lange *Bokai*.

lange *Bilbaa*.

lake *Rikou*.

lange *Ba'a*.

lange *Tii*.

lange *Dengka*.

lange *Oenale*.

nake *Kotos Amarasi*. wooden stocks placed around the ankles of a criminal, wooden block placed around the neck of an animal to impede its movement.

nake *Molo*. stocks that are placed around the ankles of people, also a wooden triangle placed on the head of a pig or young buffalo to prevent the piglet or calf from suckling at its mother. (M:345)

Out-comparisons:

lage *Semau Helong*. lashed, shackled, chain, stocks.

***lari₁** *Morph: *lari-k. PRM*. comb (of rooster). [*irr. from PRM: *i > e in Kusa-Manea*] [*Sporadic: consonant metathesis *IVr > rVI in Dela-Oenale and Rikou.*]

lali-k *Termanu*. comb of a rooster. (J:274)

lali-? *Korbafo*.

lali-k *Bokai*.

lali-? *Bilbaa*.

rali-? *Rikou*.

lali-k *Ba'a*.

lari-k *Tii*.

lali-? *Dengka*.

rali-? *Oenale*.

nane-f *Kusa-Manea*. comb of rooster. [*Note: Jonker (1908:274) gives Meto nani-f.*]

Out-comparisons:

lalit *Semau Helong*. comb.

la~larit *East Tetun*. rooster's comb, and crest of other birds. (Mo:125)

lari *Hawu*. (J:274)

lali? *Bugis*. chicken's comb. (Masse 2013:317)

***lari₂** *PRM*. move location. [*irr. from PRM: *r > l in Tii and wRote; *r > l ~ r in Oepao and Rikou*] [*Sporadic: consonant metathesis *IVr > rVI in Rikou.*] [*History: Possibly connected with PMP *laRiw with irregular *R > *r, but this etymon is retained regularly as *lai 'run, fast'.*]

lali *Termanu*. move oneself, move something. (J:273)

lali *Korbafo*.

lali *Bokai*.

lali *Bilbaa*.

lali, na-rali *Rikou*.

lali, na-lari *Oepao*.

lali *Ba'a*.

lali *Tii*.

lali *Dengka*.

lali *Oenale*.

lali *Dela*. move.

na-nani? *Kotos Amarasi*. move, change.

<**nani**> *Molo*. move away. (M:349)

Out-comparisons:

lari *Hawu*. move location.

***larum** *Morph: *ka-larum. PRM*. variegated fig. *Ficus variegata*. [*Sporadic: consonant metathesis *IVr > rVI in Dela-Oenale and Rikou.*] [*Form: That it is Dela-Oenale and Rikou which show consonant metathesis rather than Tii, is indicated by other reconstructions with *IVr that have cognates outside of the RM languages including: *lari 'comb of rooster' and *ledo 'sun' (PMP *qaləjaw) that have undergone the same consonant metathesis *IVr > rVI in Dela-Oenale and Rikou.*] [*Semantics: vague Rote semantics.*]

lalu *Termanu*. kind of tree. [*Semantics: Heyne (1950:755, cxlii) gives <laloe loëh> as Peltophorum pterocarpum.*] (J:274)

lalu *Korbafo*.

lalu *Bokai*.

lalu *Bilbaa*.

ralu *Rikou*.

lalu *Ba'a*.

laru *Tii*.

lalu *Dengka*.

ralu *Oenale*.

?**nanum** *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of tree.

<**nanum**> *Molo*. kind of tree. *Ficus variegata*. (M:349)

***lasa** *PRM.* underlay. [*irr. from PRM: *l > r/l in Meto*]

lasa *Termanu.* anything that serves as an underlay for cutting or chopping. (J:282)

lasa *Korbafo.*

lasa *Bokai.*

lasa *Bilbaa.*

lasa *Rikou.*

lasa *Ba'a.*

lasa *Tii.*

lasa *Dengka.*

lasa *Oenale.*

rasa|k *Kotos Amarasi.* spread out leaves (with meat put on top).

n-lasan *Molo.* use as an underlay. (M:263)

***lasə** *PRM.* scrotum and testicles. *Etym:* *lasəR. [*Sporadic: (*ə) > *a > e / _# in Amarasi.*]

lase *Termanu.* scrotum. (J:283)

lase *Korbafo.*

lase *Bokai.*

lase *Bilbaa.*

lase *Rikou.*

lase *Ba'a.*

lase *Tii.*

lasa-ʔ *Dengka.*

lasa-ʔ *Oenale.*

nase-n *Ro'is Amarasi.* testicles.

nase-f *Kotos Amarasi.* testicles.

<nasa> *Molo.* scrotum. (M:351)

Out-comparisons:

lasar *Ili'uun.* penis. (dJ:123)

***lasi** *PRM.* forest, bush. [*History: possibly connected with PMP *alas, though this connection would require positing irr. *a > Ø and irregular final i.*]

lasi *Termanu.* wilderness, forest. (J:283)

lasi *Korbafo.*

lasi *Bokai.*

lasi *Bilbaa.*

lasi *Rikou.*

lasi *Ba'a.*

lasi *Tii.*

lasi *Dengka.*

lasi *Oenale.*

nasi *Ro'is Amarasi.* bush, forest.

nasi *Kotos Amarasi.* bush, forest.

nasi *Molo.* bush, forest. (M:352)

nais *Kusa-Manea.* forest.

***lasiz** *Morph: *ma-lasi-k, *na-ma-lasi.* *PRM.* old, aged.

lasi-k (2) na-ma-lasi *Termanu.*

1) old (especially of people and animals). 2) be or become old, of people and animals. (J:283)

lasi-ʔ *Korbafo.*

lasi-k *Bokai.*

lasi-k *Bilbaa.*

lasi-ʔ *Rikou.*

lasi-k *Ba'a.*

lasi-k *Tii.*

lasi-ʔ *Dengka.*

lasi-ʔ *Oenale.*

lasi-ʔ (2) na-ma-lasi *Dela.* 1) old. 2)

m|nasiʔ *Ro'is Amarasi.* old, aged.

m|nasiʔ (2) na-m|mnasi *Kotos Amarasi.* 1) old, aged. 2) be or become old/aged.

m|nasiʔ *Molo.* old. (M:325)

m|nasiʔ (2) m|nasi-k *Kusa-Manea.*

1) old (of fruit). 2) old, aged (of people).

***latu** *Morph: *ma-latu-k, *na-ma-latu.* *PRM.* ripe.

latu-k (2) na-ma-latu *Termanu.*

1) ripe. 2) ripen up. (J:284)

latu-ʔ *Korbafo.*

latu-k *Bokai.*

latu-k *Bilbaa.*

latu-ʔ *Rikou.*

latu-k *Ba'a.*

latu-k *Tii.*

latu-ʔ *Dengka.*

latu-ʔ *Oenale.*

m|natuʔ *Ro'is Amarasi.* ripe, cooked.

m|natuʔ *Kotos Amarasi.* ripe, cooked.

na-m|natu *Amanuban.* ripe. (M:325)

Out-comparisons:

latuʔ *Semau Helong.* ripe.

keradu *Hawu.* [*Sporadic: *l = r correspondence.*] (J:284)

***latu**₂ *Rote*. edible seaweed species.

Etym: *latuq.

latu *Termanu*. kind of edible seaweed.

(J:284)

latu *Korbafo*.

latu *Bokai*.

latu *Bilbaa*.

latu *Rikou*.

latu *Ba'a*.

latu *Tii*.

latu *Dengka*.

latu *Oenale*.

***lea** *Morph*: ***lea-k**. *PnRote*. cave, cavern. *See*: ***lua**|t. *Etym*: *lian. [*irr*: from PMP: *i > *e]

lea-k *Termanu*. cave, cavern. (J:288)

lea-? *Korbafo*.

lea-k *Bokai*.

lea-? *Bilbaa*.

lea-? *Rikou*.

lea-k *Ba'a*. [*Form*: with variant **lua-k**.]

lea-k *Tii*.

Out-comparisons:

lian *Semau Helong*. cave.

***ledo** *PRM*. sun, day. *Etym*: *qaləjaw ‘day’. [*minority from PMP*: *j > *d (expect *d)] [*Sporadic*: consonant metathesis *IVr > rVI in Dela-Oenale.]

ledo (2) **ledo-k** (3) **le~ledo-k** *Termanu*. 1) sun. 2) day, in certain expressions. 3) daytime, during the day. (J:290f)

ledo *Korbafo*.

ledo *Bokai*.

ledo *Bilbaa*.

ledo *Rikou*.

ledo *Ba'a*.

ledo *Tii*.

lelo *Dengka*.

relo *Oenale*.

relo (2) **re~relo-?** *Dela*. 1) sun. 2) daytime.

nen *Ro'is Amarasi*. day (e.g. of the week), sky.

nen *Kotos Amarasi*. day (e.g. of the week), sky. [*Semantics*: Phrases such as **neon sae-t** ‘east’ (**nen** + rise-NMLZ’) provide internal evidence for the older meaning ‘sun’.]

nen *Molo*. sky. (M:362)

nen *Kusa-Manea*. sun, day. [*Semantics*: **nen anan** specifies ‘sky’ as opposed to ‘day’.]

Out-comparisons:

lelo *Semau Helong*. sun, day, daylight.

loro *East Tetun*. the sun. (Mo:133)

ler(e) *Kisar*. day.

lodo *Dhao*. sun.

lodo *Hawu*. sun, day.

leo *Ili'uun*. sun, day; time. (dJ:124)

***lee** *PRM*. river. [*irr*: from *PRM*: *ee > oe in wRM (possibly influence from *oe ‘water’)]

lee *Termanu*. river. (J:286)

lee *Korbafo*.

lee *Bokai*.

lee *Bilbaa*.

lee *Rikou*.

lee *Ba'a*.

lee *Tii*.

loe *Dengka*.

loe *Oenale*.

noe *Ro'is Amarasi*. river.

noe *Kotos Amarasi*. river.

noe *Molo*. river. [*Note*: Middelkoop (1972:371) includes the parallelism **noe ?nino?**, **koe ?nino?** ‘the clear river’. If **koe** is related to **noe**, it would indicate PMeto ***noe**. Helong has **noe** ‘wet’, which could alternately be the source of *Molo* **koe**.] (M:377)

noa *Kusa-Manea*. river. [*Form*: regular *e > a /V_# in Upper Manulea.]

***leke** *Morph*: ***le~leke**. *PRM*. coil up. *Etym*: *ləkən ‘coil’ (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) only give a Cebuano and Buru form as supporting evidence.

Other semantically and formally similar forms are discussed with their entry for *reken ‘coiled base on which hot cooking pots are set’, which is well supported.). *Pattern:* k-5. [*minority from PMP:* *ə > *e / _# (expect *ə > a in wRote, possibly *ə > *a > e)]

le~leke *Termanu*. lay down in coils, coil up. (J:293)

le~leke *Korbafo*.

le~leke *Bokai*.

le~leke *Bilbaa*.

le~le?e *Rikou*.

le~leke *Ba'a*.

le~leke *Tii*.

le~leke *Dengka*.

***leko** *Rote*. lure in a crafty way. *Pattern:* k-5' (*k > Ø in Rikou; expect ? or k).

leko *Termanu*. lure in a crafty way. (J:293)

leko *Korbafo*.

leko *Bokai*.

leko *Bilbaa*.

leo *Rikou*.

leko *Ba'a*.

leko *Tii*.

leko *Dengka*.

leko *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

leko *Hawu*. (J:293)

***leku** *PRM*. winding, coiling. *Etym:* *laku? ‘bend, fold, folding part of the body; curl up on the ground, of an animal’. *Pattern:* k-8/9' (*k > Ø in Rikou; expect *k > ? or k). [*irr. from PRM:* *l > r/l in Meto]

na-le~le?u (2) le~le?u (3) le~le?u-k

Termanu. 1) with winding/coils.

2) do with twists and turns. 3) do it with winding/coils. (J:309)

na-le~le?u *Korbafo*.

na-le~le?u *Bokai*.

na-le~leku *Bilbaa*.

na-le~leu *Rikou*.

na-le~le?u *Ba'a*.

na-le~le?u *Tii*.

na-le~le?u *Dengka*.

na-le~le?u *Oenale*.

reuk/saen *Ro'is Amarasi*. python. *Borrowed from:* Rote for initial element **leku** or from Helong **likuŋ** before *e > i (shown by irr. *l = r correspondence). [*History:* Ultimately from ***reku** ‘winding’ + **sae-n** ‘go up’.]

riuk/saen *Kotos Amarasi*. python.

liuk/saen *Molo*. python. (M:404)

lik/saan *Kusa-Manea*. python. [*Form:* regular *e > a / V_ in Upper Manulea.]

Out-comparisons:

likuŋ (2) °liuksaŋ *Semau Helong*. 1) loop around. 2) python. *Borrowed from:* Meto **liuksaen**.

°liku/saen *Fehan Tetun*. python. *Borrowed from:* probably Meto **liuksaen** without CV metathesis (shown by irr. *ə = i correspondence, expect o). [*Note:* East Tetun has **labak** and/or **foho_rai** for ‘python’, and Tetun Belu has **koes_ina** (Morris 1984:35, 114, 122).]

kaləku *Hawu*. (J:309)

***lele** *Morph:* ***lele-k**. *Rote*. time. [*Form:* Rote ***loo** ‘stretch’ also shows the correspondence of Helong *d* = Rote *l*.]

lele-k *Termanu*. time. (J:295)

lele-? *Korbafo*.

lele-k *Bokai*.

lele-? *Bilbaa*.

lele-? *Rikou*.

lele-k *Ba'a*.

lele-k *Tii*.

lele-? *Dengka*.

lele-? *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

dedeŋ *Semau Helong*. night; time, moment.

***lema** *Morph:* ***ka-lema**. *PRM*. sea-snake. [*Sporadic:* *a > e / _# in Meto.] **lema-k** *Termanu*. kind of ocean fish. (J:296)

lema-ʔ *Korbafo*.

lema-ʔ *Rikou*.

lema-k *Ba'a*.

lema-k *Tii*.

lema-ʔ *Dengka*.

lema-ʔ *Oenale*.

lema-ʔ *Dela*. sea-snake.

k|neme *Ro'is Amarasi*. eel, sea-snake.

k|neme *Kotos Amarasi*. eel, sea-snake. *Usage*: Tais Nonof sub-dialect.

Out-comparisons:

laleman *Galolen*. sea-snake.

***lemuk** *CER*. dolphin. *Etym*: **lemur (pre-RM). [*irr. from PMP*: Ø > *k]

lemuk *Rikou*. dolphin. (own field notes)

Out-comparisons:

lemur *Galolen*. dolphin.

lemor *Batuley*. dolphin. [*Note*: language of the Aru Islands ISO 639-3 [bay].] (Daigle 2015:258)

***lemba** *PRM*. carry on a shoulder pole. *Etym*: *lemba (PCMP).

lepa *Termanu*. carry, said of one or more people who are carrying a stick that has a load at each end. (J:305)

lepa *Korbafo*.

lepa *Bilbaa*.

lepa *Rikou*.

lempa *Ba'a*.

lemba *Tii*.

lemba *Dengka*.

lemba *Oenale*.

nepa-t *Kotos Amarasi*. pole for carrying.

<**nepa**> *Molo*. pole for carrying, bar for carrying. [*Form*: probably ʔ-nepa-ʔ.] (M:364)

Out-comparisons:

lepa *Semau Helong*. carry on shoulder with pole, one person with something on each end, or two or more people with one heavy thing in the middle.

lebo, leba *East Tetun*. carry or transport any object from the ends of a pole with the centre supported by the shoulder. (Mo:128)

ai kaleba *Welaun*. pole for carrying.

***lena** *PRM*. sesame. *Etym*: *lən̩h (Zorc 1995:1128). [*Sporadic*: *a > e / _# in wRM]

lena *Termanu*. sesame. (J:296)

lena *Korbafo*.

lena *Bokai*.

lena *Bilbaa*.

lena *Rikou*.

lena *Ba'a*.

lena *Tii*.

lene *Dengka*.

lene *Oenale*.

nene-l *Meto*. sesame. (J:296)

Out-comparisons:

°**lena** *Semau Helong*. sesame. *Borrowed from*: Rote (shown by irr. *ŋ = n correspondence).

leja *Helong*. sesame. (J:296)

***lendo** *Rote*. dance.

leno *Termanu*. perform a sword-dance, often combined with **foti** [OE: = 'jump around, dance'] to express 'dance' in general. (J:299)

leno *Korbafo*.

leno *Bokai*.

lendo *Rikou*. dance performed by women. (J:299; own field notes)

°**lendo** *Oepao*. *Borrowed from*: Rikou (shown by medial *nd*). (own field notes)

leno *Ba'a*.

lendo *Tii*.

lendo *Dengka*.

lendo *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

ledo, lendo *Hawu*. dance. Can be single or multiple. Mixed male and female.

***lenge** *CER*. too much.

leje *Termanu*. oversize, too much. (J:298)

leŋe *Bokai*.

Out-comparisons:

lɔŋa *Hawu*. left, gone, abandoned, no longer there; extreme, significantly beyond what is acceptable. [Note: Jonker (1908:298) gives Hawu from Raijua **lɔŋe**.]

***leŋgu** *Rote*. throw. [Note: Meto has **na-neku** ‘lose’, **na-m|neku** ‘lost’ for which the sound correspondences with the Rote forms are perfect; however, the semantic connection is far too dubious to establish these forms as cognate.]

leŋu *Termanu*. throw, normally a small piece of wood; fall backwards. (J:299)

leŋu *Korbafo*.

leŋu *Bokai*.

leŋu *Bilbaa*.

leku *Rikou*.

leŋgu *Ba’a*.

leŋgu *Tii*.

leŋgu *Dengka*.

leŋgu *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

ligu *Hawu*. (J:299)

***leo** *Rote*. clan.

leo *Termanu*. clan, tribe. In Termanu there are nine clans: **leo dou daja**, **leo iŋu beu-k**, **leo iŋu naʔu**, **leo kiu kana-k**, **leo kota dea-k**, **leo masahuu-k**, **leo meno**, **leo ŋgofa lai-k**, **leo suʔi**. (J:301)

leo *Korbafo*.

leo *Bokai*.

leo *Bilbaa*.

leo *Rikou*.

leo *Ba’a*.

leo *Tii*.

leo *Dengka*.

leo *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

leon *Helong*. (J:301)

leo *Fehan Tetun*. hamlet.

leo *East Tetun*. the population, the total number of people in a place. (Mo:129)

***lesu**₁ *PRM*. neck. [irr. from *PRM*: *s > Ø in Meto (also Helong)] [Sporadic: vowel height harmony *u > o /e_ in Meto.] [Form: The main difficulty in this comparison is accounting for irregular loss of medial *s in both the Meto and Helong forms. There seem to be two possible explanations: (1) This comparison combines more than one cognate set; Rote **lesu** is not cognate with the Meto forms. (2) Medial *s was irregularly lost in Meto, from which the Helong form is a borrowing. Whatever the ultimate history of these forms, it is likely that the Helong and Meto forms are a result of borrowing before Meto *l > n, though the direction of borrowing cannot yet be confidently determined.]

lesu_haʔi-k *Termanu*. neck in general, both sides of the neck. [Form: **lesu-k** by itself means ‘the thinner portion of the arm at the wrist’.] (J:307)

lesu_haʔi *Korbafo*.

lesu_haʔi-k *Bokai*.

lesu_kai-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

lesu_ai-ʔ *Rikou*.

lesu_haʔi-k *Ba’a*.

lesu_haʔi *Lole*. neck. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

lesu_ai-k *Tii*. [Form: Grimes et al. (2014a) has **leusain** ‘neck’.]

lesu_ai-ʔ *Dengka*.

lesu_ai-ʔ *Oenale*.

neo-f *Ro’is Amarasi*. neck.

neo-f *Kotos Amarasi*. neck.

Out-comparisons:

leo *Semau Helong*. neck.

n’eo *Waima’a*. neck. [Form: Possibly a chance resemblance. Waima’a n’ is not known to correspond to *PRM* *l. While the Waima’a form and Meto might point to pre-RM **neo ‘neck’, this would not account for the Helong form with initial l.]

***lesu**₂ *Rote*. come out, take out. *Etym*:
 *lesu (PCMP. Blust and Trussel
 (ongoing) also reconstruct PWMP
 *ləcut ‘squeeze out, slip out’ which
 could be connected.).

lesu *Termanu*. come out, e.g. of a hole,
 make something come out = pull
 out, e.g. pull something out of a
 hole. (J:306)

lesu *Korbafo*.

lesu *Bokai*.

lesu *Bilbaa*.

lesu *Rikou*.

lesu *Ba'a*.

lesu *Tii*.

lesu *Dengka*.

lesu *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

<**luhu**> *Kambara*. go out.
 (On:246)

<**lauhu**> *Lewa*.

<**lausu**> *Anakalang*.

<**lusa**> *Mamboru*.

<**louzo**> *Weyewa*.

<**loho**> *Kodi*.

losa *Bima*. exit, go outside. (Jonker
 1893:48)

***lete**₁ *Morph*: ***ka-lete-k**. *PRM*. mountain,
 hill. *Etym*: *letay₁ ‘above’ (PCMP).

lete-k *Termanu*. mountain. (J:308)

lete-ʔ *Korbafo*.

lete-k *Bokai*.

lete-k *Bilbaa*.

lete-ʔ *Rikou*.

le~lete, lete-k *Ba'a*.

lete-k *Tii*.

lete-ʔ *Dengka*.

lete-ʔ *Oenale*.

neten *Ro'is Amarasi*. high place.

k|nete|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. mountain
 with gentle slopes on either side,
 hill.

<**neten**> *Molo*. mountain range.
 (M:366)

Out-comparisons:

leten *Semau Helong*. mountain.

leten *East Tetun*. above, overhead;
n. the top, the part above.
 (Mo:130)

lete(n) *Ili'uun*. mountain. (dJ:124)

lede *Hawu*. mountain.

***lete**₂ *PRM*. bridge. *Etym*: *letay₂ (PCMP).

le~lete *Termanu*. small bridge. (J:307)

le~lete *Korbafo*.

le~lete *Bokai*.

le~lete *Bilbaa*.

le~lete *Rikou*.

le~lete *Ba'a*.

le~lete *Tii*.

le~lete *Dengka*.

le~lete *Oenale*.

nete-ranan *Kotos Amarasi*. bridge,
 go-between.

<**kanete**> *Molo*. bridge. (M:366)

Out-comparisons:

hleten *Semau Helong*. bridge,
 dock.

kalete *Fehan Tetun*. intermediary,
 bridge (over water), go between;
 in traditional courtship,
 interpreter, mediator (in fights),
 anyone who carries a message
 for another — usually used in
 courtship, but not only for that.

kla~lete *East Tetun*. small bridge.
 (Mo:108)

***leu** *PRM*. inceptive, used to ask
 permission to begin an activity.
 [*Sporadic*: vowel height harmony
 *u > o /e_ in Dela.]

leu *Bilbaa*. used to ask permission to
 begin an activity. **lako leu** We're
 leaving now. (own field notes)

leu *Rikou*. used to ask permission to
 begin an activity. **laʔo leu** We're
 leaving now. (own field notes)

leo *Dela*. already, now; typically used
 with imperatives and invitations to
 indicate that the action expressed
 by the verb should be done now or
 right away.

neu *Ro'is Amarasi*. used to ask permission to begin an activity.

au ʔ-bukae neu I'm going to start eating now

neu *Kotos Amarasi*. used to ask permission to begin an activity. *Usage*: In Kotos Amarasi **neu** is less common and considered colloquial/impolite. The more common and polite form is **nai**.

***lände** *Morph*: *lände~lände. *PnRote*. still standing (of water). *See*: *endən. [*Form*: *nd > n/ə_ in Rikou.] [*History*: Jonker makes comparisons with forms in Seram, e.g. Kamarian **marene** 'calm, quiet' (van Ekris 1864:308) but I do not find this comparison convincing given the semantics. (Kamarian **marina** is given as specifically 'still [of sea]', thus indicating that **marene** probably does not also indicate 'calm of sea'). Additionally, whether *nd would correspond regularly to *n* in languages of Seram is unknown.]

oe=a lene~lene *Termanu*. the water is standing still, doesn't flow. (J:297)

lene~lene *Korbafo*.

lene~lene *Bokai*.

lene~lene *Rikou*.

lene~lene *Ba'a*.

lende *Tii*.

***libu** *CERM*. swarm, teem, abound. *Doublet*: *rimbu. *Etym*: *libut 'surround, encircle, as game'. [*minority from PMP*: *b > *6 /V_V]

libu *Termanu*. swarm (of fish, people), gather together. (Fox 2016b:27)

li~libu *Ba'a*. teem, abound. (J:723)

n-nibun *Kotos Amarasi*. surround.

n-nibun *Molo*. gather and meet together. (M:368)

Out-comparisons:

libur *East Tetun*. rejoin, assemble. (Mo:130)

***lida** *Morph*: *lida-k. *PRM*. wing. *See*:

*dilas. [*irr. from PRM*: *a > e ~ a sporadically in Termanu, Ba'a and Meto (also Kemak)] [*Form*: regular *d' > **l/*l_ in Meto (and Helong).]

lida-k, lide-k *Termanu*. wing of a bird or insect, fin of a fish. (J:310)

lida-ʔ *Korbafo*.

lida-k *Bokai*.

lida-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

lida-k, lide-k *Ba'a*.

lida-k *Tii*.

lida-ʔ *Dengka*.

lida-ʔ *Oenale*.

nini-n *Ro'is Amarasi*. edge.

nine|ʔ, nini|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. wing, edge.

nine-n, nina-n *Molo*. wing. (M:370)

nina-f *Kusa-Manea*. wing.

Out-comparisons:

liras *East Tetun*. wing (of birds and insects). (Mo:131)

lila/faan *Welaun*. wing.

lila/paa-n *Kemak*. wing. *Usage*: Kailaku dialect.

lile/paa *Kemak*. wing. *Usage*: Diirbati dialect.

lili/paa-ŋ *Kemak*. *Usage*: Kenebibi and Leolima dialects.

lili/paa *Kemak*. wing. *Usage*: Lemia and Atsabe dialects.

lira *Mambae, South*. wing. *Usage*: Letefoho village. (Fogaça 2017:234)

lila *Mambae, South*. wing. *Usage*: Betano village and Ainaro sub-district. (Fogaça 2017:234)

lila-n *Mambae, Northwest/Central*. wing. (Fogaça 2017:234)

lilar *Tokodede*. wing. (Klamer 2002)

***lide** *Morph*: *lide-k. *Rote*. palm leaf nerve. [*irr. from PRM*: *e > e ~ a in Ba'a]

lide-k *Termanu*. nerve of a palm leaf. (J:310)

lide-ʔ *Korbafo*.

lide-k *Bokai*.

lide-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

lide-ʔ *Rikou*.

lide-k, lida-k *Ba'a*.

lide-k *Tii*.

lide-ʔ *Dengka*.

lide-ʔ *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

lidi *Malay*. ribs/veins of coconut palm fronds/leaves.

***lifū** *PRM*. body of still water; billabong, lake. *Etym*: **libun (pre-RM).

lifū *Termanu*. a) standing still, of water. b) body of water which is still, e.g. after rain: a deep gully where there is no current. (J:311f)

lifū *Korbafo*.

lifū *Bokai*.

lifū *Bilbaa*.

lifū *Rikou*.

lifū *Ba'a*.

lifū *Tii*.

lifū *Dengka*.

lifū *Oenale*.

nifū (2) nefō *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) pool, billabong. 2) lake. [*Semantics*: The two words are semantically distinct, **nifū** is smaller than **nefō**. They possibly have different etymologies.]

nifū *Amanuban/Amanatun*. lake.

nifū (2) nefō *Molo*. 1) pond, lake. (M:368) 2) lake. (M:359)

Out-comparisons:

lihu *Semau Helong*. depth.

lihun *East Tetun*. dam or pond, a small body of still water. (Mo:130)

welihun *Welaun*. lake.

liwu *Central Lembata*. lake. (Fricke 2015)

<**kalibuku**> *Kambera*. shallow hole, cavity or hollow in a stone with still water in it. (On:145)

***liha** *Morph*: ***li~liha-k**. *Rote*. centipede.

Etym: *qalu-hipan (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PCEMP *qalipan.). [*irr. from PRM*: *a > e in Tii (sporadic assimilation)]

li~liʔa-k *Termanu*. kind of centipede which emits phosphoric light when rubbed (called *kalamayar* in Malay). (J:310)

li~liʔa-ʔ *Korbafo*.

li~liʔa-k *Bokai*.

li~lia-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

li~lias *Landu*. centipede. (own field notes)

li~lia-ʔ *Rikou*.

li~liʔa-k *Ba'a*.

li~liʔe-k *Tii*.

li~lia-ʔ *Dengka*.

li~lia-ʔ *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

la~liʔan_tali *Fehan Tetun*. centipede.

***lii** *Morph*: ***na-lii**, ***lii-k**. *Rote*. sound. *Etym*: *liŋ ‘sound of ringing; word, speech’ (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) include Termanu **lii-k** ‘sound’ as evidence for three separate reconstructions: PCMP **liRi** ‘sound, voice’, PCEMP **liqə** ‘voice’, and PMP *liŋ. Of these, PCMP **liRi** is only otherwise supported by Yamdena **liri-n** ‘voice; language’ and **ŋé-liri** ‘uproar, clamour’. Unless more cognates are forthcoming, PCMP *liRi is probably spurious.).

na-lii (2) lii-k *Termanu*. 1) make a sound. 2) sound. (J:309)

na-lii *Korbafo*.

na-lii *Bokai*.

na-lii *Bilbaa*.

na-lii *Rikou*.

na-lii *Ba'a*.

na-lii *Tii*.

na-lii *Dengka*.

na-lii *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

liin *Semau Helong*. sound, tune, voice.

lii *Hawu*. say, speak, tell; voice, sound.

***lii2** *Morph*: ***boto_lii-k**. *Rote*. neck. *Etym*: *liqəR. [*irr. from PMP*: *ə > *i (assimilation to previous *i)]

boto_lii-k *Termanu*. neck. (J:59)

boto_lii-ʔ *Korbafo*.

boto_lii-k *Bokai*.

boto_lii-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

bo/lii-ʔ *Landu*. neck. (own field notes)

bo/lii-ʔ *Rikou*.

bo/lii-ʔ *Oepao*. neck. (own field notes)

boto_lii-k *Ba'a*.

boto_lii-k *Tii*.

boto_lii-ʔ *Oenale*.

***lii3** *Morph*: ***ka-lii**. *PnRote*. shy, wild. *Etym*: *liaR (Dempwolff 1938:96). [*irr. from PMP*: *a > i] [*History*: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) identify several putative cognates as 'Probably a Malay loan distribution.' and this is indeed possible. However, in the case of the Rote forms, borrowing from Malay does not seem likely due to the final vowel assimilation and diphthongisation of the initial prefix. While neither process is regular in the Rote languages, they would be even more unexpected if these terms were (recently) borrowed from Malay.]

kai|lii, ka-lii (2) kai|liis (3) kai|li~lii *Termanu*. 1) be or become wild or shy, e.g. a horse. 2) shy, wild. 3) make shy. (J:216,310)

ka-lii (2) kai|lii-ʔ *Korbafo*.

ka-lii (2) kai|lii-k *Bokai*.

ka-lii (2) ka-lii-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

ai|lii (2) ai|liis *Rikou*.

kai|lii (2) kai|liis *Ba'a*.

(2) kaliis *Tii*.

Out-comparisons:

melei *Hawu*. (J:310)

***liku1** *Rote*. strike, knock. *Pattern*: k-8/9.

liʔu *Termanu*. hit with a stick, etc. (J:316)

liʔu *Korbafo*.

liʔu *Bokai*.

liku *Bilbaa*.

liʔu *Rikou*.

liʔu *Ba'a*.

liʔu *Tii*.

liʔu *Dengka*.

Out-comparisons:

liku *Hawu*. (J:316)

***liku2** *PRM*. back of an object. *Etym*: *likud 'back'. *Pattern*: k-9.

liʔu_dea *Termanu*. that which a weaver uses to support their back, on Rote usually a strip of goat or deer skin. (J:317)

liʔu_dea *Korbafo*.

liʔu_dea *Bokai*.

liku_dea *Bilbaa*.

liʔu_deas *Rikou*.

liʔu_dea *Ba'a*.

liʔu_dea *Tii*.

liʔu_deat *Dengka*.

niʔu-n *Kotos Amarasi*. the back part of a blade (incl. swords, knives, machetes, etc.), which is not sharp. [*Note*: **kotif** = 'back (of person)'.]

niʔu-n (2) an-niʔu (3) am-koti-f =kau, am-niʔu-f =kau *Molo*. 1) back of a knife or machete. 2) hit something with the back of a knife or machete. 3) you turn your back to me. *Usage*: parallelism. (M:374)

Out-comparisons:

likun *Semau Helong*. out, outside.

liku *East Tetun*. carry on the back (a person). (Mo:131)

***lili** *Morph*: ***lili-k**. *PRM*. wax. *Etym*: *lilin 'beeswax'.

lili-k *Termanu*. wax. (J:313)

lili-ʔ *Korbafo*.

lili-k *Bokai*.

lili-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

lili-ʔ *Rikou*.

lili-k *Ba'a*.

lili-k *Tii*.

lili-ʔ *Dengka*.

lili-ʔ *Oenale*.

niin|k *Ro'is Amarasi*. wax, candle.

nini|k *Kotos Amarasi*. wax, candle.

nini|k *Molo*. beeswax. (M:371)

nini|k *Kusa-Manea*. wax, candle.

Out-comparisons:

lilin *East Tetun*. wax. (Mo:131)

***lilis** *nRM*. kind of tree. *Calophyllum teysmannii*. [Semantics: vague Rote semantics.]

kai/lili-k *Termanu*. kind of tree. (J:216)

kai/lili-ʔ *Korbafo*.

kai/lili-k *Bokai*.

kai-lili-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

ai *lili-ʔ* *Rikou*.

ai/lili-k *Ba'a*.

(**kai/lili-k** ?) *Tii*.

<**ninis**> *Amfo'an*. kind of tree. *Calophyllum teysmannii*. (M:371)

***lilo** *PRM*. gold, silver. [irr. from *PRM*: vowel metathesis in Meto *iCo > oCi]

lilo *Termanu*. gold, silver. (J:313)

lilo *Korbafo*.

lilo *Bokai*.

lilo *Bilbaa*.

lilo *Rikou*.

lilo *Ba'a*.

lilo *Tii*.

lilo *Dengka*.

lilo *Oenale*.

noni *Kotos Amarasi*. silver; bridewealth.

noni *Molo*. silver, silver coins. (M:382)

Out-comparisons:

lila (2) lil muti? (2) lil mea *Semau Helong*. 1) bridewealth. 2) silver. 3) gold.

***lima**₁ *PRM*. five. *Etym*: *lima.

lima *Termanu*. five, fifth. (J:313f)

lima *Korbafo*.

lima *Bokai*.

lima *Bilbaa*.

lima *Rikou*.

lima *Ba'a*.

lima *Tii*.

lima *Dengka*.

lima *Oenale*.

nima *Ro'is Amarasi*. five.

nima *Kotos Amarasi*. five.

nima *Molo*. five. (M:370)

niam *Kusa-Manea*. five.

Out-comparisons:

lima *Semau Helong*. five.

lima *East Tetun*. five. (Mo:131)

lima *Kemak*. five.

wolima *Kisar*. five.

lomi *Hawu*. five.

***lima**₂ *Morph*: ***ka-lima-k**. *PRM*. hand/arm. *Etym*: *qa-lima.

lima-k *Termanu*. hand, arm of a person or ape, forepaws of a crocodile. (J:314)

lima-ʔ *Korbafo*.

lima-k *Bokai*.

lima-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

lima-ʔ *Landu*. hand, arm. (own field notes)

lima-ʔ *Rikou*.

lima-k *Ba'a*.

lima-k *Tii*.

lima-ʔ *Dengka*.

lima-ʔ *Oenale*.

nimi-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. arm/hand.

ʔ|**nima-f** *Kotos Amarasi*. arm/hand.

<**nima-f**> *Molo*. hand (in general). (M:370)

ʔ|**nima-f** *Baikeno*. arm/hand. (Charles E. Grimes pers. comm.)

nima-f *Kusa-Manea*. arm/hand.

Out-comparisons:

ima *Semau Helong*. hand, arm. [irr. from *PMP*: *l > Ø]

lima-(n) *East Tetun*. arm, hand. (Mo:131)

limar *Kemak*. hand, arm.

lima *Kisar*. hand, arm.

***lino** *PRM*. tree. *Grewia salutaris*. *Etym*: *qanilaw 'tree *Grewia* species'. [Sporadic: consonant metathesis *nVI > *lVn.]

lino *Termanu*. kind tree. Grewia salutaris. (J:314) (Heyne 1950:1060, cxlviii)

lino *Korbafo*.

lino *Bokai*.

lino *Bilbaa*.

lino *Rikou*.

lino *Ba'a*.

lino *Tii*.

lino *Dengka*.

lino *Oenale*.

<nino> *Amfo'an*. small crooked tree. Antidesma ghaesembilla. [Semantics: This may be a chance resemblance given the lack of an exact semantic match between the Meto and Rote forms.] (M:371)

***lise** *nRM*. shore tree with edible nuts. Terminalia catappa. Etym: *talisy. [irr. from PRM: *e > a in Termanu, Korbafo and Ba'a]

lisa, lise *Termanu*. kind of tree, the ketapang. Terminalia catappa. (J:315)

lisa, lise *Korbafo*.

lise *Bokai*.

lise *Bilbaa*.

lise *Rikou*.

lisa *Ba'a*.

lise *Tii*.

nisa? *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of big tree the seeds of which are medicinal. [Note: **?nisa?** 'gebang palm seeds (traditionally used as a kind of marble)'.]

<nisa> (2) ?[nisa]? =ma ?fenu *Molo*. 1) kind of tree. Sterculea foetidea. (M:372) 2) medicine for women especially during pregnancy and childbirth. (M:374)

***lisum** *PRM*. kind of plant with fruit. [Semantics: vague semantics.]

li~lisu-k *Termanu*. kind of plant called the *terong utan* in Kupang, that is the wild eggplant or aubergine. [Semantics: Heyne

(1950:1345, cxlvii) gives <lilisoe olana> as Solanum melongena = 'eggplant'.] (J:315)

li~lisu-? *Korbafo*.

li~lisu-k *Bokai*.

li~lisu-? *Bilbaa*.

li~lisu-? *Rikou*.

li~lisu-k *Ba'a*.

li~lisu-? *Dengka*.

li~lisu-? *Oenale*.

<nisum> (2) <nisume> *Molo*.

1) kind of tree. Ficus subglauca M.Dr. (M:372) [Semantics: This tree appears to have first been identified by Meijer Drees (1950).]

2) kind of tree. Myristica species. (M:373)

***loba** *PRM*. kind of bark used to make clothing.

loba *Termanu*. kind of tree bark that is used for sarongs, etc., it is supplied by foreign traders. (J:318)

loba *Korbafo*.

loba *Bokai*.

loba *Bilbaa*.

loba *Rikou*.

loba *Ba'a*.

loba *Tii*.

loba *Dengka*.

loba *Oenale*.

<noba> *Molo*. kind of dried bark used to make clothing mixed with <baukulu> [OE = Morinda citrifolia]. (M:376)

Out-comparisons:

lu^{ba} *Hawu*. (J:318)

<loba> *Kambera*. kind of tree only found in the area of Parai Marapu in East Sumba. The bark and leaves are used to make a red dye for yarn and textiles. Peltophorum pterocarpum. (On:243)

***lobo** *Rote*. tire out, hurt.

na-lobo (2) lobo *Termanu*. hurt, tire out. [Semantics: Both forms have the same meaning.] (J:319)

na-lobo *Korbafo*.

na-lobo *Bokai*.

na-lobo *Rikou*.

na-lobo *Ba'a*.

na-lobo *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

lobo *Hawu*. tire oneself out.
(J:319)

***lode** *PRM*. stick out. [*irr. from PRM: *e*
> *o* in Meto; **l* = *l* in Meto (expect *n*)]
[*Form*: regular **d* > ***l* /**l*_ in Meto.]
maa=na lode~lode (2) lode-k
maa~maa *Termanu*. 1) his tongue
sticks out, hangs out (e.g. like a dog
that is hot). 2) stick your tongue
out. (J:319)

lode~lode *Korbafo*.

lode~lode *Bokai*.

lode~lode *Bilbaa*.

role~role *Rikou*.

lode~lode *Ba'a*.

lode~lode *Tii*.

lode~lode, lo~lode *Dengka*.

lode~lode *Oenale*.

n-lolok maa-f (2) mata-n na-
tlolo (3) lolo-n (4) po?a-n
lolo-n *Molo*. 1) someone sticks
their tongue out. (M:284) 2) he
has a bulging eye-ball. (M:xlvi) 3)
neck artery. (M:284) 4) cavity
in the neck, or the Adam's apple.
(M:284)

***lodo** *Morph: *lodo-k. PRM*. straight,
right. [*Form*: regular **d* > ***l* /**l*_ in
Meto (and Helong).]

lo~lodo-k *Termanu*. right, without
curves. (J:320)

lo~lodo-? *Korbafo*.

lo~lodo-k *Bokai*.

lo~lodo-? *Rikou*.

lo~lodo-k *Ba'a*.

lo~lodo-k *Tii*.

lo~lodo-? *Dengka*.

na-m|nono, na-nono (2) m|nono|?
Kotos Amarasi. 1) straighten,
correct. 2) straight, correct.

m|nono|? *Molo*. agree, fair/honest.
(M:327)

m|nono|? *Kusa-Manea*. straight.

Out-comparisons:

lolo *Semau Helong*. straight;
righteous, just, fair.

mololo *Kisar*. straight.

kelolo, lolo *Hawu*. straighten,
stretch out.

kəlodo *Lamaholot, Lewotobi*.
straight. [*Note*: language of
east Flores ISO 639-3 [slp].]
(Keraf 1978:296)

***loe₁** *Rote*. go down.

loe *Termanu*. go down; be low. (J:320)

loe *Korbafo*.

loe *Bokai*.

loe *Bilbaa*.

loe *Rikou*.

loe *Ba'a*.

loe *Tii*.

loe *Dengka*.

Out-comparisons:

loe *Hawu*. lowness. (J:320)

***loe₂** *PRM*. listless, weak.

ao=na ma-sa-loe *Ba'a*. feel tired,
weak or listless. [*Form*: **ao=na** =
'body-3GEN'.] (J:725)

ao=na ma-sa-loe *Dengka*. feel tired,
weak or listless. (J:725)

ao=na ma-sa-loe *Oenale*. feel tired,
weak or listless. (J:725)

masaloe *Dela*. weak.

na-noe-b-a? *Kotos Amarasi*. listless,
apathetic, weak.

Out-comparisons:

°noe~noe *Semau Helong*.
powerless, weak, faint, soft,
weak-willed, wimp. *Borrowed*
from: Meto (shown by *irr. *l* =
n correspondence).

***lohas** *CERM*. equipment, outfit, clothes.

lo?as *Termanu*. equipment. (J:318)

loa-? *Bilbaa*.

pake_nohas *Kotos Amarasi*. clothes.

na-nohas *Molo*. equips oneself.
(M:378)

Out-comparisons:

lohas *Semau Helong.* ornament, decoration.

***loke** *PRM.* hang. *Pattern:* k-8' (*k = k in Dengka; expect ? or Ø).

lo~lo?e (2) lo?e~lo?e (3) belo?e
Termanu. 1) hang up, hang onto.
2) be hanging, be hanging up. 3) be hanging, be hanging up; for plural subjects. (J:321)

lo~lo?e *Korbafo.*

lo~lo?e *Bokai.*

lo~loke *Bilbaa.*

lo~lo?e *Rikou.*

lo~lo?e *Ba'a.*

lo~lo?e *Tii.*

lo~loke-? *Dengka.*

na-k|noe *Kotos Amarasi.* hang, suspend. [*Form:* Jonker (1908:321) gives Meto **noen** 'hung up'.]

Out-comparisons:

loen *Semau Helong.* hanging, suspended, holding on.

***lole1** *PRM.* kind of tuber. [*irr. from PRM:* *l > r/l in Meto (expect n); *e > i in most Meto]

lole *Termanu.* kind of tuber. (J:323)

lole *Korbafo.*

lole *Bokai.*

lole *Bilbaa.*

lole *Ba'a.*

lole *Tii.*

lole *Dengka.*

lole *Oenale.*

rauk rori *Ro'is Amarasi.* sweet potato.

rauk rori *Kotos Amarasi.* sweet potato.

lole *Fatule'u.* tuber.

loli *Molo.* sweet potato. (M:284)

Out-comparisons:

lole *Semau Helong.* taro.

***lole2** *PRM.* spool.

lole *Termanu.* a) (rotating) tool used to wind up yarn; they wind yarn on the yarn winder. b) a completely different tool, a kind of frame over which the threads are stretched out

in order to be divided into **boak** and on which they are tied for dyeing them according to their different patterns. (J:323)

lole *Korbafo.*

lole *Bokai.*

lole *Rikou.*

lole *Ba'a.*

lole *Tii.*

lole *Oenale.*

?|none|? (2) na-?|none|? *Kotos Amarasi.* 1) pulling device (e.g. for drawing water from a well).
2) lower down with a rope.

<an-none>(2) ?|none|? *Molo.*
1) winds up (cotton thread).
2) spool used to wind cotton thread. (M:381)

Out-comparisons:

slale *Helong.* [*irr. from PRM:* *o = a correspondence] (J:323)

***lolir** *Rote.* roll, roll around, wallow.

[*Note:* Jonker (1908:324) gives potential cognates in languages of South Sulawesi: Makassar **doli?** 'wallow', **loli?** 'roll (n.)', Bentong **lulir** 'roll', and Bugis **lole** 'roll up'.]

loli *Termanu.* wallow, roll around. (J:324)

loli *Korbafo.*

loli *Bokai.*

loli *Bilbaa.*

loli *Rikou.*

loli *Ba'a.*

loli *Tii.*

loli (2) lolil *Dengka.* 1) wallow, roll around. 2) roll, like a stone. (J:324)

loli (2) lolir *Oenale.* 1) wallow, roll around. 2) roll, like a stone. (J:324)

Out-comparisons:

lolit (2) klolit *East Tetun.* 1) roll or bowl along. (Mo:132)
2) roll. (Mo:110)

***lolo1** *PRM.* liana, vine.

lolo_kode-k *Termanu.* kind of creeper. (J:326)

lolo *Dengka.* kind of winding plant. (J:726)

lolo_neʔet *Oenale*. kind of winding plant. (J:726)

nono *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of jungle rope, liana; descent group. ‘lianas which encircle the clan and hence symbolize its fertility’ (Schulte Nordholt 1971:116).

<nono mofa> (2) <nono panu> (3)
<nono siumloli> *Molo*. 1) kind of liana. 2) kind of liana. 3) kind of liana with a white stamen the sap of which can be used successfully to quickly heal fresh wounds. (M:384)

Out-comparisons:

lolo *Helong*. (J:726)

***lolo₂** *PRM*. stretch out.

lolo *Termanu*. stretch out. (J:325)

lolo *Korbafo*.

lolo *Bokai*.

lolo *Bilbaa*.

lolo *Rikou*.

lolo *Ba'a*.

lolo *Tii*.

lolo *Dengka*.

lolo *Oenale*.

n-nono *Kotos Amarasi*. push string/thread back and forth, thread string.

n-nono *Molo*. **bifec-l an-nono mau (beti)** the woman applies striped rows along the middle part of the *ikat* woven cloth. (M:384)

Out-comparisons:

lolo *Semau Helong*. separate string. Separate the string for preparation for making a pattern for weaving cloth.

lolo *Hawu*. stretch out the yarn. (J:325)

***lolo₃** *PRM*. beam, stick.

lolo *Termanu*. the beams that lie across the **lungus**. (J:326)

lolo *Korbafo*.

lolo *Bokai*.

lolo *Bilbaa*.

lolo *Rikou*.

lolo *Ba'a*.

lolo *Tii*.

lolo *Dengka*.

nono|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. stick, rod, pole; counter for long round things (e.g. cigarettes, needles).

Out-comparisons:

lolo *Semau Helong*. stick, a counter for long things like: sticks, rope, chain.

lollo *Kisar*. stalk part of a plant.

wulu lolo *Central Lembata*. long wooden stick that is part of the loom. (Hanna Fricke pers. comm.)

lolo-n *Central Lembata*. leaf. (Fricke 2015)

***lolo₄** *Morph: *lolo-k. PRM*. long impression in the ground; watercourse, valley.

oe_lolo-k (2) lolo-k *Termanu*. 1) drain, water duct. 2) path impression or groove in the ground, where the plant growth has been trodden down as the result of wildlife constantly following this path; strait. (J:326)

oe_lolo-ʔ *Korbafo*.

oe_lolo-k *Bokai*.

oe_lolo-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

oe_lolo-ʔ *Rikou*.

oe_lolo-k *Ba'a*.

oe_lolo-k *Tii*.

oe_lolo-ʔ *Dengka*.

oe_lolo-ʔ *Oenale*.

nono-n (2) ʔ|nono|f *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) dry area associated with water, e.g. the beach, or a river bed. [Note: Jonker (1908:326) gives Meto **oe loloʔ** and Amarasi **oe rorok**.] 2) valley.

<oe_nono> (2) <anono kekfok am anasi kekfok> *Molo*. 1) riverbed. 2) the hidden deep river valley, the dense primeval forest. (M:384)

Out-comparisons:

°oelolo, °oenonon (2) °hnono *Helong*. 1) drain, water duct. (J:326) 2) valley. Borrowed from: Meto.

***lombu** *Rote*. moss, algae, duckweed.
Etym.: *lumbu ‘plant species’ (Only supported by four putative reflexes in Blust and Trussel (ongoing)). [*irr. from PMP*: *u > *o]

lopu (2) lopu lee (3) lopu tasi
Termanu. 1) moss. 2) duckweed. 3) algae. (J:328)

lopu *Korbafo*.

lopu *Bokai*.

lopu *Bilbaa*.

lopu *Rikou*.

lompu *Ba'a*.

lombu *Tii*.

lombu *Dengka*.

lombu *Oenale*.

***loo₁** *Rote*. stretch. [*Form.*: *Rote* *lele ‘time’ also shows the correspondence of Helong *d* = *Rote* *l*.]

loo *Termanu*. with outstretched hand to keep, reach or indicate. (J:317)

loo *Korbafo*.

loo *Bokai*.

loo *Bilbaa*.

loo *Rikou*.

loo *Ba'a*.

loo *Tii*.

loo *Dengka*.

loo *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

doonj *Semau Helong*. stretch, reach out.

lolo, kelolo *Hawu*. stretch out. [*Note*: Jonker (1908:317) includes this form preceded by the note ‘compare’ indicating that he does not consider it definitely cognate.] (J:317)

***loo₂** *Rote*. household.

uma_loo (2) na-uma_na-loo
Termanu. 1) house in more or less metaphorical senses. 2) s/he has a household; also: establish a household, marry. (J:667)

ume_loo *Dela*. household.

°loo? *Kusa-Manea*. village. Borrowed from: probably Tetun.

Out-comparisons:

loʔon, loʔo *East Tetun*. holiday house, country house. (Mo:133)

loʔo (2) tuur loʔo *Fehan Tetun*.
 1) a few houses together, not yet a **leo** (hamlet). 2) live separate from other people (not in a village).

***lopo** *CERM*. shelter, hut. *Etym.*: *ləpaw. [*irr. from PMP*: *ə > *o; *p = p] [*irr. from PRM*: *l > *Meto* r/l] [*History*: The irregularities at every level indicate that this term probably spread by borrowing.]

lopo *Termanu*. shelter or hut made in a tree or in dry fields. (J:327)

lopo *Rikou*. small shelter made in a tree or in a field where someone can stay to protect crops. (own field notes)

ropo *Kotos Amarasi*. Timorese round social activity houses. typically with a cone shaped roof made from thatch supported on four poles and without any walls. Not commonly built in Amarasi anymore. Borrowed from: *Rote* (shown by *irr.* *l = r correspondence).

lopo *Molo*. round house without walls, especially as a storehouse with attic. (M:286)

Out-comparisons:

klobor, klobar *East Tetun*. hut with a gable roof. [*irr. from PRM*: b = *p correspondence] (Mo:110)

ləpo *Sika*. house. *Usage*: *Hewa* dialect/variety. (Fricke 2014:96)

***losa** *Rote*. arrive, reach, until, up to.

losa *Termanu*. arrive, reach, until, up to. (J:328)

losa *Korbafo*.

losa *Bokai*.

losa *Bilbaa*.

losa *Rikou*.

losa *Ba'a*.

losa *Tii*.

losa *Dengka*.

losa *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

lisu *Semau Helong*. arrive.
[irr. from PRM: *o = i
correspondence]

loha, lohe *Hawu*. until. (J:328)

***lua|t** PRM. cave, cavern. See: ***lea**. Etym:
*luaj (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) also
reconstruct formally similar PWMP
*Ruqaj ‘hole, pit’ and PMP *lubaj
‘hole, pit’). [Form: Final *t in wRM
could be from the nominalising suffix
t, though why this should be attached
to this form is inexplicable.]

lua-k *Ba'a*. hole, cave. [Form: with
variant **lea-k**.] (J:727)

luat *Dengka*. hole, cave. (J:727)

luat *Oenale*. hole, cave. (J:727)

nuat *Ro'is Amarasi*. cave.

nuat *Kotos Amarasi*. cave.

nuat *Molo*. cave. (M:389)

Out-comparisons:

uee lu?a *East Tetun*. well. [irr.
from PMP: Ø > ?] (Mo:134)

***lua₁** PRM. boiling water, boil over.
Etym: *luab ‘swell up, as boiling rice;
boil over’.

lua *Termanu*. 1) rise up of water when
boiling, boiling, boiling over.
(J:331)

lua *Korbafo*.

lua *Bokai*.

lua *Bilbaa*.

lua *Rikou*.

lua *Ba'a*.

lua *Tii*.

lua *Dengka*.

lua *Oenale*.

na-?nua *Kotos Amarasi*. boiling
water that is bubbling away.

<**na-nua**> *Molo*. boils. (M:388)

Out-comparisons:

lua *Semau Helong*. boil over.

***lua₂** Morph: ***lua-k**. PRM. wide, open,
openness. Etym: *luqaR ‘outside, wide
open spaces; loose’. [irr. from PRM:
*u > o in Rote]

loa-k *Termanu*. open, wide; openness,
width. (J:318)

loa-? *Korbafo*.

loa-k *Bokai*.

loa-? *Bilbaa*.

loa-? *Rikou*.

loa-k *Ba'a*.

loa-k *Tii*.

loa-? *Dengka*.

loa-? *Oenale*.

mai/nua|n *Ro'is Amarasi*. openness;
opportunity. [Form: source of
initial **mai** currently unknown.]

mai/nua|n *Kotos Amarasi*. openness;
opportunity.

mai/nua|n *Molo*. wide, open. [Form:
Middelkoop (1972:299) has a note:
‘cf. **meonuan**’, which presumably
is an alternate form, but no separate
entry is given for this form.]
(M:299)

ma|nu?a-k *Kusa-Manea*. outside.
[Sporadic: *VV-k > *VV? >
V?V in Kusa-Manea (perceptual
metathesis) followed by attachment
of semi-productive **-k** suffix.]

Out-comparisons:

bluaj *Semau Helong*. wide,
broad, open.

luan *East Tetun*. wide, broad; vast,
extensive. (Mo:134)

***lui** PRM. pull off, remove.

lui *Termanu*. take off something that
hangs. (J:332)

lui *Korbafo*.

lui *Bokai*.

lui *Bilbaa*.

lui *Rikou*.

lui *Ba'a*.

lui *Tii*.

lui *Dengka*.

lui *Oenale*.

n-nui *Kotos Amarasi*. take off (e.g. footwear).

n-nui *Molo*. pulls off (a horse's bridle), pulls/fetches (bark from a tree). (M:389)

Out-comparisons:

luit *East Tetun*. graze lightly, hardly touching; to remove or take out adroitly. (Mo:134)

***luku**₁ *PRM*. watch silently, brood. *Pattern*: k-9.

lu?u *Termanu*. brood. (J:336)

lu?u *Korbafo*.

lu?u *Bokai*.

luku *Bilbaa*.

lu?u *Rikou*.

lu?u *Ba'a*.

lu?u *Tii*.

lu?u *Dengka*.

lu?u *Oenale*.

n-nu?u *Kotos Amarasi*. watch silently, spy.

n-nu?u *Molo*. brood (of chicken). (M:388)

Out-comparisons:

ruku *Hawu*. [*Sporadic*: *l = r correspondence] (J:336)

luku**₂ *Rote*. bent and strengthless limb, paralysed. *Etym*: *lukut 'roll or crumple up'. *Pattern*: k-7/8' (Dengka *k* Oenale ? correspondence, expect either *k* in both for pattern 7, or ? in both for pattern 8). [*History*: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) also reconstruct PWMP *lu(ŋ)kuq 'bend, curve' (supported by two reflexes), and POc *lukun 'bend, as an arm or leg'.] [*Semantics*: Jonker relates the first part of Termanu **lu?u-la?a-k** with **lu?u** 'brood' (luku**), **lu?u** 'lie down (said of animals)', and **lu?u** 'kneel down'. Of these, the semantic connection between the last form and 'bent' is particularly plausible.]

lu?u-k, **lu?u ei-k** (2) **lu?u-la?a-k** (3) **na-ma-lu?u** *Termanu*. 1) bent and strengthless, paralysed said of the arm or especially the legs. 2) =

lu?u-k. 3) become bent and lame (of the legs), get bent and lame legs. (J:337)

lu?u-? (2) lu?u-la?a *Korbafo*.

lu?u-k (2) luku-laka-? *Bokai*.

(2) **luku-laka-?** *Rikou*.

lu?u-k (2) lu?u-la?a-k *Ba'a*.

lu?u-k (2) lu?u-la?a-k *Tii*.

(2) **luka-laka-? ?** *Dengka*. [*Form*: Jonker explicitly states the first *a* in this form may be a spelling error instead of *u*.]

mamalu?u *Oenale*.

***luli** *PRM*. taboo.

luli-k *Termanu*. forbidden, holy. (J:323)

luli-? *Korbafo*.

luli-k *Bokai*.

luli-? *Bilbaa*.

luli-? *Rikou*.

luli-k *Ba'a*.

luli-k *Tii*.

luli-? *Dengka*.

luli-? *Oenale*.

nuni *Kotos Amarasi*. taboo.

nuni (2) na-nuni *Molo*. 1) taboo. 2) observes a taboo. (M:167)

Out-comparisons:

luli *Semau Helong*. taboo, avoided, forbidden, sacred.

luli *Kisar*. taboo.

luli, **lulik** *East Tetun*. prohibited, forbidden; sacred, holy. (Mo:135)

luli *Tokodede*. holy, sacred. (Schapper and Wellfelt 2018:109)

***lulun** *PRM*. roll up, as a mat. *Etym*: *lulun (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) also reconstruct PCMP *lunu 'roll up' on the basis of the Termanu form and a Kei cognate. This reconstruction is unconvincing given that most varieties of Rote have **lulu**). [*Sporadic*: consonant metathesis *IVn > *nVI in Termanu, Bokai, and Ba'a with subsequent loss of final consonant.]

[Form: The hypothesis of consonant metathesis to explain the otherwise irregular medial *n* in these languages provides language internal evidence that the PRM form had a final **n*.]

lunu *Termanu*. roll something up so it makes a roll. (J:334)

lulu *Korbafo*.

lunu *Bokai*.

lulu *Bilbaa*.

lulu *Rikou*.

lunu *Ba'a*.

lulu *Tii*.

lulu *Dengka*.

lulu *Oenale*.

n-nunu *Kotos Amarasi*. roll up.

<**na-nunu**> *Molo*. roll up (e.g. mat). (M:393)

Out-comparisons:

lulu *Semau Helong*. scroll, roll, waves, fold.

lulun *East Tetun*. roll up, wrap up. (Mo:135)

***lunu** *Morph: *ka-lunu*. *PRM*. wooden headrest, pillow. *Etym: *qalunan*. [irr. from *PMP: *a > *u* (sporadic assimilation)] [*Sporadic: consonant metathesis *IVn > nVI* in *Bilbaa*, *Rikou*, and *wRote*.] [Form: The initial element has apparently been reanalysed in Rote as connected with reflexes of ***kaiu** ‘wood’. The out-comparisons point to pre-RM ***ka(r)lun[u/i]*.]

kai/lunu *Termanu*. cushion, pillow. (J:216)

kai/lunu *Korbafo*.

kai/lunu *Bokai*.

kai/nulu *Bilbaa*.

(?)**ai/nulu-?** *Rikou*.

kai/lunu *Ba'a*.

kai/lunu *Tii*.

(?)**ai/nulu-?** *Dengka*.

?**ai/nulu-?** *Oenale*.

?**ai/nulu** *Dela*. pillow.

aka/?nunu? *Kotos Amarasi*. pillow.

<**aka/nunu**>, <**aika/nunu**> *Molo*. pillow. (M:13)

Out-comparisons:

kluni (2) hluni *Semau Helong*.

1) pillow. 2) use pillow.

kluni, karluni *East Tetun*. pillow or cushion. (Mo:111, 102)

luni *Kisar*. pillow.

kaluni, kluni *Ili'uun*. head-rest, pillow. (dJ:120)

karagulu *Buru*. pillow, headrest. (Grimes and Grimes 2020:474)

***lusə** *PRM*. wrap. [irr. from *PRM: *s > ?* in *Termanu*, *Korbafo*, and *Ba'a*]

na-lu?e *Termanu*. wrap inside, cover. (J:332)

na-lu?e *Korbafo*.

na-luse *Bokai*.

na-luse *Bilbaa*.

na-luse *Rikou*.

na-lu?e *Ba'a*.

na-luse *Tii*.

na-lusa *Dengka*.

na-lusa *Oenale*.

n-tai nusa *Kotos Amarasi*. wrap.

[Form: **tais** = ‘sarong’, **na-tai** = ‘clothe (v.)’.]

Out-comparisons:

lose *Semau Helong*. wrap, cover.

***lutə** *Morph: *lutə-k*. *CERM*. firebrand, burning piece of wood. *Etym: *alutən*.

ha?i_lute-k *Termanu*. burning piece of wood, a firebrand. (J:335)

ha?i_lute-? *Korbafo*.

ai_nuta|? *Kotos Amarasi*. burning stick, firebrand.

nuta|? *Molo*. glowing stumps of firewood or torch. (M:395)

***lutu₁** *Morph: *ma-lutu-k, *na-lutu*. *PRM*. fine, delicate, tiny.

lutu-k (2) na-lutu *Termanu*.

1) delicate, small. 2) make something fine, crush, from that: make into pieces, spoil, wreck, ruin. (J:335f)

lutu-? (2) na-lutu *Korbafo*.

lutu-k (2) na-lutu *Bokai*.

lutu-? (2) na-lutu *Bilbaa*.

lutu-? (2) na-lutu *Rikou*.

lutu-k (2) na-lutu *Ba'a*.

lutu-k (2) na-lutu *Tii*.

lutu-ʔ (2) na-lutu, na-mba-lutu-ʔ

Dengka.

lutu-ʔ (2) na-lutu *Oenale*.

m|nutu|ʔ (2) na-nutu *Kotos*

Amarasi. 1) fine, tiny. 2) slice (typically something like vegetables).

na-nutu *Molo*. cuts (meat). (M:395)

Out-comparisons:

blutuʔ (3) tai lutu-n *Semau*

Helong. 1) tiny, teeny, small. 3) intestine.

lotu(k) *East Tetun*. thin, slender, dainty. (Mo:134)

blutuk *Sika*. small, short. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:24)

***lutuʔ** *Rote*. pile up. *Etym*: **lutuR (pre-RM). [*History*: Schapper (2020) discusses the distribution and semantics of this cognate set throughout Linguistic Wallacea in some detail.]

lutu_batu *Termanu*. pile up stones, especially under a tree in order to make a resting place there; piled up heap of stones. (J:335)

lutu_batu *Korbafo*.

lutu_batu *Bokai*.

lutu_batu *Bilbaa*.

lutu_mpatu *Ba'a*.

lutu_mbatu *Dengka*.

lutu_mbatu *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

lutag *Helong*. pile up. [*irr. from PMP*: *u > a] (J:335)

lutu *East Tetun*. hedge, fence, enclosure, circular mud wall. (Mo:135)

lutu(r) *Ili'uun*. pile up. (dJ:125)

lukur *Kisar*. rock wall.

lotar *Central Lembata*. pile up. (Hanna Fricke pers. comm. December 2017)

***luu** *Morph*: *lu~luu. *Rote*. castor-oil plant. [*Semantics*: Whether the semantic connection between 'casuarina tree' and 'castor-oil-plant' is

likely or not is unclear to me as a non-botanist, but the two trees do appear to have similar seed pods. Given the existence of ***kaiou** being retained in Rote with the meaning 'casuarina tree', as well as geographically distant Helong and Dadu'a having this meaning, it seems most likely that the pre-Rote referent was casuarina tree with semantic shift in Rote.]

lu~luu(-k) *Termanu*. castor-oil-plant (called *damar jarak* in Kupang).

Ricinus communis. [*Semantics*: Scientific identification from Heyne (1950:928).] (J:330)

lu~luu *Korbafo*.

lu~luu *Bokai*.

lu~luu *Bilbaa*.

lu~luu *Rikou*.

lu~luu-k *Ba'a*.

lu~luu *Tii*.

lu~luu *Dengka*.

lu~luu *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

luu *Funai Helong*. casuarina tree.

luu *Dadu'a*. casuarina tree. (Penn 2006:98)

<lolo> *Hawu*. castor-oil-plant.

Ricinus communis. (Heyne 1950:928)

***luuʔ** *PRM*. tears (crying). *Etym*: *luhəq. [*irr. from PMP*: *ə > *u (sporadic assimilation)]

luu *Termanu*. tears. *Usage*: Normally compounded with **oe** 'water' in all Rote lects except Bilbaa. (J:330)

luu *Korbafo*.

luu *Bokai*.

luu *Bilbaa*.

luu *Rikou*.

luu *Ba'a*.

luu, luul *Dengka*.

luu *Oenale*.

nuu *Kotos Amarasi*. tears.

maat nuu *Molo*. tears. (M:387)

Out-comparisons:

luun *East Tetun*. tears. (Mo:135)

M - m

***ma** *PRM.* and. *Etym.* *mah.

ma *Termanu.* and. (J:338)

ma *Korbafo.*

ma *Bokai.*

ma *Bilbaa.*

ma *Rikou.*

ma *Ba'a.*

ma *Tii.*

ma *Dengka.*

ma *Oenale.*

=**ma** *Ro'is Amarasi.* and.

=**ma** *Kotos Amarasi.* and. [*Form.* This connector has vowel initial forms =**ama** or =**am** after consonant final roots. The final vowel is often deleted yielding =**m.**]

ma *Molo.* and. (M:295)

***maa** *Morph.* ***maa-k.** *PRM.* tongue.

Etym. *maya (PCOMP).

maa-k *Termanu.* tongue. (J:338)

maa-? *Korbafo.*

maa-k *Bokai.*

maa-? *Bilbaa.*

maa-? *Landu.* tongue. (own field notes)

maa-? *Rikou.*

maa-k *Ba'a.*

maa-k *Tii.*

maa-? *Dengka.*

maa-? *Oenale.*

maa-f *Ro'is Amarasi.* tongue.

maa-f *Kotos Amarasi.* tongue.

maa-f *Molo.* tongue (in general). (M:373)

ma~maa-f *Kusa-Manea.* tongue.

Out-comparisons:

mee *Semau Helong.* tongue.

***mada** *Rote.* dry up, evaporate. *Etym.* *maja.

mada *Termanu.* dry up, dried up. (J:339)

mada *Korbafo.*

mada *Bokai.*

mada *Bilbaa.*

mada *Rikou.*

mada *Ba'a.*

mada *Tii.*

mada *Dengka.*

mada *Oenale.*

mada-? *Dela.* dry.

Out-comparisons:

mara(n) *East Tetun.* dry, dried (not wet); v. to dry. (Mo:139)

***mado** *PRM.* medicinal plant. *See:*

***mode.** [*irr. from PRM:* *a > o in Rote (probably influence from ***modo**)]

[*Form.* The evidence from Tetun favours reconstructing penultimate *o with an irregular sound change in Meto rather than reconstructing *a with an irregular sound change in Rote.]

modo *Termanu.* medicine, also magic. (J:359)

modo *Korbafo.*

modo *Bokai.*

modo *Bilbaa.*

modo *Rikou.*

modo *Ba'a.*

modo *Tii.*

modo *Dengka.*

modo *Oenale.*

maro *Kotos Amarasi.* tobacco.

malo *Molo.* medicine. (M:302)

Out-comparisons:

modo *East Tetun.* vegetables, leaves or fruit cooked as vegetables. [*irr. from PRM:* *a = o correspondence (same as Rote)] (Mo:142)

***mae** *PRM.* itchy tuber. *Amorphophallus* species. *Etym.* **maya (pre-RM). [*Semantics:* 'A few species [of *Amorphophallus*] are edible as 'famine foods' after careful preparation to remove irritating chemicals ... These small to massive plants grow from a subterranean tuber.' ('Amorphophallus', *Wikipedia*. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amorphophallus. Accessed 17 September 2020).]

mae *Termanu*. kind of crop that causes itchiness, with thick tubers that are cooked and given to pigs as food. (J:340)

mae *Korbafo*.

mae *Bokai*.

mae *Bilbaa*.

mae *Rikou*.

mae *Ba'a*.

mae *Tii*.

mae *Dengka*.

mae *Oenale*.

mae *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of large taro which makes people itch, it can be used to feed to pigs.

lauk mae(-l) (2) ?lali_mae Molo.
1) *kembang bangkai* = because the flower emits the stink of a corpse. *Amorphophallus variabilis*. (M:296) 2) kind of taro. (M:260)

Out-comparisons:

maek *Fehan Tetun*. short tree people used to eat when very hungry; you swell up when you eat it, it is **katar** (itchy). It must be rendered **miis** [OE = 'insipid'] before eating. It has a flowering stem about a foot long, which is red at the top, yellow in the middle and green at the bottom.

maek *East Tetun*. plant with edible tubers. (Mo:136)

mai *Tokodede*. taro (both edible and non-edible). (Klamer 2002)

madʒa *Bima*. kind of taro. [Note: For *y > dʒ compare *bayu > **mbadʒu** 'pound' and *layaR > **lodʒa** 'sail'.] (Ismail et al. 1985:85)

***mae2** *PRM*. shy, ashamed, embarrassed. *Etym*: *ma-həyaq (PCEMP *mayaq).

mae *Termanu*. ashamed, embarrassed. (J:340)

mae *Korbafo*.

mae *Bokai*.

mae *Bilbaa*.

mae *Rikou*.

mae *Ba'a*.

mae *Tii*.

mae *Dengka*.

mae *Oenale*.

n-mae *Kotos Amarasi*. shy, ashamed, embarrassed.

mae *Molo*. ashamed. (M:295)

Out-comparisons:

mae *Semau Helong*. shame, ashamed, shy, embarrassed, bashful.

moe *East Tetun*. be shy, modest, demure, reserved, or coy; *n*. shyness, bashfulness, etc. [irr. from PMP: *a > o] (Mo:142)

***mafo** *PRM*. cool, shadow. [Form: Meto **hafo?** 'shadow' and Bima **hawo** 'shadow' point to earlier **kabo. The forms with initial *m* could be reflexes of **ma-kabo.]

ma~mafo *Termanu*. become cold, not be warm anymore, of water to the taste, etc. (J:341)

ma~mafo *Bokai*.

ma~mafo *Rikou*.

ma~mafo *Ba'a*.

ma~mafo *Tii*.

mafo~mafo (2) mafo-? *Dengka*.

1) become cold, not be warm anymore, of water to the taste, etc. (J:341) 2) shadow. (J:729)

mafo (2) mafo-? *Oenale*. 1) become cold, not be warm anymore, of water to the taste, etc. (J:341) 2) shadow. (J:729)

na-mafo *Ro'is Amarasi*. shelter, took shade.

mafo?, **hafo?** *Kotos Amarasi*. shadow.

mafo? *Molo*. shadow. (M:297)

Out-comparisons:

mahan, mahon *East Tetun*. shade, out of the sun. (Mo:136)

mavo (2) rai-mavo *Hawu*.

1) cool. 2) shadow. (J:341)

ma~maho *Dhao*. shade.

- <**maü**> *Kambera*. shade, shelter, house; look for shade or shelter. (On:283)
- <**mawu**> *Anakalang*.
- <**mawo**> *Weyewa*. [Note: also in Mamboru.]
- <**magho**> *Kodi*.
- hau** *Ende*. shade.
- mawo (2) hawo** *Bima*. 1) cool down, no longer hot, shady. (Ismail et al. 1985:87)
2) shadow. (Ismail et al. 1985:39)
- ***mafu** *PRM*. drunk. *Etym*: *ma-buhək.
- mafu-k** *Termanu*. drunk. (J:341)
- mafu-ʔ** *Korbafo*.
- mafu-k** *Bokai*.
- mafu-ʔ** *Bilbaa*.
- mafu-ʔ** *Rikou*.
- mafu-k** *Ba'a*.
- mafu-k** *Tii*.
- mafu-ʔ** *Dengka*.
- mafu** *Oenale*.
- n-mafu** *Ro'is Amarasi*. drunk.
- n-mafu** *Kotos Amarasi*. drunk.
- n-mafu** *Molo*. drunk. (M:297)
- Out-comparisons**:
- mahu** *Semau Helong*. drunk.
- ***mai** *nRM*. come. *Etym*: *ma(R)i.
- mai** *Termanu*. come, arrive. (J:341)
- mai** *Korbafo*.
- mai** *Bokai*.
- mai** *Bilbaa*.
- mai** *Rikou*.
- mai** *Ba'a*.
- mai** *Lole*. (Zacharias et al. 2014)
- mai** *Tii*.
- Out-comparisons**:
- maa** *Semau Helong*. come.
- mai** *East Tetun*. come; *prep.* to, for, here. (Mo:136)
- mai** *Hawu*. come.
- ***mali** *Morph*: ***mali-k**. *nRM*. bitter. [*irr. from PRM*: *i > e in Meto]
- mali-ʔ** *Rikou*.
- mali-ʔ** *Ba'a*. bitter. (J:730)
- mali-k** *Tii*.

<**an-mane**> *Molo*. brackish. [*Form*: This form may have a double final vowel; e.g. **manee**, if so it is unrelated and probably belongs under ***rekət**.] (M:305)

Out-comparisons:

maliʔ, madiʔ *Funai Helong*. bitter, salty.

maliʔ *Semau Helong*. bitter.

***malis** *PwRM*. laugh, smile. *Etym*: *malip (PCEMP). [*Form*: expected *p > s / _# (§3.5.1.3).]

mali *Dengka*. laugh. (J:730)

mali *Oenale*. laugh. (J:730)

n-mani (2) n-mainis *Ro'is Amarasi*.

1) laugh. 2) laugh at someone. [*Form*: As discussed in §3.5.1.3, the transitive form **n-manis** 'laugh at' appears to attest final *p > s / i _#. The pair **na-mtau** 'scared' and **na-mtaus** 'scared of' (see ***taku**) also has transitivity marked with final s and in this case the final s of the transitive form may also be a reflex of the final consonant of PMP *takut.]

n-mani (2) n-manis *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) laugh. 2) laugh at someone.

n-mani (2) n-manis *Amfo'an*.

1) laugh. 2) laugh at someone.

ma~main (2) ma~mains=aa

Kusa-Manea. 1) laugh. 2) laugh at someone.

Out-comparisons:

mali *Semau Helong*. laugh.

mari *Dhao*. laugh at.

mari (2) mare *Hawu*. 1) laugh (pl.). 2) laugh (sg.).

***malus** *PRM*. betel-pepper. [*History*: The non-AN Timor languages have cognates of this form. Heston (2017:82) lists: Makasae **malu**, Makalero **malu**, Fataluku **maluh**, and Oirata **malu**.]

malu *Termanu*. betel (fruit or leaf).

Usage: poetic. (Fox 2016b:31)

maunus *Ro'is Amarasi*. betel-pepper.

manus *Kotos Amarasi*. betel-pepper.

manus *Molo*. betel-pepper. (M:308)

manus *Kusa-Manea*. betel-pepper.

Out-comparisons:

malus *East Tetun*. betel-pepper (*Piper Betel*) whose leaves are used for chewing with betel nut and lime (**mama**). (Mo:138)

maul *Mambae, South*. betel, can be either the leaf of the pepper. (Grimes et al. 2014b:98)

malu *Ili'uun*. betel-pepper. (dJ:126)

maluh, malhu *Kisar*. betel vine with bean-like fruit.

malus *Welaun*. leaf of the betel vine.

malu *Central Lembata*. betel vine. (Fricke 2015)

***mama** *PRM*. chew betel nut. *Etym*: *mamaq ‘chew without intending to swallow, as betel nut; premasticated food to give to an infant; premasticated food’.

mama *Termanu*. chew, especially chew betel nut. (J:344)

mama *Korbafo*.

mama *Bokai*.

mama *Bilbaa*.

mama *Rikou*.

mama *Ba'a*.

mamah *Lole*. chew betel nut. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

mama *Tii*.

mama *Dengka*.

mama *Oenale*.

mama-t *Ro'is Amarasi*. betel quid.

n-mama *Kotos Amarasi*. chew betel.

mama *Molo*. chew betel nut. (M:303)

Out-comparisons:

mama *East Tetun*. wad of **bua**, **malus**, **hoo ahu** (betel nut, betel-pepper, and lime), which is put in the mouth for chewing. (Mo:138)

mama *Kisar*. eat betel.

***mamər** *PRM*. garden, orchard. [*Sporadic*: *ə > e /σ_# in wRote (perhaps *ə > *a > e /_#).] [*Form*: Final *r (rather than *n) reconstructed on the basis of Kupang Malay **mamar**.]

mame-k *Termanu*. garden made in the bush where one plants coconuts, betel nut trees, betel pepper and so on. (J:344)

mame-? *Korbafo*.

mame-k *Bokai*.

mame-? *Bilbaa*.

mame-? *Rikou*.

mame-k *Ba'a*.

mame-k *Tii*.

mame-? *Dengka*.

mame-? *Oenale*.

maman *Kusa-Manea*. grove, orchard, garden with trees (coconut, betel nut, betel-pepper, etc.).

Out-comparisons:

maman *Helong*. (J:344)

mamar *Kupang Malay*. grove, orchard; garden with trees. (own field notes)

***mamis** *Rote*. sweet. *Etym*: *ma-həmis.

mamis (2) **mami** *Termanu*.

1) insipid, sweetish, flavourless.

2) insipid, sweetish of taste, sweet or flavourless of water. (J:344)

mami-? *Korbafo*.

mami? *Bokai*.

mami-? *Bilbaa*.

mamis *Rikou*.

mamis *Ba'a*.

mamis *Tii*.

mamis *Dengka*.

mamis *Oenale*.

***mana** *PRM*. relativiser. [*History*: Possibly connected with PMP *maRuqanay (*PRM* ***mane**, and ***mone**). Particularly as reflexes of *maRuqanay have the form ***mana** (as a result of antepenultimate vowel reduction) in some phrases in Rote languages (see ***mane**).] [*Semantics*: In the Rote languages **mana** appears to

introduce relative clauses with a verb, while **foo** is used for other relative clauses.]

mana *Termanu*. used with verbs to form compounds with verbal meaning when the verb is used attributively or independently. (Jonker 1915:106)

mana *Rikou*. relativiser.

mana *Lole*. relativiser. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

mana *Tii*. relativiser; that, who, which. (Grimes et al. 2014a)

mana *Dela*. relativiser.

mana? *Ro'is Amarasi*. generic counter/classifier (occurs after the noun and before the numeral). **hiin aan-r=ini mana? haa**

mana? *Kotos Amarasi*. generic counter/classifier, less often used than in *Ro'is Amarasi*.

mana? *Molo*. counter/classifier. **bia mana? mese?** a single cow (M:304)

***mana**₂ *Morph*: ***mana-k**. *Rote*. place.

ma~mana-k (2) mana-k *Termanu*.

1) place in which to store something or put something in.

2) used in certain expressions for **ma~mana-k**. (J:345)

ma~mana-? *Korbafo*.

ma~mana-k *Bokai*.

ma~mana-? *Bilbaa*.

ma~mana-? *Rikou*.

ma~mana-k *Ba'a*.

ma~mana-k *Tii*.

ma~mana-? *Dengka*.

ma~mana-? *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

mana *Semau Helong*. place.

mna [məna] *Wersing*. village. [Note: non-Austronesian language of Alor ISO 639-3 [kvw].] (Schapper 2017:262)

ma'na: *Sawila*. village. [Note: non-Austronesian language of Alor ISO 639-3 [swt].] (Schapper 2017:262)

***ma(n)at** *PRM*. orphan.

ana_maa-k *Termanu*. orphan. (J:339)

ana_maa-? *Korbafo*.

ana_maa-k *Bokai*.

ana_maa-? *Bilbaa*.

ana_maa-? *Rikou*.

ana_maa-k *Ba'a*.

ana_maa-k *Tii*.

ana_maa-? *Dengka*.

ana_ma *Oenale*.

ana ma *Dela*. orphan.

kome? manat *Kotos Amarasi*. orphan. [Note: Jonker (1908:339) gives *Meto* **aan manat**.]

manat (2) <hau mana> *Molo*.
1) tame. (M:305) 2) planted the, tame tree. (M:304)

***mane** *Rote*. male, man. Doublet: ***mone**.

Etym: ***maRuqanay**. [History: *PRM* had two reflexes of ***maRuqanay**:

***mane** and ***mone**, both of which are attested in *wRote*, *Ba'a*, and *Tii*. The meaning of both forms was probably 'male, man' in *PRM*. Most of *Rote* lost ***mone**, *Meto* lost ***mane**, while *wRote*, *Ba'a* and *Tii* differentiated the semantics of the two terms.]

[Semantics: That semantic expansion to include 'king' had not occurred at the level of *PRM* is indicated by *Meto* in which **mone** has no hint of this meaning. Instead, *PRM* ***la?i** > **na?i-f** has undergone a similar, though non-identical, semantic expansion. However, the *wRote* forms in which reflexes of ***maRuqanay** are combined with apparent reflexes of ***Raya** (that is, **manae-?**/**monae-?**, etc.) which have the meaning 'big, great' indicate that expansion to 'big, great' may have occurred, from which 'king' would be easily derived.]

mane-k (2) mane (3) mane feu-k *Termanu*. 1) prince, king, princely. 2) male, of animals and certain plants. (J:345) 3) son-in-law. (J:134)

mane-ʔ (2) mane(-ʔ) (3) mana feu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

mane-k (2) mane (3) mana feu-k *Bokai*.

mane-ʔ (2) mane (3) mana feu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

mane *Landu*. king. (own field notes)

mane-ʔ (2) mane (3) mana feu-ʔ *Rikou*.

mane-k (2) mane *Ba'a*.

mane-k (2) mane *Tii*.

mane-ʔ (4) manae-ʔ (5) na-manae *Dengka*. 4) big. 5) **bisu=a na-manae** the wound is swollen up (J:735)

mane-ʔ *Oenale*.

mane-ʔ (4) manae-ʔ *Dela*. 1) king. 4) big, important. [*Form*: with variant **monae-ʔ**.]

Out-comparisons:

blane (2) blanen *Semau Helong*. 1) male (animal). 2) brother of a woman.

mane *East Tetun*. male, man; masculine. (Mo:139)

***maneu** *Morph*: ***maneu-k**, ***na-maneu**. *PRM*. bright, light. [*Sporadic*: consonant metathesis *mVn > *nVm in PwRM.] [*Form*: PwRM ***nameu**.] **neu-k (2) na-neu** *Termanu*. 1) bright, brightness. 2) make clear or pure. (J:394)

neu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

neu-k *Bokai*.

neu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

neu-ʔ *Rikou*.

neu-k *Ba'a*.

neu-k *Tii*.

meu-ʔ *Dengka*.

meu-ʔ *Oenale*.

meu-ʔ *Dela*. clean.

nmeu (2) meu? sine? *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) early morning, in two days. [*Form*: This form has possibly been re-analysed as verbal root with initial *n* interpreted as the 3SG agreement prefix. This may be the reason initial *n* does not occur on the second form.] 2) light (n.).

nmeu *Molo*. morning dawns. (M:322)

Out-comparisons:

mniu? *Funai Helong*. clean, pure, holy, undefiled.

niu? *Semau Helong*. clean, pure, holy, undefiled.

***manu** *PRM*. chicken. *Etym*: *manuk.

manu *Termanu*. fowl, chicken. (J:346)

manu *Korbafo*.

manu *Bokai*.

manu *Bilbaa*.

manu *Rikou*.

manu *Ba'a*.

manu *Tii*.

manu *Dengka*.

manu *Oenale*.

manu *Ro'is Amarasi*. chicken.

manu *Kotos Amarasi*. chicken.

manu *Molo*. chicken. (M:307)

manu *Kusa-Manea*. chicken.

Out-comparisons:

manu *Semau Helong*. chicken.

manu *East Tetun*. bird, a fowl (of any kind). (Mo:139)

***mangu** *Rote*. tired.

mangu (2) sota_magu-k *Termanu*. 1) tired. (Jonker 1915:53)

2) tiredness. **ana ha~hae huu ana mangu-naa-n seli** s/he rested because s/he was very tired (J:730)

mangu *Ba'a*. tired. (J:730)

mangu *Tii*.

mangu *Dengka*.

mangu *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

<**mànggilu**> *Kambera*. exhausted, tired. [*Note*: also in Mangili and Lewa.] (On:272)

<**màgilu**> *Anakalang*.

<mànggula> *Mamboru*.

<manggolo> *Kodi*.

***mangu**₂ *Rote*. dry fruit skin. *Etym*: *ma-Raju ‘dry’ (*ma-Raju only reconstructed for PCEMP. *Raju reconstructed for PMP). [*minority from PMP*: *ŋ > *ŋg] [*irr. from PRM*: *m > b in all Rote except Korbafo, Bokai, and Bilbaa; *ŋg > nd in wRote and Tii] [*Sporadic*: antepenultimate vowel reduction in Termanu, Bokai, Bilbaa, Rikou, and Dengka.] [*Semantics*: Ross (2003:227) reconstructs POc *maRajo/*Rajo with the meaning ‘become withered (of vegetation)’.]

baŋa_lou-k *Termanu*. dry fruit skin; also the ash of the burnt skin of a fruit (normally the fruit of the **nit**_{as} tress, *Sterculia foetida*), which is used to make the thread for weaving a little yellow or less white. (J:29)

maŋo_lou-ʔ *Korbafo*.

maŋa_lou-k *Bokai*.

maŋa_lou-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

baka_rou-ʔ *Rikou*.

baŋgu_lou-k *Ba'a*.

bandu_rou-k *Tii*.

banda_lou-ʔ *Dengka*.

bandu_rou-ʔ *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

maŋu *Hawu*. be dry. (J:29)

maŋo *Bima*. dry. (Ismail et al. 1985:86)

***masi** *PRM*. salty, salt. *Etym*: *ma-qasin.

masi (2) masi-k *Termanu*. 1) salty. 2) salt. (J:347f)

masi *Korbafo*.

masi *Bokai*.

masi *Bilbaa*.

masi *Rikou*.

masi *Ba'a*.

masi *Tii*.

masi *Dengka*.

masi *Oenale*.

maisi|k *Ro'is Amarasi*. salt.

masi|k *Kotos Amarasi*. salt.

masi|ʔ *Molo*. salt. [*Note*: Jonker (1908:347) gives Meto **masi** = ‘salty’.] (M:310)

Out-comparisons:

masin *Semau Helong*. insipid. [*Note*: **sila** = ‘salt’.]

masin *East Tetun*. salt. (Mo:139)

***masu** *Morph*: ***masu-k**. *PRM*. smoke. *Etym*: *ma-qasu (PCMP).

masu-k *Termanu*. smoke of fire, (tobacco); moreover: steam of hot water, of hot viands, exhaled vapour (as visible in cold weather), vapour which rises up out of the ground, mist, also drifting dust. (J:348)

masu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

masu-k *Bokai*.

masu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

masu-ʔ *Rikou*.

masu-k *Ba'a*.

masu-k *Tii*.

masu-ʔ *Dengka*.

masu-ʔ *Oenale*.

masu|ʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. smoke.

masu|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. smoke. [*Note*: **suma**ʔ ‘steam, vapour’.]

masu|ʔ *Molo*. smoke. (M:389)

Out-comparisons:

ai mahun *Ili'uun*. smoke. (dJ:111)

ai mahu *Kisar*. smoke.

***mata**₁ *Morph*: ***mata-k**. *PRM*. eye, face. *Etym*: *mata.

mata-k *Termanu*. eye, face. (J:348f)

mata-ʔ *Korbafo*.

mata-k *Bokai*.

mata-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

mata-ʔ *Landu*. eye, face. (own field notes)

mata-ʔ *Rikou*.

mata-k *Ba'a*.

mata-k *Tii*.

mata-ʔ *Dengka*.

mata-ʔ *Oenale*.

mata-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. eye.

mata-f (2) et mata-n *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) eye. 2) in front of.

mata-f *Molo*. eye (in general), a spy.
(M:312)

mata-f *Kusa-Manea*. eye.

Out-comparisons:

mata *Semau Helong*. eye.

mata-n *East Tetun*. the eyes.
(Mo:140)

mata *Welaun*. eye.

mada *Hawu*. eye.

***mata₂** *Morph*: ***mata-k**. *PRM*. raw, uncooked. *Etym*: *ma-hataq (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) make several reconstructions with similar forms and semantics.). [*Sporadic*: *a > e /_# in wRM.]

mata-k *Termanu*. raw, not well-done, (rarely: not cooked). (J:350)

mata-ʔ *Korbafo*.

mata-k *Bokai*.

mata-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

ma~mata-ʔ *Rikou*.

mata-k *Ba'a*.

mata-k *Tii*.

mate-ʔ *Dengka*.

mate-ʔ *Oenale*.

nau|maet *Ro'is Amarasi*. green.

n-mate (2) ma|mateʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) raw. 2) green.

mate-l *Amfo'an*. green, blue.

<**mate**> *Molo*. green, unripe, uncooked. (M:313)

Out-comparisons:

taa *Semau Helong*. raw, unripe, rare, crude.

matak *East Tetun*. green, still growing, immature; raw (not cooked), new, fresh (not stale); inexperienced. (Mo:140)

***mate** *PRM*. die, dead; thoroughly, extremely. *Etym*: *matay 'die; dead'.

mate (2) mate~mate *Termanu*. 1) die. 2) absolutely, thoroughly. (J:351)

mate *Korbafo*.

mate *Bokai*.

mate *Bilbaa*.

mate *Rikou*.

mate *Ba'a*.

mate *Tii*.

mate *Dengka*.

mate *Oenale*.

n-mate *Ro'is Amarasi*. die.

n-mate *Kotos Amarasi*. die, dead; extremely, very.

n-mate *Molo*. died. (M:313)

maet *Kusa-Manea*. die.

Out-comparisons:

mate *Semau Helong*. die.

mate *East Tetun*. die; to extinguish (fire); to wither, die (plants); to stop, or cease (machinery); dead, stopped. (Mo:140)

made *Hawu*. die, dead; thoroughly, forcefully.

***mau** *CERM*. kind of plant. [*Sporadic*: glottal stop insertion in *Meto*.] [*Semantics*: vague Rote semantics weakens reconstruction.]

mau *Termanu*. an unidentified plant or tree. *Usage*: poetic. [*Semantics*: Forms a parallel pair with **pole** (also an unidentified plant).] (Fox 2016b:33)

maʔu *Fatule'u*. grass.

maʔu *Molo*. grass, weed. (M:314)

***maus** *PRM*. tame, docile, domesticated. *Etym*: *maRus (own reconstruction) (PCEMP).

ka-maus (2) ka-mau (3) mata=n mau~mau *Termanu*. 1) tame, domestic. 2) be domestic. 3) he is not shy by nature (said of a person). (J:352)

ka-mau-ʔ *Korbafo*.

ka-mau-k *Bokai*.

ka-mau-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

ma~maus *Rikou*.

ka-maus *Ba'a*.

ka-mau-k *Tii*.

ma~maus *Dengka*.

ma~maus *Oenale*.

na-mausa-b (2) n-mau *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) domesticate.

2) domesticated, tame.

maus *Molo*. tame. (M:10)

Out-comparisons:

hmoa *Semau Helong*. tame, docile; tame. [Form: Connecting this form with *maRus requires irr. *R > Ø (expect l) and irr. *a > o. It may thus be a chance similarity.]

maus *Fehan Tetun*. tame (of animals, birds — not plants, people); can apply to wild animals too if they are unafraid of people (e.g. cuscus).

maus *East Tetun*. meek, mild, tame, domesticated. (Mo:140)

mhau *Waima'a*. meek, tame.

maru *Ili'uun*. tame. (dJ:127)

maru *Kisar*. tame animals.

mau *Bima*. tame, domesticated, of an animal; mild, gentle, of a person; also: accustomed to something. (Jonker 1893:51; Ismail et al. 1985:86)

maho, mahu *Buru*. tame, safe, comfortable, secure in the situation. (Grimes and Grimes 2020:578)

mamalu *Saparua*. tame, domesticated. [Note: language of Lease Islands ISO 639-3 [spr].] (van Hoëvell 1877:86, 111)

mamaru *Haruku*. tame, domesticated. (van Hoëvell 1877:86, 111)

(ma)maru *Kamarian*. soft, slow. (van Ekris 1864:306, 309)

mau *Alune*. [Note: language of west Seram, central Maluku ISO 639-3 [alp].] (van Ekris 1864:309)

malu *Asilulu*. [Note: also in Hatusua Kaibobo.] (van Ekris 1864:309)

ŋm^ha~ŋm^haru *Mota*. docile, manageable, tame. [Note: language of north Vanuatu ISO 639-3 [mtt].] (Codrington and Palmer 1896:66)

mom^hau *Lewo*. tame, quiet; heal over, of sore. [Note: language of south Vanuatu ISO 639-3 [lww].] (Malcolm Ross pers. comm. March 2017)

***mea** *PRM*. red. Etym: *ma-iRaQ. [Sporadic: *a > e /_# in wRM; *VV? > V?V in Amarasi (perceptual metathesis).]

mea *Termanu*. red (only used in particular expressions): **mege mea**, kind of reddish snake; **kuta mea**, kind of red tub; **dela mea**, kind of red fabric. [Note: **pilas** = 'red'.] (J:353)

mea *Korbafo*.

mea *Bokai*.

mea *Bilbaa*.

mea *Rikou*.

mea *Ba'a*.

mea *Tii*.

mee *Dengka*.

mee *Oenale*.

me?e *Ro'is Amarasi*. red.

me?e *Kotos Amarasi*. red.

mee? *Amanuban/Amanatun*. red.

Out-comparisons:

mea *Semau Helong*. red, brown. [irr. from PMP: *R > Ø (expect l)]

mean *East Tetun*. red (all shades). (Mo:140)

mea *Hawu*. red, reddish-brown.

***meda** *Morph*: *na-meda-k. *Rote*. wake up.

na-meda-k *Termanu*. wake up from sleep. (J:353)

na-meda-? *Korbafo*.

na-meda-k *Bokai*.

na-meda-? *Bilbaa*.

na-meda-? *Rikou*.

na-meda-k *Ba'a*.

na-meda-k *Tii*.

na-meda-? *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

melaŋ *Semau Helong*. restless, stay awake (to comfort the family of the dead).

***mee** *Morph*: ***na-ka-mee**. *PRM*. bleat.
[*Semantics*: onomatopoeia.]

na-ka-mee *Termanu*. bleat. (J:352)

na-ka-mee *Korbafo*.

na-ka-mee *Bokai*.

na-ka-mee *Bilbaa*.

na-mee *Rikou*.

na-ka-mee *Ba'a*.

na-ka-mee *Tii*.

na-ʔa-mee *Dengka*.

na-ʔa-mee *Oenale*.

na-ʔ|mee *Ro'is Amarasi*. bleat, like a goat.

na-ʔ|meʔe *Kotos Amarasi*. bleat, like a goat.

Out-comparisons:

mee *Semau Helong*. sheep's cry.

***mehi** *Morph*: ***na-la-mehi**. *PRM*. dream.
Etym: *ma-hipi (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct an alternate PCEMP form *mipi, presumably from *ma-hipi with deletion of the antepenultimate vowel. The reflexes in Timor attest earlier **mepi with *ahi > *ai > *e, thus *ma-hipi > **maipi > **mepi. Blust and Trussel (ongoing) also reconstruct PAN *Səpi, with the PMP reflex *həpi. The only MP form given supporting PMP *həpi is Tetun **mehi**. However, PMP *ə > o is regular in Tetun, thus showing that Tetun **mehi** is from earlier **mepi < PMP *ma-hipi. Whatever the validity of PAN *Səpi, putative PMP *həpi is probably spurious.). [*Sporadic*: consonant metathesis *lm > *ml > mn in most Meto.] [*Form*: The source of the initial *la in the verbal forms is currently unknown. Jonker (1915:136f) gives a number of other forms with a fossilised **la-** prefix.]

na-la-meʔi (2) **meʔi-s** *Termanu*.

1) dream. 2) dream (n.). (J:354)

na-la-meʔi *Korbafo*.

na-la-meʔi *Bokai*.

na-la-mei *Bilbaa*.

na-la-mei *Landu*. dream. (own field notes)

na-la-mei *Rikou*.

na-la-meʔi *Ba'a*.

na-la-meʔi *Tii*.

na-la-meni, **na-la-mein** *Dengka*.

na-la-mein *Oenale*.

na-la-mei-n (2) **mei-t** *Dela*.

1) dream (v.). 2) dream (n.).

na-mnei *Ro'is Amarasi*. dream.

na-mnei (2) **mnei-t** *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) dream (v.). 2) dream (n.).

na-mnai, **na-mnae** *Kopas*. dream.

u-nmaiʔ *Molo*. I dream. (M:348)

na-mnei *Kusa-Manea*. dream.

Out-comparisons:

meʔi *Fehan Tetun*. dream.

mehi *East Tetun*. dream; n. a dream. (Mo:141)

***mela** *Morph*: ***mela-k**. *Rote*. flea. *Etym*: *qatiməla. [*Sporadic*: *a > e / _# in wRote.] [*Form*: compounded with **teke** in nRote.]

teke/mela-k *Termanu*. flea. [*Form*: Initial **teke** occurs with at least two other biting insect terms, **tekefia-k** 'tick', **tekefua-k** 'kind of wasp'. It also occurs with **tekelaba-k** 'house gecko'.] (J:614)

teke/mela-ʔ *Korbafo*.

teke/mela-k *Bokai*.

teke/mela-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

teke/mela-ʔ *Landu*. flea. (own field notes)

teke/mela-k *Ba'a*.

mele-ʔ *Dengka*.

mele-ʔ *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

kmelaʔ *Funai Helong*. flea.

hmela *Helong*. (J:614)

(k)mela *East Tetun*. flea. (Mo:112,141)

taməla *Hawu*. (J:614)

***meni** *PRM*. fragrant, aromatic. *Etym*: **məŋi(R) (pre-RM). [*Form*: Final pre-RM **R is attested by Dadu'a and Ende. Ende, as a member of Central Flores, has sporadic lowering

of high vowels to mid before *R (Elias 2018:98f). On the other hand, Rote-Meto also should undergo *i > e /_*R, thus providing evidence against final pre-RM **R.] [History: Possibly connected with PMP *baŋəhih ‘fragrant’ with irr. *b > **m and sporadic antepenultimate *a > **ə. (This sporadic change is also attested in *panahik > *hene ‘climb’ and *saŋəlaR > *seŋa ‘fry’.) If the evidence for final **R in **məŋi(R) were strengthened, then the connection with PMP *baŋəhih would become even more tenuous.]

meni *Termanu*. fragrant, aromatic. (J:355f)

meni *Korbafo*.

meni *Bokai*.

meni *Bilbaa*.

meni *Rikou*.

meni *Ba'a*.

meni *Tii*.

meni *Dengka*.

ma-ʔa-meni-ʔ *Oenale*.

foo meni *Kotos Amarasi*. fragrant.

foo meni *Molo*. fragrant. (M:318)

fu/miin *Kusa-Manea*. fragrant.

Out-comparisons:

miŋis *Semau Helong*. delicious, tasty, pleasant, aromatic.

meki *Mambae, South*. fragrant (of flowers, food). (Grimes et al. 2014b:32)

kai-kmeni *Waima'a*. sandalwood.

ai-kmenih *Dadu'a*. sandalwood. (Penn 2006:36)

vuməŋi *Hawu*. fragrant, aromatic.

ʔare məŋe *Ende*. kind of fragrant paddy.

***meniz** *PnMeto*. sandalwood. *Sandalum album*. [Form: Given the importance of sandalwood as an early item of trade, this could be an early loan between Meto and Tetun before Meto *l > n.]

meni *Kotos Amarasi*. sandalwood tree. [Note: The Meto term for ‘fragrant’ is **foo meni** the second element of which is plausibly from **meni** ‘sandalwood’. There is independent evidence that Meto ***meni** is from earlier **məŋi(R).]

hau meni *Molo*. sandalwood. *Sandalum album*. (M:318)

Out-comparisons:

kameli(n) *East Tetun*. sandalwood genus. *Santalum*. (Mo:100)

***mendu** *PRM*. crush, grind. [irr. from *PRM*: *nd > ŋg in *Oenale*] [Form: An alternate solution would be to reconstruct ***menge** and posit irr. *ŋg > nd in *Rikou* and *Dengka*. Occam’s razor currently favours ***mendu** with only one irregular sound change. The *Kotos Amarasi* form would be regular from both ***mendu** or ***menge**. A Ro’s *Amarasi* reflex could decide between the two alternate reconstructions as it has *nd > r but *ŋg > k.]

me~mendu *Tii*. grind the teeth. (J:732)

na-la-me~mendu *Dengka*. break into pieces by rubbing. (J:732)

me~menge *Oenale*. grind the teeth. (J:732)

n-meku *Kotos Amarasi*. crush.

***menge** *PRM*. kind of red snake. [Form: Jonker (1908) connects the initial **me** with ***mea** ‘red’.]

meŋe *Termanu*. kind of reddish snake. (J:355)

meŋe *Korbafo*.

meŋe *Bilbaa*.

meke *Landu*. snake. (own field notes)

meke *Rikou*.

menge *Ba'a*.

menge *Tii*.

menge *Dengka*.

menge *Oenale*.

uu/meke *Ro’s Amarasi*. kind of snake. [Form: The source of initial **uu** is currently unknown. It also

is attested in Molo **u?sa** ‘viper’ given in Middelkoop (1972:592), see ***sa**.]

u/meke *Kotos Amarasi*. non-poisonous grass snake, typically red in colour.

u/meke *Molo*. rat snake. (M:587)

u/meek *Kusa-Manea*. snake.

Out-comparisons:

°**mege** *Dhao*. snake (generic).

Borrowed from: wRote **menge**.

***meo** *PRM*. cat. *Etym:* ***meoŋ* (pre-RM). [*Semantics:* onomatopoeia.]

meo *Termanu*. cat. (J:356)

meo *Korbafo*.

meo *Bokai*.

meo *Bilbaa*.

meo *Rikou*.

meo *Ba’a*.

meo *Tii*.

meo *Dengka*.

meo *Oenale*.

meo *Ro’is Amarasi*. cat.

meo *Kotos Amarasi*. cat.

meo *Molo*. cat. (M:319)

Out-comparisons:

meo *Dhao*.

meo *Hawu*.

meo-ŋao *Ngadha*. cat. (Djawanai 1995:Part 2, 332)

meoŋ *Sika*. cat. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:133)

meoŋ *Manggarai*. cat. (Verheijen 1967:319)

meoŋ *Balinese*. cat. [*Note:* language of Bali ISO 639-3 [ban].] (Bawa and Clynes 1995:Part 2, 332)

meoŋ *Sasak*. cat. [*Note:* language of Lombok ISO 639-3 [sas].] (Ali 1995:Part 2, 332)

meoŋ *Bugis*. cat. (Abas 1995:Part 2, 332)

meoŋ *Coastal Konjo*. cat. [*Note:* language of South Sulawesi ISO 639-3 [kjc].] (Friberg 1995:Part 2, 332)

***meo** *PnMeto*. warrior. [*History:* This term was probably spread by contact due to the cultural meaning, but the exact direction of spread cannot be confidently identified.]

meo *Kotos Amarasi*. warrior.

meo *Molo*. head-hunter. (M:318)

Out-comparisons:

meo *Semau Helong*. war chief; war lord.

meo *East Tetun*. desperado, thief, raiding warriors, etc. (Mo:141)

***meras** *PRM*. sick. *Etym:* *hapəjəs. [*irr. from PMP:* *ə > *a] [*minority from PMP:* *j > *r (expect *d)] [*Form:* Medial *j and final *ə cannot regularly account for the Keka or Helong reflexes thus indicating irregular **ma-pəjəs > pre-RM **ma-hədas.]

mela dai-k *Keka*. curse against an animal. (J:731)

mela *Dengka*. sick. (J:731)

mera *Oenale*. sick. (J:731)

means *Ro’is Amarasi*. sickness.

menas (2) na-mena *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) sickness. 2) sick, painful. [*Form:* regular final consonant deletion to derive verb from noun.]

menas (2) na-mena *Molo*. 1) sickness. 2) sick. (M:318)

Out-comparisons:

heda *Semau Helong*. sick. Implies feverish or fluish. Not all diseases are **heda**.

hera *Bolok Helong*. sick.

moras *East Tetun*. sick, in poor health; ill, sick, unwell; *n.* sickness, disease, ailment. (Mo:143)

°**moras** *Mambae, South*. sick, pain, hurt. *Borrowed from:* Tetun (shown by irr. *ə = o correspondence). (Grimes et al. 2014b:32)

pəda *Hawu*. sick.

pa~pəda, papəda *Dhao*. sick.

***mesa** *PRM.* alone. *Etym.* *ma-əsa.
[*Sporadic*: *a > e / _# in Meto.]

mesa *Termanu.* alone. (J:356)

mesa *Korbafo.*

mesa *Bokai.*

mesa *Bilbaa.*

mesa *Rikou.*

mesa *Ba'a.*

mesa *Tii.*

mesa *Dengka.*

mesa *Oenale.*

mese? *Ro'is Amarasi.* one.

mese? (2) **n-mese** *Kotos Amarasi.*

1) one, single. 2) be alone.

mese? *Molo.* one. (M:319)

mese? *Kusa-Manea.* one.

Out-comparisons:

mesa *Semau Helong.* one, as.

mesa(k) *East Tetun.* only, alone, solely. [*irr. from PMP*: *ə > e (expect o)] (Mo:141)

***metam** *PMeto.* black, civet. *Etym.* *ma-qitəm 'black; deep blue'. [*Semantics*: Balle and Cameron (2014) ascribe the etymology of Helong **maat mitaŋ** 'civet' (lit. 'black eye') to the dark fur around the eyes, its nocturnal behaviour, and ability to see at night. A similar explanation for the polysemy of Meto ***metam** is likely.]

meten *Ro'is Amarasi.* black; civet.

metan *Kotos Amarasi.* black; civet.

metan *Molo.* black; civet. (M:321)

metom *Kusa-Manea.* black; civet.
[*Sporadic*: *a > o / _m (compare PRM *hendam > PMeto ***eram** > **ekam** in Upper Manulea hamlet > **ekom** is Uabau' hamlet).]

Out-comparisons:

mitaŋ *Funai Helong.* black.
[*Note*: **maat mitaŋ** 'civet' lit. 'black eye'.]

mitaŋ *Semau Helong.* black.
[*Note*: **maat mitaŋ** 'civet' lit. 'black eye'.]

metan *East Tetun.* black. [*Note*: **laku** = 'civet'.] (Mo:141)

***meti** *PRM.* low, of the tide. *Etym.* *ma-qəti.

meti *Termanu.* low tide, tide in general, the part of a beach that is dry at low tide. (J:357)

meti *Korbafo.*

meti *Bokai.*

meti *Bilbaa.*

meti *Rikou.*

meti *Ba'a.*

meti *Tii.*

meti *Dengka.*

meti *Oenale.*

n-meti *Kotos Amarasi.* dry up (of water, including rivers).

n-meti *Molo.* dried up, low-tide. (M:322)

Out-comparisons:

miti *Semau Helong.* dry up, recede.

moti *East Tetun.* dry up, cease running (a current of water). (Mo:143)

meki *Kisar.* low tide.

***meto** *PwRM.* dry.

meto-? *Dengka.* dry, e.g. like wood. (J:733)

meto-? *Oenale.* dry, e.g. like wood. (J:733)

meto *Dela.* be(come) dry.

meto|? *Ro'is Amarasi.* dry.

meto|? (2) **n-meto** *Kotos Amarasi.*
1a) dry. 1b) indigenous, native, Meto. The second sense probably comes from phrases such as **atoin paah meto?** 'people of the dry land'. 2) be(come) dry.

meto|? *Molo.* dry. (M:322)

ma~meto|? *Kusa-Manea.* dry.

***midu** *Rote.* saliva, spit out. *Doublet*: ***ŋinu**. *Etym.* *qizuR 'saliva, spittle' (PWMP). [*irr. from PMP*: *z > *d (expect *d)] [*irr. from PRM*: vowel metathesis in nRote *iCu > uCi] [*Form*: The source of initial *m in ***midu** is not clear. It may be from the prefix *ma- though initial *ma-

qi would regularly yield *me*. Kedang has **iyu?** ~ **miyu?** attesting an optional initial *m (Samely 1991:221), and some varieties of Lamaholot have a form attesting earlier *təmidu: e.g. Lamalera **təmiro**, Lewokukun **təmidɟu** (Keraf 1978).] [*History*: Rote ***midu** is cognate with PMeto ***paŋinu** and both are ultimately probably connected with *qizuR, but it is not possible to reconcile the initial *m = *paŋ correspondence and combine them into one set attesting a single PRM reconstruction.]

mudi *Termanu*. spit, spit out. (J:364)

mudi *Korbafo*.

mudi *Bokai*.

mudi *Bilbaa*.

mudi *Rikou*.

mudi *Ba'a*.

mudi *Tii*.

milu *Dengka*. saliva, spit out. (J:364, 733)

miru *Oenale*. saliva, spit out. (J:364, 733)

Out-comparisons:

ilu *Hawu*. saliva, spittle.

m-miri (2) miri~miri *Onin*.

1) spit (imperative form). (Smits and Voorhoeve 1992:118)

2) saliva. [*Note*: language of the Bomberai Peninsula ISO 639-3 [oni].] [*Form*: regular PMP *u > i /_(C)#, but irregular *R > Ø (expect *R > r).] (Smits and Voorhoeve 1992:94)

***mii** *Morph*: ***ka-mii**. PRM. urine. *Etym*: *kəmiq. [*irr. from PRM*: *ii > oe in nRote (probably influence from oe 'water')]

moe *Termanu*. make water, urinate. (J:360)

moe *Korbafo*.

moe *Bokai*.

moe *Bilbaa*.

moe *Rikou*.

moe *Ba'a*.

moe *Tii*.

mii *Dengka*. piss. (J:733)

mii *Oenale*. piss. (J:733)

mii (2) miis *Dela*. 1) urinate. 2) urine.

k|mii *Ro'is Amarasi*. urine.

k|mii (2) na-k|mi?i *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) urine. 2) urinate.

mii *Amanuban/Amanatun*. urine.

mii-ɟ *Kopas*. urine.

mii-ɟ *Fatule'u*. urine.

<**mi**> *Molo*. urine. (M:323)

k|mii-r *Timaus*. urine.

mii (2) ma~mii-f *Kusa-Manea*.

1) urine. 2) bladder.

Out-comparisons:

mii *Semau Helong*. urine.

mii (2) mii-n *East Tetun*.

1) urinate (more polite to say

li?ur besik). 2) urine. (Mo:142)

n-omi *Kisar*. pee.

***mina** PRM. delicious, comfortable, nice; fat, grease, oil. *Etym*: *miñak 'fat, grease; ointment'.

mina (2) ma-mina (3) balamina

Termanu. 1) oil, melted fat.

(J:357) 2) fatty from there =

malada ['delicious'] (with which it is usually combined), tasty.

3) delicious. (J:358)

mina *Korbafo*.

mina *Bokai*.

mina *Bilbaa*.

mina *Rikou*.

mina *Ba'a*.

mina *Tii*.

mina *Dengka*.

mina *Oenale*.

mina? (2) na-mina *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) oil. 2) comfortable, nice, delicious.

mina? (2) na-miin *Molo*. 1) fat, oil.

2) delicious. [*Form*: metathesised form of **na-mina**.] (M:323)

(2) **na-mian** *Kusa-Manea*. delicious.

[*Form*: metathesised form of **na-mina**.]

Out-comparisons:

mina *Semau Helong*. oil, fat.

- mina** *East Tetun*. oil, fat, grease. (Mo:142)
- namina** *Kisar*. delicious, sweet.
- miina** *Wetan*. sweet. [Note: language of southwest Maluku, member of Luang language/dialect cluster ISO 639-3 [lex].] (de Josselin de Jong 1987)
- ***miu** *Morph*: ***na-ka-miu**. *PRM*. whistle (through the air).
- na-ka-miu** *Termanu*. whistle like a fired bullet. (J:358)
- na-ka-miu** *Korbafo*.
- na-ka-miu** *Bokai*.
- na-ka-miu** *Bilbaa*.
- na-miu** *Rikou*.
- na-ka-muu** *Ba'a*.
- na-ʔa-muu** *Dengka*.
- na-ʔa-muu** *Oenale*.
- na-k|miu** *Meto*. (J:358)
- Out-comparisons:**
- <**miu**> (2) <**kamiu**> *Kambera*. whizzing sound of a thrown stone. [Note: also in Mangili.] (On: 291, 155)
- <**mi'u**> *Lewa*.
- <**piu**> *Weyewa*.
- ***m|kaka** *PnMeto*. open-mouthed, agape. *Etym*: **ŋaŋa*. [minority from PMP: **ŋ* (> **ŋ*) > **k*; **ŋ* (> **ŋ*) > **k* (expect **n*)]
- na-m|kaka** *Kotos Amarasi*. open-mouthed, agape, speechless, amazed.
- na-m|kaka** *Molo*. open the mouth, amazed. (M:324)
- ***mneas** *PMeto*. husked rice. *Etym*: **bəRas* ‘rice between harvesting and cooking; husked rice’. [Note: The Meto and Kemak forms both have irregular initial **b* > *m* and are probably borrowed before Meto underwent **r* > **l* > *n*. The direction of borrowing is unclear.] [minority from PMP: **R* (> **r*) **n*] [Sporadic: consonant metathesis **aR* > **ne*.] [History:

Various irregularities in nearly all languages indicate that reflexes of **bəRas* have spread by contact.]

- mneas** *Ro'is Amarasi*. husked rice.
- mneas, mneas** *Kotos Amarasi*. husked rice.
- mnees** *Kusa-Manea*. hulled rice.

Out-comparisons:

ael beas *Semau Helong*. uncooked rice. [irr. from PMP: **R* > Ø (expect *l*)]

foos *East Tetun*. uncooked de-husked rice. [History: This form is mostly regular from **bəRas*.] (Mo:36)

resa brea *Tokodede*. rice plant. (Klamer 2002)

mreas, meras *Kemak*. rice (husked, uncooked). [irr. from PMP: **b* > *m*; **R* > *r* (expect Ø)]

baa breas *Galolen*. rice (husked, uncooked). [irr. from PMP: **R* > *r* (expect Ø)]

***mode** *Rote*. tobacco. See: ***modo**.

mode *Termanu*. tobacco, both the plant and readymade for use. (J:359)

mode *Korbafo*.

mode *Bokai*.

mode *Bilbaa*.

mode *Rikou*.

mode *Ba'a*.

mode *Tii*.

mode *Dengka*.

mode *Oenale*.

***modo** *Morph*: ***modo-k**. *PRM*. yellow, green. *Etym*: ***mozo* (pre-RM). [History: possibly connected with PMP **muda* ‘young (of fruits); immature; light (of colours)’.]

mo~modo-k *Termanu*. yellow, also: green, blue, (in this meaning not in all varieties of Rote); pale, yellowish of the face. (J:360)

mo~modo-ʔ *Korbafo*.

mo~modo-k *Bokai*.

mo~modo-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

mo~modo-ʔ *Rikou*.

mo~modo-k *Ba'a*.

mo~modo-k *Tii*.

mo~modo-ʔ *Dengka*.

mo~modo-ʔ *Oenale*.

modo-ʔ *Dela*. blue, green.

moro|ʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. yellow.

moro|ʔ (2) k|moro-f *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) yellow. 2) egg yolk.

molo|ʔ (2) k|molo|ʔ *Molo*. 1) yellow.

(M:329) 2) egg yolk. (M:222)

moroʔ *Kusa-Manea*. yellow.

Out-comparisons:

hmolo *Semau Helong*. poisonous green snake species. [*Form*: Jonker (1908:360) gives Helong **liti molo** 'brass'.]

modok (2) samodo *East Tetun*.

1) yellow, green (Mo:142).

2) green tree snake. (Mo:166)

mosonj *Ili'uun*. blue, green. (dJ:128)

mosonj *Perai*. green. [*Note*: language of Wetar Island ISO 639-3 [wet].] (Hinton 2000:122)

moso *Tugun*. green. (Hinton 2000:122)

(mo~)moti *Roma*. green. [*Form*: Taber (1993:418) has Roma [momotʃe], which would be underlying **mo~moti** + **-e** '3SG' → **momotye** according to the analysis in Steven (1991).] (Steven 1991:42)

mot~motni *Luang*. green. [*Note*: language of southwest Maluku ISO 639-3 [lex].] (Taber 1993:418)

moro *Bima*. greenish. (Jonker 1893:52)

<múru> *Kambera*. green, fresh, young. (On:295)

<moru> *Anakalang*. [*Note*: also in Mamboru.]

<moro> *Kodi*. [*Note*: also in Weyewa.]

***mofa** *PRM*. have grey hair. *Etym*: *ma-quban.

mofa *Termanu*. have grey hair or become grey. (J:360)

mofa *Korbafo*.

mofa *Bokai*.

mofa *Bilbaa*.

mofa *Rikou*.

mofa *Ba'a*.

mofa *Tii*.

mofa *Dengka*.

mofa *Oenale*.

mofaʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. grey hair, white hair.

<na-k|mofa> (2) <ʔnaak mofa>

(3) <nono mofa> *Molo*.

1) greybeard. 2) kind of bird.

3) kind of liana with a white flower.

(M:327)

***mofu** *PRM*. fall. [*irr. from PRM*: *f > (?*h) > ʔ in Rote]

mofu *Termanu*. fall, fall out. (J:363)

mofu *Ba'a*.

mofu *Dengka*.

mofu *Oenale*.

n-mofu *Ro'is Amarasi*. fall.

n-mofu *Kotos Amarasi*. fall.

n-mofu *Molo*. falls. (M:328)

mouf (2) mofut *Kusa-Manea*. 1) fall. 2) drop.

Out-comparisons:

mou *Mambae, South*. fall (over), fall (down), fall (off). [*irr. from PRM*: *f = Ø correspondence] (Grimes et al. 2014b:33)

mou *Bima*. fall. (Ismail et al. 1985:92)

***mola** *Morph*: ***mola-k**. *PRM*. node, joint. [*irr. from PRM*: *l > Ø Meto; glottal stop insertion in Amarasi]

mola-k *Termanu*. joint, node. (J:361)

(mole-ʔ ?) *Korbafo*.

mola-k *Bokai*.

mola-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

mola-ʔ *Rikou*.

mola-k *Ba'a*.

mola-k *Tii*.

mola-ʔ *Dengka*.

mola-ʔ *Oenale*.

moʔo|k *Kotos Amarasi*. section of something long, e.g. the section between the joints of a finger or bamboo. Usually refers to something that is a tube shape.

<moa(n)> *Molo*. joint, node. (M:527,545,586)

***mone** *PRM*. male, man. *Doublet*:

***mone**. *Etym*: *maRuqanay ‘male’.

[*History*: PRM had two reflexes of *maRuqanay: ***mane** and ***mone**. Both of which are attested in wRote, Ba’a and Tii. The meaning of both forms was probably ‘male, man’ in PRM. Most of Rote lost ***mone**, Meto lost ***mane**, while wRote, Ba’a and Tii differentiated the semantics of the two terms.]

mone_feu-k *Ba’a*. son-in-law. *Lit*: ‘new male’. (J:134)

mone_feu-k *Tii*. son-in-law. *Lit*: ‘new male’. (J:134)

mone *Dengka*. male, of animals and certain plants. (J:345, 734)

mone (2) monae-ʔ *Oenale*. 1) male, of animals and certain plants. (J:345, 734) 2) big, many. (J:735)

mone (2) monae-ʔ *Dela*. 1) male. 2) big, important. [*Form*: with variant **manae-ʔ**.]

mone *Ro’is Amarasi*. husband, male.

mone (2) moen feʔu *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) husband, male. 2) opposite sex sibling’s son, son-in-law. *Lit*: ‘new male’.

mone *Molo*. husband, male. (M:330)

mone *Kusa-Manea*. husband.

Out-comparisons:

mone *Hawu*. man, male.

***mone|ʔ** *PMeto*. outside. *Doublet*: ***muri**.

Etym: *ma-udəhi ‘behind, last’ (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PCOMP *m-udi. A PMeto doublet with (regular) *au > o is required to account for the Meto forms meaning

‘outside’.). [*Form*: The initial syllable and medial consonant are regular from *ma-udəhi > PRM ***more-k**. Final *əhi > e is possibly irregular, though the only other reflex is *binəhiq > **fini** ‘seed’. There is a conceptual link in Atoni though between **moneʔ** outside and **mone** ‘male’ and this folk-etymology may have led to final e rather than i.]

mone|ʔ *Ro’is Amarasi*. outside.

mone|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. outside.

mone|ʔ *Molo*. outside. (M:330)

Out-comparisons:

molin *Fehan Tetun*. outside, excrement, urine, defecate. [*irr*. from PMP: *d > l]

***mono** *PnMeto*. stupid.

n-mono *Kotos Amarasi*. stupid.

mono *Molo*. dumb. (M:331)

Out-comparisons:

mono *Bolok Helong*. dumb, unable to speak.

monon *Ili’uun*. stupid. (dJ:128)

***monu** *Rote*. fall.

monu *Termanu*. fall, fall off, fall out. (J:362)

monu *Korbafo*.

monu *Bokai*.

monu *Bilbaa*.

monu *Rikou*.

monu *Ba’a*.

monu *Tii*.

monu *Dengka*.

Out-comparisons:

monu *East Tetun*. fall. (Mo:143)

monu *Waima’a*. fall.

***moo** *Morph*: ***na-ka-moo**. *PRM*. hold in lips.

na-ka-moo *Termanu*. hold or take something between one’s lips or in closed mouth. (J:358)

na-ka-moo *Korbafo*.

na-ka-moo *Bokai*.

na-ka-moo *Bilbaa*.

na-moo *Rikou*.

na-ka-moo *Ba’a*.

na-ka-moo *Tii*.

na-ʔa-moo *Dengka*.

na-ʔa-moo *Oenale*.

na-ʔ|moo *Kotos Amarasi*. put in the mouth but not swallow.

***mopu** *Morph*: ***ka-mopu-k**. *PRM*. old, dead palm tree. [*irr. from PRM*: *p > Ø in Korbafo and Oenale; *m > mb in Oenale] [*Form*: PMP *p is usually lost in Oenale and PMP *p > ʔ in Korbafo. However, PRM *p is expected to be retained unchanged in both lects.]

mopu-k *Termanu*. an old dead and fallen down gebang or lontar palm. (J:362)

mou-ʔ *Korbafo*.

mopu-k *Tii*.

mbou-ʔ *Oenale*.

ʔ|mopu|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. gebang/lontar palm trunk.

ʔ|mopu|ʔ *Molo*. dead, black lontar palm or gebang palm trunk. (M:331)

***moris** *PRM*. live. *Doublet*: ***horis**. *Etym*: *ma-quḍip ‘living, alive’. [*Form*: expected *p > s / _# (§3.5.1.3).]

moli (2) **molis** *Termanu*. 1) live. 2) probably: life! health! said to a child who sneezes. (J:361)

moli *Korbafo*.

moli *Bokai*.

moli *Bilbaa*.

mori *Rikou*.

moli *Ba'a*.

mori *Tii*.

moli *Dengka*.

mori *Oenale*.

n-moni *Ro'is Amarasi*. live.

n-moni *Kotos Amarasi*. live.

n-moni *Molo*. live. (M:330)

moin *Kusa-Manea*. give birth.

Out-comparisons:

moris *Fehan Tetun*. live, be born, come about, life, lively; exist.

moris, **mouris** *East Tetun*. live, be alive, exist, be born. (Mo:144)

mori *Ili'uun*. live, alive, thrive, grow. (dJ:128)

***mukə** *PRM*. wild dove. *Etym*: *mukən ‘omen dove’. *Pattern*: k-9. [*Sporadic*: *ə > e / σ _# in wRote (perhaps *ə > *a > e / _#).]

muʔe-k *Termanu*. wild dove. (J:364)

muʔe-ʔ *Korbafo*.

muke-ʔ *Rikou*. dark green doves: Asian Emerald Dove, Pacific Emerald Dove. *Chalcophaps indica*; *Chalcophaps longirostris*. (J:364; own field notes)

muʔe-k *Ba'a*.

muʔe-k *Tii*.

muʔe-ʔ *Dengka*.

muʔe-ʔ *Oenale*.

k|ma~muaʔ-r=aa *Kusa-Manea*. wild pigeon. [*Form*: metathesised form of (currently unattested) **k|ma~muʔa**.]

Out-comparisons:

hmukan *Semau Helong*. dove.

lamuka(n) *East Tetun*. dark green dove. (Mo:127)

lamukan *Welaun*. Asian Emerald Dove. *Chalcophaps indica*.

***mulu** *PRM*. crazy. [*Sporadic*: diphthongisation *u > au in Meto.]

ka-mulu-s (2) **mulu-k** (3) **na-mulu** *Termanu*. 1) crazy. 2) insanity. 3) be or become crazy. (J:366)

ka-mulu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

ka-mulu-s *Bokai*.

ka-mulu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

ma-mulu-ʔ *Rikou*.

ka-mulu-s *Ba'a*.

ka-mulu-k *Tii*.

ma-mulu-ʔ *Dengka*.

ma-mulu-ʔ *Oenale*.

na-maunu *Kotos Amarasi*. crazy.

na-maunu *Molo*. rages, is crazy. (M:316)

***mumu**₁ *Rote*. hold in the mouth and suck. *Etym*: *mulmul.

mumu *Termanu*. hold something in the mouth and suck on it, suck on a solid object. (J:366)

mumu *Korbafo*.

- mumu** *Bokai.*
mumu *Bilbaa.*
mumu *Rikou.*
mumu *Ba'a.*
mumu *Tii.*
mumu *Dengka.*
***mumu₂** *Morph: *na-ka-mumu.*
*Rote. gargle, rinse the mouth. Etym: *muRmuR.*
na-ka-mumu *Termanu.* he rinses his mouth out with water, also: he gargles. (J:366)
na-ka-mumu *Korbafo.*
na-ka-mumu *Bokai.*
na-ka-mumu *Bilbaa.*
na-mumu *Rikou.*
na-ka-mumu *Ba'a.*
na-ka-mumu *Tii.*
na-ʔa-mumu *Dengka.*
na-ʔa-mumu *Oenale.*
Out-comparisons:
mumun *Semau Helong.* gargle.
***munde** *Morph: *ka-munde. PRM.*
*citrus tree. Etym: *muntay. [minority from PMP: *nt > *nd (expect *t)]*
mune *Termanu.* pomelo. (J:366)
mune *Korbafo.*
mune *Bilbaa.*
dero munde *Landu.* kind of citrus. (own field notes)
munde *Rikou.*
°munde *Oepao.* Borrowed from: Rikou **munde** (shown by irr. *nd = nd correspondence). (own field notes)
mune *Ba'a.*
munde *Tii.*
munde *Dengka.*
munde *Oenale.*
muri *Ro'is Amarasi.* lime (fruit).
ʔ|mukiʔ *Kotos Amarasi.* lime (fruit).
<muke> *Molo.* lime. (M:333)
***muri** *PRM.* youngest, last, west.
*Doublet: *mone|ʔ. Etym: *ma-udəhi 'behind, last' (PCEMP *m-udi).*
muli-k (2) muli *Termanu.* 1) youngest child; young of people, animals, and plants. 2) west. (J:365)

- muli-ʔ (2) muli** *Korbafo.*
muli-k (2) muli *Bokai.*
muli-ʔ (2) muli *Bilbaa.*
muri-ʔ (2) muri *Rikou.*
muli-k (2) muli *Ba'a.*
muri-k (2) muri *Tii.*
muli-ʔ (2) muli *Dengka.*
muri-ʔ (2) muri *Oenale.*
mūni|f *Ro'is Amarasi.* youngest.
muni|f (2) na-muni *Kotos Amarasi.*
 1) youngest (child). 2) back, end.
muni|f (2) na-muni *Molo.* 1) young. 2) come behind. (M:330)
muni|f *Kusa-Manea.* young.
Out-comparisons:
mudi (2) hmudin *Semau Helong.* 1) follow, from behind, go along with. 2) youngest, last in a series.
***muse₁** *Morph: *muse-ʔ. PwRM.*
*seed, pip. Etym: **musa (pre-RM). [Sporadic: vowel height harmony *e > i /uC_ in Ro'is Amarasi.] [Form: Positing earlier **musa with final *a > e in wRM can account for the wRM and Tetun forms based on attested sound changes. However, it cannot account regularly for the Hawu form. Earlier **muse could possible account for the Hawu form, but cannot account regularly for the Tetun form.]*
boa muse-ʔ *Oenale.* kidney.
[Semantics: In other Rote languages 'kidney' is most often expressed by a compound of boa 'fruit' with the word for 'pip, seed', e.g. in Termanu boa deʔe-k = 'kidney'. muse-ʔ is not (currently) known to have any independent meaning in Oenale and the normal word for 'pip' is deke-ʔ.] (J:683, 53)
musi|ʔ *Ro'is Amarasi.* seed, pip, stone.
Out-comparisons:
musan *East Tetun.* seed, pip, grain, etc. (Mo:144)

lamuhi *Hawu.* seed (tree). [*Note:* **vini** = ‘seed (generic for seeds planted by humans)’.]

musi *Ngadha.* kidney. (Djawanai 1995:Part 2, 508)

muse₂** *Morph:* ***muse-k.** *CER.* white civet. *Etym:* ***musəŋ** ‘civet cat and similar small predatory mammals of the family *Viverridae*’. [*irr. from PMP:* *a > *e] [*Form:* The Rote forms would be regular from *musəŋ**.]

mu~muse-k *Termanu.* the white civet. (J:366)

mu~muse-? *Korbafo.*

mu~muse-k *Ba'a.*

***musi** *PRM.* suck.

na-sa-musi (2) musi *Termanu.*
1) suck, suck up. 2) suck, suck up. (J:366)

na-sa-musi *Korbafo.*

na-sa-musi *Bokai.*

na-ka-musi *Bilbaa.*

na-sa-musi *Rikou.*

na-sa-musi *Ba'a.*

na-sa-musi *Tii.*

musi *Dengka.*

na-sa-musi *Oenale.*

musi *Dela.* suck.

n-musi *Kotos Amarasi.* suck.

n-musi *Molo.* sucks. (M:335)

***musu** *PRM.* enemy. [*History:* The Rote-Meto forms may be borrowings from Malay **musuh**. Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct ***busuR** that may be irregularly related.]

musu *Termanu.* enemy, also: personal enemy, hostile, war. (J:367)

musu *Korbafo.*

musu *Bokai.*

musu *Bilbaa.*

musu *Rikou.*

musu *Ba'a.*

musu *Tii.*

musu *Dengka.*

musu *Oenale.*

musu *Kotos Amarasi.* enemy.

musu *Molo.* enemy. (M:335)

Out-comparisons:

musu *Semau Helong.* enemy, opponent.

muhu (2) pemuhu *Hawu.*
1) enemy. 2) fight each other, war against each other, be at odds, become enemies.

***muta** *PRM.* vomit. *Etym:* ***um-utaq** (PCEMP ***mutaq**).

muta (2) muta-s *Termanu.* 1) vomit (v.). 2) vomit (n.). (J:367)

muta *Korbafo.*

muta *Bokai.*

muta *Bilbaa.*

muta *Rikou.*

muta *Ba'a.*

muta *Tii.*

muta *Dengka.*

muta *Oenale.*

n-muta *Kotos Amarasi.* throw up, said of a small child.

n-muut *Molo.* throws up (baby).
li?ana? mee? an-muut the baby throws up milk (M:335)

Out-comparisons:

muta *Semau Helong.* vomit.

muta *East Tetun.* vomit. (Mo:144)

madu *Hawu.* vomit.

***muti** *Morph:* ***muti-k.** *nRM.* white. *Etym:* ***ma-putiq.**

muti/foe-k *Ba'a.* white (albino) spot or spots on the hand or foot of a person, or on other places on an animal. (J:139)

muti/foe-k (2) kue_muti-k *Tii.*
1) white (albino) spot or spots on the hand or foot of a person, or on other places on an animal. (J:139)
2) white civet. (J:735)

muti|? *Ro'is Amarasi.* white.

muti|? (2) k|muti-f *Kotos Amarasi.*
1) white. 2) egg white.

muti|? *Molo.* white. (M:336)

muti|? *Kusa-Manea.* white.

Out-comparisons:

muti? *Semau Helong.* white.

- mutin, mutik** *East Tetun*. white (colour). (Mo:144)
- ***muut** *PRM*. kind of insect. [*History*: Osmond (2011b:416) reconstructs Proto-Polynesian *mū ‘flying insect’, the reflexes of which designate mainly moths and dragonflies.] [*Semantics*: likely onomatopoeia, vague Rote semantics weaken reconstruction.]
- mu~muu** *Termanu*. kind of insect that appears in the fruit of the **kaa-k** (fig-tree). (J:363)
- mu~muu** *Korbafo*.

- mu~muu** *Bokai*.
- mu~muu** *Bilbaa*.
- mu~muu** *Rikou*.
- mu~muu** *Ba'a*.
- mu~muu** *Tii*.
- mu~muu** *Dengka*.
- mu~muu** *Oenale*.
- muut** *Ro'is Amarasi*. mosquito. [*Semantics*: Generic term for normal mosquitoes.]
- muut** *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of small white mosquito whose bite is worse than a normal mosquito.

MB - mb

- ***mbaa** *nRM*. meat, flesh. [*irr. from PRM*: *aa > ee in *Fatule'u*]
- paa** *Termanu*. meat, flesh. (J:459)
- paa** *Korbafo*.
- paa** *Bokai*.
- paa** *Bilbaa*.
- paa** *Landu*. meat. (own field notes)
- paa** *Rikou*.
- paa** *Oepao*. meat. (own field notes)
- mpaa** *Ba'a*.
- mbaa** *Lole*. (Zacharias et al. 2014)
- mbaa** *Tii*.
- pee-k** *Fatule'u*. meat, flesh.
- <**pa'**> *Molo*. a piece of meat which is offered to spirits at the end of a ritual meal. [*Form*: probably [paa?].] (M:410)
- Out-comparisons**:
- ampa?** *Sumbawa*. flesh, fish. [*Note*: language of Sumbawa ISO 639-3 [smw].] (Mbate 1990:401, 403)
- ampa?** *Sasak*. meat, fish (as food as opposed to meat). [*Note*: language of Sasak Island ISO 639-3 [sas].] (Goris 1938:92)
- ***mbada** *Morph*: ***mbada-k**. *PRM*. short in height, squat and compact in build, of a person. *Doublet*: ***pande**. *Etym*: *pandak. *Pattern*: d-2. [*irr. from PMP*: *p > *mb, *nd = *d]

- pala_mata-k** *Termanu*. close proximity. [*Form*: The Rote forms may also connected with Meto **paumaka-?**, **haumaka-?** ‘near’. The second element could be related to ***mata** ‘eye’ with irr. *t > k in Meto. (Reflexes of ***mata** also mean ‘in front’ in Rote and Meto.) Alternately, the second element could originally have been ***maka** with irr. *k > t in Rote due to influence from ***mata**.] (J:465f)
- pala_mata-k** *Bokai*.
- mpala_mata-k** *Ba'a*.
- mbala_mata-?** *Dengka*.
- mbara_mata-?** *Oenale*.
- para|?** *Ro'is Amarasi*. short.
- para|?** *Kotos Amarasi*. short, typically used for trees.
- pala|?** *Molo*. short. (M:415)
- pa~para|?** *Kusa-Manea*. short.
- Out-comparisons**:
- kbadak** *Fehan Tetun*. short (e.g. of people); width.
- badak** *East Tetun*. short, brief. (Mo:7)
- badak** *Dadu'a*. be short. (Penn 2006:85)
- bada** *Mambae, South*. short, low. (Grimes et al. 2014b:13)

***mbae** *Rote*. swell up, swollen. *Etym*: *baRəq ‘abscess, boil, swelling on the body’. [*minority from PMP*: *b > *mb] [*Form*: regular *ə > e / _q#.]

pae *Termanu*. swell up, swollen up, only used (at least in Termanu) in combination with **peta**. (J:462)

pae *Korbafo*.

pae *Bokai*.

pae *Bilbaa*.

pae *Rikou*.

mpae *Ba'a*.

mbae *Tii*.

mbae *Dengka*.

mbae *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

hale *Semau Helong*. swell, swollen.

bai *Hawu*. (J:462)

***mbai** *CERM*. rotten. *Etym*: *baRiw ‘beginning to spoil, tainted (of food left uneaten too long)’ [*Form*: Jonker also gives *Tii na-sa-pai* but indicates that this is questionable. If confirmed, this would indicate nRM *pai.]

na-sa-pai *Termanu*. mouldy, bad/rotten. [*Form*: forms without initial **sa-** are currently unattested.] (J:463)

ma-sa-pai *Korbafo*.

ma-sa-pai *Bokai*.

na-sa-mpai, ma-sa-mpai *Ba'a*.

n-pai *Kotos Amarasi*. begin to rot.

pai *Molo*. bad/rotten. (M:412)

Out-comparisons:

(**vou-**)**bai** *Hawu*. mouldy. (J:463)

mbai *Bima*. rotten. (Ismail et al. 1985:87)

***mbaki** *PRM*. beetle. *Pattern*: k-9' (*k = k in Bokai; expect *k > ?). [*irr. from PRM*: *i > e in Meto]

paʔi *Termanu*. kind of beetle that eats coconuts. (J:463)

paʔi *Korbafo*.

paki *Bokai*.

paki *Bilbaa*.

paʔi *Rikou*. kind of grub that is found in the gebang palm or lontar palm, similar to **ba~bate-ʔ** (see ***bate**) but can't be eaten. (J:463; own field notes)

mpaʔi *Ba'a*.

mbaʔi *Tii*.

mbaʔi *Dengka*.

mbaʔi *Oenale*.

paʔe *Ro'is Amarasi*. beetle.

paʔe *Kotos Amarasi*. beetle. *Usage*: Tais Nonof sub-dialect.

Out-comparisons:

(**mo**)**kebaki** *Hawu*. beetle. (J:463)

***mbala** *PRM*. co-wife, concubine.

pala (2) na-pala *Termanu*. 1) co-wife; that is, the second wife of a man in comparison to the first; have or take a co-wife. 2) have concubines, said of a man. **na-pala telu lesak** he has three concubines (J:465)

pala *Korbafo*.

pala *Bokai*.

pala *Bilbaa*.

pala *Rikou*.

mpala-k *Ba'a*.

mbala *Tii*.

mbala-ʔ *Dengka*.

mbala *Oenale*.

panaʔ (2) n-panaʔ *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) co-wife, concubine. 2) be polygamous, engage in polygamy.

<**in anmeu panaʔ**> *Molo*. he lives polygamously. (M:418)

panaʔ *Amfo'an*. co-wife, concubine.

***mbalu** *PRM*. cover, enclose. *Doublet*: ***balu**. *Etym*: *balun ‘bind, bundle, wrap in cloth; death shroud; cloth(ing)’. [*minority from PMP*: *b > *mb]

palu *Termanu*. cover, enclose in a garment or similar. (J:466)

palu *Korbafo*.

palu *Bokai*.

mpalu *Ba'a*.

mbalu *Tii*.

mbalu *Dengka*.

ma-ʔa-mbalu-ʔ *Dela*. covered.

<an-pano> (2) <pan/felo> *Molo*.

1) binds closely. **anpano asu fefan** someone tightly ties up the mouth of the dog. (M:421) 2) rope around a horse's mouth. (M:420)

***mbana** *Morph*: ***mbana-k**. *PRM*. tip, end; nose.

pana-k *Termanu*. nose (of person or animal). (J:467)

pana-ʔ *Korbafo*.

pana-k *Bokai*.

pana-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

idu_pana-ʔ *Rikou*. face. (own field notes)

mpana-k *Ba'a*.

mbana-k *Tii*.

mbana-ʔ *Dengka*.

mbana-ʔ *Oenale*.

pana-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. nose.

pana-f *Kotos Amarasi*. nose; the extremity of something, e.g. point, fingertips, peninsula.

pana-f *Molo*. nose (in general), cape, promontory. (M:419)

***mbao** *Rote*. mango. *Etym*: *qambawan 'large mango *Mangifera odorata*' (PWMP). [*irr. from PRM*: *mb > p in *Dengka*]

pao *Termanu*. mango tree and fruit. (J:468)

pao *Korbafo*.

pao *Bokai*.

pao *Bilbaa*.

pao *Rikou*.

mpao *Ba'a*.

mbao *Tii*.

pao *Dengka*. [*Note*: given as 'also D. idem'.]

mbao *Oenale*.

***mba|raa** *Morph*: ***mba|raa-k**. *PRM*. old (things). *Etym*: *daqan 'old, ancient'. [*Form*: The Rote languages attest an earlier element *mba (which is attested as semi-productive verbal prefix) while Meto attests earlier stative

prefix *ma-. Furthermore, the reflexes of PMP *d are regular for medial *d, thus indicating that the initial *mba element was added before PRM. The best solution currently appears to be to posit PRM *mba|raa with irr. *mb > m in Meto motivated by pressure from the stative prefix *ma-, thus pre-Meto **maraa.]/

palaa-k (2) na-palaa *Termanu*.

1) old (of things, etc.). 2) be or become old. (J:465)

palaa-ʔ *Korbafo*.

palaa-k *Bokai*.

palaa-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

paraa-ʔ *Rikou*.

mpalaa-k *Ba'a*.

mbaraa-k *Tii*.

mbalaa-ʔ *Dengka*.

mbaraa-ʔ *Oenale*.

m|naa|ʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. old, previous, former.

m|naa|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. old, previous, former.

m|naʔa-k *Kusa-Manea*. old, previous former. [*Sporadic*: *VV-k > *VVʔ > VʔV in Kusa-Manea (perceptual metathesis) followed by attachment of semi-productive -k suffix.]/

Out-comparisons:

blaan *Semau Helong*. old.

***mbasa** *PwRM*. slap. *Etym*: **mbasaR (pre-RM). [*History*: possibly connected with PMP *sambak with consonant metathesis, though the final consonants of the pre-RM form would also need to be accounted for.]/

mba~mbasaʔ *Dengka*. name of a medicinal plant of which the leaf makes a noise when it is broken off. Called *daun pukul tangan* (hand hitting leaf) in Kupang. (J:750, 640)

mbasa (2) mba~mbasaʔ *Oenale*.

1) give a slap. (J:750) 2) name of a medicinal plant of which the leaf

makes a noise when it is broken off.
Called *daun pukul tangan* (hand hitting leaf) in Kupang. (J:750, 640)

n-pasa *Kotos Amarasi*. slap.

n-pasa *Molo*. hit with a flat hand. (M:424)

Out-comparisons:

papas *Semau Helong*. slap. [irr. from PRM: initial syllable]

basa *East Tetun*. hit with the open hand, slap. (Mo:10)

basa, baas *Mambae, South*. slap (open hand). (Grimes et al. 2014b:12f)

paas *Ili'uun*. strike (with the hand). (dJ:132)

pahar *Kisar*. slap.

pahak *Sika*. slap. *Usage*: Hewa dialect/variety. [irr. from PRM: *mb = p correspondence (expect b)] (Klamer 2015a)

***mbau**₁ *Morph*: *ka-**mbau**-k. *PRM*. kind of beam. [*Sporadic*: glottal stop insertion in Amfo'an.]

pa~pau-k *Termanu*. kind of beam under the roof, outside the actual house. (J:471)

pa~pau-ʔ *Korbafo*.

pa~pau-k *Bokai*.

pa~pau-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

pa~pau-ʔ *Rikou*.

dii mpa~mpau-k *Ba'a*. pillar for a front gallery, the 'stup' pillar. (J:471)

mba~mbau-k *Tii*.

mba~mbau-ʔ *Dengka*.

ʔ|paʔu-f *Amfo'an*. stair joint; the place where the horizontal part meets the vertical part.

***mbau**₂ *PRM*. stab, prick, pound. *Etym*: *bayu 'pound rice'. [*minority from PMP*: *b > *mb]

pau *Termanu*. stab, prick. (J:470)

pau *Korbafo*.

pau *Bokai*.

pau *Bilbaa*.

pau *Rikou*.

mpau *Ba'a*.

mbau *Tii*.

mbau *Dengka*.

mbau *Oenale*.

na-pau *Ro'is Amarasi*. pound (rice).

na-pau *Kotos Amarasi*. pound, stab.

na-pau *Molo*. pound, stab. (M:427)

ta-pau *Kusa-Manea*. pound.

Out-comparisons:

hai *Semau Helong*. plant, stick into ground; pound, pierce, stab impale. [*History*: from *bayu.]

fai *East Tetun*. pound, the action for removing the husk from whole grain and polishing rice with a tapered wooden stick (**alu**) driven in and out of a tapered hole in a wooden block (**nesun**), or any similar action. [*History*: from *bayu.] (Mo:31)

pai *Ili'uun*. pound, thresh. [*History*: from *bayu.] (dJ:132)

***mbeda** *PRM*. put down. [irr. from PRM: *mb > b ~ p in Meto]

peda *Termanu*. set, lay, lay something down, store something in, put something in. (J:472)

peda *Korbafo*.

peda *Bokai*.

peda *Bilbaa*.

peda *Rikou*.

mpeda *Ba'a*.

mbeda *Tii*.

mbeda *Dengka*.

mbeda *Oenale*.

n-pera (2) na-bera *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) throw down stones. 2) put down, drop.

na-pela, na-bela *Molo*. put down. (M:56, xxxix)

***mbeʔu** *nRM*. lie down.

na-ŋa-peʔu-k *Termanu*. lie, lie down. (J:482)

na-ka-peʔu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

na-ŋa-peʔu-k *Bokai*.

na-peʔu-ʔ *Bilbaa*. [*Form*: My consultants gave **na-peu** 'lie down'.]

na-peʔu-ʔ *Rikou*. [Form: My consultants gave **na-peu** ‘lie down’.]

na-ka-mpeʔu-k *Ba’a*.

na-ka-mbeʔu-k *Tii*.

peʔu-n *Kotos Amarasi*. sleepiness, typically used to refer to someone who hasn’t fully woken up yet. **iin peʔu-n=ee ka= na-mneuk =fa feʔ** s/he hasn’t fully woken up yet

n-peʔu-g *Amfo’an*. sleepy.

<n-piu> (2) <masapeu> *Molo*.

1) doze. 2) nodding of the head while dozing. (M:437)

peuʔ *Kusa-Manea*. sleep. [Form: metathesised form of **peʔu**.]

***mbela** *Morph: *mbela-k. PRM*. Job’s tears. [Note: Jonker (1912:21) gives Loura (language of Sumba, ISO 639-3 [lur]) **bəla** ‘millet’ (Dutch *gierst*) as cognate, but I have been unable to confirm the existence of this in the (very sparse) available sources for Loura.] [History: This is the only PRM crop term that does not appear reconstructible to a higher node. Given this, and the fact that both sorghum and corn (which this term designates in daughter languages) are not native to this region, this term probably originally designated a native plant with later semantic shift as new crops were assimilated to the category of old crops. The most likely candidate is Job’s tears, *Coix lacryma-jobi*, of which a wild subspecies is present in the region. Verheijen (1984:14) states, concerning Job’s tears: ‘The wild native subspecies *agrestis* of which the stony seeds with a very tiny pip are still used as beads, greatly resembles the cultivated subspecies *ma-yuen*. It is very probable that the introduced edible species was named after the wild plant, which then fell into the background. I am inclined to surmise that in this way names from

stratum languages were saved. That may explain the enormous diversity of names in east Indonesia and the Philippines.’ PRM ***mbela** appears to be such an example of a substratum term which was retained after the shift to an Austronesian language.]

pela-k (2) pela hii-k *Termanu*.

1) maize (the plant and its fruit).

(J:477) 2a) maize of native soil, native corn (called *jagung Rote* [OE = ‘sorghum’]). (J:477)

2b) sorghum, that is native maize, simply/only maize, ordinary maize.

[Form: **hii-k** = ‘simply, only’.]

[Semantics: Fox (1991:250) states:

‘At present **pela** can refer to three different plants. **pela hii-k**, ‘true *pela*’, refers to sorghum; **pela hii dele ngeo-k**, ‘black-flecked *pela*’ refers to Job’s tears; while **pela** or **pela sina** refers to maize. On Roti [sic] it is clear that maize when it was introduced was culturally assimilated to the category of ‘sorghum’. It is also conceivable that at an earlier period when sorghum was introduced, it was assimilated to the category of Job’s tears. Thus this category, **pela**, may subsume three stages of an agricultural progression: **pela** [A] (‘Job’s tears’) > **pela** [B] (‘sorghum’) > **pela** [C] (‘maize’).’ (J:181)

pela-ʔ (2) pela hii-ʔ *Korbafo*.

pela-k (2) pela hii-k *Bokai*.

pela-ʔ (2) pela dae-ʔ *Bilbaa*. [Form:

dae-ʔ = ‘soil, land, earth’.]

pela-ʔ (2) pela dae-ʔ *Rikou*.

mpela-k (2) mpela hia-k *Ba’a*.

mbela-k (2) mbela hie-k *Tii*.

mbela-ʔ (2) mbela dae-ʔ *Dengka*.

[Form: Jonker gives the note ‘Bilbaa, Dengka, Rikou have **dae-ʔ**’ implying that Dengka does not have expected **mbela lae-ʔ**.]

mbela-ʔ (2) mbela hie-ʔ *Oenale*.

pena|ʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. corn, maize.

pena|ʔ (2) peen minaʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) corn, maize. 2) sorghum. [*Form*: The second element could be connected with **minaʔ** = 'oil' or **mina** = 'comfortable, nice, delicious'.]

pena|ʔ *Molo*. maize. (M:431)

pena|ʔ *Kusa-Manea*. corn, maize.

***mbena** *Rote*. fly. Doublet: ***kalbenu**. *Etym*: *bəRɲaw (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct both *bəRɲaw and *baɲaw.). [*irr. from PMP*: *aw > *a] [*minority from PMP*: *b > *mb] [*Sporadic*: *a > e / # in wRote] [*Form*: Helong attests earlier **mbeɲa.]

pena *Termanu*. fly. (J:479)

pena *Korbafo*.

pena *Bokai*.

pena *Bilbaa*.

pena-ʔ *Landu*. fly. (own field notes)

pena *Rikou*.

mpena *Ba'a*.

mbena *Tii*.

mbene *Dengka*.

mbene *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

lael_peɲa *Helong*. kind of fly. (J:479)

***mbesik** *PRM*. throw down. [*irr. from PRM*: *i > e in Meto]

pesi *Termanu*. throw down, fling down. (J:480)

pesi *Korbafo*.

pesi *Bokai*.

pesi *Bilbaa*.

pesi *Rikou*.

mpesi *Ba'a*.

mbesi(k) *Tii*.

mbesi-ʔ *Dengka*.

mbesi-ʔ *Oenale*.

n-pesek *Kotos Amarasi*. throw down something flat, like a playing card.

Out-comparisons:

pəhi *Hawu*. throw. [*irr. from PRM*:

*mb = p correspondence] (J:480)

***mbeta** *CERM*. wet. [*Form*: The Meto unmetathesised form has not yet been attested. It could be ***na-peta** or ***na-pete**.]

ma-ka-peta-k *Termanu*. still moist, not yet properly dry. (J:481)

ma-peta-ʔ *Rikou*.

ma-ka-mpeta-k *Ba'a*.

na-peet *Kotos Amarasi*. moisten, wet, satiate.

na-peet *Molo*. wet. (M:435)

***mbetak** *PRM*. swollen, sore.

peta *Termanu*. swell up, swollen. (J:481)

peta *Korbafo*.

peta *Bokai*.

peta *Bilbaa*.

peta *Rikou*.

mpeta *Ba'a*.

mbeta *Tii*.

mbeta *Dengka*.

mbeta *Oenale*.

mbeta *Dela*. ache, sore.

n-petak *Kotos Amarasi*. sore, tired, exhausted.

n-petak *Molo*. stuffed, ascites (the accumulation of fluid in the peritoneal cavity, causing abdominal swelling), swollen. (M:436)

Out-comparisons:

petan *Semau Helong*. swell.

peken *Kisar*. swollen.

***mbii** *PRM*. pull taut.

na-ka-pii (2) ei_pi~pii-k *Termanu*. 1) tense, tight. 2) the Achilles tendon. (J:483)

na-ka-pii *Korbafo*.

na-ka-pii *Bokai*.

na-ka-pii *Bilbaa*.

na-pii *Rikou*.

na-ka-mpii *Ba'a*.

na-ka-mbii *Tii*.

na-ka-mbii *Dengka*.

na-ka-mbii *Oenale*.

pii_koete-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. back part of the lower leg, from the back of the knee to the Achilles' tendon.

na-ʔ-pii (2) n-pii (3) pii_ʔote-f *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) tie. 2) pull tight. 3) back part of the lower leg, from the back of the knee to the Achilles' tendon.

<na-pii> (2) <pii> (3) pii_ʔote-n (4) <pii-n enu> *Molo*. 1) tautens, pulls tight. 2) the bend of the knee. 3) because that is where the tendons of a sacrificial buffalo are severed. 4) knee nerves. (M:437)

***mbiko** *PRM*. kind of coniferous tree. *Podocarpus rumphii*. Pattern: k-6.

piko *Termanu*. a) kind of tree that yields good wood for timber. [*Semantics*: '*Podocarpus rumphii* is a valuable timber tree where it attains large sizes with a clear, straight bole. Its wood is used as round wood for masts, spars, and poles, in house construction as beams, in high-grade construction for flooring, joinery and other carpentry, for furniture and cabinet work, veneer, make boxes, and for match sticks. In traditional use it was sought after for (dugout) canoes, used in coastal house construction, for household utensils, and wood carving. It is not known to be in cultivation, either as a forestry plantation tree or as an ornamental tree; the species is present in a few tropical botanic gardens and arboreta.' (Farjon 2017:920).] (J:484) b) kind of tree; a forest tree with thick bark and small but thick leaves. (Bark can be used for dyeing.) (Fox 2016b:46)

piko *Korbafo*.

piko *Bokai*.

piko *Bilbaa*.

piko *Rikou*.

mpiko *Ba'a*.

mbiko *Tii*.

mbiʔo *Dengka*.

<hau pio> *Miomafo*. kind of tree, rare on Ambon but occurring in the village of Ema, from which the name *Lignum Emaniom* comes in the high stony mountains of *Laitimor*. Also rare in Timor. *Podocarpus rumphii*. (M:439)

***mbila** *PRM*. blaze, emit light. *Etym*: *bilak 'shine, glitter'. [*minority from PMP*: *b > *mb]

pila (2) pila-s *Termanu*. 1) flaming, burning. (J:484) 2) red. (J:485)

pila (2) pila-ʔ *Korbafo*.

pila (2) pila-k *Bokai*.

pila (2) pila-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

pila (2) pilas *Rikou*.

mpila (2) mpila-s *Ba'a*.

mbila (2) mbila-s *Tii*.

mbila (2) mbila-s *Dengka*.

mbila (2) mbila-s *Oenale*.

n-pina *Ro'is Amarasi*. blaze, emit light.

n-pina *Kotos Amarasi*. blaze, emit light; be glorious.

n-pina *Molo*. flaming, shines. (M:438)

Out-comparisons:

bilan *East Tetun*. cook. (Mo:15)

***mbinu** *PRM*. snot. [*History*: possibly connected with PMP *hiŋus, though the initial *mb is unexplained. Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct *piŋus based on a comparison of Rote (presumably Termanu) **pinu** and a Cebuano form **piŋús-piŋús**. The Tii, Dengka and Oenale forms with initial *mb* in this cognate set indicate that, unless more cognates are forthcoming, the comparison of Termanu **pinu** and Cebuano **piŋús-piŋús** is sheer chance (PMP *p > *mb* is never attested in western Rote). Blust and Trussel (ongoing) *do* correctly note that the normal reflex of *p in Rote is *h*. However, in support of their etymology

for Rote **pinu** from *piŋus they note that in some forms it is reflected as *p*. They give ***papan** > **papa** ‘plank, board’ and ***picik** > **pisi** ‘to sprinkle, spray (water)’ as examples. In each of these examples the cognates in *all* Rote varieties, including Tii, Dengka and Oenale have *p*, with the exception of Ba’a which has *mp*. These forms thus do not show the same sound correspondences as ***mbinu** ‘snot’. Instead, both these words are loans. (*p* is often borrowed in Ba’a as *mp*.)]

pinu *Termanu*. snot. (J:486)

pinu *Korbafo*.

pinu *Bokai*.

pinu *Bilbaa*.

pinu *Rikou*.

mpinu *Ba’a*.

mbinu *Tii*.

mbinu *Dengka*.

mbinu *Oenale*.

pinu *Kotos Amarasi*. runny snot.

<**pinu**> *Amfo’an*. snivel. *Usage*: poetic. (M:439)

***mbisa** *Morph*: ***mbisa-k**. *Rote*. kind of basket made from lontar leaves.

pisa-k *Termanu*. kind of basket made from lontar leaves. (J:486)

pisa-k *Korbafo*.

pisa-k *Bokai*.

pisa-k *Bilbaa*.

pisa-ʔ *Rikou*.

mpisa-k *Ba’a*.

mbisa-ʔ *Dengka*.

mbisa-ʔ *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

kebiha *Hawu*. (J:486)

***mboes** *Morph*: ***ka-mboes**. *PRM*. shrimp, prawn.

poe-k *Termanu*. shrimp, lobster. (J:489)

poe-ʔ *Korbafo*.

poe-k *Bokai*.

poe-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

poe-ʔ *Landu*. shrimp, lobster. (own field notes)

poe-ʔ *Rikou*.

mpoe-k *Ba’a*.

mboe-k *Tii*.

mboe-ʔ *Dengka*.

mboe-ʔ *Oenale*.

k|poe *Ro’is Amarasi*. shrimp, prawn.

poe (2) **na-k|poe** *Kotos Amarasi*.
1) shrimp, prawn. 2) go shrimping, look for shrimp.

poe *Molo*. river shrimp. (M:444)

poe-k *Kusa-Manea*. shrimp.

Out-comparisons:

boek *East Tetun*. shrimp, prawns. (Mo:16)

waʔihe *Kisar*. lobster. [*irr. from PMP*: **mbō* > *wa*]

voe *Hawu*. (J:489)

***mbonu** *Morph*: ***ka-mbonu-k**. *nRM*. thick hair, mane.

po~ponu-k *Termanu*. the mane of a horse, also said of a pig. (J:495)

po~ponu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

po~ponu-k *Bokai*.

po~ponu-ʔ (2) **na-po~ponu** *Bilbaa*.
2) the hair is luxuriant. (J:755)

po~ponu-ʔ *Rikou*.

mpo~mponu-k *Ba’a*.

mbo~mbonu-k *Tii*.

pōunu-f *Ro’is Amarasi*. eyebrows, eyelashes, feathers.

ponu-f *Kotos Amarasi*. moustache.

ʔ|pono-f *Molo*. horse’s mane, goat hair worn by a dancer around their ankles. (M:448)

***mboo** *Morph*: ***mboo-k**. *PRM*. hole, wide open. [*Sporadic*: glottal stop insertion in *Meto*.] [*History*: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct *PMP* **buhāŋ* ‘hole, pit’, which may be irregularly connected.]

poo~poo (2) **poo-k** (3) **na-po~poo** (4) **na-poo-k** *Termanu*. 1) wide open, yawning. 2) hole, cavity. 3) keep open continuously. 4) open (the mouth). (J:487)

poo~poo (2) **poo-ʔ** *Korbafo*.

poo~poo (2) **poo-k** *Bokai*.

- poo~poo (2) poo-ʔ** *Bilbaa*.
poo~poo (2) poo-ʔ *Rikou*.
mpoo~mpoo *Ba'a*.
mboo~mboo (2) mboo-k *Tii*.
mboo~mboo *Dengka*.
mboo~mboo *Oenale*.
poʔo (2) poʔo-f *Ro'is Amarasi*.
 1) hole. 2) throat. [Note: Jonker (1908:487) gives Meto **puu** in the etymology notes for Termanu **poo-poo**.]
pa~poʔo-f *Kusa-Manea*. throat.
Out-comparisons:
boo *Hawu*. hole. (J:487)
 ***mbori** *PRM*. pour on.
poli *Termanu*. pour, pour out, also: pour oneself out, e.g. like rain. (J:494)
poli *Korbafo*.
poli *Bokai*.
poli *Bilbaa*.
pori *Rikou*.
mpoli *Ba'a*.
mbori *Tii*.
mboli *Dengka*.
mbori *Oenale*.
n-poni *Kotos Amarasi*. pour over something, flush.
n-poni *Molo*. irrigate, water (e.g. plants). (M:448)
 ***mboro** *PRM*. palm leaves.
polo-k *Termanu*. palmiet, young leaves of a palmiet, young leaves of a coconut, lontar palm, etc. (J:494)
polo-ʔ *Korbafo*.
polo-k *Bokai*.
polo-ʔ *Bilbaa*.
polo-ʔ *Rikou*.
mpolo-k *Ba'a*.
mboro-k *Tii*.
mboro-ʔ *Oenale*.
pono *Ro'is Amarasi*. sugar palm leaf.
pono *Kotos Amarasi*. sugar palm leaf.
pono *Molo*. lontar palm leaves. (M:448)
Out-comparisons:
pola *Semau Helong*. palm leaves.

- ***mbosi** *PRM*. release, set loose. [irr. from *PRM*: *s > ʔ in most Rote]
poʔi *Termanu*. release; loosen, escape. (J:490)
poʔi *Korbafo*.
poʔi *Bokai*.
poi (2) posi *Bilbaa*. 2) slips away, becomes loose. (J:755)
poʔi *Rikou*. [Form: Jonker indicates that this could actually be **poi** without a medial glottal stop. Nako et al. (2014) give **poʔi taata** 'free, released'.]
mpoʔi *Ba'a*.
mboʔi *Tii*.
mboʔi *Dengka*.
mboʔi *Oenale*.
na-t|posiʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. come loose.
Out-comparisons:
˚natpusi *Semau Helong*.
 Borrowed from: Meto. (J:490)
habusik, husik *East Tetun*. untie, loosen, leave loose. (Mo:41)
kapisu *Kamarian*. loose, loosened. [Note: also in some varieties of Kaibobo.] (van Ekris 1864:99)
pusi *Asilulu*. [Note: also in *Lusa Laut*.] (van Ekris 1864:99)
posi *Kaibobo*. Usage: Piru dialect. (van Ekris 1864:99)
 ***mbou** *PRM*. blanket, cloth. [Sporadic: *VV-k > *VVʔ > VʔV in Meto (perceptual metathesis).]
pou (2) pou-k *Termanu*. 1) woman's skirt, sarong. 2) the hair-like fibres between the stem and the leaf of different palm trees. (J:498)
pou (2) pau-ʔ *Korbafo*.
pou (2) pau-k *Bokai*.
pou *Bilbaa*.
pou (2) pau-ʔ *Rikou*.
mpou (2) mpou-k, mpau-k *Ba'a*.
(2) mbou-ʔ *Oenale*.
poʔu *Kotos Amarasi*. scarf.
poʔu *Molo*. blanket. (M:451)

Out-comparisons:

kaboon *Fehan Tetun*. blanket.

***mbuah** *PRM*. betel nut, areca palm.
*Doublet: *bua*. *Etym:* *buaq ‘fruit; areca palm and nut; grain; berry; seed; nut; endosperm of a sprouting coconut; kidney; heart; finger; calf of the leg; testicle; various insects; scar tissue; roe; bud; flower; blossom; bear fruit; words, speech, or songs; meaning, contents of discussion; numeral classifier for roundish objects; buttock; Adam’s apple; nipple of the breast; button; marble; tattooing’. [*minority from PMP: *q > *h; *b > *mb*] [*Form: Irregular *b > *mb is attested in many languages of the region for reflexes of *buaq meaning ‘betel nut’ and *mb can be reconstructed to proto-Timor-Babar, perhaps even to a higher node.*] **pua** *Termanu*. betel nut, areca, both the fruit and the tree. (J:499)
pua *Korbafo*.
pua *Bokai*.
pua *Bilbaa*.
pua *Landu*. betel nut. (own field notes)
pua *Rikou*.
mpua *Ba’a*.
mbua *Tii*.
mbua *Dengka*.
mbua *Oenale*.
puah *Ro’is Amarasi*. betel nut.
puah *Kotos Amarasi*. betel nut, areca palm.
puah *Molo*. both the areca palm and its fruit. *Areca catecha*. (M:452)
puah, puha *Kusa-Manea*. betel nut. [*Form: The form puha* [ˈpʰəh] may be due to reanalysis of **puah** as a metathesised form given that Kusa-Manea does not have assimilation of /a/ after metathesis. This is also attested in **noah**, **noha** ‘coconut’.]

Out-comparisons:

pua *Semau Helong*. betel.

bua *East Tetun*. betel nut, areca. *Areca catechu*. (Mo:18)

boo *Kemak*. betel nut, areca nut.

buu *Mambae, South*. betel nut, areca nut. (Grimes et al. 2014b:14)

bua *Galolen*. betel nut.

pua *Ili’uun*. betel nut. (dJ:133)

poo *Kisar*. areca nut.

***mbuat** *PwRM*. spread out yarn. [*Form: Final t could be the nominaliser -t.*]

mbu~mbuat *Oenale*. the two layers of the yarn spread out in front of the weaving. (J:756)

puat *Kotos Amarasi*. round wood, over the entire length of which weft thread is rolled.

puat *Molo*. round wood, over the entire length of which weft thread is rolled. (M:452)

Out-comparisons:

pu~puat *Helong*. (J:757)

***mbui** *PRM*. quail, bird. *Etym:* *puyuq ‘quail’ (PWMP). [*irr. from PMP: *p > *mb*] [*Form: Irregular *p > mb is also attested in Palu’e.*]

manu_pui *Termanu*. bird, in general. (J:347)

manu_pui(-?) *Korbafo*.

manu_pui *Bokai*.

manu_pui-? *Bilbaa*.

man_pui-? *Landu*. bird. (own field notes)

manu_pui-? *Rikou*.

mpui-k *Ba’a*.

mbui-k *Lole*. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

mbui-k *Tii*.

mbui-? *Dengka*.

manu_mbuy-? *Oenale*.

pui *Kotos Amarasi*. quail.

pui *Molo*. partridge and **meko** = kind of bird that lives in the reeds. (M:453)

Out-comparisons:

mbuu *Palu’e*. quail. [*Note: language of central Flores ISO 639-3 [ple].*] (Donohue 2003:12)

***mbuku₁** *PRM.* mushroom, toadstool.
Pattern: k-6.

puku *Termanu.* mushroom. (J:501)

puku *Korbafo.*

puku *Bokai.*

puku *Bilbaa.*

puku *Rikou.*

mpuku *Ba'a.*

mbuku *Tii.*

mbu?u *Dengka.*

mbu?u *Oenale.*

pu?u *Kotos Amarasi.* mushroom, toadstool.

<pu'>, <a'pu'e> *Molo.* mushroom that comes up when the field is full of corn. [*Form:* The second form probably has the nominal determiner =ee enclitic attached.] (M:451)

pu?u *Kusa-Manea.* mushroom, toadstool.

Out-comparisons:

buu/manu *Semau Helong.* mushroom. [*irr. from PRM:* *mb = b correspondence (expect p); *k = Ø correspondence]

***mbuku₂** *Rote.* bent, hunchback. *Etym:* *bukuq 'bend, bent, bowed'. *Pattern:* k-5. [*minority from PMP:* *b > *mb]

puku (2) puku-k (3) (lete)
pu~puku-k *Termanu.* 1) bent of back. 2) hunchbacked. 3) hill. (J:502)

puku (3) pu~puku-? *Korbafo.*

puku (3) pu~puku-k *Bokai.*

puku (3) pu~puku-? *Bilbaa.*

puku (3) pu~puku-? *Rikou.*

mpuku (3) mpu~mpuku-k *Ba'a.*

mbuku (3) mbu~mbuku-k *Tii.*

mbuku (3) mbu~mbuku-? *Dengka.*

(3) mbu~mbuku-? *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

leten pupuku *Helong.* (J:502)

buku *Hawu.* (J:502)

***mbule** *Morph:* *mbule-k. *PRM.* grain head. *Etym:* *buliR '(entire) stalk of bananas; ear of grain'. [*minority from*

PMP: *b > *mb] [*Sporadic:* *i > *e /_*R#] [*Form:* The Tetun, Helong and Kisar reflexes are regular from initial *b.]

pule-k *Termanu.* ear of grains, grasses. (J:502)

pule-? *Korbafo.*

pule-k *Bokai.*

pule-? *Bilbaa.*

pule-? *Rikou.*

mpule-k *Ba'a.*

mbule-k *Lole.* (Zacharias et al. 2014)

mbule-k *Tii.*

mbule-? *Dengka.*

mbule-? *Oenale.*

pune|? *Kotos Amarasi.* grain head.

pune|? *Molo.* corn-cob. (M:532)

Out-comparisons:

bulin *Semau Helong.* grain head.

fulin *East Tetun.* head (of grain, rice, etc.). (Mo:37)

wurna *Kisar.* corn ears.

***mbulə** *PwRM.* wind around, twist around. [*Note:* All Rote lects (except Bilbaa) also have **pole** 'bind around, tie around, e.g. the muzzle of an animal' (Jonker 1908:493).] [*Sporadic:* *ə > e /σ_# in wRote (perhaps *ə > *a > e /_#).]

mbule *Dengka.* twist around. (J:147)

mbule *Oenale.* twist around. (J:147)

n-puna *Kotos Amarasi.* wind around.

n-puna (2) na-puun *Molo.* 1) wraps around. 2) walks around. (M:455)

***mbumbu** *Rote.* expand, swollen.

pupu *Termanu.* expand, like rice when cooked. (J:504)

pupu *Korbafo.*

mpumpu *Ba'a.*

mbumbu *Dengka.*

mbumbu *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

bubu *East Tetun.* swell. (Mo:18)

***mbune** *PRM.* tree with edible fruit. *Antidesma buniu.* *Etym:* *buRnay (PWMP). [*minority from PMP:* *b > *mb]

pune *Termanu*. kind of tree with small edible fruits. (J:503)

pune *Korbafo*.

pune *Bokai*.

pune *Bilbaa*.

pune *Rikou*.

mpune *Ba'a*.

mbune *Tii*.

mbune *Dengka*.

mbune *Oenale*.

<**pune/klia**>, <**puni/klia**> *Molo*. kind of plant with glossy leaves.

Dillenia pentagyna. [Note:

Middelkoop (1972:351) gives

<**nasi**> as the term for *Antidesma bunius*.] (M:455)

***mbunut** *Morph*: ***ka-mbunut**. *PRM*. coconut husk, coir. *Etym*: *bunut. [minority from *PMP*: *b > *mb] [Form: The Helong, Tetun and Welaun reflexes all also attest initial *mb for pre-RM.]

punu-k *Termanu*. bark, fibrous husk of a coconut. (J:504)

punu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

punu-k *Bokai*.

punu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

punu-ʔ *Landu*. hard inner shell of a coconut. (own field notes)

punu-ʔ *Rikou*.

mpunu-k *Ba'a*.

mbunu-k *Lole*. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

mbunu-k *Tii*.

mbunut *Dengka*. [Form: final *t* in Dengka and Oenale analysable as nominaliser -**t**.]

mbunut *Oenale*.

ʔ|**punu-f** (2) **na-ʔ|punu|ʔ** *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) coconut husk. 2) loud sound like 'boom, boom' this is the sound that an old coconut makes when it falls from a tree (also bombs, etc.).

a-ʔlotos na-ʔ|punu|ʔ *Molo*. the thunder rattles. (M:456)

Out-comparisons:

punut *Semau Helong*. shell, husk.

bunuk *East Tetun*. the durable external woody shell of palm trees used extensively in Timor as a building material for houses because of its strength and durability when split into long straight lengths. (Mo:19)

kabunut *Welaun*. hard inner coconut shell.

kebunu *Hawu*. (J:504)

***mburuk** *PRM*. rotten. *Etym*: *buRuk. [minority from *PMP*: *b > *mb; *R = *r (expect Ø)]

pulu-k *Termanu*. old, rotten, stinking, whatever is rotten. (J:503)

pulu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

pulu-k *Bokai*.

pulu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

puru-ʔ *Rikou*.

mpulu-k *Ba'a*.

mbulu-k *Lole*. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

mburu-k *Tii*.

mbuluk *Dengka*.

mburu-ʔ *Oenale*.

n-punu *Ro'is Amarasi*. rotten.

n-punu *Kotos Amarasi*. rot, decay, fall apart.

<**punu**> *Molo*. rotten, bad. (M:456)

***mbusər** *PRM*. sweat. [Sporadic: *ə > (*a) > e / _# in Meto.]

puse *Termanu*. sweat. (J:504)

puse *Korbafo*.

puse *Bokai*.

puse *Bilbaa*.

puse *Rikou*.

mpuse *Ba'a*.

mbuse *Tii*.

mbusa (2) **na-ʔa-mbusa** *Dengka*. 1) sweat. 2) stuffy. (J:757)

mbusa (2) **na-ʔa-mbusa** *Oenale*. 1) sweat. 2) stuffy. (J:757)

mbusar *Dela*. sweat.

puus, puse (2) **n-puus** *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) sweat. 2) sweating. [Form: The unmetathesised

form of **puus** has not yet been attested. It could be **pusa** or **pusu**. Middelkoop (1972:457) gives the Amarasi parallelism **a-n-pusun** = **ma maskeet** ‘instils fear and fright’, which indicates that the unmetathesised form is ***pusu** with final *u*.]

puus (2) n-puus *Molo*. 1) sweat. 2) sweats. [Form: Jonker (1908:504) gives Meto **puse-l**.] (M:457)

Out-comparisons:

kabβasu *Dhao*. [Form: regular vowel metathesis in Hawu and Dhao.]

kebəhu *Hawu*. (J:504)

pusə? *Bugis*. sweat. (Masse 2013:77)

bussan *Makassar*. feel stuffy due to heat. (Cense 1979:150)

***mbusu** *Morph*: ***mbusu-k**. *nRM*. thigh. [irr. from *PRM*: *s > Ø in *nRote*]

puu-k *Termanu*. thigh (of person). (J:499)

puu-? *Korbafo*.

puu-k *Bokai*.

puu-? *Bilbaa*.

puu-? *Landu*. thigh. (own field notes)

puu-? *Rikou*.

mpuu-k *Ba'a*.

mbuu-k *Tii*.

pusu-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. thigh.

pusu-f *Kotos Amarasi*. thigh.

pusu-f *Molo*. thigh. (M:458)

pusu-f *Kusa-Manea*. thigh.

***mbutu**₁ *PRM*. hot, burning. See: ***hotu** ‘burn’.

putu (2) na-putu *Termanu*. 1) burning, scorching. 2) scorch something. (J:505)

putu *Korbafo*.

putu *Bokai*.

putu *Bilbaa*.

putu *Rikou*.

mbutu *Tii*.

mbutu *Dengka*.

mbutu *Oenale*.

ma|putu|? *Ro'is Amarasi*. hot.

n-putu (2) putu|? (3) ma|putu|? *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) burn. 2) burnt up (wood), charcoal. 3) hot.

n-putu *Molo*. is on fire, burnt off. (M:459)

puut (2) ma|putu|? *Kusa-Manea*. 1) charcoal. 2) hot.

Out-comparisons:

otot *Semau Helong*. hot. [irr. from *PRM*: *u = o correspondences]

m'utu *Waima'a*. heat, hot.

<**mutu**> *Kambara*. burn (transitive and intransitive), on fire. [Form: The final vowel is epenthetic.] (On:295)

<**mutu**> *Kodi*.

poto-t *Buru*. hot. (Grimes and Grimes 2020:756)

mpoto *Kayeli*. fever. [Note: language of Buru Island ISO 639-3 [kzl].] (Charles E. Grimes pers. comm.)

pətu *Keo*. hot, cook, sick. [Note: language of central Flores ISO 639-3 [xxk].] (Baird 2002:572)

***mbutu**₂ *Rote*. tie up in a bundle. Doublet: ***futu**. Etym: ***butu** ‘group, crowd, flock, school, bunch, cluster’ (PCEMP). [minority from *PMP*: *b > *mb]

pu~putu *Termanu*. tie up in a bundle. (J:505)

pu~putu *Korbafo*.

pu~putu *Bilbaa*.

pu~putu *Rikou*.

mpu~mputu *Ba'a*.

mbu~mbutu *Tii*.

mbu~mbutu *Dengka*.

Out-comparisons:

butuk *East Tetun*. sheaf, bundle, v. hang many things together. (Mo:19)

***mbuu** *PRM*. make a noise. [irr. from *PRM*: *u > o in Meto] [Semantics: onomatopoeia.]

puu *Termanu*. shout, make a noise.
(J:498)
puu *Korbafo*.
puu *Bokai*.
puu *Bilbaa*.
puu *Rikou*.
mpuu *Ba'a*.

mbuu *Tii*.
mbuu *Dengka*.
mbuu *Oenale*.
na-poo *Kotos Amarasi*. make a sound.
na-poo *Molo*. rolls (thunder), pops (rifle). (M:442)

N - n

***naa₁** *PRM*. that, there. *Etym*: *-na 'distal spatio-temporal deixis: that, there; then'.

naa (2) ana, -n *Termanu*.
1) demonstrative pronoun, that there. (J:367) 2) non-emphatic form of the third person singular pronoun. (J:12) (Jonker 1915:332ff)

naa (2) ana *Korbafo*.

naa (2) ana *Bokai*.

naa (2) ana *Bilbaa*.

naa (2) ana *Rikou*.

naa (2) ana *Ba'a*.

naa (2) ana *Tii*.

naa (2) ana *Dengka*.

naa (2) ana *Oenale*.

naa *Kotos Amarasi*. zero person demonstrative.

***naa₂** *Morph*: ***naa-k**. *PRM*. woman's brother. *Etym*: *ñaRa 'brother (woman speaking)'. [*irr. from PRM*: *a > o in Meto] [*Sporadic*: *VV-k > *VVʔ > VʔV in Meto (perceptual metathesis).]
naa-k *Termanu*. brother, in relation to a sister. (J:368)

naa-ʔ *Korbafo*.

naa-k *Bokai*.

naa-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

naa-ʔ *Rikou*.

naa-k *Ba'a*.

naa-k *Tii*.

naa-ʔ *Dengka*.

naa-ʔ *Oenale*.

nao-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. brother of woman.

nao-f, naʔo *Kotos Amarasi*. brother of woman.

naʔo *Kusa-Manea*. brother.

Out-comparisons:

naan *East Tetun*. brother, cousin (only used by women to their brothers and male cousins). (Mo:145)

nara(n) *Ili'uun*. man's sister, a woman's brother. (dJ:130)

***naa₃** *Rote*. Papua New Guinea rosewood. *Pterocarpus indica*. *Etym*: *naRa. [*Semantics*: Meijer Drees (1950) gives Meto <náo>, <na> and <apnà> as *Planchonia valida* and *Barringtonia spicata*, and <matáni> as *Pterocarpus indica*.]

naa *Termanu*. kind of tree called *kayu merah* (red wood) in Kupang. (J:368)

naa *Korbafo*.

naa *Bokai*.

naa *Bilbaa*.

naa *Rikou*.

naa *Ba'a*.

naa-k *Tii*.

naa *Dengka*.

naa *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

ai naa *East Tetun*. the tree that produces rosewood; rosewood tree, a good timber for furniture. *Pterocarpus indicus*. (Mo:2, 145)

***naa4** *Morph*: ***naa-k**. *Rote*. gebang palm fibres. *Etym*: *qanahaw ‘sugar palm: Arenga spp.’. [*irr. from PMP*: *aw > *a] [*Form*: The initial parts of some of the Rote terms are analysable as reflexes of ***ekut** ‘palm fibres, woven ring from palm fibres’.]

eke_naa-k *Termanu*. the outermost hard part of a young gebang palm (called **tula pato**), which is processed (called **dusi**) and separated from the useless inner part (called **tula tei-k**) and used to make a kind of rope or string called **tali eke/naa-k** (in Kupang called **tali heknaak**), which is used to make various things (**lapik**). (J:110)

eke_naa-? *Korbafo*.

eke_naa-k *Bokai*.

heke/na-? *Bilbaa*.

(henaa-?) *Rikou*.

heke/naa-k *Ba'a*.

aki/naa-k *Tii*.

da?i/naa *Dengka*.

da?i/naa *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

naa (2) naa tais *East Tetun*.

1) palm trees of various kinds. 2) thread similar to that produced by Piassava palm. (Mo:145)

***nada** *PMeto*. gums. Doublet: ***ngadas**. *Etym*: ***ngadas** ‘palate’. [*minority from PMP*: *d = *d (expect *d > *r > *l > *n)]

nara-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. gums.

nara-f *Kotos Amarasi*. gums.

nala-n *Amanuban*. palate.

<**nala**> *Molo*. palate, uvula. (M:342)

nara-f *Kusa-Manea*. gums.

***nade** *Morph*: ***ka-nade**. *PRM*. taro, grass. *Pattern*: d-2. [*irr. from PRM*: *e > i in wRM, Ba'a, Termanu and Bokai] [*History*: possibly connected with Malay *keladi*, though l > n in Rote

would be unexplained.] [*Semantics*: The semantic connection between Rote and Meto is dubious.]

nali *Termanu*. kind of grass. (J:378)

nale *Korbafo*.

nali *Bokai*.

nale *Bilbaa*.

(nale ?) *Rikou*.

nali *Ba'a*.

nare *Tii*.

nali-? *Dengka*.

nari-? *Oenale*.

nari|? *Ro'is Amarasi*. taro.

?|**nari|?** *Kotos Amarasi*. taro.

?|**lali-dg** *Amfo'an*. taro.

?|**lali** *Molo*. taro. *Colocasia antiquorum*. (M:260)

***nado** *Rote*. look upward. *Etym*: ***ηadaq** (PWMP). [*irr. from PMP*: *a > *o (also Ende)] [*minority from PMP*: *d > *d] **nado** *Termanu*. look up, look upwards. (J:371)

nado *Bokai*.

nado *Bilbaa*.

nado *Rikou*.

nado *Ba'a*.

nado *Tii*.

olo/nado *Dengka*.

oro/nado *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

ηada *Semau Helong*. look up, come before. [*Note*: Jonker (1908:371) gives Helong **ηala**.] [*irr. from PMP*: *d = d /V_V (expect l)]

tanaat *East Tetun*. look up at (anything on a higher elevation); to look closely at someone expecting to be given something. [*Note*: Given the irregular final consonant and vowel correspondences, this may be a chance resemblance.] (Mo:180)

ηadu, ηado *Ende*. bend oneself back.

***nadʒa** *Morph:* ***nadʒa-k**. *Rote*. name.
Etym: *ŋajan. [*minority from PMP: *j > *dʒ (expect *d)*] [*Sporadic: *a > e /C+palatal_ in nRote.*] [*Form:* Given that the Meto forms are not inheritances from ***nadʒa-k**, the correspondence sets are consistent with both *dʒ (see ***fudʒə** ‘foam’) or *d. Reconstruction of medial *d provides no explanation for the change of final *a > e in Nuclear Rote. By reconstructing medial *dʒ we can propose that this vowel change is due to the previous palatal consonant before the change of *dʒ > d/d. An alternate reconstruction which can account for these reflexes would be ****nadə**, but this requires positing otherwise unattested final PMP *a to PRM *ə.]

nade-k *Termanu*. name. (J:370)

nade-ʔ *Korbafo*.

nade-k *Bokai*.

nade-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

nade=na *Landu*. name. (own field notes)

nade-ʔ *Rikou*.

nade-k *Ba’a*.

nade-k *Lole*. name. (Zacharias et al. 2014).]

nade-k *Tii*.

nala-ʔ *Dengka*.

nara-ʔ *Oenale*.

nara=na *Dela*. name.

°kana-f *Ro’is Amarasi*. name.
Borrowed from: Helong **ŋala**, before *l > n (shown by irr. *ŋ > k correspondence, combined with identical semantics).

°kana-f *Kotos Amarasi*. name, clan.

°kana-f *Molo*. name. (M:178)

°kana-f *Kusa-Manea*. name.

Out-comparisons:

ŋala *Semau Helong*. name, tribe, clan, people group.

naran *East Tetun*. name. (Mo:152)

kala *Mambae, South*. name. (Grimes et al. 2014b:24)

gala-n *Kemak*. name.

nean *Ili’uun*. name, named, be named. (dJ:130)

nae** *PRM*. big, large. *Etym:* *Raya. [*irr. from PMP: *R > *n*] [*irr. from PRM: *e > i in Kusa-Manea*] [*Form:* One possible source of the unexpected *n in PRM is historic compounding of reflexes of *maRuqanay (mone** or ***mane**) with *Raya > ****ae**. Such a form is still attested in Hawu and may be the source of Dela-Oenale **monae-ʔ** (see ***mone**). The Dela-Oenale, Dengka and Meto forms without initial **mo** or **ma** could then be subsequent reanalysis of **ma** as a prefix. However, this explanation does not account for the Bima form **nae** which also has unexpected initial *n*, suggesting that the irregular appearance of this consonant is much earlier than PRM.]

na-ma-nae *Bilbaa*. **bisu=a**
na-ma-nae the wound has swollen up (J:735)

na-anae (2) ma-nae-ʔ (3) na-ma-nae *Dengka*. 1) become big. 2) big. 3) **bisu=a na-ma-nae** the wound has swollen up (J:735)

nae (2) mo/nae-ʔ *Oenale*. 1) big, many. (J:735) 2) big. [*Form:* Historic compound of **mone** ‘man’ and *Raya > ***nae** (or perhaps earlier ****ae**).] (J:734)

nae-ʔ (2) mo/nae-ʔ, ma/nae-ʔ *Dela*. 1) many, much. 2) big, important.

na-ʔ|nae *Ro’is Amarasi*. grow.

na-ʔ|nae (2) ʔ|nae|k (3) ʔ|nae|f (4) kbenu_ʔ|naes *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) grow. 2) great, auspicious. 3) old man. 4) big fly.

ʔ|nae|k *Amfo’an*. big.

na-ʔ|nae *Molo*. big, eldest. (M:340)

bi|nai|ʔ *Kusa-Manea*. big. [*irr. from PRM: *e > i*] [*Form:* source of initial **bi** currently unknown.]

Out-comparisons:

mone ae *Hawu.* large, big, significant, important.

nae Bima. big, mature, grand. (Jonker 1893:58)

***nafu** *Rote.* to anchor. *Etym:* *nabuq ‘fall’.

nafu (2) nafu-k *Termanu.* 1) anchor (v.). 2) anchor. *Usage:* used less in Termanu, used more in Ba’a. (J:373)

nafu *Korbafo.*

nafu *Bokai.*

nafu *Bilbaa.*

nafu *Rikou.*

nafu *Ba’a.*

nafu *Tii.*

nafu *Dengka.*

nafu *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

penavu *Hawu.* anchor.

***nafu?** *PnMeto.* body hair, feather. *Etym:* **rafu (pre-Meto).

nafu? *Amanuban/Amanatun.* body hair, feathers. (M:340)

nafu? *Amfo’an.* feathers.

nafu? *Kusa-Manea.* hair.

Out-comparisons:

rahun *Fehan Tetun.* feather. (Mo:158)

ravuk *Central Lembata.* body hair, feather. (Fricke 2015)

***nahe** *Morph:* *ka-nahe-k. *CERM.* mat. *See:* *nehi. *Etym:* *hapin ‘liner, layer, insulation, padding; sleeping mat’. [*irr. from PMP:* *i > *e; *Ø > *n] [*irr. from PRM:* vowel metathesis in Meto *eCa > aCe] [*Form:* I have reconstructed *nahe with penultimate *a rather than *neha on the basis of the external evidence from Tetun (and PMP). While Meto has more instances of vowel metathesis than the Rote languages, it would be difficult to explain the connection between the Meto and Tetun forms as a result of borrowing due to the semantic

difference. Thus, *neha would require two independent instances of vowel metathesis. *nahe, on the other hand, only requires one instance of vowel metathesis in CERM.]

ne?a-k *Termanu.* mat. (J:385)

ne?a-? *Korbafo.* [Note: Jonker (1908:385) gives two forms marked K., but the second of these is surely a typographical error for R. = Rikou.]

ne?a-k *Bokai.*

nea *Bilbaa.*

nea-? *Rikou.*

?|nahe|k *Kotos Amarasi.* mat.

<nahe> *Molo.* mat. (M:341)

nahe *Kusa-Manea.* mat.

Out-comparisons:

knehe? *Funai Helong.* mat.

nehe *Semau Helong.* mat, sleeping mat.

na?e *Fehan Tetun.* spread out.

nahe *East Tetun.* spread out, unfold (mat, towel, etc.). (Mo:146)

***nako** *Rote.* steal. *Etym:* *nakaw. *Pattern:* k-5' (*k > ? in Tii and Dengka; expect *k = k).

na-ma-nako (2) nako *Termanu.* 1) steal. 2) theft. (J:374)

na-ma-nako *Bokai.*

na-ma-nako *Bilbaa.*

(2) na?o *Rikou.* thief, burglar. [Note: Jonker (1908:374) gives Rikou (na-ma-nao ?).] (Nako et al. 2014)

na-ma-nako *Ba’a.*

(2) na?o (3) nako/daa *Lole.* 2) thief. 3) thief, steal. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

na-ma-na?o *Tii.*

na-ma-na?o *Dengka.*

na-ma-nako *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

nako *Semau Helong.* steal, rob.

hamna?o *East Tetun.* rob, steal, pilfer, plunder. (Mo:71)

mena?o *Hawu.* steal, rob.

***nama** *PRM.* creep. [*Form:* Helong attests earlier initial *l. Initial *n in PRM could be sporadic assimilation to the following nasal.]

nama, **nama~nama** *Termanu.* creep, of a worm or insect. (J:379)

nama~nama *Korbafo.*

nama~nama *Bokai.*

nama~nama *Bilbaa.*

nama~nama *Rikou.*

nama~nama *Ba'a.*

nama~nama *Tii.*

nama~nama *Dengka.*

nama~nama *Oenale.*

<**aknama**> *Molo.* creeping of a plant. (M:346)

Out-comparisons:

naklama *Semau Helong.* tiptoe, sneak. [*irr. from PRM:* *n = l correspondence]

***namo**₁ *Morph:* ***ka-namo.** *nRM.* senna (kind of tree). *Senna timoriensis.*

na~namo *Termanu.* kind of healing plant called *akar pele* in Kupang. [*Semantics:* Heyne (1950:748) gives Timor Malay **kayu pelen** as *Senna timoriensis.*] (J:379)

na~namo *Korbafo.*

na~namo *Bokai.*

na~namo *Bilbaa.*

na~namo *Ba'a.*

na~namo *Tii.*

k|namo|? *Kotos Amarasi.* senna. *Senna timoriensis.* [*Form:* Middelkoop (1972:347) gives <**tefu namo**> 'wild sugarcane' and <**namo**> 'chair of banana and sugarcane' which may be related.] [*Semantics:* Identification from Heyne (1950:748) who has 'Timor' <**kěnamoh**>.]

***namo**₂ *PRM.* coast, beach. *Etym:* ***namaw** 'sheltered water: deep place in a river; cove, harbor, lagoon'.

namo *Termanu.* coast, beach. (J:379)

namo *Korbafo.*

namo *Bokai.*

namo *Bilbaa.*

namo *Rikou.*

namo *Ba'a.*

namo *Tii.*

namo *Dengka.*

namo *Oenale.*

namo *Molo.* area around a village. (M:347)

Out-comparisons:

namon *East Tetun.* mouth of river, port. (Mo:151)

namo(n) *Ili'uun.* earth, field, garden, place, world. (dJ:129)

***namba** *Morph:* ***ka-namba-k.** *nRM.* leaves covering fruit.

napa-k *Termanu.* the leaves which cover the fruit of palm trees. (J:380)

napa *Korbafo.*

napa-k *Bokai.*

napa *Bilbaa.*

napa *Rikou.*

namba-k *Tii.*

ma-k|napa-? *Kotos Amarasi.* squeezed together, conjoined.

uki k|napa|? *Molo.* the leaves of the heart-shaped banana blossom. (M:222)

***nana** *Morph:* ***nana-k.** *Rote.* pus. *Etym:* ***nananq.**

nana-k *Termanu.* pus. (J:380)

nana-? *Korbafo.*

nana-k *Bokai.*

nana-? *Bilbaa.*

nana-? *Rikou.*

nana-k *Ba'a.*

nana-k *Tii.*

nana-? *Dengka.*

nana-? *Oenale.*

***naje** *Rote.* swim. *Etym:* ***nanuy.** [*irr. from PMP:* *uy > *e (expect *i)] [*minority from PMP:* *ŋ = *ŋ (required for Termanu and Korbafo)] [*irr. from PRM:* *n > Ø in most nRote (reanalysis as agreement?)] [*History:* The Rote forms are possible borrowings from Helong. This could explain ŋ in Termanu and Korbafo. Final *uy >

e would also be irregular in Helong, but proposing that the Rote forms are borrowings from Helong requires positing irregular sound changes in one less instance.]

(?)aŋe *Termanu*. swim. (J:12)

(?)aŋe *Korbafo*.

(?)ane *Bokai*.

(?)ane *Bilbaa*.

(?)ane *Landu*. swim. (own field notes)

?ane *Rikou*. [Form: My consultants gave **na-?ane** ‘s/he swims’.]

(?)ane *Ba’a*.

nane *Tii*.

nane *Dengka*.

nane *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

naŋen *Semau Helong*. swim.

nani *East Tetun*. swim; climb (of plants). (Mo:152)

***naru** *PRM*. long, length. *Doublet*: ***daru**. *Etym*: *anaduq (Reflexes of the doublet *adaduq > ***daru** are (apparently) not found in wRote. This indicates that the Meto forms are probably inheritances of *anaduq > ***naru** even though they would also be regular from *adaduq).

ma-nalu (2) nalu (3) nalu-k, ma-nalu-k *Termanu*. 1) long. 2) long. 3) length. (J:378)

ma-nalu *Korbafo*.

ma-nalu *Bokai*.

ma-nalu *Bilbaa*.

naru-? *Rikou*. tall, long. (Nako et al. 2014)

ma-nalu *Ba’a*.

ma-nalu *Lole*. long. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

ma-naru *Tii*.

nalu-? *Dengka*. long, tall. (J:378, 736)

naru-? *Oenale*. long, tall. (J:378, 736)

naru-? *Dela*. tall, long.

m|nanu|? *Ro’is Amarasi*. long, length, deep, depth.

m|nanu|? *Kotos Amarasi*. long, length, deep, depth.

m|nanu|? *Molo*. long. [Note: No headword given for **mnanu?** but many examples of this word occur in other entries.] (M:583)

Out-comparisons:

naruk *East Tetun*. long, lengthy, tall, lofty. (Mo:152)

***nase** *Morph*: ***ka-nase**. *PRM*. fish, Blue-spot Mullet. *Moolgarda seheli*. *Etym*: *kanasay. [Form: The initial *ka of the PMP form was probably reanalysed as the nominal prefix in PRM.]

nase *Termanu*. kind of fish, the *ikan belanak*. (J:381)

nase *Korbafo*.

nase *Bokai*.

nase *Bilbaa*.

nase *Rikou*.

nase *Ba’a*.

nase *Tii*.

nase *Dengka*.

nase *Oenale*.

k|naes *Ro’is Amarasi*. mullet. [Note: Jonker (1908:381) gives unmetathesised Meto **knasa** which would probably attest irr. *e > a.] [Form: metathesised form of (currently unattested) ***knase**.]

Out-comparisons:

hnase *Helong*. (J:381)

knase (2) manu knase *East Tetun*. 1) fish. 2) hen or rooster whose spots are like those of the fish. (Mo:113)

***nasi** *PRM*. jackal jujube (kind of fruit tree). *Ziziphus oenoplia*. [Form: Helong attests earlier *ŋ.]

asi/nasi *Termanu*. kind of tree. *Ziziphus oenoplia*. (J:15; Heyne 1950:1003, cxv)

asi/nasi *Korbafo*.

kai_nasi *Bilbaa*.

ai_nasi *Rikou*.

asi/nasi *Ba’a*.

asi/nasi *Tii*.

ŋga/nasi *Dengka*.

ŋga/nasi *Oenale*.

<asnási> *Meto. Ziziphus timoriensis.*
(Meijer Drees 1950:1)

Out-comparisons:

<kaingasi> *Helong. Ziziphus oenoplia.* (Heyne 1950:1003, cxv)

ai knase *East Tetun.* tree with sticky gum. (Mo:113)

***nasu** *PRM.* cook by boiling. *Etym:* *nasu.

nasu *Termanu.* boil. (J:381)

nasu *Korbafo.*

nasu *Bokai.*

nasu *Bilbaa.*

nasu *Rikou.*

nasu *Ba'a.*

nasu *Tii.*

nasu *Dengka.*

nasu *Oenale.*

n-nasu *Kotos Amarasi.* cook greens by boiling.

n-nasu *Molo.* cooks. **n-nasu utan** one cooks uncut greens (M:352)

***natu** *Morph:* ***natu-k.** *PRM.* ovary, gamete. *Etym:* *natuq 'ovary of an oviparous animal'.

natu-k, (2) manu natu-k, (3) manu tolo natu-k *Termanu.*

1) the pollen of flowers, etc. 2) the beginnings of an egg in the body of a chicken. 3) egg yolk. (J:382)

natu-? *Korbafo.*

natu-k *Bokai.*

natu-? *Bilbaa.*

natu-? *Rikou.*

natu-k *Ba'a.*

natu-k *Tii.*

natu-? *Dengka.*

natu-? *Oenale.*

natu-f *Kotos Amarasi.* ovaries.

Out-comparisons:

natu? *Semau Helong.* roe.

keradu *Hawu.* egg yolk. (J:382)

***natu|n** *PRM.* hundred. *Etym:* *sa-ŋa-Ratus. [Form: Inherited via intermediate **ŋatus. While the final *n may be a fossilised suffix, which suffix it would be is unclear.]

natun *Termanu.* hundred. (J:382)

natun *Korbafo.*

natun *Bokai.*

natun *Bilbaa.*

natun *Rikou.*

natun *Ba'a.*

natun *Tii.*

natun *Dengka.*

natun *Oenale.*

nautun *Ro'is Amarasi.* hundred.

natun *Kotos Amarasi.* hundred.

natun *Molo.* hundred. (M:355)

natun *Kusa-Manea.* hundred.

Out-comparisons:

ŋatus *Semau Helong.* hundred.

atus *East Tetun.* hundred. [Form: Not inherited via intermediate **ŋatus.] (Mo:5)

rahu *Kisar.* hundred. [irr. from PMP: *t > h (possibly via irregular medial *s)]

ŋasu *Dhao.* hundred.

ŋahu *Hawu.* hundred.

***nee** *PRM.* six. *Etym:* *ənəm. [irr. from PMP: *ə > Ø /#_ (or final *VC > CV metathesis)]

nee *Termanu.* six. (J:383)

nee *Korbafo.*

nee *Bokai.*

nee *Bilbaa.*

nee *Rikou.*

nee *Ba'a.*

nee *Tii.*

nee *Dengka.*

nee *Oenale.*

nee *Ro'is Amarasi.* six.

nee *Kotos Amarasi.* six.

<**ne**> *Molo.* six. (M:358)

nee *Kusa-Manea.* six.

Out-comparisons:

eneŋ *Semau Helong.* six.

neen *East Tetun.* six. [irr. from PMP: *ə > e (expect o)] (Mo:153)

neem, neme, hāneem, eneem *Kemak.* six.

inam *Welaun.* six.

ineen *Galolen.* six.

ha-neen *Ili'uun.* six. (dJ:94, 130)

fa-nen *Tugun.* six. (Hinton 1991:63)

woneme *Kisar.* six.

əna *Hawu.* six.

***nee2** *PRM.* quiet, still, at rest. *Etym:* *qənəŋ. [*irr. from PMP:* *ə > Ø with doubling of the final vowel to create a disyllable, or medial VC > CV metathesis]

nee~nee (2) na-ma-nee *Termanu.*

1) still, quiet. 2) **ana suŋu na-ma-nee** s/he is fast asleep, s/he is deep asleep (J:384)

nee~nee (2) na-ma-nee *Korbafo.*

nee~nee (2) na-ma-nee *Bokai.*

nee~nee (2) na-ma-nee *Bilbaa.*

(2) na-ma-nee *Rikou.*

nee~nee (2) na-ma-nee *Ba'a.*

nee~nee (2) na-ma-nee *Tii.*

nee~nee (2) na-ma-nee *Dengka.*

nee~nee (2) na-ma-nee *Oenale.*

na-m|nee *Kotos Amarasi.* calm.

Out-comparisons:

hanook *East Tetun.* keep quiet, or silent, shut up. (Mo:76)

nehi** *Rote.* mat. *See:* ***nahe.** *Etym:* *nepi** (pre-RM). [*History:* Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PMP *təpiR which is the source of Hawu **dəpi** and Dhao **dʒəpi**. However, initial *t cannot regularly account for initial *n* in the Rote or Bima forms.]

neʔi (2) ne~neʔi-k *Termanu.* 1) lie on top of something. **ana neʔi neʔa-k esa** he lies on a mat. (J:386)
2) the action of lying on something; mat, bag functioning as a pillow or mattress (Dutch *bultzak*). (J:387)

neʔi *Korbafo.*

neʔi *Bokai.*

nei *Bilbaa.*

neʔi (2) ne~neʔi-k *Ba'a.*

(2) ne~neʔi-k *Lole.* mat. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

neʔi (2) (ne~)neʔi-k *Tii.*

(2) ne~nei-ʔ *Dengka.*

(2) ne~nei-ʔ *Oenale.*

(2) ne~nei-ʔ *Dela.* mat, rug.

Out-comparisons:

nepi *Bima.* mattress, bag functioning as a pillow or mattress (Dutch *bultzak*). (Jonker 1893:60)

***neko** *Morph:* ***neko-k.** *nRM.* abomasum (the fourth and final stomach compartment in ruminants that secretes rennet). *Pattern:* k-5/6.

neko-(k) *Termanu.* one of the parts of the stomach of a ruminant, the abomasum, in Kupang *perut lingkak*. (J:387)

neko-k *Tii.*

neko-n *Meto.* (J:387)

***nembə** *Morph:* ***nembə-k.** *Rote.* hard, fixed. *Etym:* *təbəl 'thick, of objects; dense, of crowds'. [*irr. from PMP:* *t > *n; *b > *mb] [*irr. from PRM:* *n > m in Bilbaa and Rikou]

nepe-k *Termanu.* hard, fixed. (J:391)

nepe *Korbafo.*

nepe-k *Bokai.*

mepe-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

mepe-ʔ *Rikou.*

nempe-k *Ba'a.*

nemba-ʔ *Oenale.*

***nene1** *PRM.* press, push. [*irr. from PRM:* *n > ʔ in Rote except Bilbaa and Rikou]

neʔe *Termanu.* push. (J:386)

neʔe *Korbafo.*

neʔe *Bokai.*

nene *Bilbaa.*

nene *Rikou.*

neʔe *Ba'a.*

neʔe *Tii.*

neʔe *Dengka.*

n-nene *Kotos Amarasi.* press, push.

na-nene *Molo.* presses on. (M:362)

***nene2** *Rote.* hear, listen. [*History:* Perhaps connected with PMP *dəŋəR, though this requires irregular initial *d > *n and final *ə > *e (expect final *ə = *ə). Furthermore, *dəŋəR is retained regularly in Oenale and Meto (see ***rena**).]

na-ma-nene (2) nene~nene

(3) **ne~nene** *Termanu*. 1) hear.

2) listen. 3) listen. (J:388)

na-ma-nene *Korbafo*.

na-ma-nene *Bokai*.

na-ma-nene *Bilbaa*.

na-ma-nene *Rikou*.

na-ma-nene *Ba'a*.

ni-mi-nene *Lole*. (J:737)

na-ma-nene, i-mi-nene *Tii*. (J:388, 705)

na-ma-nene *Dengka*.

na-ma-nene *Oenale*.

***neo** *Rote*. shy, jealous.

neo *Termanu*. shy, be scared. (J:390)

neo *Korbafo*.

neo *Bokai*.

na-neo *Bilbaa*.

neo *Rikou*.

neo *Ba'a*.

neo *Lole*. suspicious. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

neo *Tii*.

neo *Dengka*.

na-ma-neo *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

neo *Semau Helong*. jealous.

***neru** *Morph*: ***na-ma-neru**. *Rote*. warm oneself. [*irr. from PRM*: *e > i in several Rote lects (sporadic assimilation)] [*Form*: Reconstruction of penultimate *e requires *irr*. *e > i in at least three separate cases: West Rote (*Oenale*, *Dengka*), central Rote (*Termanu*, *Bilbaa*), and *Hawu*. However, this sound change can be motivated as a case of sporadic assimilation to the following high vowel and/or an earlier palatal nasal (as attested in *Hawu*). Reconstruction of penultimate *e would require unmotivated *i > e in at least two cases: eastern Rote (*Korbafo*, *Bokai*, *Rikou*) and *Ba'a*.]

na-ma-nilu *Termanu*. warm oneself. (J:397)

na-ma-nelu *Korbafo*.

na-ma-nelu *Bokai*.

na-ma-nilu *Bilbaa*.

na-ma-neru *Rikou*.

na-ma-nelu *Ba'a*.

na-ma-niru *Tii*.

na-ma-nilu *Dengka*.

na-mba-niru *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

mepiru ai *Hawu*. warm self over fire.

***nesa** *nRM*. same, alike. [*History*: This is almost certainly connected with ***esa** 'one'.]

na-ka-nesak *Termanu*. compare, equate. (J:391)

na-ka-nesak *Bokai*.

na-ka-nesak *Ba'a*.

na-ka-nesak *Tii*.

na-m|nesa *Kotos Amarasi*. same.

na-nesa (2) na-m|nesa *Molo*.

1) agree with one another. 2) alike. (M:364)

Out-comparisons:

hanesa-n *East Tetun*. be the same, equal, or identical, be alike; *n*. similar; *adv*. similarly, equally, of the same type, shape, make, or size. (Mo:75)

***nesu** *Morph*: ***nesu-k**. *PRM*. mortar. *Etym*: *ləsuŋ. [*irr. from PMP*: *l > *n] [*irr. from PRM*: *n > Ø in most *Meto* (also *Helong*)] [*Form*: Out-comparisons point to pre-RM **ŋəsun, perhaps with metathesis of initial and final consonants.]

nesu-k *Termanu*. mortar. (J:392)

nesu-? *Korbafo*.

nesu-k *Bokai*.

nesu-k *Bilbaa*.

nesu-? *Rikou*.

nesu-k *Ba'a*.

nesu-k *Tii*.

nesu-? *Dengka*.

nesu-? *Oenale*.

eusu|k *Ro'is Amarasi*. mortar.

esu|k *Kotos Amarasi*. mortar.

esu|? *Molo*. mortar. (M:104)

nesu|k *Kusa-Manea*. mortar.

Out-comparisons:

- isuj** *Helong*. mortar. (J:392)
nesun *East Tetun*. mortar, part of a tree trunk with a hollow at one end, used in conjunction with **alu** for de-husking grain; v. to pound or grind grain, tapioca, etc. [*irr. from PMP: *ə > e (expect o)*] (Mo:154)
knehun *Ili'uun*. mortar (for rice-pounding). (dJ:121)
nesug *Kemak*. mortar. *Usage*: Saneri and Leosibe dialects.
kosun *Welaun*. mortar.
ṛəṛṛu *Dhao*. mortar and pestle.
***neta** *Morph: *na-ma-neta*. *Rote*. choke. *Etym: **ma-ṛeta (pre-RM)*.
na-ma-neta *Termanu*. choke, unable to take a breath. (J:392)
na-ma-neta *Ba'a*.
na-ma-neta *Tii*.
na-ma-neta *Dengka*.
na-ma-neta *Oenale*.
Out-comparisons:
mejita *Hawu*. (J:392)
***nihe** *Morph: *nihe-k*. *Rote*. ant. *Etym: *nipay 'snake'. [irr. from PRM: *e > a in Ba'a; *e > i in Korbafo and East Rote (sporadic assimilation?)]*
neʔe-k *Termanu*. ant. (J:386)
niʔi-ʔ *Korbafo*.
nii-ʔ *Bilbaa*.
nii-ʔ *Landu*. (own field notes)
nii-ʔ *Rikou*.
nii-ʔ *Oepao*. (own field notes)
niʔa-k *Ba'a*.
niʔe-k *Lole*. ant. (Zacharias et al. 2014)
niʔe-k *Tii*.
nie-ʔ *Dengka*.
nie-ʔ *Oenale*.
Out-comparisons:
neʔek *Fehan Tetun*. ant.
nehek *East Tetun*. ant (of many varieties). (Mo:153)
nec *Kisar*. snake.

- *nihis** *Morph: *ma-nihis*. *PRM*. thin. *Etym: *nipis 'thinness (of materials)'*. [*irr. from PRM: *i > a in Meto; *h > ʔ /V_V in wRote (expect Ø)*]
niʔis (2) *na-ma-niʔi* *Termanu*.
 1) thin. 2) become thin. (J:396)
niʔi-ʔ *Korbafo*.
nii-ʔ *Bilbaa*.
niis *Landu*. thin. (own field notes)
niis *Rikou*.
niʔis *Ba'a*.
niʔis *Lole*. thin. (Zacharias et al. 2014)
niʔis *Tii*.
niʔis *Dengka*.
niʔis *Oenale*.
mainihās *Kotos Amarasi*. thin. [*Note: I also have manihis as an alternate form in my dictionary but I don't know the source of this form and when I checked it with my main Amarasi consultant he was mystified by it.*]
mainihās *Molo*. thin. (M:xxx)
manihis *Timaus*. thin. [*Form: regular assimilation of *a in final closed syllables.*]
Out-comparisons:
mnihis *Funai Helong*. thin.
nihis *Semau Helong*. thin.
niʔis *Fehan Tetun*. thin (not thick), sensitive (of a person).
mihis *East Tetun*. thin, slender (slices, etc.). (Mo:142)
***niit** *Morph: *ka-niit*. *PRM*. crab. [*Form: The Tetun forms point to earlier **ka-nipis, though positing these forms as cognate requires irr. *p > (*h) > Ø in Termanu, Ba'a, Bokai, Korbafo and Tii.*]
nii-k, iʔa nii-k *Termanu*. crab. (J:396)
nii-ʔ *Korbafo*.
nii-k *Bokai*.
nii-ʔ *Bilbaa*.
nii-ʔ *Rikou*.
nii-k *Ba'a*.
nii-k *Tii*.

niit, **nii-ʔ** *Dengka*. [Note: Both Dengka forms flagged as ‘also surely Dengka’.]

niit *Oenale*.

k|niit *Ro'is Amarasi*.

k|niit *Kotos Amarasi*. crab.

k|niit *Molo*. horn (instrument). (M:223)

Out-comparisons:

kniit *Funai Helong*. crab.

hniit *Semau Helong*. crab.

niʔis *Fehan Tetun*. freshwater crab. [irr. from PRM: *Ø = ʔ correspondence; *t = s correspondences (perhaps influenced by **niʔis** ‘thin’)]

nihis *East Tetun*. small crab of quiet water. *Usage*: Luka and Ue Keke villages. [irr. from PRM: *Ø = h correspondence; *t = s correspondences (perhaps influenced by **mihis** ‘thin’)] (Mo:154)

mihis *East Tetun*. a variety of crab. *Usage*: Bubu Susu village. [irr. from PRM: *n = m correspondence] (Mo:154)

kaniik *Kupang Malay*. (J:396)

***nimba** *Rote*. kind of fish. [irr. from PRM: *a > e in most Rote]

nipa *Termanu*. kind of sea fish called *ikan nipe* in Kupang. (J:398)

nipe *Korbafo*.

nipe *Bokai*.

nipe *Bilbaa*.

nipe *Rikou*.

nimpa *Ba'a*.

nimbe *Tii*.

nimbe *Dengka*.

nimbe *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

nipe *Semau Helong*. (J:398)

***nini** *Morph*: ***nini-k**. *Rote*. mosquito. *Etym*: *ñikñik ‘tiny biting insect: gnat, sandfly’.

nini-k *Termanu*. mosquito. (J:397)

nini-k *Korbafo*.

nini-ʔ *Bokai*.

nini-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

nini-ʔ *Landu*. mosquito. (own field notes)

nini-ʔ *Rikou*.

nini-k *Ba'a*.

nini-k *Tii*.

nini-ʔ *Dengka*.

nini-ʔ *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

knikiʔ *Funai Helong*. mosquito.

nikiʔ, **hmiki** *Semau Helong*. mosquito.

ninik *East Tetun*. small mosquito with a painful sting. (Mo:154)

nini *Hawu*. kind of small mosquito. (J:397)

***nisi** *Morph*: ***nisi-k**. PRM. tooth, teeth. *Etym*: *ŋis(ŋ)i(s) ‘grin, show the teeth’.

nisi-k *Termanu*. tooth. (J:398)

nisi-ʔ *Korbafo*.

nisi-k *Bokai*.

nisi-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

nisi-ʔ *Landu*. (own field notes)

nisi-ʔ *Rikou*.

nisi-ʔ *Oepao*. (own field notes)

nisi-k *Ba'a*.

nisi-k *Tii*.

nisi-ʔ *Dengka*.

nisi-ʔ *Oenale*.

nisi-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. tooth.

nisi-f *Kotos Amarasi*. tooth.

nisi-k *Molo*. tooth. (M:372)

nisi-f *Kusa-Manea*. tooth.

Out-comparisons:

sii *Semau Helong*. tooth. [irr. from PMP: *ŋi > Ø]

kisaa-t *Welaun*. teeth. [irr. from PMP: *is > Ø, apparently from intermediate **ŋis]

***nitas** PRM. hazel sterculia tree. *Sterculia foetidea*.

nitass *Termanu*. kind of tree also called *nitass* in Kupang, the wood of this tree is used in carpentry, amongst other things for coffins, the fruit

of this tree (the **nita boa-k**) yields a kind of resin: **dama nitas**, the ashes of the dried husks are also used. (J:399f)

nita-ʔ *Korbafo*.

nita-ʔ *Bokai*.

nita-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

nitass *Rikou*.

nitass *Ba'a*.

nitass *Tii*.

nitass *Dengka*.

nitass *Oenale*.

<**nitass**> *Molo*. kind of tree. *Sterculia foetidea*. (M:374)

Out-comparisons:

nitass, ai knitass *East Tetun*. tree with good timber. *Sterculia foetidea*. (Mo:153)

nita *Sika*. *Sterculia foetidea*. (Verheijen 1984:67)

nitaʔ *Komodo*. *Sterculia foetidea*. (Verheijen 1984:67)

nintap *Manggarai*. *Sterculia foetidea*. (Verheijen 1984:67)

litap *East Manggarai*. *Sterculia foetidea*. (Verheijen 1984:67)

litat *Kepo'*. *Sterculia foetidea*. [Note: language of central Flores ISO 639-3 [kuk].] (Verheijen 1984:67)

litat *Rajong*. *Sterculia foetidea*. [Note: language of central Flores ISO 639-3 [rjg].] (Verheijen 1984:67)

***nitu** *PRM*. spirit. *Ety*m: *qanitu 'ghost, ancestral spirit; nature spirit; corpse; owl; various plants'.

nitu *Termanu*. spirits of the ancestors; demon. (J:400)

nitu *Korbafo*.

nitu *Bokai*.

nitu *Bilbaa*.

nitu *Rikou*.

nitu *Ba'a*.

nitu *Tii*.

nitu *Dengka*.

nitu *Oenale*.

nitu *Kotos Amarasi*. spirit of dead person, corpse.

nitu *Molo*. corpse and spirit. (M:374)

***nodo** *Rote*. crawl, creep. *Doublet*: ***rodok**.

nodo~nodo *Termanu*. crawl forward, usually said of children; push forward on one's behind. (J:402)

nodo~nodo *Korbafo*.

nodo~nodo *Bokai*.

nodo~nodo *Bilbaa*.

nodo~nodo *Rikou*.

nodo~nodo *Ba'a*.

nodo~nodo *Tii*.

nodo~nodo used in place of **lodo** for the crawling of snakes, etc. *Dengka*. **nodo~nodo** *Oenale*. used in place of **lodo** for the crawling of snakes, etc.

***noe** *PRM*. melt.

noe *Termanu*. melt, dissolve; melt something. (J:402)

noe *Korbafo*.

noe *Bokai*.

noe *Bilbaa*.

noe *Rikou*.

noe *Ba'a*.

noe *Tii*.

noe *Dengka*.

noe *Oenale*.

na-m|noe *Kotos Amarasi*. melt.

na-m|noe, na-t|noe (2) na-noe-b *Molo*. 1) melted. 2) someone melts something. (M:377)

Out-comparisons:

noe(m) (2) noe *Semau Helong*. 1) melt. 2) destroyed, damaged, shattered, smashed, crushed.

***noh** *PRM*. coconut. *Ety*m: *niuR. [irr. from PMP: *i > Ø; *u > *o; *R > *h (also in *klaha and *taha)] [irr. from PRM: Ø > a in Meto (also Kemak)] [History: The connection between PMP *niuR and PRM *noh involves several irregularities. Firstly, final *h must be reconstructed to account for the Meto reflexes as Meto usually

retains *h finally while it is lost in Rote (cf. ***dilah**, ***mbuah**, ***sikəh**, ***henuh**, and ***nunuh**). PRM *h could plausibly, though irregularly, be derived from *R as the change *R > *h is attested in two other forms (cf. ***klaha**, ***taha**). Secondly, the lowering of *u > *o must be accounted for. While lowering of high vowels to mid before *R is sporadically attested in the Rote-Meto languages, it is not attested in other languages of the Timor region included in the out-comparisons that also have irr. *u > o in this form (e.g. Ili'uun **iku** 'tail' < *ikuR, **telu** < *qatəluR 'egg'). This indicates that *u > o is an irregular development before the time of PRM. Thirdly, the second vowel *a* must be accounted for in Meto. This could be an irregular insertion in PMeto in order to create a disyllable, though we would probably expect that the original single vowel would have been doubled, as in the Rote languages and several other languages of the region. (Helong has **nian**, which also has irregular insertion of *a*, though the retention of *i = *i* in Helong indicates that it is not directly connected with the Meto form.) Finally, reflexes of PMP *niuR that do not attest irr. *u > o are also found in the greater Timor region. Examples include Tetun **nuu**, Welaun **nuu**, Leti **nura** and Dhao **niu**. This indicates that the precursor to irregular ***noh** probably occurred alongside regular reflexes of PMP *niuR in this region.]

noo *Termanu*. coconut (tree and fruit). (J:400)

noo *Korbafo*.

noo *Bokai*.

noo *Bilbaa*.

noo *Landu*. coconut. (own field notes)

noo *Rikou*.

noo *Ba'a*.

noo *Tii*.

noo *Dengka*.

noo *Oenale*.

noah *Ro'is Amarasi*. coconut.

noah *Kotos Amarasi*. coconut.

noah *Molo*. coconut. (M:376)

noah, **noha** *Kusa-Manea*. coconut.

[Form: The form **noha** ['nohe] may be due to reanalysis of **noah** as a metathesised form given that Kusa-Manea does not have assimilation of /a/ after metathesis. This is also attested in **puah**, **puha** 'betel nut'.]

Out-comparisons:

noo *Galolen*. coconut.

noo *Mambae*, *South*. coconut. (Grimes et al. 2014b:35)

noo *Ili'uun*. coco-tree. (dJ:130)

noor *Tugun*. coconut. (Hinton 2000:120)

nor *Kisar*. coconut.

noa *Kemak*. coconut. Usage: Kutubaba and Leolima dialects. [Form: Final *a* in Kemak may be an irregular vocalisation of earlier final *R. Compare *qauR > Kemak **oa** ~ **ua** 'bamboo'.]

nua *Kemak*. coconut. Usage: other known varieties of Kemak.

***noko** *Rote*. shake. Pattern: k-5. [irr. from PRM: *o > u in second sense in Korbafo, Bokai, and Bilbaa]

noko~noko (2) **na-ka-no~noko** *Termanu*. 1) shake, move in a shaking manner. 2) shake something. (J:405)

(2) **na-ka-nu~nuku** *Korbafo*.

noko~noko (2) **na-ka-nu~nuku** *Bokai*.

(2) **na-ka-nu~nuku** *Bilbaa*.

noko~noko *Rikou*.

noko~noko (2) na-ka-no~noko
Ba'a.

noko~noko (2) na-ka-no~noko
Tii.

noko~noko *Dengka.*

Out-comparisons:

poko, kepoko *Hawu.* shake.
(J:405)

***nono₁** *PnMeto.* sorcery. [*Form:* If these forms are indeed related, they probably point to earlier **nodo(h).]

<**le?u nono**> *Molo.* fertility magic.
(M:384)

Out-comparisons:

in nodo *Funai Helong.* sorcerer, witch.

nodoh *Semau Helong.* sorcery.

***nono₂** *PnMeto.* family group.

nono (2) nono-t *Kotos Amarasi.*
1) kind of jungle rope, liana; descent group. 'lianas which encircle the clan and hence symbolize its fertility' (Schulte Nordholt 1971:116). 2) family, clan group.

nono-t *Molo.* origin group. (M:384)

Out-comparisons:

noru *Buru.* origin group, kin group, clan. (Grimes and Grimes 2020:663)

***nori** *Morph:* ***na-nori.** *PRM.* teach, learn.

na-noli *Termanu.* learn, instruct.
(J:406)

na-noli *Korbafo.*

na-noli *Bokai.*

na-noli *Bilbaa.*

na-nori *Rikou.*

na-noli *Ba'a.*

na-nori *Tii.*

na-noli *Dengka.*

na-nori *Oenale.*

na-noni? *Ro's Amarasi.* learn, teach.

na-noni? *Kotos Amarasi.* learn, teach.

na-noin-a? *Molo.* points out. (M:379)

Out-comparisons:

hanorin *Fehan Tetun.* teach, instruct, indoctrinate.

hanourin *East Tetun.* teach, instruct, indoctrinate. (Mo:76)

nori *Kisar.* coax, persuade, woo.

nori (2) noir *Mambae, South.*

1) teaching, lesson. 2) teach, instruct. (Grimes et al. 2014:35)

nori *Dhao.* teaching.

***noto** *Morph:* ***noto~noto.** *PRM.* slow.

noto~noto *Termanu.* slow (walking).
(J:407)

noto~noto *Korbafo.*

noto~noto *Bokai.*

noto~noto *Bilbaa.*

noto~noto *Rikou.*

noto~noto *Ba'a.*

noto~noto *Tii.*

noto~noto *Dengka.*

not~noto? *Kotos Amarasi.* slow, taking some time; e.g. describes the situation of a person very early in the morning when they have just gotten out of bed, they are still sleepy and just sitting around without having started doing anything.

Out-comparisons:

noto~notok *Fehan Tetun.* quiet.

noto *Mambae, South.* quiet, silent.
(Grimes et al. 2014b:36)

***nudu** *Morph:* ***nudu-k.** *PwRM.* outer mouth region. *Etym:* **ɲusuq* 'nasal area; snout'. [*irr. from PMP:* **s* > **d*] [*Sporadic:* **n* > *r/l* in most varieties of Meto (except Ro's Amarasi and optionally Kusa-Manea).] [*Form:* Irregular **s* > **d* may have been through intermediate **z* [dʒ]. Irregular **s* > **z* is also found in Celebic for this form, e.g. Balaesang **ɲudu**, Dampelas **ɲuɖu** (Himmelman 2001:160f). However, while the reflexes in southwest Maluku also have irregularities in this consonant, these cannot be attributed to **z*. Instead, they attest irregular **s* > **d*.]

nudu-? *Dengka.* lip, beak of bird.
(J:739)

nudu-ʔ *Oenale*. lip, beak of bird. (J:739)

nuru-n *Ro'is Amarasi*. lip.

ruru-f *Kotos Amarasi*. outer mouth region.

lulu-f *Molo*. lip(s). (M:292)

nuru-f, ruru-f *Kusa-Manea*. lips.

Out-comparisons:

nuru *Ili'uun*. mucus, slime. (dJ:148)

nuran (2) nuran wulla

(3) nurhe *Kisar*. 1) mouth.

2) moustache. 3) snot.

nuru *Luang*. mouth. [Note: language of southwest Maluku ISO 639-3 [lex].] (Taber 1993:424)

nur-e *Central Marsela*. mouth. (Taber 1993:424)

***nuʔa** *PRM*. scabies. *Etym*: *nuka 'wound'. [Sporadic: *a > e / _# in Meto.]

nuʔa *Termanu*. scabies. (J:408)

nuʔa *Korbafo*.

nuʔa *Bokai*.

nua *Bilbaa*.

nuʔa *Rikou*.

nuʔa *Ba'a*.

nuʔa *Tii*.

nuʔa *Dengka*.

nuʔe *Amanuban*. wound. (M:389)

Out-comparisons:

nuka *East Tetun*. ulcer, atrophic sore (difficult to heal, possibly due to poor nutrition). (Mo:155)

noʔo *Kisar*. wound, sore, cut.

nua *West Damar*. wound. [Note: language of southwest Maluku ISO 639-3 [drn].] (Chlenov and Chlenova 2008:154)

***numbu** *Morph*: ***na-numbu**. *Rote*. grow, germinate, sprout. *Doublet*: ***tumbu**. *Etym*: *tu(m)buq. [irr. from *PMP*: *t > *n (also in Helong and Central Lembata)]

na-nupu *Termanu*. sprouting, germination of seeds, fruits. (J:409)

na-nupu *Korbafo*.

na-nupu *Bokai*.

na-nupu *Bilbaa*.

na-nupu *Rikou*.

na-numpu *Ba'a*.

na-numbu *Tii*.

na-numbu *Dengka*.

na-numbu *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

nupu *Semau Helong*. grow, shoot.

nubu *Central Lembata*. grow. (Fricke 2015)

***nunuh** *PRM*. banyan tree. *Etym*: *nunuk.

nunu-ʔ *Bilbaa*. banyan. (J:739)

nunu-ʔ *Rikou*.

nunu-k *Tii*.

nunu_londa-ʔ *Dengka*. aerial roots of the banyan tree. [Note: **liti-ʔ** = 'banyan tree'.] (J:739)

nunu_londa-ʔ *Oenale*. aerial roots of the banyan tree. [Note: **liti_bibi-ʔ** = 'banyan tree'.] (J:739)

nunah *Ro'is Amarasi*. banyan tree.

nunuh *Kotos Amarasi*. banyan tree.

nunuh *Molo*. banyan tree. *Ficus* species. (M:393)

Out-comparisons:

nunuʔ *beas Semau Helong*. banyan.

***nuga** *PRM*. kind of flowering tree. *Cordia* species. *Etym*: **nuŋan (pre-RM).

kai/nuna-k *Termanu*. kind of tree, people usually put the afterbirth in a certain kind of basket and hang it from this tree. (J:216)

kai/nuna-ʔ *Korbafo*.

kai/nuna-k *Bokai*.

kai_nuna-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

ai_nuna-ʔ *Rikou*.

ngai/nuna-k *Ba'a*.

nuna-k *Tii*.

nugga-ʔ *Dengka*.

nugga-ʔ *Oenale*.

nuk/baʔi *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of tree.

nun/baʔi, nuk/baʔi, kuk/baʔi (2)

kuk/baiʔ tasi, nuk/baiʔ tasi (3)

nuk/baiʔ <nono> (4) nun/baiʔ

fui (5) ʔ|nuna fui *Molo*. 1) kind of

tree. *Cordia* species. [Form: Forms with initial and medial *k* probably show sporadic assimilation of *n > *ŋ / _Vŋ. (Compare ***gura** ‘young’ for similar assimilation.)] (M:390, 391, 245) 2) kind of tree. *Cordia subcordata*. (M:390, 245) 3) kind of tree. *Cordia dichotoma*. (M:390) 4) kind of tree. *Cordia obliqua*. (M:391) 5) kind of tree with a soft trunk. *Cordia obliqua*. (M:391)

Out-comparisons:

tatasi_nunaj Helong. *Cordia obliqua*. (Heyne 1950:1307, ccxx)

ai nunan East Tetun. tree with good red timber. *Cordia subpubescens*. (Mo:155)

***nusa** PRM. island, state. *Etym*: *nusa.

nusa-k Termanu. island; land, landscape, state; city. (J:409)

nusa-? Korbafo.

nusa-k Bokai.

nusa-? Bilbaa.

nusa-? Rikou.

nusa-k Ba'a.

nusa-k Tii.

nusa-? Dengka.

nusa-? Oenale.

nusa Timaus. island.

nusa Meto. (J:409)

Out-comparisons:

nusa Semau Helong. kingdom, nation, state, country, island.

nusa East Tetun. island. (Mo:155)

***nuu₁** Morph: ***nuu-k**. Rote. bird's nest.

manu_nuu-k Termanu. kind of basket made from lontar leaves for hens to lay their eggs in. (J:408)

manu_nuu-? Korbafo.

manu_nuu-k Bokai.

manu_nuu-? Bilbaa.

manu_nuu-? Rikou.

manu_nuu-k Ba'a.

manu_nuu-k Tii.

manu_nuu-? Dengka.

manu_nuu-? Oenale.

Out-comparisons:

hnoo Semau Helong. nest. [irr. from PRM: *u = o correspondence]

snoo Bolok Helong. nest.

knuuk East Tetun. nest, den, lair (of animals and birds). (Mo:114)

***nuu₂** CERM. property, possession. *Etym*: *anu ‘unnamed thing’.

nuu Termanu. property, possession. (J:407)

nuu Korbafo.

nuu Bokai.

nuu Bilbaa.

nuu Rikou.

=**nu** Kotos Amarasi. used to mark an otherwise unexpressed plural possessum with VV final pronouns.

***nuus** Rote. squid. *Etym*: *nuəs (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) comment regarding their reconstruction: ‘The search for a PMP term for ‘squid’ is frustrating, since there are many words with this meaning that show greater than chance phonetic similarity, but few that exhibit recurrent sound correspondences, a situation that obtains even within the Oceanic group’). [irr. from PMP: *ə > u (sporadic assimilation)] [History: Pawley (2011:200) reconstructs POC *nusa and *nus. PCEMP *nus could account for the Timor reflexes with doubling of the vowel to fulfil the disyllabic requirement for content words.]

(i?a) **nuus** Termanu. squid. (J:408)

nuu-? Korbafo.

nuu-? Bokai.

nuu-? Bilbaa.

nuus Rikou.

nuus Ba'a.

nuus Tii.

nuus Dengka.

nuus Oenale.

Out-comparisons:

nuus Semau Helong. squid.

ND - nd

- *ndake₁** *PnRote*. climb, ascend. *Etym*: *dakih. *Pattern*: k-7/8/9/10. [*irr. from PMP*: *d > *nd; *i > *e (influence from *sakay > *sake ‘go up’)]
ndaʔe *Termanu*. climb (a mountain). (J:412)
ndaʔe *Korbafo*.
laʔe *Bokai*.
na-lake *Bilbaa*.
raʔe *Rikou*.
ndaʔe *Ba'a*.
ndaʔe *Tii*.
- *ndake₂** *Rote*. betel leaves. *Pattern*: k-8/9' (*k > Ø in Oepao, *k > ʔ, Ø in Rikou; expect only *k > ʔ in both). [*irr. from PRM*: *nd > d in Termanu, Korbafo, Bokai, Landu, and Ba'a] [*Form*: Assimilations of *nd > d in first sense are due to this term being compounded with reflexes of *doo-k ‘leaf’, compare reflexes of *ndiki ‘ear’ and *bife ‘lips’.]
daʔe_doo-k *Termanu*. betel, betel-pepper, both the plant and the leaf. (J:69)
daʔe_doo-ʔ *Korbafo*.
daʔe_doo-k *Bokai*.
lake_doo-ʔ *Bilbaa*. [*Form*: My own field notes have Bilbaa **leke_doo-ʔ** ‘sirih’ = ‘betel leaves/pepper’.]
dake_doo-ʔ *Landu*. betel leaves/pepper. (own field notes)
raʔi_doo-ʔ, rai_doo-ʔ *Rikou*. [*Form*: Jonker (1908:69) has medial glottal stop, Nako et al. (2014) does not.]
rii_doo-ʔ *Oepao*. betel leaves/pepper. (own field notes)
daʔe_doo-k *Ba'a*.
ndaʔe_doo-k *Lole*. betel-pepper. (Zacharias et al. 2014)
ndaʔe_doo *Tii*.
ndaʔe *Dengka*.
ndaʔe *Oenale*.
ndaʔe *Dela*. betel leaves.
- *ndake_buʔu** *Morph*: *ndake_buʔu-k. *Rote*. wild basil. *Pattern*: k-6' (*k > ʔ in Ba'a and Tii; expect *k = k, *k > Ø in Rikou; expect *k > ʔ).
ndaʔe_buʔu, ndaʔe_buʔu *Termanu*. wild basil, called *fleskrois* in Kupang. (J:413)
ndaʔe_buʔu *Korbafo*.
lake_buʔu *Bokai*.
leke_buu *Bilbaa*.
(rae_buʔu ?) *Rikou*.
ndaʔe_buʔu *Ba'a*.
ndaʔe_buʔu *Tii*.
ndaʔe_buu *Dengka*.
ndaʔe_buu *Oenale*.
- *ndaki** *Morph*: *ka-ndaki. *PRM*. kind of aquatic snake or leech. *Pattern*: k-5. [*irr. from PRM*: *nd > r in Meto (expect k)]
ndaki *Termanu*. kind of water snake called *ular ndaki* in Kupang Malay. (J:413)
ndaki *Korbafo*.
laki *Bilbaa*.
raʔi *Rikou*.
ndaki *Ba'a*.
ndaki *Tii*.
ndaki *Oenale*.
ʔ|rake|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. leech.
<lake> *Molo*. leech. (M:257)
ra~rake|ʔ *Kusa-Manea*. leech.
- *ndaru** *PRM*. cut. [*irr. from PRM*: *r > l in Rikou (sporadic dissimilation?)]
ndalu *Termanu*. cut off, cut the end off something. (J:414)
ndalu *Korbafo*.
lalu *Bokai*.
ralu *Rikou*.
ndalu *Ba'a*.
ndaru *Tii*.
ndalu *Dengka*.
ndaru *Oenale*.
n-ranu *Ro'is Amarasi*. cut a field.
n-kanu *Kotos Amarasi*. cut a field.

<kanu> (2) <an?ote kanu> *Molo*.
1) overgrown garden. 2) he cuts
down the wood in a new garden.
(M:180)

***ndau** *Rote*. needle. *Etym.* *zaRum.
[minority from PMP: *z > *nd (expect
*d)] [History: This is probably an
early loan, though the source language
has not been identified.]

nda~ndau-k *Termanu*. needle.
(J:415)

nda~ndau-ʔ *Korbafo*.

la~lau-k *Bokai*.

la~lau-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

ra~rau-ʔ *Rikou*.

nda~ndau-k *Ba'a*.

nda~ndau-k *Tii*.

nda~ndau-t *Dengka*.

nda~ndau-t *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

lauj *Semau Helong*. needle. [irr.
from PMP: *R > Ø (expect l)]

daun *East Tetun*. needle. (Mo:23)

***ndefa** *PRM*. landslide. *See:* *feraz.
[History: Interference/collapse with
*feraz, which is likely related via
consonant metathesis. A possible
etymon for *ndefa is PWMP *rəbaq
[rəbaq] ‘collapse, fall down, as a
house’ with doublets *rəbas and
*Rəbaq (Blust and Trussel ongoing).]

ndefa (2) na-ndefa *Termanu*.

1) landslide of earth of stones
from a mountain into a chasm;
collapse. 2) drop, make something
fall. [Semantics: Both senses are
verbs.] (J:416f)

ndefa *Korbafo*.

lefa *Bokai*.

lefa *Bilbaa*.

ndefa *Landu*. cliff, ravine, landslide.
(own field notes)

refa *Rikou*.

ndefa *Ba'a*.

ndefa *Tii*.

ndefa *Dengka*.

ndefa (3) nde~ndefa-ʔ *Oenale*.
3) ravine. (J:130)

ndefa-ʔ *Dela*. push over.

refe|k (2) n-refa *Ro'is Amarasi*.

1) ravine, cliff, gap. 2) be affected
or destroyed by a landslide.

kefa|n *Kotos Amarasi*. ravine, cliff,
gap.

<kefa> *Molo*. gorge, steep cliff.
(M:192)

***ndelat** *PRM*. lightning. [Form: Final
*t finds external support from Ili'uun.
The final t in Meto may have been
reanalysed as a nominalising suffix.]
[History: This could be connected with
PWMP *kidəlat ‘lightning’ (Blust and
Trussel ongoing) with irr. *d > *nd.
However, the only evidence given for
PWMP *kidəlat ‘lightning’ is Tagalog
kidlāt and Malay **kilat**. The Malay
form is also given as evidence for PMP
*kilat ‘lightning’ (from PAN *likaC)
which is much better supported than
putative *kidəlat.] [Semantics: The
semantic shift from ‘lightning’ to
‘gun’ which is required for some of the
forms given here is reasonable and still
attested by some of the forms in Meto.
The Tetun and Mambae forms could
be borrowings from Meto after *nd >
*r > k and before *l > n, borrowings
from Malay **kilat** ‘lightning’, and/or
inheritances of PMP *kilat ‘lightning’.
It has been proposed that the Atoni
expansion was driven by their early
acquisition of guns and maize (Fox
1988), thus Meto being the ultimate
donor language is reasonable.]

ndela-s (2) na-ndela *Termanu*.

1) lightning. 2) lightning flashes;
also glitter, sparkle, shine. (J:417)

ndela-ʔ *Korbafo*.

lela-k *Bokai*.

lela-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

ndela-s *Landu*. lightning. (own field
notes)

rela-s *Rikou*.

na-rela *Oepao*. lightning. (own field notes)

ndela-s *Ba'a*.

ndela-s *Tii*.

ndela-s *Dengka*.

ndela-s *Oenale*.

renet (2) °makenet *Ro'is Amarasi*.

1) firearms, weapons. 2) be at war. *Borrowed from:* Kotos Amarasi (shown by irr. *nd = k correspondence, expect r).

kenat (2) ma-kenat (3) na-kena

Kotos Amarasi. 1) firearms, weapons. 2) be at war. 3) thunder and lightning that is very loud and typically makes people scared. [Note: The normal word for 'lightning' is **rima** from root **rima** 'flash, shine'.]

kenat (2) ma-kenat (3) keen neno

Molo. 1) firearms. 2) be at war. 3) thunderclap. [Form: **neno** = 'sky'.] (M:198)

kenat *Kusa-Manea*. firearm, gun.

Out-comparisons:

°**lelat** *Semau Helong*. fire-arm, weapon, gun, rifle. *Borrowed from:* probably Meto after *nd > *r and before *l > n.

°**kilat** *Fehan Tetun*. firearm of any type: gun, cannon. *Borrowed from:* perhaps pre-Meto **kelat (after *nd > *r > k, but before *l > n) perhaps also influenced by Malay *kilat*.

°**kilat** *East Tetun*. firearms, any type of gun. (Mo:107)

°**kilat** *Mambae, South*. gun. (own field notes)

džilat *Ili'uun*. lightning. (dJ:114)

noho țil~țila (2) °ilak *Kisar*.

1) thunder. [Note: **noho** = 'island, land, earth, world, environment, weather', **noho ler~lere** = 'lightning'.] 2) gun.

***ndeli** *Morph: *ka-ndeli. PRM*. ring. [irr. from PRM: *nd > r/l in Nuclear Meto (expect k, indicates PMeto ***ka-deli**)]

ndeli (2) na-ka-ndeli *Termanu*.

1) ring. 2) wear a ring, have a ring. (J:417)

nde~ndeli *Keka*.

ndeli *Korbafo*.

le~leli *Bokai*.

le~leli *Bilbaa*.

nde~ndeli *Landu*. ring. (own field notes)

re~reli *Rikou*.

re~reli *Oepao*. (own field notes)

ndeli *Ba'a*.

ndeli *Tii*.

ndeli *Dengka*.

ndeli *Oenale*.

k|reni *Ro'is Amarasi*. ring.

k|reni *Kotos Amarasi*. ring.

ka|leli *Molo*. ring for finger. (M:174)

Out-comparisons:

kadeli *East Tetun*. finger ring. (Mo:93)

kadeli *Dhao*. ring.

țeli *Kisar*. ring.

kdyeli *Roma*. ring. (Steven 1991:37)

***ndesi** *PRM*. nettle.

ndesi *Termanu*. kind of nettle (called *daun keser* in Kupang); another kind of plant of which the crushed leaves are used as a kind of putty. (J:418)

ndesi *Korbafo*.

lesi *Bokai*.

lesi *Bilbaa*.

resi *Rikou*.

ndesi *Ba'a*.

ndesi *Tii*.

ndesi *Dengka*.

ndesi *Oenale*.

<kese> (2) <kese asu> *Molo*.

1) nettle. 2) kind of nettle that causes a severe and persistent skin condition when touched. (M:201)

- ***ndia** *PnRote*. third person pronoun, demonstrative pronoun. *Etym.*: *si-ia ‘3sg. personal pronoun: he, she, it’. [*irr. from PMP*: *s > *nd (but compare Malay *dia* ‘he, she, it’ with *irr.* *s > d)]
- ndia** *Termanu*. a) demonstrative pronoun; this, that. b) third person singular pronoun; he, she, it, mainly used for emphasis (otherwise **ana**), always used as a possessive pronoun. (J:419)
- ndia** *Korbafo*.
- lia** *Bokai*.
- lia** *Bilbaa*. 3SG, relativiser.
- ndia** *Landu*. 3SG pronoun. (own field notes)
- ria** *Rikou*.
- ria** *Oepao*. 3SG pronoun. (own field notes)
- ndia** *Ba’a*.
- ndia** *Lole*. proximal, this, here, now, 3SG. (Zacharias et al. 2014)
- ndia** *Tii*.
- ***ndika** *PwRM*. stick to, cling. *Pattern*: k-7. [*irr. from PRM*: *a > i in some Meto (also Tetun); *nd > r in Kusa-Manea (expect k)]
- ndika** *Dela*. cling, stick.
- na-kiʔi** *Kotos Amarasi*. cling, stick.
- n-kiiʔ** (2) <**ka na-kia fa**> *Molo*. 1) stuck. 2) not stuck, not grafted. (M:205)
- maʔriaʔ** *Kusa-Manea*. sticky. [*Form*: metathesised form of (currently unattested) *maʔriʔa.]
- Out-comparisons**:
- ha-kriʔit** *Fehan Tetun*. stick to (e.g. prickly sticks to clothes).
- kriʔik** *East Tetun*. straight, stiff. (Mo:119)
- ***ndiki** *Morph*: ***ndiki-k**. *Rote*. ear. *Pattern*: k-7. [*Form*: Assimilations of *nd > d in first sense are due to this term being compounded with reflexes of *doo-k ‘leaf’, compare *ndake_doo-k > daʔe_doo-k ‘betel’ and *bife > difa_doo-k ‘lips’.]

- ndiʔi-k** (2) **diʔi_doo-k** *Termanu*. 1) the edges of a leaf that has small veins and is good for making a bucket, the edges are trimmed off. (J:419) 2) ear. (J:87)
- ndiʔi-ʔ** (2) **diʔi_doo-ʔ** *Korbafo*.
- liʔi-k** (2) **diʔi_doo-k** *Bokai*.
- liki-ʔ** (2) **liki_doo-ʔ** *Bilbaa*.
- (2) **ndiki_doo-ʔ** *Landu*. (own field notes)
- riʔi-ʔ** (2) **rii_doo-ʔ** *Rikou*.
- (2) **rii_doo-ʔ** *Oepao*. (own field notes)
- ndiʔi-k** (2) **diʔi_doo-k** *Ba’a*.
- (2) **ndiʔi_doo-k** *Lole*. (Zacharias et al. 2014)
- ndiʔi-k** (2) **ndiʔi_doo-k** *Tii*.
- ndiki-ʔ** (2) **ndiʔi-ʔ** *Dengka*. 1) edge of a palm leaf. (J:741) 2) ear.
- ndiki-ʔ** (2) **ndiki-ʔ, ndiki_roo-ʔ** *Oenale*. 1) edge of a palm leaf. 2) ear. (J:741)
- ndiki-ʔ** *Dela*. ear.
- ***ndoo** *PRM*. straight, straighten.
- ndoo-s** (2) **na-ka-ndoo** (3) **na-ma-ndoo** *Termanu*. 1) straight, right. 2) go straight on, continue. 3) be or become straight (also in metaphorical sense), make straight. (J:420f)
- ndoo-ʔ** *Korbafo*.
- loo-k** *Bokai*.
- loo-ʔ** *Bilbaa*.
- roo-s** *Rikou*.
- ndoo-s** *Ba’a*.
- ndoo-s** *Tii*.
- ndoo-s** *Dengka*.
- ndoo-s** *Oenale*.
- na-ndoo** *Dela*. make straight, stretch.
- na-koo** *Kotos Amarasi*. stretch out (e.g. body to sleep).
- na-koo** *Molo*. stretches. **mu-koo nuku-m** stretch out your hand (M:225)
- Out-comparisons**:
- loos** *East Tetun*. right, correct, exact, straight, erect, vertical; truly, correctly, exactly. [*irr. from*

PRM: *nd = *l* correspondence (expect *d*) [Form: Kemak has **loson** which, if connected with the Tetun form, would further indicate that this Tetun form is not (regularly) cognate with PRM ***ndoo**.] (Mo:133)

***ndoro** PRM. walk around. [irr. from PRM: *nd > *r* in Oenale; *nd > *n* in Meto (probably via intermediate **r*, given Dela-Oenale intermediate **rolo**)]
ndolo Termanu. go around. (J:423)
ndolo Korbafo.

lolo Bokai.

lolo Bilbaa.

rolo Rikou.

roro Oepao. (J:423, 726)

ndolo Ba'a.

ndoro Tii.

ndolo Dengka.

rolo Oenale. (J:423, 726)

rolo Dela. wander, walk aimlessly.

n-non~nono Kotos Amarasi. walk around.

nono Molo. goes around. (M:384)

Out-comparisons:

loloh Semau Helong. walk around. only used for farms.

lodo Hawu. go. [Sporadic: consonant metathesis *dVl > lVd.]

ŋaro (2) rero Bima. 1) go back and forth, go everywhere. (Jonker 1893:66) 2) go around everywhere. (Jonker 1893:86)

reron, ririŋ Sika. restless, go around. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:172)

***ndoto** PRM. hyacinth bean. *Lablab purpureus*. [irr. from PRM: *nd > *k* in Ro'is Amarasi (expect *r*)]

ndoto Termanu. 1) kind of climbing plant called *arbila* in Kupang. (J:424) 2) *arbila*. *Dolichos lablab/Lablab vulgaris*. (Fox 1991:260)

ndoto Korbafo.

loto Bokai.

loto Bilbaa.

ndoto Landu. hyacinth bean.

(own field notes)

roto(s) Rikou.

rotos Oepao. (own field notes)

ndoto Ba'a.

ndoto Tii.

ndoto Dengka.

ndoto Oenale.

koot kase Ro'is Amarasi. kidney beans. Lit: 'foreign **koto?**'.

koto? Kotos Amarasi. hyacinth beans.

<**koto**> Molo. kinds of beans. (M:238)

kotu-gw Timaus. hyacinth beans.

[Form: vowel final root **koto**.]

koto Kusa-Manea. hyacinth beans.

Out-comparisons:

°**koto** East Tetun. variety of bean. Borrowed from: Meto **koto** (shown by initial *nd = *k* correspondence). (Mo:117)

°**koto** Waima'a. broad beans. Borrowed from: ultimately Meto **koto**, perhaps via Tetun.

°**koto** Mambae, South. bean. Borrowed from: ultimately Meto **koto**, perhaps via Tetun. (Fogaça 2017:236)

***ndou** Morph: ***ka-ndou-k**. PRM. nape of the neck. [Form: *nd develops as an initial consonant in Rote.]

ka|ndou-k Termanu. nape of the neck. (J:221)

ka|ndou-ʔ Korbafo.

ka|lou-k Bokai.

ka|lou-ʔ Bilbaa. (J:221,742)

ka|ndou-ʔ Landu. nape of the neck. (own field notes)

ka|rou-ʔ Rikou.

ka|rou-ʔ Oepao. (own field notes)

ka|ndou-k Ba'a.

ka|ndou-k, ndo~ndou-k Tii.

ka|ndou-ʔ Dengka.

ndo(u)~ndou-ʔ Oenale. (J:221,742)

k|roo-n Ro'is Amarasi. nape of the neck.

- ko/tore-f** *Kotos Amarasi*. nape of the neck. [Form: historic compound of *ka-ndou + *tode.]
- ʔ|koo-n** *Amanuban*. nape of the neck.
- ʔ|koo-n (2) ʔ|ko/tole-k** *Molo*.
1) the nape of his neck. 2) the protuberance on the back of my head. [Form: historic compound of *ndou + *tode.] (M:225)
- ʔ|koo-f** *Timaus*. nape of the neck.
- *ndui** *PRM*. draw/scoop water.
- ndui** *Termanu*. scoop with a pot, etc. (J:426)
- ndui** *Korbafo*.
- lui** *Bokai*.
- lui** *Bilbaa*.
- rui** *Rikou*.
- ndui** *Ba'a*.
- ndui** *Tii*.
- ndui** *Dengka*.
- ndui** *Oenale*.
- n-rui** *Ro'is Amarasi*. draw water.
- n-kui (2) ʔ-kuʔi** *Kotos Amarasi*.
1) draw water. 2) dipping bucket.
- n-kui oe (2) <kui>** *Molo*. 1) draw water with a container or tin.
2) water scoop. (M:245)
- n-kui** *Kusa-Manea*. draw water.
- *nduna** *Morph: *ka-nduna-k. PRM*. nest. [irr. from *PRM*: *a > u in nRote (sporadic assimilation); *nd > k in Ro'is Amarasi (expect r)]
- ndunu-k** *Termanu*. nest of all sorts of animals, in compounds one normally says: **neʔe ndunu**, (**lafo ndunu**, **bafi ndunu**), ant's nest, (rat's nest, wild pig's nest). (J:427)
- ndunu-ʔ** *Korbafo*.
- lunu-k** *Bokai*.
- lunu-ʔ** *Bilbaa*.
- ndunu-ʔ** *Landu*. nest. (own field notes)
- runu-ʔ** *Rikou*.
- runu-ʔ** *Oepao*. (own field notes)
- ndunu-k** *Ba'a*.
- ndunu-k** *Tii*.
- nduna-ʔ** *Dengka*.
- nduna-ʔ** *Oenale*.
- kuna|ʔ** *Ro'is Amarasi*.
- ʔ|kuna|ʔ** *Kotos Amarasi*. nest (of bird).
- ʔ|kuna|ʔ** *Molo*. nest, pouch (of sarong, of marsupial). (M:249)

ŋ - ŋ

- *ŋano** *PwRM*. plait, braid. [irr. from *PRM*: *ŋ > h in wRote] [Form: It is not clear what initial consonant can account for wRote *h*, (most) Meto *k*, and Amanuban *n*. I have reconstructed *ŋ as this best accounts for the Meto reflexes.]
- hano** *Dengka*. plait, braid. (J:699)
- hano** *Oenale*. plait, braid. (J:699)
- na-kano** *Ro'is Amarasi*. plait.
- na-kano, n-kane** *Kotos Amarasi*.
plait, weave. [Form: The form **n-kane** with final *e* may be due to influence from *PRM* *ane.]
- na-nano** *Amanuban*. plait, weave.
- na-kano** *Molo*. plait, braid. (M:180)
- na-kaon** *Kusa-Manea*. braid, plait.
- Out-comparisons:**
- ŋana** *Central Nage*. plait, weave. (Forth 2016:336)
- *ŋaper** *PRM*. beckon with hand. [irr. from *PRM*: *ŋ > k in Ba'a (probably expect *ŋg*)] [History: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PWMP *ambay 'wave back and forth', PMP *kaway 'wave the hand or arms; call by waving', and PMP *kapay 'flutter the wings'. Wolff (2010:838) reconstructs PMP *abay stating: 'In S[outh] Phil[ippines] and N[orth] Sul[awesi] this form was prefixed with *ka-']

ŋgape-k *Termanu*. beckon, wave.
(J:433)

ŋgape-ʔ *Korbafo*.

ŋape-k *Bokai*.

ŋape-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

kape-ʔ *Rikou*.

kape-k *Ba'a*.

ŋgape-k *Tii*.

kapel *Dengka*.

kaper *Oenale*.

kaper *Dela*. wave to get someone's attention.

n-napen *Kotos Amarasi*. beckon someone with one's hand.

n-napi, **n-nape** *Molo*. beckons.
[Note: Jonker (1908:433) gives Meto **ainape**, **nape naper**.] (M:35)

Out-comparisons:

kahi *East Tetun*. beckon. (Mo:95)

gape *Hawu*. signal by hand, summon by hand motion.

***ŋato** *PRM*. string together, sew together.

nato *Termanu*. insert, string together.
(J:381)

nato *Korbafo*.

nato *Bokai*.

nato *Bilbaa*.

nato *Rikou*.

nato *Ba'a*.

nato *Tii*.

nato *Dengka*.

nato *Oenale*.

n-katon *Kotos Amarasi*. poke and sew with a leaf stem to connect leaves or fish.

n-kato (2) <kato> *Molo*. 1) inserts. 2) fork. (M:186)

Out-comparisons:

noto *Semau Helong*. thread the needle. [irr. from *PRM*: *ŋ = n correspondence; *a = o correspondence]

***ŋilu** *PRM*. tamarind, sour. *Etym*: *ŋilu 'painful sensation in teeth, as from eating something sour'. [minority from

PMP: *ŋ = *ŋ] [irr. from *PRM*: *1 > Ø in all Meto except Kusa-Manea in Meto forms meaning 'tamarind']

ni~nilu_naʔu (2) ni~nilu_dae_loo-k (3) ni~nilu_tasi *Termanu*.

1) tamarind. 2) star-fruit. 3) kind of seaweed called *tambrin laut* [OE = 'sea tamarind'] in Kupang.

[*Semantics*: No definition given for **ni~nilu** when not compounded. My fieldwork on Rote consistently has **ni~nilu** as 'tamarind tree'.] (J:396f)

ni~nilu *Korbafo*.

ni~nilu *Bokai*.

ni~nilu *Bilbaa*.

ni~nilu *Landu*. tamarind. (own field notes)

ni~nilu *Rikou*.

ni~nilu *Ba'a*.

ni~nilu *Tii*.

ni~nilu *Dengka*.

ni~nilu *Oenale*.

niu *Ro'is Amarasi*. tamarind.

kiu (2) maiʔninuʔ *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) tamarind. 2) sour, acidic; sharp pains in the body.

kiu (2) kiu ma-tabi-ʔ (3)

<**maininu**> *Molo*. tamarind. *Tamarindus indica*. (M:199)

2) star fruit. *Averrhoa carambola*. (M:208) 3) sour. (M:299)

ka~kinu *Kusa-Manea*. tamarind.

Out-comparisons:

ŋiduʔ, ŋiluʔ *Funai Helong*. sour.

ŋilu *Semau Helong*. sour.

***ŋinu** *PMeto*. spit out. Doublet: ***midu**.

Etym: *qizuR 'saliva, spittle' (PWMP).

[minority from *PMP*: *z > (*d) > *n (expect *z > *d' > *d)] [Form: The source of initial *pa* in Kusa-Manea is unclear. It may be due to historic compounding.] [History: *PMeto*

***ŋinu** is cognate with Rote ***midu** and both are ultimately probably connected with *qizuR, but it is not possible to straightforwardly reconcile the initial

*m = *ŋ correspondence and combine them into one set attesting a single PRM reconstruction.]

na-ninu *Ro'is Amarasi*. spit.

na-kinu *Kotos Amarasi*. spit.

na-kinu, na-kinu-t *Molo*. spits. (M:210)

na-kinu *Timaus*. spit.

pakiun *Kusa-Manea*. spit.

Out-comparisons:

taniru *East Tetun*. spit. (Mo:180)

anilu *Welaun*. spit. [irr. from

PRM: *ŋ = n correspondence

(We expect *ŋ = k, thus Welaun

anilu may be a borrowing from an unidentified source)]

***ŋoli** *Morph: *ŋoli-k. PRM*. canine tooth, tusk. *Etym: **ŋəli* (pre-RM).

noli(-k) *Termanu*. canine tooth, tusk.

Also metaphorically: the end point, the end of a row of people. (J:405)

noli-? *Korbafo*.

noli-k *Bokai*.

noli(?) *Bilbaa*.

noli(?) *Rikou*.

noli-k *Ba'a*.

noli-k *Tii*.

noli-? *Dengka*.

noli-? *Oenale*.

niis koni-f (2) n-koni *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) canine tooth.

2) copulate. [Semantics: For the semantic link between 'canine tooth' and copulate, see the Molo entry.]

koni-f (2) n-koni (3) ma-koni-?

Molo. 1) canine tooth, tusk, during the circumcision ritual in the phallic sense of penis. 2) have sexual intercourse. 3) unlimited sexual intercourse, practise promiscuity. (M:235)

koni-f *Kusa-Manea*. molars.

Out-comparisons:

ŋilin *Helong*. (J:405)

neli *Waima'a*. molar.

əli *Hawu*. (J:405)

<uli> *Kambera*. canine tooth.

[Note: also in Mangili, Anakalang, and Mamboru.]

(On:513)

<ulu> *Lewa*.

<ule> *Kodi*. [Note: also in Weyewa.]

neri *Kamarian*. tusks of a pig. (van Ekris 1864:315)

neri *Saparua*. tusk (of a pig). [Note: also in Nusa Laut

language of Lease Islands ISO

639-3 [spr].] (van Hoëvell

1877:105)

neri-ne *Asilulu*. tusk (of a pig).

[Note: also in Haruku.] (van Hoëvell 1877:105)

neli *Hitu*. tusk (of a pig). [Note: language of Ambon Island ISO 639-3 [htu].] (van Hoëvell 1877:105)

***ŋura** *PRM*. young of plants. *Etym:*

*ŋuda. [minority from PMP: *ŋ = *ŋ]

[Sporadic: *a > e / _ # in wRM except

for Kusa-Manea. [Form: The Meto reflexes are probably best explained by

positing that *ŋ was retained as *ŋ into PMeto. PMeto *ŋune then underwent

consonant metathesis to **nune followed by subsequent regular PMeto

*ŋ > k. The full hypothesised pathway

is thus PMP *ŋuda > PRM *ŋura

> PwRM *ŋure > **ŋule > PMeto

*ŋune > **nune > **nuke**. The Meto

forms with two 'k's probably attest

sporadic assimilation of *n > *ŋ / _ Vŋ

before *ŋ > k. Thus, **nune > **ŋune.

(Compare *nuga 'Cordia species' for

similar assimilation.) The Rote forms

show regular PRM *ŋ > n.]

nula-k (2) nula *Termanu*. 1) young,

unripe fruit. (J:409) 2) woods,

forest. (J:408)

nula-? (2) **nula** *Korbafo*.

nula-k (2) nula *Bokai*.

nula-? (2) **nula** *Bilbaa*.

- (2) **nura** *Landu*. forest. (own field notes)
nura-ʔ (2) **nura** *Rikou*.
(2) **nura** *Oepao*. forest. (own field notes)
nula-k (2) **nula** *Ba'a*.
nura-k (2) **nura** *Tii*.
nule-ʔ *Dengka*.
nure-ʔ *Oenale*.
mai|nuki|ʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. young (of fruit).

- mai|nuke|ʔ, mai|nuki|ʔ**
(2) **m|nuki|ʔ** *Kotos Amarasi*.
1) young (of fruit). 2) young (of fruit/people). *Usage*: poetic.
mai|kuke|ʔ, ma|kuke|ʔ *Molo*. young of fruit, new moon. (M:301, xlvi)
noa ma|kuka|ʔ *Kusa-Manea*. young green coconut.
Out-comparisons:
nurak *East Tetun*. young, immature, delicate, lush (of plants). (Mo:155)

ng - ng

- ***ngadas** *PRM*. palate, gills, throat. *Doublet*: ***nada**. *Etym*: *ngadas 'palate' (Osmond (2011a:130) reconstruct POC *gara 'gills' which could be cognate, instead of PMP *ngadas. POC *gara would be from PMP *(g,k)a(d,r)a). *Pattern*: d-2. [irr. from PMP: *d = *d] [minority from PMP: *ŋ > *ng] [Sporadic: *a > e / _# in Meto.]
ngala_bote-k *Termanu*. external throat. (J:430)
nga~ngalas *Ba'a*. gills of a fish. (J:742)
ngara-ʔ (2) **ngara_bote-ʔ** *Oenale*.
1) gills of a fish. (J:742) 2) external throat. (J:742)
ngara-ʔ *Dela*. throat.
ʔ|kaere-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. palate.
ʔ|kare-f *Kotos Amarasi*. palate.
ʔ|kael uti-n *Amanuban*. uvula.
ʔ|kale-n *Molo*. fraenulum of tongue, tongue web. [Note: Jonker (1908:742) gives Meto **kunkalas** 'palate, gills'. The first part of this would be connected with **kun~kunu-f**, which means 'cheek' in some varieties of Meto.] (M:13, 174)
Out-comparisons:
hegara *Hawu*. palate, gills. (J:742)
***ngae** *PwRM*. cry, weep.
ngae *Dengka*. weep. (J:742)
ngae *Oenale*. weep. (J:742)
n-kae *Ro'is Amarasi*. cry, weep.
n-kae *Kotos Amarasi*. cry, weep.
n-kae *Molo*. weep, cry. (M:167)
n-kaa *Kusa-Manea*. cry. [Form: regular *e > a /V_# in Upper Manulea]
***ngaem** *PR.M*. country almond. *Terminalia catappa*.
ngae-k *Termanu*. kind of tree with edible fruit. (J:429)
ngae-ʔ *Korbafo*.
ngae-k *Bokai*.
ngae-ʔ *Bilbaa*.
kae-ʔ *Rikou*.
ngae-k *Ba'a*.
ngae-k *Tii*.
ngae-ʔ *Dengka*.
ngae-ʔ *Oenale*.
kaem *Molo*. kind of tree. *Terminalia catappa*. (M:167)
Out-comparisons:
kaen *Fehan Tetun*. type of big fruit tree, with big leaves, the fruit is boiled before eating.
kaen *East Tetun*. tree with edible fruit. (Mo:94)

- ***ngafat** *PRM.* light (not heavy). [*irr. from PRM: *ng > k ~ n in Meto (indicates PMeto *ma?ngafa? with irr. *ng > *ŋ where we expect *k)*]
- ngafa-k** *Termanu.* quick, fast at running, usually with the added meaning of: maintaining a fast pace for a long time while running; speed. (J:429)
- ngafa-ʔ** *Korbafo.*
- ngafa-k** *Bokai.*
- ngafa-ʔ (2) ngafa-ʔ** *Bilbaa.* 2) light, not heavy. (J:742)
- kafa-ʔ (2) kafa-ʔ** *Rikou.* 2) light, not heavy. (J:742)
- ngafa-k** *Ba'a.*
- ngafa-k** *Tii.*
- ngafa-ʔ (2) ngafa-ʔ** *Dengka.* 2) light, not heavy. (J:742)
- ngafa-ʔ (2) ngafat** *Oenale.* 2) light, not heavy. (J:742)
- (2) ngafat** *Dela.* light, not heavy.
- maʔ|kafa|ʔ** *Ro'is Amarasi.* light, not heavy.
- maʔ|kafa|ʔ** *Kotos Amarasi.* light, not heavy.
- <n-makafa> (2) <manafa>, <makaf>** *Molo.* 1) he feels fit. (M:299) 2) light, easy. (M:299, 304)
- Out-comparisons:**
- kahan** *Semau Helong.* lightweight; easy, simple.
- kawa** *Kamarian.* light. [*Note: also in Haruku and Kaibobo from Tihulale village.*] (van Ekris 1864:100)
- ***ngafur** *PRM.* powder.
- ngafu (2) ngafu~ngafu** *Termanu.*
- 1) shake out, beat out (dust, etc.).
- 2) flutter (e.g. a sail or flag). (J:430)
- ngafu** *Korbafo.*
- ngafu** *Bokai.*
- ngafu** *Bilbaa.*
- kafu** *Rikou.*
- ngafu** *Ba'a.*
- ngafu** *Tii.*
- ngafu** *Dengka.*

nga~ngafur *Oenale.*

ngafur *Dela.* shake off.

kafuʔ *Kotos Amarasi.* powder or flakes which fall off something bit by bit, e.g. from the skin or a clump of something.

kafuʔ *Molo.* skin powder. (M:168)

***ngaha** *PwRM.* no, not. [*Form: regular *h > Ø /a_a in Rote.*]

nga *Dengka.* not. *Usage:* pre-predicate negator. (J:742)

ka= *Ro'is Amarasi.* NEGATOR. *Usage:* The normal negator in Ro'is is **maeʔ** however, **ka=** sporadically occurs as a negator, particularly in parallel pairs, and is a tag question particle in the same way as it is in Kotos Amarasi.

ka=, kahaf, kaah *Kotos Amarasi.* NEGATOR. *Usage:* The proclitic **ka=** combines with an enclitic **=fa** in (prescriptive) Kotos Amarasi.

ka= *Molo.* in denial. (M:264)

***ngai** *PRM.* pick at, scratch.

ngai *Termanu.* pick out, mainly pick one's ears. (J:431)

ngai *Korbafo.*

ngai *Bokai.*

ngai *Bilbaa.*

kai *Rikou.*

ngai *Ba'a.*

ngai *Tii.*

ngai *Dengka.*

ngai *Oenale.*

n-kai *Kotos Amarasi.* scratch.

n-kai *Molo.* one scrapes. (M:168)

***ngala** *Morph: *nga~ngala. PRM.* agati, vegetable hummingbird. *Sesbania grandiflora.* [*Sporadic: *a > e /_# in Dela, Dengka and Meto.*] [*History: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct Proto-Philippine *gala 'the almasiga tree: Agathis celebica' on the basis of Ilokano gala and Tagalog gala-gala. They note that the Ilokano form may be a Tagalog loan.*]

nga~ngala *Termanu*. kind of tree called *pohon gala-gala* in Kupang. (J:430)

nga~ngala *Korbafo*.

nga~ngala *Bokai*.

nga~ngala *Bilbaa*.

ka~kala *Rikou*.

nga~ngala *Ba'a*.

nga~ngala *Tii*.

nga~ngale *Dengka*.

nga~ngala *Oenale*.

nga~ngale *Dela*. (Thersia Tamelan pers. comm. February 2018)

ʔ|kane *Kotos Amarasi*. vegetable hummingbird, agati. *Sesbania grandiflora*.

ʔ|kane *Fatule'u*. vegetable hummingbird, agati. *Sesbania grandiflora*.

ʔ|kane *Molo*. tree that is 5–10 metres high and has a short life-span. A beverage against thrush can be prepared from the decoction of the rough and somewhat sticky bark. *Sesbania grandiflora*. (M:14, 179)

Out-comparisons:

kala *East Tetun*. tree. *Sesbania grandiflora*. [Note: **ai turi** is given as identical.] (Mo:98)

***ngango** *PRM*. water spinach. *Ipomoea aquatica*. [irr. from *PRM*: *ng > Ø /#_ in *Korbafo*] [History: Ultimately a borrowing from another source, e.g. compare similar Malay *kangkung*. Blust and Trussel (ongoing) say regarding the Malay form: ‘Although a precise donor language is difficult to identify, a Chinese source appears likely.’]

ngango_dano *Termanu*. kind of plant, water spinach. [Form: **dano** = ‘lake’.] (J:432)

ango_dano *Korbafo*.

ngajo_dano *Bokai*.

ngajo_dano *Bilbaa*.

kako_dano *Rikou*.

ngango_dano *Ba'a*.

ngango_dano *Tii*.

ngango-ʔ *Dengka*.

ngango-ʔ *Oenale*.

ngango *Dela*. water cress.

uut kako *Kotos Amarasi*. water spinach.

Out-comparisons:

hkako (2) hkako klehen *Semau Helong*. 1) kind of seaweed. 2) palm species.

***ngarasa** *Morph*: ***ngarasa-k**. *Rote*. part of the back.

karasa-ʔ *Rikou*. the part of the back behind the shoulders. (J:708)

ngarasa-ʔ *Oenale*. back, or part of the back. (J:743)

Out-comparisons:

keraha *Hawu*. slope, side. [Semantics: Jonker (1908:708) gives this as ‘side of the body’.]

<**karaha**> *Kamera*. edge, side, flank. [Note: also in *Kodi*.] (On:183)

<**karasa**> *Anakalang*. [Note: also in *Mamboru*.]

***ngari** *PRM*. sow, scatter.

ngali *Termanu*. scatter, strew. (J:431)

ngali *Korbafo*.

ngali *Bokai*.

ngali *Bilbaa*.

kari *Rikou*.

ngali *Ba'a*.

ngari *Tii*.

ngali *Dengka*.

ngari *Oenale*.

n-kani? (2) kan~kani?, sab/kani? *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) sow (seeds). 2) drizzle (rain).

kani-n *Amanatun*. outpoured portion. Usage: poetic. (M:179)

Out-comparisons:

kari *East Tetun*. scatter; to fling with the throwing hand. (Mo:101)

gari *Dadu'a*. sow. (Penn 2006:102)

ari *Kisar*. broadcast seed, scatter seed randomly.

***ngasi** *Rote*. shout, speak.

ngasi *Termanu*. crying, whining or howling scream. (J:433)

ngasi *Korbafo*.

ngasi *Bokai*.

ngasi *Bilbaa*.

kasi *Rikou*.

ngasi *Ba'a*.

ngasi *Tii*.

ngasi *Dengka*.

ngasi *Oenale*.

ngasi *Dela*. yell.

Out-comparisons:

kais *Kisar*. holler out, pig squeal.

gase *Mambae, Northwest*. speak. (Fogaça 2017:249)

kase *Mambae, South/Central*. speak. (Fogaça 2017:249)

ngahi *Bima*. speak, say, word, speech. [*irr. from PRM: *s = h* correspondence (probably expect *s*, though reflexes of intervocalic **s* are somewhat unclear)] (Jonker 1893:67)

ngasi *Ende*. get angry, complain. [*Note: Jonker (1908:433) gives Ende ngahi 'speak'.*]

***ngebo** *CERM*. cut into pieces. [*irr. from PRM: *o > i* in Meto] [*Form: Final *o* has been tentatively reconstructed as **o > i* in Meto can be motivated as an instance of sporadic assimilation to the previous vowel while alternate **i > o* in nRote appears unmotivated.]

nge~ngebo *Termanu*. cut or chop into pieces. (J:436)

nge~ngebo *Korbafo*.

ng~ngebo *Bilbaa*.

ke~kebo *Rikou*.

nge~ngebo *Ba'a*.

kebi? *Kotos Amarasi*. pieces of a whole.

kebi? *Molo*. cut into chunks. (M:192)

***ngede** *Rote*. frog, croaking of a frog. [*Note: With the exception of Termanu, the second forms in this entry follow the entry for Korbafo.*] [*irr. from PRM: *e > a* in Molo; **d' > l* in Termanu; **ng*

> k in Bokai and Dengka] [*History: Semau Helong has klete which is not regularly cognate, but is phonetically similar. Funai Helong has klatkee?.*] [*Semantics: likely onomatopoeia.*]

ngede (2) lodo_ngele-k *Termanu*.

1) croaking of a frog, also used for the crying of a newly born child. (J:436) 2) frog. (J:320)

ngede (2) ngede oe *Korbafo*.

1) croaking of a frog, also used for the crying of a newly born child. (J:436) 2) frog. (J:743)

kede~kede *Bokai*. croaking of a frog, also used for the crying of a newly born child. (J:436)

ngede (2) nede oe, ned/oe *Bilbaa*.

kede *Rikou*.

ngede (2) nge~ngede, nge~ngede oe *Ba'a*.

(2) nge~ngede *Lole*. 2) frog. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

ngede (2) nge~ngede *Tii*.

kede~kede (2) nge~ngede *Dengka*.

ngede (2) ngede *Oenale*.

(2) ngede *Dela*. 2) frog.

kala/be?o *Molo*. frog. [*Form: Initial kala is optional, e.g. be?o also occurs in isolation meaning 'frog'.*] (M:59)

Out-comparisons:

kere *Kemak*. frog. [*irr. from PRM: *ng = k* correspondence; expect *g*]

kere/dokon *Mambae, Northwest*. frog. *Usage: Barzatete sub-district.* (Fogaça 2017:235)

keda/lokon *Mambae, Northwest*. frog. *Usage: Railaco sub-district.* (Fogaça 2017:235)

kaidi/lokon *Mambae, Central*. frog. *Usage: Laulara sub-district.* (Fogaça 2017:235)

kele? *Bunak*. frog. [*Note: non-Austronesian language of central Timor ISO 639-3 [bfn].*] (Schapper 2009:174)

***ngela₁** *Morph: *ngela-k. Rote. earwax. Etym: *taŋila ‘ear’ (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct the doublet **taliŋa** with consonant metathesis. *taliŋa is the most common form outside of Taiwan. Nonetheless, Helong attests *taŋila, lending credibility to the notion that the Rote forms here are irregularly connected to *taŋila). [irr. from PMP: *i > *e] [minority from PMP: *ŋ > *ŋg]*
diʔi_doo ngela-k *Termanu. ear dirt, earwax. (J:437)*

ngela-ʔ *Korbafo.*

ngela-k *Bokai.*

ngela-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

kela-ʔ *Rikou.*

ngela-k *Ba'a.*

ngela-k *Tii.*

ngela-ʔ *Dengka.*

ngela-ʔ *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

knjila *Funai Helong. ear.*

hnjila *Semau Helong. ear.*

talina-r *Idate. ear. (Klamer 2002)*

liga-r *Kemak. ear.*

lika-t *Welaun. ear.*

***ngela₂** *Morph: *ngela-k. Rote. eucalyptus; gum tree.*

ngela-k *Termanu. kind of tree which yields good timber, called gelang in Kupang. (J:437)*

ngela-ʔ *Korbafo.*

ngela-k *Bokai.*

ngela-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

kela-ʔ *Rikou.*

ngela-k *Ba'a.*

ngela-k *Lole. gum tree, eucalyptus. (Zacharias et al. 2014)*

ngela-k *Tii.*

ngela-ʔ *Dengka.*

ngela-ʔ *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

kelaŋ *Funai Helong. eucalyptus.*

***ngengo** *Morph: *na-ngengo. PRM. shake. Etym: *gərgər ‘shake, shiver, tremble’. [irr. from PMP: *ə > *o]*

*[irr. from PRM: *o > o ~ u in Meto] [Form: Irregular final *ə > o is also seen in Bugis **gegoʔ** (Mathes 1874:53) and Makassar **gengo** (Cense 1859:68)]*
na-ngengo *Termanu. shake. (J:438)*

na-ngengo *Korbafo.*

na-ngengo *Bokai.*

na-ngengo *Bilbaa.*

na-keko *Rikou.*

na-ngengo *Ba'a.*

na-ngengo *Tii.*

na-ngengo *Dengka.*

na-ngengo *Oenale.*

<na-keku>, <na-keko> (2) <anaka keku> *Molo. 1) moves back and forth. 2) shake-head, said of someone with nervous disorder as a result of which he keeps shaking his head from front to back and from left to right. (M:194)*

***nggeo** *Morph: *nggeo-k. Rote. black.*

nggeo-k *Termanu. black. (J:438)*

nggeo-ʔ *Korbafo.*

nggeo-k *Bokai.*

nggeo-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

keo=a *Landu. black. (own field notes)*

keo-ʔ *Rikou.*

keo-ʔ *Oepao. black. (own field notes)*

nggeo-k *Ba'a.*

nggeo-k *Tii.*

nggeo-ʔ *Dengka.*

nggeo-ʔ *Oenale.*

***nggete** *PRM. pinch, nip. Doublet: *katə.*

*Etym: *gətəl (Reconstructed with the doublets *getil and *ketil.). [minority from PMP: *ə > *e / _# (expect *ə > a in wRote, possibly *ə > *a > e)] [irr. from PRM: *t > ʔ / V _ V in Termanu, Korbafo, Ba'a, and Tii]*

nggeʔe *Termanu. pinch, like a lobster. (J:436)*

nggeʔe *Korbafo.*

ngete *Bokai.*

ngete *Bilbaa.*

nggeʔe *Ba'a.*

nggeʔe *Tii.*

ngete *Dengka.*

- ngete** *Oenale*.
kete, ete *Molo*. bite off. [*irr. from PRM: *ng > Ø in second Molo form*] (M:202)
- *ngeu** *PRM*. shave. [*irr. from PRM: *ng > ng ~ k in Dela-Oenale*]
ngeu *Termanu*. scrape. (J:440)
ngeu *Korbafo*.
neu *Bokai*.
neu *Bilbaa*.
keu *Rikou*.
ngeu *Ba'a*.
ngeu *Tii*.
ngeu *Dengka*.
?eu *Oenale*.
ngeu, ?eu *Dela*. shave.
n-keu *Ro'is Amarasi*. shave.
n-keu *Kotos Amarasi*. shave.
n-keu *Molo*. scrapes his tongue. (M:203)
keu *Kusa-Manea*. scrape, shave.
- *ngia** *PRM*. parakeet. [*irr. from PRM: Ø > t /V_V in Meto*] [*Semantics: onomatopoeia.*]
ngia *Termanu*. turaco, lourie (kinds of parrot). [*Note: Turacos and louries appear to be only found in Africa. This word probably designates a similar Timorese bird identified/ named thus by Jonker.*] (J:441)
ngia *Korbafo*.
nia *Bokai*.
nia *Bilbaa*.
kia *Rikou*. Olive-shouldered Parrot. *Aprosmictus jonquillaceus*. [*Semantics: My consultants gave kia-? for a photo of an Olive-shouldered Parrot.*]
ngia *Ba'a*.
ngia *Tii*.
ngia *Dengka*.
ngia *Oenale*.
kita *Molo*. kind of parakeet. (M:211)
- Out-comparisons:**
man gea *Buru*. small parrot or parakeet. (Grimes and Grimes 2020:585)

- *ngii** *Morph: *ngii-k. PRM*. bunch of fruit. [*History: Jonker (1908:440) gives Tetun Dili kiu, which may be cognate, but the final u of which would be irregular.*]
ngii-k *Termanu*. blossom bunch of a palm or banana tree, bunch of coconuts of bananas. (J:440)
ngii-? *Korbafo*.
ngii-k *Bokai*.
ngii-? *Bilbaa*.
kii-? *Rikou*.
ngii-k *Tii*.
ngii-? *Dengka*.
ngii-? *Oenale*.
<ki> *Molo*. stem with a bunch of fruit on it (e.g. betel nut). (M:205)
- Out-comparisons:**
<nggai> *Kambera*. bunch. (On:353)
<nggi> *Lewa*.
<nggi> *Mamboru*.
<nggi'i> *Weyewa*.
<nggiyo> *Kodi*.
- *ngirat** *Rote*. kind of shrub. [*Semantics: vague semantics.*]
ngila-k *Termanu*. kind of shrub. (J:441)
ngila-? *Korbafo*.
ngila-k *Bokai*.
ngila-? *Bilbaa*.
kira-? *Rikou*.
ngila-k *Ba'a*.
ngira-k *Tii*.
ngilat *Dengka*.
ngirat *Oenale*.
- *ngiro** *Morph: *ngi~ngiro. CERM*. lower head area. [*History: Osmond and Ross (2016a:112) reconstruct POc *k(i,e)ju 'back of head, base of skull, occiput, nape' and Proto New Guinea Oceanic *g(i,e)ju, which are phonetically and formally similar to the PRM form. However, the final vowel correspondences are irregular and the initial PRM *ng = POc *k correspondence may also be irregular. Something like PCEMP **gijo may*]

indeed be possible, however in the absence of cognates in other areas of Wallacea, I prefer not to make such a reconstruction at this point.]

(lesu_haʔik) ngi~ngilo=na

Termanu. the lower part of the neck, where it is attached to the body and on which it turns. (J:441)

ngi~ngilo=na Korbafo.

ni~ngilo=na Bokai.

ki~kiro=na Rikou.

ngi~ngilo=na Ba'a.

kiunu-f *Ro'is Amarasi.* cheek.

ʔ|kinu-f *Kotos Amarasi.* cheek.

kino-n *Amanuban.* sideburns.

kino-f (2) ʔ|kinu-f (3) <kinu>

Molo. 1) loose rope hanging down from a horse's head; also: whiskers.
2) portion of the loop of a rope around the mouth of a horse that in a tied state runs to the bottom.
2) whiskers. (M:210)

***ngoa** *Morph:* ***ngoa-k.** *Rote.* stupid.

ngoa-k *Termanu.* mute; dumb, foolish; muteness; stupidity, astonishment. (J:443)

ngoa-ʔ *Korbafo.*

ngoa-k *Bokai.*

ngoa-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

koa-ʔ *Rikou.*

ngoa-k *Ba'a.*

ngoa-k *Tii.*

ngoa-ʔ *Dengka.*

ngoa-ʔ *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

goa *Dhao.* stupid.

goa *Hawu.* stupid. [Note: Given with the note: 'probably borrowed' (from Rote).] (J:443)

***ngois** *PRM.* eel.

ngois *Termanu.* kind of ocean fish called *ikan gois* in Kupang. (J:445)

ngoi-ʔ *Korbafo.*

ngoi-k *Bokai.*

ngoi-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

kois *Rikou.* ocean eel. (J:445; own field notes)

ngois *Ba'a.*

ngois *Tii.*

ngois *Dengka.*

ngois *Oenale.*

kois *Ro'is Amarasi.* eel.

Out-comparisons:

kois *East Tetun.* water snake. (Mo:101)

kois *Galolen.* earthworm.

***ngoʔu** *CERM.* big, great.

leŋou *Bilbaa.* the domain of Rikou on the eastern part of Rote. (own field notes)

ri/kou, rai/kou *Rikou.* the domain of Rikou on the eastern part of Rote.

[Form: **raikou** is reported by some of my consultants to be the original form.] [History: A possible etymology is ***dae** 'land' combined with an otherwise lost reflex of ***ngou** meaning 'big, great'. One hypothesis is that the term originally referred to the Timor mainland and later underwent semantic shift (for whatever socio-political reasons) to the eastern Rote domain of Rikou. However, in the absence of corroborating evidence this etymology is highly speculative. Note that Tetun **rai** (from PMP ***daRaŋ**) means 'earth, soil, ground; land estate, kingdom; the world'. If this is the source of the initial element, how it was borrowed into the Rote languages is unclear.] (own field notes)

koʔu *Ro'is Amarasi.* big, great.

koʔu *Kotos Amarasi.* big, great.

[History: In his entry for **koʔu** Middelkoop (1972:239) has: '**Renggo'u** = **Rai nggo'u** the great prince, now a place name'. He apparently takes **rai** as meaning 'prince' by analogy with the first part of the second member of the Amarasi doublet **uis koʔu, nai? koʔu** 'the great lord'.]

- ***ngola** *Rote*. monitor lizard, flying lizard.
ngola *Termanu*. kind of flying lizard.
 (J:445f)
ngola *Korbafo*. kind of flying lizard.
 (J:445f)
ngola (2) ngala/fao *Bokai*. 1) kind of flying lizard. (J:445f) 2) kind of lizard. (J:742)
ngala/fao *Bilbaa*. kind of lizard. (J:742)
kara/fao *Rikou*. kind of lizard. (J:742)
ngola *Ba'a*. monitor lizard. (J:445f)
ngola *Dengka*. monitor lizard. (J:445f)

Out-comparisons:

- lagura** *Hawu*. monitor lizard. (J:445)
 <lawora> *Kambera*. monitor lizard. *Varanus salvtor*. (On:236)
 <laghora> *Kodi*.
yora *Rongga*. big lizard. [Note: language of central Flores ISO 639-3 [ror].] (Arka et al. 2007:42)
 ***ngomi** *Morph*: ***ngomi-ngomi**. *PnRote*. beard. *Etym*: *gumi(s) ‘moustache, beard’ (Reconstructed with the doublet *kumis.). [irr. from *PMP*: *u > *o]
ngomi-ngomi *Termanu*. have a thick beard or a big goatee. (J:447)
ngomi-ngomi *Bokai*.
komi-komi *Rikou*.
ngomi-ngomi *Tii*.
 ***ngoro** *PRM*. snout, nose, snore. *See*: ***ngoro2** ‘snore’. *Etym*: *nodok (own reconstruction) (PCEMP). [minority from *PMP*: *ŋ > *ŋg]
nggo~ngolo-k (2) ngolo_mei-k (3) ngolo~ngolo (4) na-sa-ngolo *Termanu*. 1) muzzle, snout of a pig, horse, buffalo, dog, etc., mouth of some fish, beak, bill of a bird; proboscis of a mosquito, etc.; also a vulgar word for the mouth of a person. 2) beard, also moustache of

- a person, goatee of a goat. (J:445)
 3) make a snoring sound, snore.
 4) make a snoring sound, snore. (J:445f)

nggo~ngolo-? (2) ngolo_mei-?

- (3) **ngolo~ngolo** *Korbafo*.

nggo~ngolo-k (2) ngolo_mei-k

- (3) **ngolo~ngolo** *Bokai*.

(2) ngolo_mii-? (3) ngolo~ngolo

- Bilbaa*.

(2) (koro ?) (3) koro~koro *Rikou*.

nggo~ngolo-k (2) ngolo_mei-k

- (3) **ngolo~ngolo** *Ba'a*.

(nggo)ngoro-k (2) ngoro_mei-k

- (3) **ngoro~ngoro** *Tii*.

nggo~ngolo-? (2) ngolo_mei-?

- (3) **ngolo~ngolo** *Dengka*.

(3) ngoro~ngoro *Oenale*.

(4) na-sa-ngoro *Dela*. snore.

kono-f (2) na-kono *Ro'is Amarasi*.

- 1) sideburns, beard, moustache.
 2) snore.

kono-f (2) na-kono *Kotos Amarasi*.

- 1) beard. 2) snore.

<kono> **(2) na-kono**

- (3) <n-konolot> *Molo*. 1) beard.

- (M:235) 2) barks. 3) snores.

- (M:236)

Out-comparisons:

- koon** *Semau Helong*. snore.

- kour** *Kisar*. (dog) bark at something. [irr. from *PMP*: *o > u]

- kagoro** *Bima*. make a sound like a snoring noise. (Ismail et al. 1985:53)

- ***ngoro~ngorok (2) *ngorok** *Proto-Oceanic*. 1) channel above upper lip. (Osmond and Ross 2016a:125) 2) snore. (Osmond et al. 2003:48)

- ngoro?** *Malay*. snore.

- ***ngoti** *Morph*: ***ngoti-k**. *PRM*. back.

- ngoti_haʔi-k** *Termanu*. the lowest part of the back, the area of the tailbone. (J:448)

- ngoti_haʔi-k** *Bokai*.

ngoti-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

koti_ai-ʔ *Rikou*.

ngoti_haʔi-k *Ba'a*.

ngoti_aʔi-k, ngoti-k *Tii*.

ngoti-ʔ *Dengka*.

ngoti-ʔ *Oenale*.

koiti-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. back, behind.

koti-f *Kotos Amarasi*. back (body); behind (location).

koti-f (2) n-baikoti *Molo*. 1) behind.

(M:174) 2) turns one's back towards someone. (M:42)

Out-comparisons:

kotuk *Fehan Tetun*. back (of person); behind.

kotuk *East Tetun*. back, loins. (Mo:117)

kodo *Hawu*. back.

***ngout** *PRM*. thorn. [Note: Ro'is and Kotos Amarasi have **kaut** 'papaya' which would be an almost perfect formal match for the first Rote forms, but the semantic connection is too far-fetched.]

ngau-k (2) ngou-k *Termanu*.

1) thorn on a tree, living thorn. (J:434) 2) thorn, mainly a single loose thorn. (J:448)

ngau-ʔ (2) ngou-ʔ *Korbafo*.

ngau-k (2) ngou-k *Bokai*.

ngau (2) ngou-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

kou=na *Landu*. thorn. (own field notes)

kau-ʔ (2) kou-ʔ *Rikou*.

ngau-k (2) ngou-k *Ba'a*.

ngau-k (2) ngou-k *Tii*.

ngaut (2) ngou-ʔ *Dengka*.

ngaut (2) ngou-ʔ *Oenale*.

ngaut (2) ma-ngou-ʔ *Dela*. 1) thorn. 2) thorny.

<**ka'o**> *Molo*. agave, aloe. *Furcroea gigantea*. (M:181)

Out-comparisons:

ai koon *Welaun*. thorn.

kau *Hawu*. (J:434)

***ngua** *Rote*. freshwater turtle. [History: The comparison between this form and Malay **kura-kura** 'tortoise' is

striking, though the initial consonants cannot be regularly reconciled. We could posit PMP *kuRa with irr. *k > *ng. Dempwolff (1938:83) reconstructs *ku[ɭ]a' (*ku(r)aq in Blust's transcription) 'milt, tortoise' giving Toba-Batak, Javanese, and Malay cognates as evidence. Blust and Trussel (ongoing) attribute these forms (and others) to being loans from Malay, noting that their explanation assumes that borrowing into Lampung and Sundanese (each with **kuya**) took place before *R > y. The gloss in Sundanese is 'freshwater turtle', thus matching the Rote glosses here.]

ngua_dano, ngua_oe *Termanu*. freshwater turtle. [Form: **dano** = 'lake', **oe** = 'water'.] (J:449)

ngua_dano *Korbafo*.

ngua_dano *Bokai*.

ngua_dano *Bilbaa*.

kua_dano *Rikou*.

ngua_dano *Ba'a*.

ngua_dano *Tii*.

ngua_dano *Dengka*.

ngua_dano *Oenale*.

***ngumu** *nRM*. make a fist. Doublet:

*kame, *keʔe, *keme, *kumu₂.

Etym: *gəmgəṃ 'fist; hold in the fist'. [irr. from PMP: *ə > *u (sporadic assimilation to previous velar consonant and following labial consonant)]

na-fa-ngumu *Termanu*. make a fist. (J:449)

na-fa-ngumu *Bokai*.

na-fa-ngumu *Bilbaa*.

na-la-kumu *Rikou*.

na-fa-ngumu *Ba'a*.

na-fa-ngumu, na-sa-ngumu *Tii*.

n-kumu *Kotos Amarasi*. squeeze, press, wring out, like getting coconut milk from a coconut.

n-kumu *Molo*. squeeze, palpate. (M:248)

kuum *Kusa-Manea*. squeeze.

***nguru** *PRM.* drone, growl, make a steady constant noise. *Etym:* *guru(q) ‘noise, tumult’. (Both *guru and *guru(q) are reconstructed as ‘disjuncts’ without any difference in semantics.) [*Semantics:* onomatopoeia.]

ngulu~ngulu (2) **na-sa-nggu~ngulu** (3) **na-ngulu** *Termanu.* 1) constantly droning, grumble at someone. 2) growl, like a dog or cat. 3) thunder (of sky), roar (of sea), rumble (of stomach), also used to describe the noise that someone makes when they run fast (not everyone understands this word). (J:449)

ngulu~ngulu *Korbafo.*

ngulu~ngulu (3) **na-ngulu** *Bokai.*

ngulu~ngulu *Bilbaa.*

kuru~kuru *Rikou.*

ngulu~ngulu (3) **na-ngulu** *Ba'a.*

nguru~nguru (2) **na-sa-nggu~nguru** *Tii.*

ngulu~ngulu *Dengka.*

nguru~nguru (2) **na-sa-nggu~nguru** *Oenale.*

na-kunut *Kotos Amarasi.* sigh, a sign that someone is bored or disappointed.

na-kunut *Molo.* growls (e.g. dog). (M:251)

***nguu** *CERM.* make a constant monotonous sound, howl (of wind), blow, drone. *See:* ***kuu**. [*Semantics:* onomatopoeia.]

na-nguu *Termanu.* howling of the wind. **hataholi=la la-nguu mai soo** the droning of the people comes nearer (J:448)

na-nguu *Korbafo.*

na-nguu *Bokai.*

na-nguu *Bilbaa.*

ku/truu *Ro'is Amarasi.* owl.

ku/truʔu *Kotos Amarasi.* owl.

<**ku**> (2) **ku/tluu** (3) **ku/tlui** *Molo.* 1) owl, ghost bird. (M:242) 2) owl, ghost bird. (M:242) 3) owl. (M:403)

O - o

***oe** *PRM.* water. *Etym:* *wahiR. [*Sporadic:* *i > *e / _*R#]

oe *Termanu.* water, fluid in general. (J:452)

oe *Korbafo.*

oe *Bokai.*

oe *Bilbaa.*

oe *Rikou.*

oe *Ba'a.*

oe *Tii.*

oe *Dengka.*

oe *Oenale.*

oe (2) **oe-ʔ** *Dela.* 1) water. 2) liquid.

oe *Ro'is Amarasi.* water.

oe *Kotos Amarasi.* water.

oe *Molo.* water. (M:398)

oa *Kusa-Manea.* water. [*Form:* regular *e > a /V_ in Upper Manulea dialect]

Out-comparisons:

ui *Semau Helong.* water. [*irr. from PMP:* *w > u (expect p)]

wee, ue *Fehan Tetun.* water.

uee (2) **bee** *East Tetun.* 1) water (Mo:192). 2) water. *Usage:* in the interior **uee** is more commonly used [than **bee**], but both are equally understood everywhere. (Mo:12)

bea *Kemak.* water.

eer *Mambae, South.* water, liquid. (Grimes et al. 2014b:16)

oir *Kisar.* water.

eer *Ili'uun.* water, river, place where there is water. (dJ:114)

*-oha *Morph:* *-oha-s. *PnRote.* cloud. [*Form:* Medial *h is perhaps from earlier *p, e.g. **kopa. The Tii and

Landu forms with initial *s* and *si* respectively indicate some kind of historic compound. The initial *k/?* in the other Rote forms may be from the nominal prefix **ka-*. Reconstruction of a stem *-oha* which was combined with an initial element is supported by Tetun which appears to attest something like **kal** + **ohan**.] [*History*: This reconstruction is perhaps connected with PMP **away* ‘atmosphere, space between earth and sky’ through a pathway **awan* > ***owan* > *-oha*, as suggested by Jonker (1915:35). However, this requires otherwise unattested **w* > **h*, as well as initial **#aw* > **o*. The regular outcome of **away* would be ***ao(n)*.]

koʔas *Termanu*. cloud. (J:242)

koʔa *Korbafo*.

koʔa *Bokai*.

koa *Bilbaa*.

sioa-ʔ *Landu*. (own field notes)

ʔoa-ʔ *Rikou*. (J:746)

koʔas *Ba'a*.

koʔas *Lole*. cloud. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

so~soʔa-k *Tii*. cloud. (J:764)

Out-comparisons:

kaloʔan *Fehan Tetun*. cloud.

kalohan *East Tetun*. cloud. (Mo:99)

kova *Central Lembata*. cloud. [*irr. from PRM: v = h correspondence*] (Fricke 2015)

***ohi** *Morph: *n-ohi. nRM. almost. [Sporadic: Ø > h /#_Vʔ in Korbafo.] [Form: The initial n in most Rote forms is probably a historic third person prefix but has become fossilised in most varieties.]*

noʔi *Termanu*. at the point of, almost. [*Form: The Termanu form does not take person agreement, e.g. au*

noʔi ‘I almost’.] (J:403)

hoʔi *Korbafo*.

noʔi *Bokai*.

noi *Bilbaa*.

ʔ-oi, n-oi *Rikou*. [*Form: Given as ‘oi, noi, etc.’ probably implying that the Rikou form takes person agreement.*]

noʔi *Tii*.

n-oi *Kotos Amarasi*. nearly.

n-oi *Molo*. to. (M:400)

***oka₁** *Morph: *oka-k. CERM. pen, corral. Pattern: k-6/9. [Sporadic: consonant metathesis *kVf > *ʔVf > fVʔ in Ro'is.]*

oka-ʔ *Bilbaa*. pen for cattle. (J:746)

oka-ʔ *Rikou*. pen for cattle. (J:746)

oʔo|f, ofaʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. pen corral.

Usage: oʔof in Buraen, ofaʔ in Tunbaun.

oʔo|f *Kotos Amarasi*. pen, corral.

oʔa|f, oʔo|f *Molo*. corral, cage, jail. (M:397,406)

oʔa|f *Kusa-Manea*. pen, corral.

Out-comparisons:

okat *Semau Helong*. corral, barnyard.

oka *Dhao*. field, garden, yard; pen, corral.

<**oka**> *Kambera*. corral, fence. (On:383)

***oka₂** *Morph: *oka-k. Rote. root. Doublet: #baʔat. Etym: *wakaR. Pattern: k-5.*

oka-k (2) na-oka *Termanu*. 1) root. 2) have roots, rooted. (J:455)

oka-ʔ *Korbafo*.

oka-k *Bokai*.

oka-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

oka=na *Landu*. root. (own field notes)

oka-ʔ *Rikou*.

oka-k *Ba'a*.

oka-k *Tii*.

(ʔ)**oka-ʔ** *Dengka*.

ʔoka-ʔ *Oenale*.

ʔoka-ʔ (2) na-ʔoka *Dela*. 1) roots. 2) grow roots.

Out-comparisons:

akar *Ili'uun*. root. (dJ:112)

***oken** *Morph*: ***n-oken**. *PRM*. call someone to come here. *Pattern*: k-6.

n-oke *Termanu*. calls, requests. (J:404)

n-oke *Bokai*.

n-oke *Ba'a*.

n-oke *Tii*.

n-oʔe *Dengka*.

n-oʔe *Oenale*.

n-oʔe *Dela*. ask, call.

n-oʔen *Kotos Amarasi*. call someone to come here; to summon, beckon.

n-oʔen *Molo*. calls. (M:399)

Out-comparisons:

noken *Semau Helong*. call, refer to, greet, address.

***ombu** *PRM*. female animal.

upu-k *Termanu*. female, of very young animals. (J:670)

opu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

upu-k *Bokai*.

opu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

opu-ʔ *Rikou*.

ompu-k *Ba'a*.

ombu-k *Tii*.

ombu-ʔ *Dengka*.

ombu-ʔ *Oenale*.

opu *Kotos Amarasi*. female animal which has not yet given birth.

<**bidʒael opu**> (2) <**fafi opu**> *Molo*. 1) buffalo cow. 2) sow. (M:407)

***oo1** *Morph*: ***n-oo**. *PRM*. with. *Etym*: **oRo (pre-RM). [irr. from *PRM*: Ø > k in *Meto*]

n-oo *Termanu*. s/he is with. (J:400)

n-oo *Korbafo*.

n-oo *Bokai*.

n-oo *Bilbaa*.

n-oo *Rikou*.

n-oo *Ba'a*.

n-oo *Tii*.

n-oo *Dengka*.

n-oo *Oenale*.

n-oo *Dela*. bring (someone), with.

n-ook *Ro'is Amarasi*. is with, accompanies.

n-ok, n-oka *Kotos Amarasi*. is with, accompanies (M-form, U-form).

n-ok *Molo*. come along. (M:400)

Out-comparisons:

nol *Semau Helong*. and, with.

ho *East Tetun*. *prep.* with; *conj.* and, also (the latter only when between two nouns). (Mo:86)

n-oro, n-or *Kisar*. with, and.

***oo2** *PRM*. bamboo (generic). *Etym*: *qauR 'type of large bamboo'. [Sporadic: Ø > ʔ/#_ in *Dela-Oenale*.]

oo *Termanu*. bamboo, also the name of a big grassy plain at Pariti (a place name). (J:450)

oo *Korbafo*.

oo *Bokai*.

oo *Bilbaa*.

oo *Landu*. bamboo. (own field notes)

oo *Rikou*.

oo *Ba'a*.

oo *Tii*.

(?)**oo** *Dengka*.

?**oo** *Oenale*.

?**oo** *Dela*. bamboo.

oo *Ro'is Amarasi*.

oo *Kotos Amarasi*. bamboo (generic).

oo benaʔ *Kopas*. kind of bamboo. *Schizostachyum blumei*. [Note: In *Kopas*, *Amfo'an* and *Fatule'u kakaʔ* is the generic term for 'bamboo'.]

oo *Molo*. bamboo. (M:397)

oo *Kusa-Manea*. bamboo.

Out-comparisons:

au *East Tetun*. bamboo. (Mo:5)

oa *Kemak*. bamboo (generic).

oor *Mambae, South*. bamboo. (Grimes et al. 2014b:36)

oo *Galolen*. bamboo.

our *Kisar*. bamboo.

***osa** *PnMeto*. price, value. *See*: ***sosa** 'buy, sell'.

osa-f (2) ma-ʔosa-ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) price. 2) expensive.

osa *Molo*. price. (M:407)

Out-comparisons:

osa *Semau Helong*. value, price, worth, cost.

osan *Fehan Tetun*. money — includes old coins and modern paper money.

osan *East Tetun*. money, precious metal. (Mo:156)

osa *Ili'uun*. goods, property, cloth. (dJ:131)

osa *Kemak*. money.

***osi** *Rote*. garden in a village. *Etym*: **wasi (pre-RM).

osi *Termanu*. garden or plantation in or nearby a village. (J:458)

osi *Korbafo*.

osi *Bokai*.

osi *Bilbaa*.

osi *Ba'a*.

osi *Tii*.

osi *Dengka*.

osi *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

asi *Kemak*. garden.

wasi *Asilulu*. forest garden. (van Hoëvell 1877:50)

wasi *Buru*. a) grove, orchard. b) field (abandoned), garden (unused), fallow land. (M:479) [*Form*: Has the variant form **wase** with the second sense.] (Grimes and Grimes 2020:996)

***otas** *PRM*. kind of insect which eats thatch/string. [*irr. from PRM*: *o > e in Meto]

otas *Termanu*. kind of worm that eats the roof covering of new houses in the rainy season. (J:459)

ota-k *Bokai*.

ota-? *Bilbaa*.

otas *Rikou*. [*Note*: not known by my consultants.]

otas *Ba'a*.

otas *Tii*.

otas *Dengka*.

otas *Oenale*.

otas *Dela*.

etas *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of louse that eats string.

P - p

***pado** *Rote*. octopus.

pado *Termanu*. octopus. (J:462)

pado *Korbafo*.

pado *Bokai*.

pado *Bilbaa*.

pado *Rikou*. octopus. (J:462; own field notes)

mpado *Ba'a*.

pado *Tii*.

pado *Dengka*.

pado *Oenale*.

pado *Dela*. octopus.

Out-comparisons:

kapafu *Dhao*. octopus.

kepafu *Hawu*. (J:462)

***paha** *PnMeto*. split, divide. *Doublet*:

***faka1**, ***faka2**. *Etym*: *bakaq. [*irr. from PMP*: *k > *h] [*minority from PMP*: *b > *mb *p (Tetun has regular *mb > b, thus attesting pre-Meto *mb)]

n-paha *Kotos Amarasi*. split, divide.

n-paha *Molo*. cuts. (M:411)

Out-comparisons:

baka *Fehan Tetun*.

***pande** *Rote*. short in height, squat and compact in build, of a person. *Doublet*: ***mbada**. *Etym*: *pandak. [*irr. from PMP*: *a > *e] [*minority from PMP*: *p = *p]

pane~pane *Termanu*. small, short in stature, kind of small. (J:467)

pane~pane *Korbafo*.

pane~pane *Bokai*.

pane~pane *Bilbaa*.

pane~pane *Ba'a*.

pande~pande *Tii*.

pande~pande *Dengka*.

pande~pande *Oenale*.

***papa** *CERM*. guard, protect. [*irr. from PRM: *p > f in Meto*] [*Form: Alternately, we could reconstruct *mbafa with medial *f and posit irregular fortition of *f > p in Rote.*]

papa *Termanu*. occasionally monitor animals that are secured in the field or bush. (J:468)

papa *Rikou*.

n-pafa? *Kotos Amarasi*. protect.

<**n-pafa**> *Molo*. takes care of. (M:410)

Out-comparisons:

papa_piara *Semau Helong*. look after, take care.

***paru** *PRM*. grate. *Etym: *parud* ‘rasp, file’. [*minority from PMP: *p = *p*]

palu (2) **pa~palu-k** *Termanu*.

1) grate. 2) grating, grater.

[*Semantics: All examples in Jonker (1908) refer to coconuts.*] (J:466)

palu *Korbafo*.

palu *Bokai*.

palu *Bilbaa*.

paru *Rikou*.

palu *Ba'a*.

paru *Tii*.

palu *Dengka*.

paru *Oenale*.

panu? *Ro'is Amarasi*. hard inner coconut shell.

?|**panu**?| *Kotos Amarasi*. hard inner coconut shell.

<**panu**> *Molo*. half a coconut shell. (M:421)

?|**panu**?| *Kusa-Manea*. hard inner coconut shell.

***peni** *Morph: *ka-peni-k*. *PRM*. underlay, saddle.

peni-k *Termanu*. native saddle made from gebang palm leaves tied onto fabric rags, used both to ride on or to put loads on. (J:480)

peni-? *Korbafo*.

peni-k *Bokai*.

peni-? *Bilbaa*.

peni-? *Rikou*.

peni-k *Ba'a*.

peni-? *Dengka*.

peni-? *Oenale*.

?|**peni**?| *Kotos Amarasi*. base, pad, sandals, saddle.

<**peni**> *Molo*. saddle. (M:432)

Out-comparisons:

beni *Fehan Tetun*. cover; put a cloth saddle on a horse; spread dirt on a log bridge. [*irr. from PRM: *p = b* correspondence]

peni *Hawu*. (J:480)

***petun** *PnMeto*. Rough Bamboo; Giant Bamboo. *Dendrocalamus* species.

*Etym: *bətun* ‘bamboo of very large diameter, probably *Dendrocalamus* species’. [*minority from PMP: *b > *mb > *p*] [*Form: Initial *p in PMeto is from earlier *mb. Irregular *b > *mb is attested in many languages of the region for reflexes of *bətun and *mb can be reconstructed to proto-Timor-Babar, perhaps even to a higher node.*]

petu *Kopas*. bamboo.

petu, petun *Molo*. kind of large bamboo. *Dendrocalamus asper*. (M:436)

petun *Baikeno*. bamboo. (Charles E. Grimes pers. comm.)

petu *Kusa-Manea*. kind of large bamboo. *Dendrocalamus asper*.

Out-comparisons:

betun *East Tetun*. variety of thick bamboo. [*Form: Tetun *mb > b and *b > f* are regular, hence this form also attests initial *mb.] (Mo:14)

betu *Dadu'a*. bamboo. (Penn 2006:92)

petun *Ili'uun*. kind of bamboo. (dJ:133)

***pio** *PnMeto*. garlic. *Etym.*: **mbio (pre-Meto). [*History*: This form may have been distributed by contact, though this would have been early as the reflexes of *mb are regular.]

kar/peo *Kotos Amarasi*. garlic. [*Sporadic*: vowel height harmony *i > e / _o.] [*Form*: source of initial **kar** currently unknown.]

pio *Amanuban*. garlic.

peo *Molo*. onions. (M:434)

Out-comparisons:

kbiu *Foho Tetun*. garlic. [*Note*: variety of Tetun spoken in the northern part of the Tetun-speaking area of central Timor ISO 693-3 [tet].] [*Sporadic*: vowel height harmony *o > u /i_.] (own field notes)

***piru** *PRM*. sling. [*irr. from PRM*: *r > Ø ~ n in Meto; *p > b ~ f in Meto]

pilu (2) pi~pilu-k *Termanu*. 1) sling (v.). 2) throwing in a slinging manner, a sling or a piece of wood used to throw in a slinging manner. (J:485)

pi~pilu-? *Korbafo*.

pi~piru-? *Rikou*.

mpi~mpilu-? *Ba'a*.

pi~pi?u-k *Tii*.

pi~pilut *Dengka*.

pi~pirut *Oenale*.

?fi?u *Kotos Amarasi*. sling.

biut, fiku, finu *Molo*. sling. (M:72, 119, 120)

Out-comparisons:

tali (fa~)firun, fa~firuk *East Tetun*. sling. [*irr. from PRM*: *p = f correspondence] (Mo:30, 34)

***poka** *PRM*. swollen, paunch. *Pattern*: k-10' (*k > ʔ, k in Termanu and Oenale; expect only *k > ʔ). [*irr. from PRM*: *a > o in first Rote forms]

tei_poʔo-k (2) po~poka-k *Termanu*. 1) stomach (of people and some animals). **hataholi tei_**

poʔo madema someone with a 'deep stomach', a glutton (J:495)

2) **hataholi ei po~pokak** someone whose feet have swollen up due to sickness (J:492)

tei_poʔo-? *Korbafo*.

tei_poʔo-k *Bokai*.

tei_poko-? *Bilbaa*.

tei_poko-? *Rikou*.

tei_mpoʔo-k *Ba'a*.

tei_poʔo-k *Tii*.

tei_poko-? (2) po~poʔat *Oenale*. 2) kind of fish that swells up. (J:754)

n-pook *Ro'is Amarasi*. fat. [*Form*: metathesised form of **n-poka**.]

n-poka *Kotos Amarasi*. fat.

n-pook (2) fafi a-poka-t (3) <meen poka> *Molo*. 1) fat. 2) a fat pig. 3) kind of leprosy which causes swelling. [*Form*: **meen** metathesised from **menas** 'sickness'.] (M:445)

***poke** *Rote*. blind. *Pattern*: k-5.

poke (2) poke-k (3) poʔe *Termanu*. 1) be or become blind. 2) blind, a blind person. (J:492) 3) = **poke-k**, mainly as a swearword. (J:490)

poke *Korbafo*.

poke *Bokai*.

poke *Bilbaa*.

poke *Rikou*.

mpoke *Ba'a*.

poke *Tii*.

poke *Dengka*.

poke *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

<**poki**> *Kambera*. blind. [*Note*: also in Mangili, Anakalang, and Mamboru.] (On:418)

<**poku**> *Lewa*.

peke *Perai*. blind. [*Note*: language of Wetar Island ISO 639-3 [wet].] (Hinton 2000:125)

pok~pok *Sekar*. blind. [*Note*: language of the Bomberai Peninsula ISO 639-3 [skz].]

[*Form*: possibly a chance resemblance.] (Smits and Voorhoeve 1992:128)

***poko** *CER*. plop. *Pattern*: k-5/6. [*Semantics*: onomatopoeia.]

poko~poko *Termanu*. plop, make a plopping noise by something that falls. (J:492)

Out-comparisons:

kepoʔo *Hawu*. (J:492)

***ponia** *PwRM*. sacrifice. [*irr. from PRM*: *p > f in Meto]

ponia *Dengka*. sacrifice. (J:755)

fnia-t *Molo*. poured out sacrifice. (M:123)

***pupu** *PRM*. blowpipe blow through a blow pipe. *Etym*: *putput ‘puff, blow, expel air rapidly, as in using a

blowgun’. [*minority from PMP*: *p = *p; *p = *p] [*irr. from PRM*: *p > f in most nRote /#_]

fupu *Termanu*. blow through a blowpipe. (J:149)

fupu *Korbafo*.

fupu *Bokai*.

fupu *Bilbaa*.

fupu *Rikou*.

fumpu *Ba’a*.

pupu *Tii*.

pupu *Dengka*.

pupu *Oenale*.

puput *Molo*. a) bamboo from which flutes are made. (M:457)
b) blowpipe. (M:479)

Out-comparisons:

pupu *Helong*. (J:149)

R - r

***raho** *nRM*. three-stone hearth, fireplace. *Etym*: *dapuR ‘hearth’. [*minority from PMP*: *d > *r /#_ (expect *d)] [*Sporadic*: *u > *o /_*R#_]

laʔo *Termanu*. cooking place, the three stones on which a pot is placed to cook the food, trivet, or the space between it. Also fireplace in general. (J:279)

laʔo *Korbafo*.

laʔo *Bokai*.

lao *Bilbaa*.

rao *Rikou*.

laʔo *Ba’a*.

raʔo *Tii*.

auf_ nao *Kotos Amarasi*. ash in the hearth.

nao *Kopas*. ash from the three-stone hearth.

Out-comparisons:

avu rao *Hawu*. ash.

rao *Dhao*. earth oven. Made from clay for cooking clay pots.

***raʔi** *Rote*. tie. *Etym*: *Rakit ‘lay long objects side by side; raft’. [*minority from PMP*: *R = *r (expect Ø)]

laʔi *Termanu*. tie bamboo or betel nut together in a certain way. (J:271)

laʔi *Korbafo*.

laʔi *Bokai*.

lai *Bilbaa*.

rai *Rikou*.

laʔi *Ba’a*.

raʔi *Tii*.

lai *Dengka*.

rai *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

°lai *Semau Helong*. Borrowed from: Irregular reflexes of initial *R in both Rote and Helong indicates borrowing. This was probably from Rote into Helong, given initial *r* in East Rote and Dela-Oenale. [*irr. from PMP*: *R > l /#_] (J:271)

***raʔu** *PRM*. scoop up in cupped hands. *Etym*: *rakup. [*Form*: Helong attests pre-RM initial *d.]

laʔu *Termanu*. scoop up (e.g. sand, etc.) with cupped hands. (J:285)

laʔu *Korbafo*.

laʔu *Bokai*.

lau *Bilbaa*.

rau *Rikou*.

laʔu *Ba'a*.

raʔu *Tii*.

lau *Dengka*.

rau *Oenale*.

n-nau *Kotos Amarasi*. scoop, gouge.

Out-comparisons:

daku *Semau Helong*. scoop.

***rates** *PRM*. grave. [*irr: from PRM: *e > a in Ro'is Amarasi*]

lates *Termanu*. grave. (J:283)

late-ʔ *Korbafo*.

late-ʔ *Bokai*.

late-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

lates *Ba'a*.

rates *Tii*.

lates *Dengka*.

rates *Oenale*.

niut nata *Ro'is Amarasi*. grave.

nate *Kotos Amarasi*. grave.

naten *Molo*. cairn on grave. (M:353)

nate *Kusa-Manea*. grave.

Out-comparisons:

rate(n) *East Tetun*. grave, tomb. (Mo:159)

rata, rate *Waima'a*. cemetery, tomb.

rate *Dadu'a*. grave. (Penn 2006:13)

dare (2) rai dare *Hawu*.

1) bury, covered; establish as law, command, order, set as regulation. 2) graveyard, cemetery. [*Sporadic: consonant metathesis *rVd > dVr.*]

raten *Sika*. grave, tomb. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:169)

<**reti**> *Kambera*. grave. (On:438)

<**rate**> *Kodi*. grave.

<**rati**> *Mamboru*. grave.

<**ratu**> *Lewa*. grave.

rade *Bima*. grave. (Jonker 1893:83)

rate *Bima*. grave. *Usage:* Kolo dialect. (Jonker 1893:83)

***ree** *Rote*. wave. [*Note:* The forms with final *ii* may be historically unrelated to those with final *ee*.]

lee-k (2) lii *Termanu*. 1) oblong tracks (e.g. of tortoise on sand, boat in water). (J:286) 2) wave, waves. (J:309)

lee-ʔ (2) lii *Korbafo*.

lee-k (2) lii *Bokai*.

lee-ʔ (2) lii *Bilbaa*.

ree *Rikou*.

lee-k (2) lii *Ba'a*.

ree-k (2) rii *Tii*.

lee *Dengka*. wave, waves. (J:309)

ree, rii *Oenale*. wave, waves. (J:309)

ree *Dela*. wave.

Out-comparisons:

leen *Semau Helong*. wave. [*Note:* Jonker (1908:286) gives Helong **lee(n)** for the second Rote meaning.]

***reha** *PRM*. fathom, arm span. *Etym:* *dəpa. [*minority from PMP: *d > *r /#_ (expect *d)*] [*Sporadic: *a > e / _# in wRM.*]

leʔa *Termanu*. fathom. (J:288)

leʔa *Korbafo*.

leʔa *Bokai*.

lea *Bilbaa*.

rea *Rikou*.

leʔa *Ba'a*.

reʔa *Tii*.

lee *Dengka*.

ree *Oenale*.

nehe *Kotos Amarasi*. fathom.

nehe *Molo*. an arm span. **in an-nehe nuku-n** he stretches his arms out (M:360)

Out-comparisons:

dea *Semau Helong*. fathom.

roʔa *Fehan Tetun*. unit of length, from one outstretched hand to the other (about 1.5 metres); can be measured using a **tali** (rope).

roha *East Tetun*. fathom, the length of the extended arms; v. to measure by fathoms. (Mo:162)
ree *Kisar*. arm width.
***rekət** *Morph*: ***ma-ka-rekət**. *PRM*. tart, brackish. *Pattern*: k-9.
ma-ka-leʔe-k *Termanu*. tart. (J:292)
ma-ka-leʔe *Korbafo*.
ma-ka-leʔe-k *Bokai*.
ma-ka-leke *Bilbaa*.
ma-reʔe *Rikou*.
ma-ka-leʔe-k *Ba'a*.
ma-ka-reʔe *Tii*.
ma-ʔa-leʔa *Dengka*.
ma-ʔa-reʔa *Oenale*.
maʔ|neʔat *Kotos Amarasi*. suffering.
maʔ|neʔat *Molo*. tart, sour; fig. trouble and sorrow, tribulation, distress. [*Note*: Jonker (1908:292) gives Meto **makneʔet**.] (M:305)
Out-comparisons:
mnekeŋ *Helong*. (J:292)
rəkət *Central Lembata*. (Fricke 2015)
dəkət *Lamaholot, Ile Ape*. [*Note*: language of Lembata Island ISO 639-3 [slp].] (Keraf 1978:264)
bərəkət *Lamalera*. [*Note*: language of Lembata Island ISO 639-3 [lmr].] (Keraf 1978:264)
***rena** *PwRM*. hear, listen. *Etym*: *dəŋəR.
rena *Oenale*. hear. (J:721)
rena *Dela*. hear, listen.
n-nena *Ro'is Amarasi*. hear.
n-nena *Kotos Amarasi*. hear.
n-nena *Molo*. hear. (M:361)
nean *Kusa-Manea*. hear.
Out-comparisons:
rona *East Tetun*. hear, listen, pay attention to. (Mo:162)
dene *Waima'a*. hear, believe.
terne *Kisar*. hear.

***reo** *PRM*. turn around.
(na)-leo *Termanu*. turning around something. (J:302)
(na)-leo *Korbafo*.
(na)-leo *Bokai*.
(na)-leo *Bilbaa*.
na-reo *Rikou*.
(na)-leo *Ba'a*.
na-reo *Tii*.
(na)-leo *Dengka*.
na-reo *Oenale*.
n-neo *Molo*. loops, winds around.
maʔu an-neo niis ane the weed loops, winds itself around the field rice, choking [*Form*: Jonker (1908:302f) gives **nero** and **neo/neok** = 'turn something', as well as **na-knero** and **na-kneo** = 'turn'.] (M:363)
***rifun** *PRM*. thousand. *Etym*: *Ribū. [*minority from PMP*: *R = *r (expect Ø)] [*Form*: The origin of final *n is currently unclear, though it is attested widely outside of Rote-Meto.]
lifun *Termanu*. thousand. (J:312)
lifun *Korbafo*.
lifun *Bokai*.
lifun *Bilbaa*.
rifun *Rikou*.
lifun *Ba'a*.
rifun *Tii*.
lifun *Dengka*.
rifun *Oenale*.
niufun *Ro'is Amarasi*. thousand.
nifun *Kotos Amarasi*. thousand.
Out-comparisons:
lihu *Semau Helong*. thousand.
rihun *East Tetun*. thousand. (Mo:161)
riwun, riwan *Kisar*. thousand.
***rimbu** *Rote*. teem, abound. *Doublet*:
***libū**. *Etym*: *libut 'surround, encircle, as game'. [*irr. from PMP*: *l > *r; *b > *mb]
ri~rimbu *Tii*. teem, abound. (J:724)
rimbu-rimbu *Oenale*. teem, abound. (J:724)

***rijin** *Morph: *ma-rijin, *ma-ka-rijin.*
PRM. cold. *Etym: *dijnin.* [*minority from PMP: *d > *r #/_ (expect *d); *ŋ = *ŋ*] [*Form: Medial PRM *ŋ is required to account for Meto k ~ n.*] [*History: Termanu dinis = 'dew' (Jonker 1908:88) may be connected, as suggested by Jonker, though this would require irregular initial *d = d. Additionally, Tii has denis which would attest irr. *i > e.*]

ma-ka-lini *Termanu.* be cold. (J:314)

ma-ka-lini *Korbafo.*

ma-ka-lini *Bokai.*

ma-ka-lini *Bilbaa.*

ma-rini *Rikou.*

ma-ka-lini *Ba'a.*

ma-ka-rini *Tii.*

ma-ʔa-lini *Dengka.*

ma-ʔa-rini *Oenale.*

mainikin *Ro'is Amarasi.* cold. [*Note: mainirin was identified by my main Kotos Amarasi consultant as a Ro'is Amarasi form but was not known by any of my Ro'is consultants. If this form does exist, it would point to earlier *madindin and indicate that a doublet should be reconstructed to PRM.*]

mainikin *Kotos Amarasi.* cold.

manikin, <mainini> *Amanuban/ Amanatun.* cold and coldness. [*Note: My Amanuban and Amanatun data only has manikin, mainini is from Middelkoop (1972:298).*] (M:298; own field notes)

<mainiki> *Molo.* cold and coldness. (M:298)

manikin *Kusa-Manea.* cold.

Out-comparisons:

blijin *Semau Helong.* cold, cool, chilly, fresh.

malirin *East Tetun.* cold, cool; *n.* cold; *adv.* coldly, without enthusiasm; *v.* to be cold or

cool. [*irr. from PMP: *d > (*r) > l (possibly sporadic dissimilation)*] (Mo:137)

rinna *Kisar.* cold.

merigi *Hawu.* cold, cool.

***rodok** *PRM.* crawl, creep. *Doublet:*

***nodo.** [*Form: regular *d' > **l /*l_ in Meto (and Helong) e.g. *rodok > **lodok > **lolok > nonok.*]

lodo *Termanu.* crawl, crawl forward, like a snake. (J:319)

lodo *Korbafo.*

lodo *Bokai.*

lodo *Bilbaa.*

rodo *Rikou.*

lodo *Ba'a.*

rodok *Tii.*

rodoʔ *Oenale.* crawl, crawl forward, like a snake.

n-nonok *Kotos Amarasi.* slither, crawl (on chest/belly). [*History: Both the semantics and the final k indicate that the Meto reflexes belong under this headword rather than similar *nodo.*]

n-nonok *Molo.* flows, crawls, leaks out. (M:384)

Out-comparisons:

lolo *Semau Helong.* crawl.

rodo *Hawu.* (J:319)

***roko** *Morph: *na-ka-roko.* *Rote.* rattle. *Pattern: k-5.* [*Semantics: onomatopoeia.*]

na-ka-loko *Termanu.* rattling, as for instance the kernels of some fruit when shaken, also used for the sound that the contents of an old coconut makes when shaken. (J:322)

na-ka-loko *Korbafo.*

na-ka-loko *Bokai.*

na-ka-loko *Bilbaa.*

na-ro~roko *Rikou.*

na-ka-loko *Ba'a.*

na-ka-roko *Tii.*

na-ʔa-loko *Dengka.*

Out-comparisons:

kerəko *Hawu*. (J:322)

***ronga** *Rote*. pen, corral.

loŋa *Termanu*. hutch, close in a hutch.
(J:326)

loŋa *Korbafo*.

loŋa *Bokai*.

loŋa *Bilbaa*.

roka *Rikou*.

longa *Ba'a*.

longa *Lole*. corral, barn, stable, stall.
(Zacharias et al. 2014)

ronga *Tii*. caged, trapped. (Grimes
et al. 2014a)

longa *Dengka*.

ronga *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

doka *Hawu*. garden, corral.

***rose** *PRM*. rub, wipe.

lose *Termanu*. rub, rub into, rub off,
wipe off. (J:328)

lose *Korbafo*.

lose *Bokai*.

lose *Bilbaa*.

rose *Rikou*.

lose *Ba'a*.

rose *Tii*.

lose *Dengka*.

rose *Oenale*.

n-nose *Kotos Amarasi*. wipe away,
erase.

n-nose (2) ?-nose-? *Molo*.
1) wipe away (e.g. tears). 2) rag,
handkerchief. (M:386)

Out-comparisons:

rose *Kemak*. rub.

<**ruhi**>, <**ruhu**> *Kambera*. rub,
polish, clean. (On:448)

roho *Hawu*. (J:328)

blosok (2) berosok *Sika*. 1) rub.
(Fricke 2014:85) 2) rub. *Usage*:
Hewa dialect/variety. (Keraf
1978:292)

roso *Ende*. file.

***rou** *Morph*: ***rou-k**. *Rote*. skin. [Note:
While the Out-comparisons are
formally similar, they point to earlier
**1 that would not regularly develop

into PRM *r. Furthermore, the
semantic match between ‘skin’ and
‘sarong’, while not implausible, is also
not entirely convincing. Thus, they are
probably chance resemblances.]

lou-k *Termanu*. a) skin, hide, leather,
bark, fruit peel, shell. b) anything
in which things can be stored,
a bag, barrel, etc. (J:329f)

lou-? *Korbafo*.

lou-k *Bokai*.

lou-? *Bilbaa*.

rou-? *Landu*. skin. (own field notes)

rou-? *Rikou*.

lou-k *Ba'a*.

lou-k *Lole*. skin. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

rou-k *Tii*.

lou-? *Dengka*.

rou-? *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

<**lau**> [lau] *Kambera*. skirt,
sarong. (On:234)

<**lawu**> *Anakalang*.

<**lawo**> *Kodi*.

lawo *Ende*. female sarong.

***ruan** *PMeto*. village. [Note: Blust and
Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PAN
*kuan on the basis of an Amis form and
Meto **kuan**. Ro’is Amarasi **ruan** with
initial *r* shows that this reconstruction
is a result of chance similarity.] [irr.
from PRM: *r > l (expect *k*) in poetic
Molo form (possibly archaic retention
with *r > l after *r > k)] [Form: perhaps
from earlier **nduan.] [History: May
be connected with Rongga, Ngadha,
Lio, and Ende **nua** ‘village’.]

ruan *Ro’is Amarasi*. village.

kuan *Kotos Amarasi*. village.

kuan (2) luan *Molo*. 1) village.
(M:243) 2) village. **na-?uul ees**
Saneploon bian, hai lua ?loo
hai m-ak fauknais literally, ‘it
is raining in the coastal plains
below Camplong, but we in distant
villages say it is the dry season’, a
metaphor for a complaint submitted

in Kupang against a king, while in the inland people prefer stupid kings. *Word-level:* 3-rain COP Camplong side 1PL.EXCL village far 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-say drought. *Usage:* poetic.

***ruku** *Rote*. bent over. *Etym:* *duku ‘bend over, stoop’. *Pattern:* k-5. [*minority from PMP:* *d > *r /#_ (expect *d)]
luku~luku *Termanu*. bent over, bent. (J:332)

luku~luku *Bokai*.

luku~luku *Ba'a*.

(luku~luku ?) *Tii*.

luku~luku *Dengka*.

ruku~ruku *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

ru?u *Hawu*. (J:332)

***rumu** *Rote*. press. [*History:* Blust and Trussel (ongoing) identify the Termanu form as a reflex of PMP *lumu ‘soft’, but initial *l cannot account for Rote varieties with initial *r*, which regularly comes from *r.]

lumu *Termanu*. knead something softly. (J:334)

lumu *Korbafo*.

lumu *Bokai*.

lumu *Bilbaa*.

rumu *Rikou*.

lumu *Ba'a*.

rumu *Tii*.

lumu *Dengka*.

rumu *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

lumu *Semau Helong*. press.

***rumbi** *Rote*. mantle of a squid.

lumpi-k *Ba'a*. the mantle of a squid. (J:728f)

lumbi-? *Dengka*.

rumbi-? *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

rupu, rupe *Kisar*. huge octopus or squid that is big enough to wrap around a sailboat; also referred to as ghosts of the ocean.

***rugirai** *Rote*. whale. [*irr. from PRM:* *u > o in Rikou] [*History:* Jonker (1908:334) tentatively suggests this may be a borrowing from Hawu.]

lugilai *Termanu*. whale. (J:334)

lunilai *Bokai*.

rokirai *Rikou*.

lungilai *Ba'a*.

rungirai *Tii*.

lungilai *Dengka*.

rungirai *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

lugirai *Hawu*. whale. (J:334)

***rutus** *PRM*. rust.

na-lu~lutu (2) lu~lutu-k *Termanu*.

1) rusting. 2) rust. (J:336)

na-lu~lutu *Korbafo*.

na-lu~lutu *Bokai*.

na-lu~lutu *Bilbaa*.

na-ru~rutu *Rikou*.

na-lu~lutu *Ba'a*.

na-ru~rutu *Tii*.

na-lu~lutu *Dengka*.

na-ru~rutu *Oenale*.

nutus *Kotos Amarasi*. rust.

nutus *Molo*. rust. (M:327)

Out-comparisons:

rotus *Fehan Tetun*. rust (of iron).

rutu *Hawu*. rust.

rutu *Sika*. rusty. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:177)

S - s

*-s *PwRM.* people group suffix.

-s *Dengka.* sometimes the same as Meto at the end of the names of people groups: **sina-sius** = **sina-siu**, Chinese. (J:757)

-s *Dela.* people group suffix. [Note: Examples include: **dfela-s** = ‘Dela person’, **ndao-s** = ‘Dhao person’, **tii-s** = ‘Tii person’, and **sonobai-s** = ‘Atoni’.]

-s, -as *Kotos Amarasi.* people group suffix. *Usage:* -s is used after vowel final stems and CVC# final stems (for which it replaces the final C), -as is used with VVC# final stems.

-s, -as *Molo.* Jonker rightly identifies the ‘inorganic’ final -s on the names of people groups that end in a vowel. When they end in a consonant they take the suffix -as. [Note: Strange as it may seem, this is the description given by Middelkoop of this suffix. He is probably referring to Jonker (1906).] (M:xxix)

*saa *PwRM.* what?

saa *Dengka.* what? (J:757f)

saa *Oenale.* what? (J:757f)

saa?n=aa *Ro'is Amarasi.* what.

saa? *Kotos Amarasi.* what?

<sa'> *Molo.* what. (M:462)

na-sa?a *Kusa-Manea.* why?

Out-comparisons:

saa *Semau Helong.* what.

saa *East Tetun.* what. (Mo:163)

*sabake *Morph:* *sabake-k, *na-sabake. *nRM.* branch. *Pattern:* k-10.

ba?e-k (2) na-ba?e *Termanu.* 1) big branch of a tree. 2) have big branches. (J:20)

ba?e *Korbafo.*

ba?e-k *Bokai.*

bake-? *Bilbaa.*

bake-? *Landu.* forked branch. (own field notes)

bake-? *Rikou.*

ba?e-k *Ba'a.*

ba?e-k *Tii.*

sbake|? *Ro'is Amarasi.* forked branch.

sbake|? (2) na-sbake *Kotos Amarasi.* 1) forked branches. 2) grow (forked) branches.

<sbake> *Molo.* forked branch. (M:478)

*sabuu *CERM.* blown up, inflated; smoke. [irr. from *PRM:* *uu > oo in Meto]

bu~buu *Termanu.* a) inflated, blown up. suje=na bu~buu his cheeks are inflated, perhaps from blowing, perhaps because he has something in his mouth lafa=na bu~buu his sarong is inflated (e.g. because of the wind). b) also used of the swelling up of the cheeks while smoking. ana bu~buu modo he smokes tobacco. (J:60)

na-sboo (2) sbou-t *Kotos Amarasi.* 1) smoke (cigarette). 2) cigarette.

*sadu *PRM.* wig, false hair. *Pattern:* d-2.

salu *Termanu.* false hair, false plait. (J:518)

salu *Korbafo.*

salu *Bokai.*

salu *Bilbaa.*

saru *Rikou.*

salu *Ba'a.*

saru *Tii.*

salu *Dengka.*

saru *Oenale.*

salu? *Meto.* [Note: Jonker (1908:518) gives Amarasi farus.] (J:518)

Out-comparisons:

salu? *Helong.* (J:518)

ruharu *Hawu.* mane of a horse. (J:518)

*sada *PRM.* cut, peel.

sa~sada *Termanu.* cut into discs. (J:507f)

sa~sada *Korbafo.*

sa~sada *Bokai*.

sa~sada *Bilbaa*.

sa~sada *Rikou*.

sa~sada *Ba'a*.

sa~sada *Tii*.

sa~sada *Dengka*.

n-sara *Kotos Amarasi*. peel fruit with a knife.

n-sala *Molo*. peels. (M:471)

Out-comparisons:

sadat *Semau Helong*. peel.

***sadi** *Rote*. as long as.

sadi *Termanu*. only, as long as, if only, provided that. (J:508)

sadi *Korbafo*.

sadi *Bokai*.

sadi *Bilbaa*.

sadi *Rikou*.

sadi *Ba'a*.

sadi *Tii*.

sadi *Dengka*.

sadi *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

sadi *Semau Helong*. as long as.

hadi *Hawu*. as long as, provided that.

***sadodo** *PRM*. slide, slip. *Pattern: d-2. [irr. from PRM: *d' > nd in Oenale] [Sporadic: consonant metathesis *dVr > *rVd in Bilbaa, Rikou and Landu; consonant metathesis *IVn > *IVn in Molo.]*

dolo *Termanu*. slide, glide. (J:98)

dolo *Korbafo*.

dolo *Bokai*. slide, skid.

lodo *Bilbaa*. slide, skid. (J:725)

na-rodo-? *Landu*. slippery. (own field notes)

rodo *Rikou*. slip, skid. (J:725)

dolo *Ba'a*.

doro *Tii*.

dolo *Dengka*.

ndoro *Oenale*.

na-sroro *Kotos Amarasi*. slide.

<**n-sikanolo**>, <**n-sakanolo**> (2)

n-sinolok *Molo*. 1) slide. (M:xliii)

2) slips, slides. (M:497)

Out-comparisons:

sarodok, sadorok *East Tetun*. slip, slide or glide. (Mo:167, 164)

hedodo, hedodi *Hawu*. slide. (J:98)

***safe** *CERM*. catchbirdtree, birdcatcher tree, birdlime tree. *Pisonia alba*. [*Semantics: Hoola van Nooten et al. (1880) say of Pisonia alba: 'The leaves of Pisonia sylvestris and P. alba are used as a vegetable. Pisonia alba is known as Moluccan cabbage and is an albino form of the lettuce tree (Pisonia grandis R.Br.)'.* Their picture is of a plant with large white (or green) leaves. This matches well the description of the plant given by Jonker (1908:511). *Pisonia sylvestris* appears to be a synonym of *Pisonia alba*.]

safe *Termanu*. kind of tree, called *sayur bulan* ('moon vegetable') in Kupang, the leaves are eaten as vegetables. *Pisonia alba*. (J:511; Heyne 1950:610, cxviii)

<**safe**> *Molo*. kind of tree the leaves of which are use at a desecration. (M:465)

***saha** *Morph: *saha-k. nRM*. whetstone. *Etym: *hasaq 'whet, sharpen'.* [*irr. from PMP: *a > Ø [minority from PMP: *q > *h] [Form: regular *h > Ø /a_a in Rote. The Waima'a out-comparison indicates earlier *hasaq > **saqa.]*

saa-k *Termanu*. whetstone for knives and machetes. (J:507)

saa-? *Korbafo*.

saa-k *Bokai*.

saa-? *Bilbaa*.

saa-k *Ba'a*.

saa-k *Tii*.

saha|k *Kotos Amarasi*. large whetstone.

n-saha (2) sahan *Molo*. 1) scrapes, makes smooth. 2) large, round whetstone. (M:466)

Out-comparisons:

- saʔa** *Waima'a*. sharpen.
- ***saha2** *Morph: *na-saha. PRM.* carry on the shoulders. *Etym: *pasaqan. [minority from PMP: *q > *h] [Form: regular *h > Ø /a_a in Rote.]*
- na-saa** *Termanu.* carry on or over one's shoulder. (J:506)
- na-saa** *Korbafo.*
- na-saa** *Bokai.*
- na-saa** *Bilbaa.*
- na-saa** *Rikou.*
- na-saa** *Ba'a.*
- na-saa** *Tii.*
- na-saa** *Dengka.*
- na-saa** *Oenale.*
- na-saha** *Kotos Amarasi.* carry an item by placing it on one's shoulder or back.
- ***sai1** *nRM.* flow.
- sai** *Termanu.* make flow away, e.g. water that is standing still. (J:512)
- sai** *Korbafo.*
- sai** *Bokai.*
- sai** *Rikou.*
- sai** *Ba'a.*
- (**sai** ?) *Tii.*
- na-sai** *Kotos Amarasi.* flow.
- Out-comparisons:**
- sai** *Funai Helong.* flow.
- ***sai2** *Rote.* open.
- sai** *Termanu.* 1) cut open the belly of a slaughtered animal. 2) open something, such as a pot or bag, and begin to use the contents, open something. (J:512)
- sai** *Korbafo.*
- sai** *Bokai.*
- sai** *Bilbaa.*
- sii_bati (2) sai** *Rikou.* [Semantics: **sii_bati** is equivalent to *Termanu* sense (1), **sai** is equivalent to *Termanu* sense (2).]
- sai** *Ba'a.*
- sai** *Tii.*
- sai** *Dengka.*
- sai** *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

- sai** *Semau Helong.* open, unveil, reveal.
- ***sai3** *Rote.* torn up.
- sai~sai (2) sai** *Termanu.* 1) totally torn. 2) torn. (J:513)
- sai~sai** *Korbafo.*
- sai~sai** *Bokai.*
- sai~sai** *Ba'a.*
- sai~sai** *Tii.*
- sai~sai** *Dengka.*
- Out-comparisons:**
- sait** *Semau Helong.* torn.
- ***saka** *PRM.* thigh, buttocks. *Pattern:* k-irr. [*irr. from PRM: *a > i* in much of Nuclear-Rote; **k > h* /V_V in Meto] [*History:* Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct Proto-Philippine *sáka 'leg of a fowl (?)'.]
- saki/bolo-k** *Termanu.* rear haunch of an animal. (J:514)
- saki/bolo-ʔ** *Korbafo.*
- saki/bolo-k** *Bokai.*
- saka/bolo-ʔ** *Bilbaa.* thigh, rear haunch of an animal. (J:758)
- saki/bolo-ʔ** *Rikou.*
- saki/bolo-k** *Ba'a.*
- saka_bolo-k** *Tii.*
- saka-ʔ** *Dengka.* thigh of a person or animal. (J:758)
- saka-ʔ** *Oenale.*
- saka-ʔ** *Dela.* thigh.
- saha-n** *Amanuban.* thigh, buttocks.
- saha-k** *Molo.* thigh. (M:466)
- Out-comparisons:**
- sakan** *East Tetun.* hip (of people), flank (of animals). (Mo:164)
- sakar** *Galolen.* thigh.
- ***sake** *PRM.* go up, ascend, rise. *Etym:* *sakay 'climb, ascend, rise up'. *Pattern:* k-8.
- saʔe** *Termanu.* climbing, rising (intransitive); have gone up, is up; sit down, of birds. (J:509)
- saʔe** *Korbafo.*
- saʔe** *Bokai.*
- sake** *Bilbaa.*

saʔe *Rikou*.

saʔe *Ba'a*.

saʔe *Tii*.

sae *Dengka*.

sae *Oenale*.

n-sae *Ro'is Amarasi*. ascend.

n-sae *Kotos Amarasi*. go up, ascend, climb up.

n-sae *Molo*. rises, ascent. (M:464)

saa *Kusa-Manea*. go up. [Form: regular *e > a /V_# in Upper Manulea.]

Out-comparisons:

sake *Semau Helong*. rise, ascend.

saʔe *East Tetun*. climb on, mount; to rise up, ascend. (Mo:164)

haʔe *Hawu*. ascend, climb, go up, embark, get on.

***sakiki** *Morph: *na-sakiki*. *PRM*. brush teeth. *Etym:* *kiskis 'shave, scrape off' (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) also reconstruct the doublet *gisgis 'rub, scrape against', which is reflected as 'brush (one's teeth)' in Tausug in the Philippines). *Pattern:* initial k-2a, medial k-6.

na-sa-kiki, kiki (2) kiki-k *Termanu*.

1) brush (the teeth); rub something used as medicine on one's teeth.
2) kind of brush made from palm leaf stalks used to clean the bucket that is used for tapping palm trees. (J:236)

na-sa-kiki *Korbafo*.

na-sa-kiki *Bokai*.

na-sa-kiki *Ba'a*.

(na-sakiki ?) *Tii*.

na-sa-ʔiʔi *Oenale*.

na-sa-ʔiʔi *Dela*. use tobacco to rub one's teeth after chewing betel nut. (own field notes)

na-skiki *Ro'is Amarasi*. brush one's teeth.

na-skiki *Kotos Amarasi*. brush one's teeth.

<skiki> (2) na-skiki *Molo*.

1) toothbrush. 2) brushes (the teeth). (M:236)

ta-skiik *Kusa-Manea*. brush the teeth.

Out-comparisons:

kikin *Semau Helong*. shave (head).

[Note: Jonker (1908:236) gives Helong **kiki**, **skiki** 'brush, sweeper'.]

sakiki nehan *Fehan Tetun*. brush the teeth. (Mo:165)

***sakoro** *Morph: *na-sakoro*. *PRM*. sip. *Pattern:* k-1. [irr. from *PRM*: *r > Ø in all Rote except Oenale]

na-sa-koo *Termanu*. sip, drink with sips. (J:241)

na-sa-koo *Korbafo*.

na-sa-koo *Bokai*.

na-sa-koo *Bilbaa*.

na-sa-oo *Rikou*.

na-sa-koo *Ba'a*.

na-sa-koo *Tii*.

na-sa-koo *Dengka*.

na-sa-koro *Oenale*.

na-sakono *Meto*. (J:241)

***sala** *PRM*. wrong, mistake, incorrect. *Etym:* *salaq 'wrong, in error (of behaviour); miss (a target); mistake, error, fault'.

sala *Termanu*. wrong, incorrect, mistaken. (J:514)

sala *Korbafo*.

sala *Bokai*.

sala *Bilbaa*.

sala *Rikou*.

sala *Ba'a*.

sala *Tii*.

sala *Dengka*.

sala *Oenale*.

n-sana *Kotos Amarasi*. make a mistake, be wrong.

n-sana *Molo*. is wrong. (M:473)

Out-comparisons:

sala *Semau Helong*. wrong, fault, mistake, sin.

sala *East Tetun*. err, make a mistake, be wrong, be in error, sin; *n*. error, mistake, sin, crime, blame. (Mo:165)

***sale** *nRM*. sorry, contrition.

sale *Termanu*. contrition, repentance.
(J:517)

sale *Korbafo*.

sale *Bokai*.

sale *Bilbaa*.

sale *Rikou*.

sale *Ba'a*.

sale *Tii*.

sane-l=oo-n *Molo*. be sorry. (M:474)

***sali** *PnRote*. pour, fill. *Etym*: *salin ‘pour from one vessel into another; translate, interpret’ (PWMP. Blust and Trussel (ongoing) also reconstruct PMP *saliR ‘flow, of water’, which is where they place the Termanu cognate, but if this were correct we would expect the final vowel in Rote to lower before loss of final *R.).

sali *Termanu*. put a liquid somewhere, pour into. (J:517)

sali *Korbafo*.

sali *Bokai*.

sali *Bilbaa*.

sali *Rikou*.

sali *Ba'a*.

sali *Tii*.

Out-comparisons:

sali *Semau Helong*. pour, fill.

salin *East Tetun*. empty, spill out.
(Mo:165)

hali *Hawu*. fill (liquid), transfer container, pour.

***salili** *Morph*: *na-salili, *salili-k. *PRM*. armpit. *Etym*: **salili (pre-RM).

na-sa-lili (2) lili_bolo-k *Termanu*.

1) carry something in the armpit/ under the arm while it hangs by a band from the shoulder. 2) armpit.
[*Form*: The second part of the Rote nominal forms all mean ‘hole’.]
(J:313)

na-sa-lili (2) lili_poo-? *Korbafo*.

na-sa-lili (2) lili_bolo-k *Bokai*.

na-sa-lili (2) lili_poo-? *Bilbaa*.

na-sa-lili (2) lili_bolo-? *Rikou*.

na-sa-lili (2) lili_bolo-k *Ba'a*.

na-sa-lili (2) lili_bolo-k *Tii*.

na-sa-lili (2) lili_kolo-? *Dengka*.

na-sa-lili (2) lili_ndola-? *Oenale*.

snini-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. armpits.

snini-f (2) na-snini *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) armpits. 2) carry under arm with strap around shoulder.

snini-n *Molo*. armpit. (M:507)

snini-f *Kusa-Manea*. armpit.

Out-comparisons:

slili *Helong*. armpits. (J:313)

kalili, klilin *East Tetun*. armpit.
(Mo:110)

kahalilin *Ili'uun*. armpit. (dJ:119)

hililla *Kisar*. armpit.

lila-r *Kemak*. armpit.

saliri *Bima*. armpit. (Jonker 1893:91)

salili *Sumbawa*. [*Note*: language of Sumbawa ISO 639-3 [smw].] (J:313)

***saluku** *Morph*: *na-saluku. *PnRote*. gather under the wings. *Pattern*: k-5/6.

na-sa-lu~luku *Termanu*. gather under the wings. (J:332)

na-sa-lu~luku *Korbafo*.

na-sa-lu~luku *Bokai*.

na-sa-lu~luku *Bilbaa*.

na-sa-lu~lu?u *Rikou*.

na-sa-lu~luku *Ba'a*.

na-ka-lu~lu?uk *Tii*.

Out-comparisons:

herugu *Hawu*. (J:332)

***sambat** *Morph*: *ka-sambat. *PRM*. bucket.

samba-k *Tii*. bucket, specifically a kind of big bucket. (J:759)

sambat *Dengka*.

sambat *Oenale*.

sambat *Dela*. leaf bucket.

?|sapa|? *Kotos Amarasi*. leaf bucket made from lontar leaves.

Out-comparisons:

sapat *Semau Helong*. bucket.
[*Note*: Jonker (1908:759) gives Helong ksapat.]

(k)**naban, kanaban** *East Tetun*. palm leaf basket. [*irr. from PRM: *s = n correspondence*] (Mo:165)

haba *Hawu*. pail, container made from young lontar palm leaves. [*Semantics: Used as palm wine container, or for irrigating fields by hand.*]

<**hamba**> *Kamera*. bucket made from lontar leaves. (On:60)

<**saba**> *Anakalang*.

<**samba**> *Mambaru*.

***sambi** *PRM*. remove bark.

sapi *Termanu*. cut the bark off a tree with a machete or axe, remove the bark of a tree in such a way. (J:522)

sapi *Korbafo*.

sapi *Bokai*.

sapi *Bilbaa*.

sapi *Rikou*.

sampi *Ba'a*.

sambi *Tii*.

sambi *Dengka*.

sambi *Oenale*.

sambi *Dela*. remove coconut shell.

n-sapi *Kotos Amarasi*. cut at slanted angle, cut chips off; e.g. to remove the shell of a coconut from its flesh.

n-sapi *Molo*. trims, shave off until smooth. (M:476)

Out-comparisons:

sabir *Fehan Tetun*. use knife to remove bark (from wood).

***sambudas** *PRM*. sow, scatter; scattered about; splash water on something. *Etym: **sa(m)bura[t/s]* (pre-RM). *Pattern: d-2. [irr. from PRM: *mb > p in Oenale and Tii]* [*History: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct a number of forms that are formally and semantically similar to the form I have placed in the etymology field: *sa(m)buR, *sabuD, *saq(ə)buR, *buras. None of these can quite account for the RM reflexes, though (of course) there are also problems with my own tentative reconstruction.*]

na-sa-pula *Termanu*. squirt or squirt out with the mouth (stronger than **na-sa-puu**). (J:502)

na-sa-pula *Korbafo*.

na-sa-pula *Bokai*.

na-sa-pula *Bilbaa*.

na-sa-pura *Rikou*.

na-sa-mpula *Ba'a*.

na-sa-pura *Tii*.

na-sa-mbula, mbulas *Dengka*.

puras *Oenale*.

puras, purak *Dela*. spit.

na-spura?, n-puran *Kotos Amarasi*. spurt water.

<**na-spula**> (2) <**n-pula**>, **n-pulan** (3) <**Oe Pula**> *Molo*. 1) bubbles up (water). 2) spits on, pushes out of the mouth. 3) source where water spurts out, the name of springs, one is at Kupang the other is at Kauniki. (M:453)

Out-comparisons:

buras *Sika*. spray/spout (medicine) from the mouth. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:30)

hura *Kamarian*. spit something out, like medicine. [*Note: also in Haruku and Kaibobo from Tihulale.*] (van Ekris 1864:92)

hula *Asilulu*. spit something out, like medicine. (van Ekris 1864:92)

samburat *Javanese*. [*Note: language of Java ISO 639-3 [jav].*] (J:502)

***sana|?** *PMeto*. bunch of fruit. *Etym: *sana* 'bifurcation, fork of a branch'.

saan_oo *Ro'is Amarasi*. stick insect.

noa_sana|? (2) **saan_oo** *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) bunch of coconuts. [*Note: noah* = 'coconut'.] 2) stick insect. [*Form: regular final CV → VC metathesis of first element of a compound combined with oo* = 'bamboo'.]

sana|? *Molo*. bunch of fruit or flowers. (M:473)

Out-comparisons:

saŋa *Semau Helong*. strong forked branch.

ai sanak *East Tetun*. branch, bough, or fork of tree, a spar or pole. (Mo:166)

dʒaŋa *Hawu*. branch. [*irr. from PMP: *s > dʒ*]

***sanahulu** *Rote*. ten. *Etym.* *sa-ŋa-puluq. [*Sporadic: *h > Ø in wRote.*]

sanahulu (2) hulu *Termanu*. 1) ten. 2) multiple of ten. (J:196)

sanahulu (2) hulu *Korbafo*.

sanahulu (2) hulu *Bokai*.

sanahulu (2) hulu *Bilbaa*.

sanahulu (2) hulu *Rikou*.

salahunu (2) hulu *Ba'a*. [*Sporadic: consonant metathesis *n...l > n...l.*]

sanahulu (2) hulu *Tii*.

salahunu (2) nulu *Dengka*. [*Note: Dengka salahunu is given as 'probably'.*] [*Sporadic: consonant metathesis *n...l > n...l.*]

sanahulu (2) nulu *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

smulu *Funai Helong*. ten.

hɣulu *Semau Helong*. ten.

sɣulu *Bolok Helong*. ten.

sanulu *East Tetun*. ten. (Mo:166)

heɣuru *Hawu*. ten.

***sanasə** *PRM*. breath. [*irr. from PRM: *ə > u in some Rote (probably sporadic assimilation of antepenultimate vowel to stressed vowel in some cases)*] [*History: The closest resemblance in PMP is *ŋəsŋəs.*]

nase_bu?u-k *Termanu*. cheek of people and animals. [*Form: bu?u-k = 'joint, node'.*] (J:381)

nase_bu?u-k *Bokai*. cheek of people and animals. (J:381)

nase_buku-?, nasu_buku? *Bilbaa*. bump of the cheekbone, cheekbone.

nasa_bu?u-? *Rikou*. cheek of people and animals. (J:381)

nasu-k *Ba'a*. cheek. (J:736)

nasu-k *Lole*. cheek. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

nasu-k *Tii*. cheek. (J:736)

nasu-? *Dengka*. cheek. (J:736)

nasu-? *Oenale*. cheek. (J:736)

snasa-f (2) na-snasa *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) breath. 2) take a break, rest, breathe.

snasa-f (2) na-snasa *Molo*. 1) breath in general. 2) rest. (M:505)

Out-comparisons:

na-sɲasa, na-kɲasa *Funai Helong*. breathe.

hɲasa *Semau Helong*. breath.

***sanu** *Rote*. coconut with soft flesh.

noo_sanu *Termanu*. kind of coconut of which the flesh remains soft. (J:520)

noo_sanu *Korbafo*.

noo_sanu *Bokai*.

noo_sanu *Bilbaa*.

noo_sanu *Rikou*.

noo_sanu *Ba'a*.

noo_sanu *Tii*.

noo_sanu *Dengka*.

noo_sanu *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

haŋo *Hawu*. (J:520)

<**hangu**> *Kamera*. soft, e.g. of the flesh of fruit. (On:67)

<**sangu**> *Anakalang*. [*Note: also in Mamboru.*]

<**zangu**> *Weyewa*.

***sandiit** *nRM*. an insect that makes a loud noise, either a cicada or cricket. [*irr. from PRM: *nd > k in Ro'is; *nd > r in Kusa-Manea; *nd > t in Termanu and Korbafo (onomatopoeia and/or assimilation to previous t); *nd > d in East Rote*] [*Form: Onomatopoeia may be the source of some of the irregularities.*]

toko_tii-k *Termanu*. kind of cricket. (J:640)

toko_tii *Korbafo*.

toko_lii *Bokai*.

(**tee**) **di-di** *Landu*. kind of cricket. (own field notes)

toko/dii, di~dii *Rikou*. cricket.
(own field notes)

toko_ ndi?i-k *Ba'a*.

(toko_ tii-k ?) *Tii*.

skiit *Ro'is Amarasi*. cicada.

skiit *Kotos Amarasi*. cicada.

ani_kra~riit=aa *Kusa-Manea*.
cicada.

Out-comparisons:

kniit *Funai Helong*. cicada.
[irr. from PRM: *nd = n
correspondence]

hnii(t) ulan *Semau Helong*.
cicada. [irr. from PRM: *nd =
n correspondence]

da~dii_derok *East Tetun*. variety
of cicada. *Usage*: Luka village.
(Mo:20)

***sangenger** *PRM*. surprise, startle,
frighten.

ngenge (2) na-ngenge(-k) *Teranu*.
1) frighten, terrify. 2) surprise,
startle. (J:437)

ngenge *Korbafo*.

enge *Bokai*.

enge *Bilbaa*.

keker=asa *Landu*. (own field notes)

keke *Rikou*.

ngenge *Ba'a*.

ngenger *Tii*.

ngenge *Dengka*.

ngenger *Oenale*.

ngenger (2) na-ngenge-? *Dela*.
1) surprised, suddenly. 2) make
surprised.

na-skeke *Ro'is Amarasi*. surprised,
suddenly.

na-skeke *Kotos Amarasi*. surprised,
startled, suddenly.

na-skeke *Molo*. scared, frightened.
(M:501)

Out-comparisons:

°nahkeka *Semau Helong*.
immediately, suddenly.
Borrowed from: probably Meto
na-skeke (shown by irr. *ng =
k correspondence, expect ŋ).

***sanguma** *Morph*: ***sanguma-k**. *PRM*.
hermit crab. *Etym*: *[q/k]umaŋ. [irr.
from PRM: *ng > k in wRote] [*Form*:
The source of initial ***sang** is currently
unknown. It could be connected with
Rote ***sanga** 'look for' given that
hermit crabs look for their shell, but
this is highly speculative. The wRote
forms probably reflect *kumaŋ without
any additional element.]

nguma-k *Teranu*. kind of animal
with a shell, called *bai-kumbang*
[OE = 'hermit crab'] in Kupang.
(J:449)

nguma-? *Korbafo*.

guma-? *Bilbaa*.

kuma-? *Landu*. hermit crab. (own
field notes)

kuma-? *Rikou*.

nguma-k *Ba'a*.

nguma-k *Tii*.

kuma-? *Dengka*.

?uma-? *Oenale*.

?uma-? *Dela*.

skuma|? *Ro'is Amarasi*. hermit crab.

skuma|? *Kotos Amarasi*. hermit crab.

***sao₁** *PRM*. marry. *Etym*: *qasawa
'spouse: husband, wife'.

sao *Teranu*. marry, get married, be
married, both men and women.
(J:521)

sao *Korbafo*.

sao *Bokai*.

sao *Bilbaa*.

sao *Rikou*.

sao *Ba'a*.

sao *Tii*.

sao *Dengka*.

sao *Oenale*.

n-sao (2) n-mat/sao *Ro'is Amarasi*.
1) marry. 2) marry.

**n-sao (2) n-mat/sao (3) mat/
sao-s** *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) marry,
got married. 2) get married, wed.
[*Semantics*: **n-matsao** focuses
more on the actual wedding
ceremony, while **n-sao** on the
resulting state.] 3) wedding,

marriage. [Form: Initial **mat** in **matsao** could be from the reciprocal prefix **mak** with irregular assimilation of the final consonant. In modern Amarasi the normal form of the reciprocal prefix is **ma** with the form **mak** being found before some, but not all, roots that begin with /t/.]

n-sao (2) n-mat/sao (3) sao-m
Molo. 1) marry. 2) wed. 3) spouse.
(M:477)

Out-comparisons:

safa *Funai Helong.* spouse.

sapa (2) sapan *Semau Helong.*
1) marry, wed. 2) spouse.

***sa02** *Morph: *kai/sao. PRM.* green viper. *Etym: *sawa* ‘python’. [Form: Initial ***kai** probably from ***kaiu** ‘tree, plant, wood’.]

kai/sao *Termanu.* kind of poisonous snake. (J:217)

kai/sao *Korbafo.*

kai/sao *Bokai.*

kai/sao *Ba'a.*

kai/sao *Tii.*

ai/sao *Dengka.*

ai/sao *Oenale.*

ai/sao *Dela.*

sao *Ro'is Amarasi.* green viper.

?/sao *Kotos Amarasi.* green viper.

u?/sao, a?/sao *Molo.* poisonous green adder. [Form: Initial **u** is probably cognate with initial **u** in **umeke** (see ***menge**). Any original independent meaning of this element is unknown.] (M:592)

sao *Kusa-Manea.* viper.

Out-comparisons:

sa/mea *East Tetun.* the general name for all snakes. (Mo:166)

***sara** *PRM.* loose, spread out.

sala~sala *Termanu.* loose, free, not bound. (J:516)

sala~sala *Korbafo.*

sala~sala *Bokai.*

sala~sala *Bilbaa.*

sara~sara *Rikou.*

sala~sala *Ba'a.*

sara~sara *Tii.*

sala~sala *Dengka.*

sara~sara *Oenale.*

<**na-siitb=oo-n** =**am na-saan=oo-n**> *Molo.* they spread out in all directions. (M:473)

***saraa** *PRM.* light, shine. [irr. from *PRM: *r > l* in *nRote*]

na-sa-laa (2) bula-k na-sa-laa (3) bula ma-sa-laa-k *Termanu.*

1) shine, be light, be bright; appear, show up. 2) the moon waxes, grows. 3) waxing/growing moon. (J:261)

(2) na-sa-laa *Korbafo.*

na-sa-laa (2) na-sa-laa *Bokai.*

(2) na-sa-laa *Bilbaa.*

na-sa-laa (2) na-sa-laa *Rikou.*

na-sa-laa (2) na-sa-laa *Tii.*

(2) na-sa-la-laa *Dengka.*

na-sa-raa (2) na-sa-ra~raa *Oenale.*

snaa-f (2) snaa-t=ee n-sae *Kotos Amarasi.* 1) light, sunbeam, colour. 2) dawn from the perspective of the sun.

<**snaa**> **(2) fe? asnaa-t=ee** *Molo.* 1) gleam, shining. 2) it begins to become light. (M:504)

***sarait** *Morph: *na-sarait. PRM.* lean.

na-sa-lai (2) (ai) la~lai-s *Termanu.*

1) lean; make something lean, lean something against something. 2) something against which a dead person leans. (J:270)

na-sa-lai *Korbafo.*

na-sa-lai *Bokai.*

na-sa-lai *Bilbaa.*

na-sa-rai *Rikou.*

na-sa-lai *Ba'a.*

na-sa-rai *Tii.*

na-sa-lai *Dengka.*

na-sa-rai *Oenale.*

na-snait *Kotos Amarasi.* lean on.

na-snait *Molo.* leans something against something. (M:505)

Out-comparisons:

nahlae *Semau Helong*. lean, hope, rely. [*irr. from PRM: *i > e*] [*Form: Jonker (1908:270) gives Helong naslae.*]

hakrai *East Tetun*. support, prop, or lean. (Mo:173)

***sarakaen** *PRM*. sand. *Pattern: k-irr. [irr. from PRM: *a > o in most nRote; *k > Ø in Lole, Tii and Meto (expect *k = k)] [Form: The irregular loss of *k in Meto and (optionally) in Lole and Tii is probably due to antepenultimate vowel reduction to intermediate **sarkae with subsequent deletion medial *k to resolve the consonant cluster.]*

solokae-k *Termanu*. sand. (J:561)

solokae-? *Korbafo*.

solokae-k *Bokai*.

solokae-? *Bilbaa*.

soro?ae-? *Landu*. sand. (own field notes)

soro?ae-? *Rikou*.

soro?ae-? *Oepao*. sand. (own field notes)

solokae-k *Ba'a*.

salakae-k, salae-k *Lole*. [*Note: salakae-k is the only form given by Jonker (1908:759). Zacharias et al. (2014) gives only and salae-k.*]

sarakae-k, sarae-k *Tii*. [*Note: sarakae-k is the only form given by Jonker (1908:561). Grimes et al. (2014a) gives both sarakae-k and sarae-k.*]

sala?ae-? *Dengka*.

sara?ae *Oenale*.

snaen *Ro'is Amarasi*. sand.

snaen *Kotos Amarasi*. sand.

snaan *Kusa-Manea*. sand. [*Form: regular *e > a /V_# in Upper Manulea.*]

Out-comparisons:

°**slaen** *Funai Helong*. sand. Borrowed from: PMeto
***slaen** (shown by irr. *k = Ø correspondence).

°**hlaen** *Semau Helong*. sand.

sidayik *Idate*. sand. (Klamer 2002)

sraek *Lakalei*. sand. [*Note: language of east Timor ISO 639-3 [lka].*] (Klamer 2002)

salae *Dhao*. beach, shore, sand, coast.

lahalae *Hawu*. sand.

sarae *Bima*. sand. (Jonker 1893:94)

siraij *Kamang*. sand. [*Note: non-Austronesian language of Alor ISO 639-3 [woi].*] (Schapper 2010)

***sare** *Morph: *na-sare. PnRote*. facing somewhere.

na-sale *Termanu*. turn oneself to face somewhere, be located opposite something. (J:517)

na-sale *Korbafo*.

na-sale *Bokai*.

na-sale *Bilbaa*.

na-sare *Rikou*.

na-sale *Ba'a*.

na-sare *Tii*.

Out-comparisons:

salò *Semau Helong*. face, across from, front on. [*irr. from PRM: *e = o correspondence*]

***sasi** *PRM*. overflow.

sasi *Termanu*. overflow, spill over. (J:524)

sasi *Korbafo*.

sasi *Bokai*.

sasi *Bilbaa*.

sasi *Rikou*.

sasi *Ba'a*.

sasi *Tii*.

sasi *Dengka*.

sasi *Oenale*.

sasi *Meto*. (J:524)

Out-comparisons:

sasi *Helong*. (J:524)

***sau₁** *nRM*. bite.

sau *Termanu*. bite into something, bite something off. (J:524f)

sau *Korbafo*.

sau *Bokai*.

sau *Ba'a*.

sau *Tii*.

n-sau *Ro'is Amarasi*. bite.

n-sau *Kotos Amarasi*. bite.

n-sau *Molo*. bites. (M:478)

Out-comparisons:

sau *Semau Helong*. bite.

***sau**₂ *PRM*. pick. [*Sporadic: *VV-? > V?V in Meto (perceptual metathesis).*]

sau *Termanu*. pick. (J:524)

sau *Korbafo*.

sau *Bokai*.

sau *Ba'a*.

sau-? *Dengka*.

n-sa?u *Molo*. strips leaves off a plant or branch. (M:477)

***sau**₃ *Rote*. comb. *Etym: *sau. [irr: from PMP: *au = *au (expect *oo)]*

sau-k (2) sau *Termanu*. 1) comb. 2) combing. (J:524)

sau-? *Korbafo*.

sau-k *Bokai*.

sau-? *Bilbaa*.

sau-? *Rikou*.

sau-k *Ba'a*.

sau-k *Tii*.

sau-t *Dengka*.

sau-t *Oenale*.

***seda** *Rote*. kind of red coral used as bead.

(henu) seda_sada, (henu) seda_ndao (2) seda *Termanu*. 1) kinds of coral called *muti-salah* in Kupang. [*Note: Jonker states that this term only occurs in certain phrases: seda_sada (sada has no independent meaning), seda Ndao (Ndao = name of an island), seda Ndao dae huu-k all of which can also be preceded by henu 'bead'. The equivalents of these phrases in other varieties of Rote are not given.*] (J:527) 2) classifier for *muti-salah (henu)*, hence: a *muti-salah* bead. The *muti-salah* are reddish (glass) beads of great value. (Fox 2016b:49)

seda *Korbafo*.

seda *Bokai*.

seda *Bilbaa*.

seda *Ba'a*.

seda *Dengka*.

Out-comparisons:

(wona) hida *Hawu*. (J:527)

<**hàda**> *Kambera*. bead. [*Note: also in Mangili, Lewa, and Kodi.*] (On:38)

<**sàda**> *Anakalang*.

***sedo** *PRM*. mix.

se~sedo-k, sedo-k *Termanu*.

1) mixing of dry things. (J:527f)

se~sedo-? *Korbafo*.

se~sedo-k *Bokai*.

se~sedo-? *Bilbaa*.

se~sedo-? *Rikou*.

se~sedo-k *Ba'a*.

se~sedo-k *Tii*.

se~sedo-? *Dengka*.

se~sedo-? *Oenale*.

n-sero? *Ro'is Amarasi*. mix.

n-sero? *Kotos Amarasi*. mix.

<**n-selo**> *Molo*. mixes. (M:483)

***see**₁ *PwRM*. address.

me?u _see *Dengka*. address. (J:733)

na-see *Kotos Amarasi*. take leave, excuse one's self, warn.

***see**₂ *PRM*. who? *Etym: *sai*.

see *Termanu*. who? (J:525)

see *Korbafo*.

see *Bokai*.

see *Ba'a*.

see *Tii*.

see *Dengka*.

see *Oenale*.

seka *Dela*. who.

se/kau *Ro'is Amarasi*. who.

se/kau *Kotos Amarasi*. who.

se/kau *Molo*. who. (M:483)

see *Kusa-Manea*. who.

Out-comparisons:

asii, sii *Semau Helong*. who. [*irr: from PMP: *ai > ii*]

see *East Tetun*. who. (Mo:169)

- *sefe** *Rote*. paddle. *Etym.*: *bəRsay ‘canoe paddle; paddle a canoe’. [*Sporadic*: consonant metathesis *fVs > *sVf.]
sefe *Termanu*. paddle (v. and n.). (J:529)
sefe *Korbafo*.
sefe *Bokai*.
sefe *Bilbaa*.
sefe *Rikou*.
sefe *Ba’a*.
sefe *Tii*.
sefe *Dengka*.
sefe *Oenale*.
***sefi** *PRM*. set loose, untie. [*irr. from PRM*: *f > (?*h) > ʔ in *Termanu*, *Korbafo* and *Bokai*]
seʔi *Termanu*. loosen that which is tied. (J:529)
seʔi *Korbafo*.
seʔi *Bokai*.
sefi *Bilbaa*.
sefi *Rikou*.
sefi *Ba’a*.
sefi *Tii*.
sefi *Dengka*.
sefi *Oenale*.
n-sefi *Kotos Amarasi*. untie.
n-sefi *Molo*. sets free (a horse). (M:480)
***seke** *PRM*. force, stuck. *Pattern*: k-10.
na-ka-seʔe, seʔe (2) seʔe~seʔe *Termanu*. 1) squeezed/stuck into something. 2) completely trapped in something; squeezed, very cramped. (J:528)
na-ka-seʔe *Korbafo*.
na-ka-seʔe *Bokai*.
na-ka-seke, seke~seke *Bilbaa*.
na-seke *Rikou*.
na-ka-seʔe *Ba’a*.
na-ka-seʔe *Tii*.
na-ʔa-seʔe *Dengka*.
na-ʔa-seʔe *Oenale*.
na-ʔ|seke|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. force, put pressure on, press to do.
<na-seke>, <n-seke> *Molo*. forced. (M:481)

Out-comparisons:

- naseke** *Helong*. forces. (J:528)
***seko** *nRM*. fish (v.). *Pattern*: k-5/6' (*k > Ø in *Rikou*; expect ʔ or k).
seko *Termanu*. fish in the sea with a scoop net. (J:530)
seko *Korbafo*.
seko *Bokai*.
seko *Bilbaa*.
seo (seʔo ʔ) *Rikou*.
seko *Ba’a*.
seko *Tii*.
n-seko *Kotos Amarasi*. hunt.
n-seko *Timaus*. hunt.
Out-comparisons:
seko *Semau Helong*. traditional fish trap.
heko *Hawu*. small kind of net. (J:530)
***seʔi** *PRM*. roast.
seʔi *Termanu*. dry roast. (J:530)
seʔi *Bokai*.
sei *Bilbaa*.
seʔi *Rikou*.
seʔi *Ba’a*.
seʔi *Tii*.
seʔi *Dengka*.
seʔi *Oenale*.
n-seʔi *Kotos Amarasi*. smokes, roasts.
n-seʔi *Molo*. smokes (meat). (M:481)
Out-comparisons:
həŋi *Hawu*. bake. (J:530)
***sela** *Morph*: *sela-k. *Rote*. big, gross, coarse. *Etym.*: *səlaR. [*Sporadic*: *a > e / _# in wRote.]
sela-k *Termanu*. coarse, large. (J:531)
sela-ʔ *Korbafo*.
sela-k *Bokai*.
sela-ʔ *Bilbaa*.
sela-ʔ *Rikou*.
sela-k *Ba’a*.
sela-k *Tii*.
sele-ʔ *Dengka*.
sele-ʔ *Oenale*.
Out-comparisons:
bsedaʔ *Funai Helong*. rough.

sela? *Semau Helong*. sore, strained, rough. [Note: Jonker (1908:531) gives Helong <**bsela**>.]

***selə** *PRM*. plant (v.).

sele *Termanu*. stick in the ground, plant. (J:581)

sele *Korbafo*.

sele *Bokai*.

sele *Bilbaa*.

sele *Rikou*.

sele *Ba'a*.

sele *Tii*.

sela *Dengka*.

sela *Oenale*.

n-sena *Kotos Amarasi*. plant.

n-seen *Molo*. plant. [Form: metathesised form of **n-sena**.] (M:483)

n-sena *Kusa-Manea*. plant.

Out-comparisons:

həle *Hawu*. plant.

***selut** *PRM*. replace, exchange. [History: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct Proto-Philippine *sulit, which could be connected via vowel metathesis.]

selu-k (2) na-seluk *Termanu*.
1) exchange. 2) swap with someone. (J:535)

selu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

selu-k *Bokai*.

selu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

selu-ʔ *Rikou*.

selu-k *Ba'a*.

selu-k *Tii*.

selut *Dengka*.

selut *Oenale*.

n-senuʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. replace.

<**n-senu**> *Molo*. reciprocates. **ina n-seun banin kau** he gives me a gift in return. (M:485)

Out-comparisons:

silu *Semau Helong*. change clothes.

haselu *East Tetun*. repay; to take revenge; to swap or exchange. (Mo:80)

selu *Ili'uun*. exchange. (dJ:136)

ntfelu (2) selu *Bima*. 1) exchange.

2) something that replaces something else, substitute.

Usage: Kolo dialect. (Jonker 1893:121)

<**hilu**> *Kambera*. replace, reimburse. (On:91)

sulih, silih, sulur *Javanese*.

[Note: language of Java ISO 639-3 [jav].] (J:535)

ma-silur *Balinese*. exchange, exchanged. [Note: language of Bali ISO 639-3 [ban].] (Kersten 1984:538)

sulle *Bugis*. replace. (Masse 2013:360)

***sembo** *PRM*. barter, swap, exchange.

sepo *Termanu*. go and sell or swap consumables outside the capital for salt, tobacco, etc., peddle consumables outside the capital. (J:539)

sepo *Korbafo*.

sepo *Bokai*.

sepo *Bilbaa*.

sepo *Rikou*.

sempo *Ba'a*.

sembo *Tii*.

sembo *Dengka*.

sembo *Oenale*.

na-sepo *Meto*. (J:539)

***seŋa** *PRM*. fry. *Etym:* *saŋəlaR ‘stir-fry, cook in a frying pan without oil’. [irr. from PMP: *laR > Ø] [minority from PMP: *ŋ = *ŋ] [Sporadic: antepenultimate *a > *e.] [Form: Medial *ŋ is required to account for Meto *k*. Mills (2010:285) also draws attention to Leti **sekra** with irregular medial *ŋ > *k* rather than expected *n*.] **se~sena** *Termanu*. fry or bake meat. (J:537)

se~sena *Korbafo*.

se~sena *Bokai*.

se~sena *Bilbaa*.

se~sena *Rikou*.

se~sena *Ba'a*.

se~sena *Tii*.

se~sena *Dengka*.

se~sena *Oenale*.

na-seka *Timaus*. fry.

ta-seek *Kusa-Manea*. fry. [Form: metathesised form of (currently unattested) ***ta-seke**.]

Out-comparisons:

nejan *Semau Helong*. fry. [irr. from PMP: *s > n]

sona *East Tetun*. roast, fry. (Mo:173)

***seŋgi** *PRM*. snap off, harvest.

seŋi *Termanu*. break (Latin *frangi*), as a stick, etc.; break (Latin *frangere*). (J:537)

seŋi *Korbafo*.

seŋi *Bokai*.

seŋi *Bilbaa*.

seki *Rikou*.

seŋgi *Ba'a*.

seŋgi *Tii*.

seŋgi *Dengka*.

seŋgi *Oenale*.

n-seki *Kotos Amarasi*. harvest corn.

n-seki (2) na-t|seki *Molo*. 1) harvests (corn). 2) snapped off, of a branch. (M:482)

ta-seik *Kusa-Manea*. harvest corn. [Form: Phonetically this is a single mid-high vowel [t̪a'se:k] in my notes.]

Out-comparisons:

sinjin *Semau Helong*. pick corn.

***seo** *nRM*. whisper.

na-se~seo *Termanu*. murmur, whisper. (J:538)

na-se~seo *Korbafo*.

na-se~seo *Bokai*.

na-se~seo *Bilbaa*.

na-se~seo *Rikou*.

na-se~seo *Ba'a*.

na-se~seo *Tii*.

na-?se?o *Kotos Amarasi*. whisper.

<**na-seo**> *Molo*. whispers. (M:485)

***seru** *PRM*. weaving sword (part of the loom). *Etym*: **sədu(t).

selu *Termanu*. the sabre shaped beam of the loom. (J:535)

selu *Korbafo*.

selu *Bokai*.

selu *Bilbaa*.

seru *Rikou*.

selu *Ba'a*.

seru *Tii*.

se~seru *Oenale*.

senu *Ro'is Amarasi*. the long beam in the loom that the weaver pulls towards themself by holding on each end, it doesn't move smoothly but lurches as it is pulled.

senu *Kotos Amarasi*. the long beam in the loom that the weaver pulls towards themself by holding on each end, it doesn't move smoothly but lurches as it is pulled.

Out-comparisons:

silu *Helong*. (J:535)

souru, soru *East Tetun*. weave (cloth). (Mo:174)

seru *Waima'a*. weave.

pehədu *Hawu*. (J:535)

surit *Central Lembata*. weaving sword. (Hanna Fricke pers. comm.)

***sesə** *PRM*. stuff, cram in; be crowded. *Etym*: *səksək. [Form: The Meto unmetathesised form has not yet been attested. It could be ***na-?sesa** or ***na-?sese**.]

sese *Termanu*. tamp, cram, impress. (J:539)

sese *Korbafo*.

sese *Bokai*.

sese *Bilbaa*.

sese *Rikou*.

sese *Ba'a*.

sese *Tii*.

sesa *Dengka*.

sesa *Oenale*.

na-?sees *Kotos Amarasi*. crowded, tight.

Out-comparisons:

həhi, kehəhi *Hawu*. narrow. (J:539)

***seti** *PRM.* tight, tightly packed.

na-ka-seti *Termanu.* close together, tightly packed together, as e.g. planks. (J:541)

na-ka-seti *Korbafo.*

na-ka-seti *Bokai.*

na-ka-seti *Bilbaa.*

na-seti *Rikou.*

na-ka-seti *Ba'a.*

na-ka-seti *Tii.*

na-ʔa-seti *Dengka.*

na-ʔa-seti *Oenale.*

na-ʔ[seti]ʔ (2) n-seit=oo-n *Kotos Amarasi.* 1) force one's way (e.g. out, through). 2) involve oneself in (e.g. other people's business).

Out-comparisons:

siti *Semau Helong.* push through.

seti *East Tetun.* put a wedge or chock under. (Mo:171)

***seu** *PRM.* pick fruit.

seu *Termanu.* pick, of fruit. (J:541)

seu *Korbafo.*

seu *Bokai.*

seu *Bilbaa.*

seu *Rikou.*

seu *Ba'a.*

seu *Tii.*

seu *Dengka.*

seu *Oenale.*

n-seu *Kotos Amarasi.* pick (of fruit, etc.).

n-sio *Amanuban/Amanatun.* picks (fruit).

n-seu (2) na-t[seu] *Molo.* 1) picks (fruit). 2) fallen off, of fruit. (M:488)

seu *Kusa-Manea.* pick fruit (like coconuts, mangoes).

Out-comparisons:

sikuʔ *Semau Helong.* pick, strip off.

***səru** *PRM.* meet, greet. *Etym:* **səru (pre-RM). [*irr. from PRM: *ə > o in Rote*]

na-so~solu *Termanu.* meet. (J:561)

na-so~solu *Korbafo.*

na-so~solu *Bokai.*

na-so~solu *Bilbaa.*

na-so~soru *Rikou.*

na-so~solu *Ba'a.*

na-so~soru *Tii.*

na-so~solu *Dengka.*

na-so~soru *Oenale.*

n-senu *Kotos Amarasi.* greet, meet.

n-senu *Molo.* go to meet. **too anpoi neem he nsenu usif** the people come from outside to meet the king (M:485)

Out-comparisons:

hasoru *Fehan Tetun.* meet, e.g. person in house greets a visitor, meet on the street, visitor greets a person in the house; can be meeting on the street without talking to one another.

hasouru *East Tetun.* be opposed to, go against; encounter, meet (two people meeting face to face when going in opposite directions); *prep.* against. (Mo:80)

səli *Central Lembata.* meet. [*irr. from PRM: *u = i* correspondence] (Hanna Fricke pers. comm.)

***səu** *PRM.* kind of tree. *Alstonia villosa.* [*irr. from PRM: *ə > o in nRote*] [*Semantics: 'Alstonia trees are used in traditional medicine. The bark of the Alstonia constricta and the Alstonia scholaris is a source of a remedy against malaria, toothache, rheumatism and snake bites. The latex is used in treating coughs, throat sores and fever.*' ('Alstonia', *Wikipedia*. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alstonia. Accessed 17 September 2020).]

sou *Termanu.* kind of tree the bark of that is used as a healing agent. (J:565)

sou *Korbafo.*

sou *Bokai.*

sou *Bilbaa.*

sou *Rikou*.

sou *Ba'a*.

(sou ?) *Tii*.

seu-ʔ *Dengka*. (J:762)

seu-ʔ *Oenale*. (J:762)

hau seu *Molo*. kind of tree. *Alstonia villosa*. (M:488)

***sida** *PRM*. rip.

sida *Termanu*. rip. (J:543)

sida *Korbafo*.

sida *Bokai*.

sida *Bilbaa*.

sida *Rikou*.

sida *Ba'a*.

sida *Tii*.

sida, side *Dengka*.

sida, side *Oenale*.

<n-sila> na-klatiʔ (2) <aksil-aksila> *Molo*. 1) rips into small pieces. [*Form: na-klatiʔ* = 'destroy'.] 2) completely torn. (M:495)

Out-comparisons:

<hira> *Kambara*. rip. [*Note: also in Mangili and Lewa.*] (On:94)

<sira> *Anakalang*. [*Note: also in Mambaru.*]

<ira> *Weyewa*.

<hirya> *Kodi*.

***sifi** *PRM*. braid, plait.

sifi *Termanu*. the name of a particular kind of braiding. (J:544)

sifi *Korbafo*.

sifi *Bokai*.

sifi *Bilbaa*.

sifi *Rikou*.

sifi *Ba'a*.

sifi *Tii*.

sifi *Dengka*.

sifi *Oenale*.

n-sifi *Kotos Amarasi*. braiding work.

n-sifi *Molo*. inserts, braids. **bifee an-sifi <poni>** the woman repairs a basket by inserting new strips of lontar leaves (M:490)

Out-comparisons:

həbi *Hawu*. braid (a chair). (J:544)

***sii** *CER*. tie up, snare. [*History: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct Proto-Philippine *siluq* 'noose, snare; net'.]

sii *Termanu*. tie up a chick (or a pig) with a certain kind of noose so that its foot is not wounded. (J:542)

Out-comparisons:

hii *Hawu*. snare. (J:542)

***sii** *Morph: *sii-k. Rote*. shellfish. [*History: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct *sisi and *sisuq (with doublet *sisiq) 'small snail or periwinkle'.*]

si~sii-k *Termanu*. normally in: **sii biʔi-k, sii hedu, sii mina**, kinds of shellfish, the general name of which is **si~sii-k**. (J:542)

si~sii-ʔ *Korbafo*.

si~sii-k *Bokai*.

si~sii-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

si~sii-ʔ *Rikou*.

si~sii-k *Ba'a*.

si~sii-k *Tii*.

laʔi_sii-ʔ *Dengka*.

lai_sii-ʔ *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

sii *Ili'uun*. shell-fish. [*Note: sii_suhun* = 'shell', **sii_ogo** = 'signalling-shell (which is blown)'.] (dJ:137)

***sika** *Rote*. open, uncover. *Doublet: *singa*. *Etym: *siŋkab. Pattern: k-5. [minority from PMP: *ŋk > *k] [Sporadic: *a > e / _# in wRote.]*

sika *Termanu*. open something wide, hold open. (J:544)

sika *Korbafo*.

sika *Bokai*.

sika *Ba'a*.

sike *Dengka*.

sike *Oenale*.

***sikəh** *PRM*. lath, rod (part of the loom). *Pattern: k-irr. [irr. from PRM: *ə > a in Termanu and Ba'a; *k > Ø in Oenale and Meto (given other Rote k we expect *k > k or ʔ in both)] [Sporadic: *ə > e / σ_# in wRote (perhaps *ə > *a > e / _#).]*

sika-k *Termanu*. name of part of the underside of the loom, a piece of bamboo used to make the pieces of fabric taut and to keep them apart from each other. (J:544)

si~sike-ʔ *Korbafo*.

sike-k *Bokai*.

sike-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

siʔe-ʔ *Rikou*.

sika-k *Ba'a*.

siʔe-k *Tii*.

sike-t *Dengka*.

sie-t *Oenale*.

siah *Kotos Amarasi*. name of a thin split bamboo slat used in weaving.

sia-l *Molo*. name of a thin split bamboo slat used in weaving. ‘Two vertically placed laths (**sial**) behind these serve to raise the even and the odd threads in turn.’ (Schulte Nordholt 1971:42). [Note: Jonker (1908:544) gives **siel**.] (M:489)

Out-comparisons:

sia *Helong*. (J:544)

***siku** *Morph*: ***siku-k**. *PRM*. elbow. *Etym*: ***siku**. *Pattern*: k-7. [Sporadic: antepenultimate vowel assimilation in wRote.]

siʔu-k *Termanu*. elbow. *Usage*: usually compounded with **lima** ‘arm’. (J:549)

siʔu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

siʔu-k *Bokai*.

siku-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

lima siʔu-ʔ *Landu*. elbow. (own field notes)

siku-ʔ *Rikou*.

siʔu-k *Ba'a*.

siʔu-k *Tii*.

siki_buku-ʔ *Dengka*. elbow. (J:763)

siki_buku-ʔ *Oenale*. elbow. (J:763)

siuʔu-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. elbow.

siʔu-f *Kotos Amarasi*. elbow.

siku-n *Kopas*. elbow. *Usage*: Tunfe'u hamlet, other varieties of Kopas have **siʔu-n**.

siʔu-f *Molo*. elbow. (M:500)

siʔu-f *Kusa-Manea*. elbow.

Out-comparisons:

sikun *Semau Helong*. elbow.

siku-n *East Tetun*. elbow, corner, angle. (Mo:171)

***simo** *PRM*. receive. [irr. from *PRM*: *m > *mb in Rote]

sipo *Termanu*. receive, accept. (J:547)

sipo *Korbafo*.

sipo *Bokai*.

sipo *Bilbaa*.

sipo *Rikou*.

simpo *Ba'a*.

simbo *Tii*.

simbo *Dengka*.

simbo *Oenale*.

n-simo, n-simu *Kotos Amarasi*. receive. *Usage*: poetic, only in the parallel pair **n-sium** = **ma n-toup**.

n-simo *Molo*. receives. (M:496)

siam *Kusa-Manea*. receive. [Form: metathesised form of (currently unattested) ***sima**. It is possible that the unmetathesised form is ***simo** and that *o* dissimilates to *a* after high vowels in Kusa-Manea, but this would go against the attested raising of final mid vowels in words such as **uim** ~ **umi** ‘house’ < ***ume** < ***uma**.]

Out-comparisons:

simu *Semau Helong*. receive, greet arrival.

simu *East Tetun*. receive, take, accept; to welcome; to respond. (Mo:172)

simu *Waima'a*. receive, accept, welcome.

sium *Mambae, South*. receive, accept, agree. (Grimes et al. 2014b:41)

həmi, həme *Hawu*. receive (sg.), receive (pl.).

səmi, həme *Dhao*. receive.

simo *Ende*. receive.

himo *Sika*. receive. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:76)

***sina** *Morph.* ***sina-k**. *PRM.* light (n.).
Etym. *sinaR ‘ray of light; to shine’.
*[Sporadic: *a > e / _# in wRM.]*

bula_sina-k *Termanu.* moonlight.
 (J:546)

bula_sina-k *Keka.* in bright moonlight. *[Note:* Given with a note that this form is found ‘in Keka and others’.] (J:763)

fula sine-ʔ *Dela.* moonlight.

meuʔ_sina|ʔ *Ro'is Amarasi.* light, brightness.

meuʔ_sine|ʔ (2) sine|ʔ, sina|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi.* 1) light (n.). 2) four days from now. *[Note:* Also occurs in the parallel pair **na-toon =ma na-sineʔ** ‘tell, make known’.]

n-sine|k (2) huma-n an-sine|k *Molo.* 1) light, not cloudy, at dawn or moonrise. 2) one looks fresh (after bathing or recovery from illness). *[Note:* **huma-n** = ‘face, type’.] (M:497)

maʔsian *Kusa-Manea.* brightness, light.

Out-comparisons:

rai (nak)sinak *East Tetun.* return to good weather with sun shining. (Mo:172)

***sinaraʔe** *PRM.* kingfisher with white underbelly and blue back and head. There are two such species in Timor; the Sacred Kingfisher and the Collared Kingfisher. *Todiramphus chloris*, *Todiramphus sanctus*. *[irr. from PRM: *i > u in Bilbaa; *r > l in Dela; *e > Ø in Dela (if the putative reflex is cognate)]* *[Sporadic:* glottal stop insertion in Kotos Amarasi (first syllable); antepenultimate vowel reduction in all reflexes.] *[Form:* I have reconstructed initial *i on the basis of Rikou and Lole with *i*, as well as Amfo'an, which attests a front vowel *e*. Under this hypothesis Bilbaa has undergone irr. *i > u while Dela, Ro'is Amarasi, and Kotos Amarasi

have reduced this vowel to the default unstressed vowel *a*. This form also has ante-penultimate vowel reduction in most lects with subsequent coalescence of the resulting consonant cluster in all lects apart from Lole.]

sulae *Bilbaa.* Collared Kingfisher. *Todiramphus chloris*. (own field notes)

sirae *Rikou.* Collared Kingfisher. *Todiramphus chloris*. (own field notes)

sinlaʔe *Lole.* kingfisher. (own field notes)

sanala-ʔ *Dela.* kind of small bird with blue belly and yellow neck (but not the Collared Kingfisher). *[Note:* This Dela form may not be cognate but is included here because of the phonetic and semantic similarity.] (Thersia Tamelan pers. comm. December 2017)

sanae *Ro'is Amarasi.* Sacred Kingfisher, Collared Kingfisher. *Todiramphus chloris*; *Todiramphus sanctus*.

saʔnaʔe|k *Kotos Amarasi.* Sacred Kingfisher, Collared Kingfisher. *Todiramphus chloris*; *Todiramphus sanctus*.

senae-l *Amfo'an.* Sacred Kingfisher, Collared Kingfisher. *Todiramphus chloris*; *Todiramphus sanctus*.

***sinor** *Rote.* maggots.

sino-k *Termanu.* maggots from fly eggs in a wound. (J:547)

sino-ʔ *Korbafo.*

sino-k *Bokai.*

sino-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

sino-ʔ *Rikou.*

sino-k *Ba'a.*

sino *Tii.*

sino-ʔ *Dengka.*

sinor *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

sinun *Helong.* (J:547)

***singa** *CER.* open, uncover. *Doublet:*
***sika**. *Etym:* *siŋkab.

siŋa *Bilbaa.* open wide. (J:763)

***singada?** *PwRM.* scold. *Pattern:* d-2.
[*Form:* Lack of known reflexes in nRote means the medial consonant is ambiguous between *dʒ and *d-2. nRote l/r would support *d-2, while d/d' would support *dʒ.]

asingga~ngara? *Dela.* scold severely.
na-skara? *Kotos Amarasi.* snarl, rebuke, mad, angry, shouting mad.

***sio** *PRM.* nine. *Etym:* *siwa. [*Sporadic:* vowel height harmony *i > e /_o in some Meto.]

sio *Termanu.* nine. (J:547)

sio *Korbafo.*

sio *Bokai.*

sio *Bilbaa.*

sio *Rikou.*

sio *Ba'a.*

sio *Tii.*

sio *Dengka.*

sio *Oenale.*

seo *Ro'is Amarasi.* nine.

seo *Kotos Amarasi.* nine.

sio? *Amanuban/Amanatun.* nine.

seo? *Amfo'an.* nine.

seo, sio *Molo.* nine. (M:485)

seo *Timaus.* nine.

sio *Kusa-Manea.* nine.

Out-comparisons:

sipa *Funai Helong.* nine. [*irr. from PMP:* *w > p (expect f)]

sipa *Semau Helong.* nine.

siwi *Fehan Tetun.* nine.

sia *East Tetun.* nine. (Mo:171)

sibe *Kemak.* nine.

siwi *Welaun.* nine.

heo *Hawu.* nine.

***sira** *PRM.* they. *Doublet:* ***ra**. *Etym:* *si-ida.

silā *Termanu.* plural form of **ndia** [OE = 3SG]. (J:545)

silā *Korbafo.*

silā *Bokai.*

silā *Bilbaa.*

sira *Landu.* 3PL, they. (own field notes)

sira *Rikou.*

silā *Ba'a.*

sira *Tii.*

silā *Dengka.*

sira *Oenale.*

siin, sini, sina *Ro'is Amarasi.* they.

siin, sini, sina *Kotos Amarasi.* 3PL.NOM, 3PL.ACC. [*Form:* Phonetically the metathesised form **siin** almost always has a single short vowel [sin]. The unmetathesised form **sina** is only used before consonant clusters.]

siin *Molo.* 3PL. (M:496)

sian *Kusa-Manea.* 3PL.

Out-comparisons:

sira *East Tetun.* they; when placed after a noun indicates plural. (Mo:172)

hira *Ili'uun.* they, their, them. (dJ:118)

***sisi** *PwRM.* flesh, meat. *Etym:* *həsi. [*irr. from PMP:* Ø > *s; *ə > *i (sporadic assimilation)]

sisi *Dengka.* meat, flesh. (J:763)

sisi *Oenale.* meat, flesh. (J:763)

sisi-n *Ro'is Amarasi.* meat, flesh.

sisi-f *Kotos Amarasi.* meat, flesh.

sisi *Molo.* meat, flesh. (M:499)

Out-comparisons:

sisi *Semau Helong.* meat.

sisi *Idate.* meat. (Klamer 2002)

sisi *Midiki.* meat. (Dawson 2014)

°**sisi** *Dhao.* meat. *Borrowed from:* probably wRote **sisi** (shown by irr. *Ø = s and irr. *ə = i correspondences).

sisi *Tokodede.* meat. (Klamer 2002)

siis *Mambae, South.* meat. (Grimes et al. 2014b:41)

***soda** *Morph:* ***soda-k**. *PRM.* space.
Pattern: d-irr. [*irr. from PRM:* *d > d' in wRote (expect *d > r/l)] [*Form:* Alternately, we could reconstruct ***soda** and posit irr. *d' > n in Meto.]
soda-k (2) uma=a soda=na, uma soda-k (3) dae soda-k (4) soda~soda *Termanu.* 1) space in time. 2) open space or piece of land. 3) open space of ground free from weeds; but also free unmanaged land that can be built on. (J:553f) 4) have an opportunity, have time. (J:552f)
soda-ʔ (2) soda-ʔ (4) soda~soda *Korbafo.*
soda-k (2) soda-k (4) soda~soda *Bokai.*
soda-ʔ (2) soda-ʔ (4) soda~soda *Bilbaa.*
soda-ʔ (2) soda-ʔ (4) soda~soda *Rikou.*
soda-k (2) soda-k (4) soda~soda *Ba'a.*
soda-k (2) soda-k (4) soda~soda *Tii.*
soda-ʔ (2) ume soda-ʔ, ume=a so~soda=na (4) soda~soda *Dengka.*
soda-ʔ (2) soda-ʔ (4) soda~soda *Oenale.*
soda *Dela.* yard.
sona-f (2) na-ʔsona? *Kotos Amarasi.*
 1) space that belongs to someone; midst, realm, by extension; kingdom, country, palace. 2) widen.
sona? (2) na-ʔsona? (3) sona-f *Molo.* 1) space. 2) clear (the way). 3) palace. (M:513)
***soda** *Rote.* sing.
soda *Termanu.* sing. (J:552)
soda *Korbafo.*
soda *Bokai.*
soda *Bilbaa.*
soda *Rikou.*
soda *Ba'a.*
soda *Tii.*

soda *Dengka.*

soda *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

hoda-kefeka *Hawu.* shout praise.

[*Note:* Jonker (1908:552) gives Hawu **hoda** 'singing on a ship'.]

soda *Ende.* singing on a vessel. (J:552)

***soe** *PRM.* disaster.

soe *Termanu.* disaster, impending disaster, compare **silaka** with which this word is often compounded: **soe silaka.** (J:554)

soe *Korbafo.*

soe *Bokai.*

soe *Bilbaa.*

soe *Rikou.*

soe *Ba'a.*

soe *Tii.*

soe *Dengka.*

soe *Oenale.*

n-soe *Kotos Amarasi.* suffer loss.

soe-l *Meto.* (J:554)

Out-comparisons:

soe *Helong.* (J:554)

***soeneru** *PRM.* leaf umbrella. [*irr. from PRM:* vowel metathesis in Meto *eCu > uCe]

suneru *Tii.* kind of umbrella made from a big sewn gebang-palm leaf. (J:541)

soenelu-ʔ *Dengka.*

soeneru-ʔ *Oenale.*

soeneru-ʔ *Dela.* rain cape from gebang leaves. *Usage:* archaic.

snuna? *Fatule'u.* umbrella made from a leaf.

snuna?, snune? *Molo.* umbrella made from gebang palm leaves. (M:508)

Out-comparisons:

salurin *Fehan Tetun.* old-style umbrella, made of **akar** [sago palm] leaf, and held over the head.

salurik *East Tetun.* palm leaf used as an umbrella. (Mo:165)

***soi** *PRM.* open, ransom, pay off.

soi *Termanu.* 1) open (v.). 2) pay a debt, ransom. (J:556)

soi *Korbafo.*

soi *Bokai.*

soi *Bilbaa.*

soi *Rikou.*

soi *Ba'a.*

soi *Tii.*

soi *Dengka.*

soi *Oenale.*

n-soi (2) na-soitan (3) na-tsoi (4) na-soin *Kotos Amarasi.*

1) ransom, pay debt. 2) open something. 3) opened. 4) opened.

n-soi (2) na-soin (3) na-soitan *Molo.* 1) ransoms. 2) open. 3) open (the door). (M:510)

Out-comparisons:

sui *Semau Helong.* ransom, redeem, pay off.

soi *East Tetun.* redeem, pay off; to acquire, win, to possess; rich, well-to-do. (Mo:173)

soi *Waima'a.* buy.

hoʔi *Sika.* redeem. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:77)

soʔi *Ende.* buy. (J:556)

***soka** *Rote.* sack made from palm leaves. *Pattern:* k-5. [*History:* possibly connected with Dutch *zak*.]

soka *Termanu.* sack of gebang or lontar palm leaves. (J:557)

soka *Korbafo.*

soka *Bokai.*

soka *Bilbaa.*

soʔa *Rikou.*

soka *Ba'a.*

sokaʔ *Dengka.*

sokaʔ *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

hoka *Hawu.* (J:557)

sokal *Kupang Malay.* (J:557)

sokatol *Saparua.* kind of box (Malay *tatumbu*). [*Note:* language of Lease Islands ISO 639-3 [spr].] (van Hoëvell 1877:55)

***soke** *PRM.* scoop up, pick out. *Pattern:* k-8/9' (*Kotos Amarasi* Ø *Molo* ʔ correspondence; expect either Ø in both for pattern 8 or ʔ in both for pattern 9).

soʔe *Termanu.* 1) use a coconut shell or **lalik** (kind of small basket) to scoop solids such as rice, salt, etc. 2) coconut spoon. (J:555)

soʔe *Korbafo.*

soʔe *Bokai.*

soke *Bilbaa.*

soʔe *Rikou.*

soʔe *Ba'a.*

soʔe *Tii.*

soʔe *Dengka.*

soʔe *Oenale.*

n-soe *Kotos Amarasi.* pick out, raise something up in a container.

<**amso'e main le'ot**> *Molo.* using the hand, scoop the finely pounded rice out of the hole in the rice pounder. (M:509)

Out-comparisons:

soke (2) soet *Semau Helong.* 1) scoop. 2) pick out.

sukit (2) sui *East Tetun.* 1) remove, extract (with any tool or implement). 2) remove, extract, withdraw. (Mo:175)

sukke *Bugis.* pry out. (Masse 2013:358)

passukkiʔ (2) anndʒukkiʔ *Makassar.* 1) bamboo stick with a hook used to remove fruit from a tree or a bucket from the well. 2) remove fruit from a tree with a stick of bamboo with a hook, use a hook to remove a bucket from a well. (Cense 1979:726)

***sokum** *PRM.* galangal. *Kaempferia Galanga.* *Pattern:* k-6. [*irr. from PRM:* *o > i in Meto] [*History:* Jonker (1908) suggests this is from Kupang Malay *koncur* (compare Malay *kencur*) with consonant metathesis, but this doesn't explain the final *m* in Meto.]

sokus *Termanu*. kind of medicinal root, called *kencur* in Javanese, it is offered for sale on Rote by foreigners. (J:558)

soku-ʔ *Korbafo*.

soku *Bokai*.

soku *Bilbaa*.

soʔus *Rikou*.

sokus *Ba'a*.

soku *Tii*.

soʔu *Dengka*.

soʔu *Oenale*.

sikum *Meto*. galangal. *Kaempferia Galanga*. (Heyne 1950:494, ccviii)

Out-comparisons:

sukuj *Helong*. galangal. *Kaempferia Galanga*. (Heyne 1950:494, ccxi)

***soʔi** *Morph*: ***soʔi-t**. *PnMeto*. comb.

soʔi-t *Kotos Amarasi*. comb (n.).

Out-comparisons:

sui (2) **sa~suit** *East Tetun*.
1) comb, smooth with a comb or any similar action (Mo:174). 2) comb, a hair comb for retaining the hair in place. [*Sporadic*: vowel height harmony *o > u / _i.] (Mo:168)

sui *Waima'a*. comb.

***soo** *PRM*. sew. *Etym*: **sauR (pre-RM). [*History*: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PCMP *sora, including Meto as one of their attestations. The cognates in Timor and Flores appear to be better explained by *sauR, with no final vowel and *R [r] instead of *r [r]. The final vowel in Blust and Trussel's putative *sora would only be supported by Leti **sora**, Wetan **ora**, and Kemak **sora**. However, the Luangic languages (including Leti and Wetan) are known to added final vowels to historically consonant final stems (Blevins and Garret 1998:542f), thus rendering their evidence moot. The Kemak form provides better evidence for final *a, but this goes against the evidence

of many languages in the region, including Rote-Meto, which would be expected to retain *a = a. Furthermore, if *R is reconstructed rather than *r, than *R > r is irregular in Kemak as we expect *R > Ø.]

soo *Termanu*. sew. In Termanu usually in a compound as **seu_soo**. (J:550)

soo *Korbafo*.

soo *Bokai*.

soo *Bilbaa*.

soo *Rikou*.

soo *Ba'a*.

soo *Tii*.

soo *Dengka*.

soo *Oenale*.

n-soo *Kotos Amarasi*. sew.

n-soo *Molo*. sews. (M:508)

Out-comparisons:

soo *Semau Helong*. sew. *Borrowed from*: probably Meto or Rote given **R > Ø (expect *R > l).

hour *Kisar*. sew.

sora *Kemak*. sew.

saur *Central Lembata*. sew. (Fricke 2015)

a-sor *Uruangnirin*. sew. [*Note*: language of the Bomberai Peninsula ISO 639-3 [urn].] (Visser 2019)

***soro** *PRM*. spoon, ladle, scoop. *Doublet*:

***suru**. *Etym*: *sudu. [*irr. from PMP*: *u > *o] [*irr. from PRM*: *r > n ~ k in Meto (compare similar *tolo > **tenoʔ/tekoʔ** 'egg')]

solo *Termanu*. scoop, e.g. dirt out of water. (J:559)

solo *Korbafo*.

solo *Bokai*.

solo *Bilbaa*.

soro *Rikou*.

solo *Ba'a*.

soro *Tii*.

solo *Dengka*.

soro *Oenale*.

ʔ|sono|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. spoon.

<**a'soko**> *Molo*. spoon. (M:511)

- ʔ|soko|ʔ** *Timaus*. spoon.
- ***sosa** *PMeto*. buy. *See*: ***osa** ‘price, value’.
- n-sosa (2) na-ʔsosaʔ** *Ro'is Amarasi*.
1) buy. 2) sell.
- n-sosa (2) na-ʔsosaʔ** *Kotos Amarasi*.
1) buy. 2) sell.
- n-sosa (2) na-ʔsosaʔ** *Molo*. 1) buy.
2) sell. (M:516)
- soas** *Kusa-Manea*. buy.
- Out-comparisons:**
- sosa** *Semau Helong*. buy.
- sosa** *East Tetun*. buy. (Mo:174)
- ***soso** *Rote*. peel.
- soso** *Termanu*. cut the meat as close as possible to the bones. (J:564)
- soso** *Korbafo*.
- soso** *Bokai*.
- soso** *Bilbaa*.
- soso** *Rikou*.
- soso** *Ba'a*.
- soso** *Tii*.
- soso** *Dengka*. peel. (J:564, 765)
- soso** *Oenale*. peel. (J:564, 765)
- Out-comparisons:**
- soso** *Bugis*. peel or de-husk with a knife. (Mathes 1874:763)
- soso** *Makassar*. peel, de-husk. (Mathes 1859:612)
- ***sua₁** *PnRote*. accuse.
- sua** *Termanu*. accuse someone, usually falsely accuse someone. (J:567)
- sua** *Korbafo*.
- sua** *Bokai*.
- sua** *Rikou*.
- sua** *Ba'a*.
- sua** *Tii*.
- Out-comparisons:**
- suan kali** *Semau Helong*. gossip, provocateur; someone who tries to find faults in others to bring them to everyone's attention.
- ***sua₂** *PnMeto*. rafter, roof-spar. *Etym*: *sukəd ‘prop, support; to prop up or support’. [*irr. from PMP*: *k > Ø /u_]

sua-f *Kotos Amarasi*. roof spar. (Cunningham 1964:37, 44)

sua-f *Molo*. rafter. (M:518)

Out-comparisons:

sukan *Helong*. rafter. (J:95)

***sua₃** *Morph*: ***ka-sua-k**. *PRM*. digging stick. *Etym*: *suaR ‘lift up with a lever, lever up, root up’ (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) also reconstruct doublets *sual and *suat).

ai_su~sua-k *Termanu*. pointed stick used to work the ground, a kind of agricultural tool. (J:568)

ai_su~sua-ʔ *Korbafo*.

ai_su~sua-k *Bokai*.

kai_su~sua-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

ai_su~sua-ʔ *Rikou*.

ai_su~sua-k *Ba'a*.

ai_su~sua-k *Tii*.

hau_su~sua-ʔ *Dengka*.

hau_su~sua-ʔ *Oenale*.

ʔ|suak (2) na-ʔ|sua *Kotos Amarasi*.
1) digging stick. 2) dig with digging stick.

<**suan**> *Molo*. digging stick, plank stick. (M:519)

Out-comparisons:

ksuan *Funai Helong*. crowbar, digging stick.

suan *Semau Helong*. crowbar, digging stick.

ai suak (2) au suak besi *East Tetun*. 1) digging stick, used for weeding and digging in the garden. 2) an iron digging stick, used as above. (Mo:175)

***su₆a** *PRM*. bury. [*Semantics*: The semantic shift from ‘bury’ to ‘engrossed’ is likely (e.g. compare English phrases such as *She's buried in her book*). However, if the *Dela* form is cognate and its semantics are older, then the *Rote* forms are probably not cognate with *Meto*.]

suba *Termanu*. totally engrossed in something, so that one forgets everything else. (J:568)

suba *Korbafo*.

suba *Bokai*.

suba *Bilbaa*.

suba *Rikou*.

suba *Ba'a*.

suba *Tii*.

suba *Dengka*.

suba *Oenale*.

suba-k, suba~suba *Dela*. silent, idle.

n-suba *Ro'is Amarasi*. bury.

n-suba *Kotos Amarasi*. bury.

n-suba *Molo*. bury, submerge. (M:519)

suub *Kusa-Manea*. bury. [Form: metathesised form of (currently unattested) ***subu**.]

Out-comparisons:

subal, subar *East Tetun*. hide, conceal. [Semantics: The semantics of the Tetun form are not a very good match, and thus it may be a chance resemblance.] (Mo:175)

***sufu** *PRM*. cool in water. *Etym*: *səbuh 'douse a fire, extinguish a fire with water; to hiss, as water on fire'. [irr. from PMP: *ə > *u (sporadic assimilation)]

ma-ka-sufu-k (2) sufu (2) na-sufu *Termanu*. 1) cold. 2) cool down. 3) be cold. (J:571)

ma-ka-sufu-? *Korbafo*.

ma-ka-sufu-k *Bokai*.

ma-ka-sufu-? *Bilbaa*.

ma-sufu-? *Rikou*.

ma-ka-sufu-k *Ba'a*.

ma-ka-sufu-k *Tii*.

ma-?a-sufu-? *Dengka*.

ma-?a-sufu-? *Oenale*.

ma-?a-sufu *Dela*. be cold (food).

sufu? *Kusa-Manea*. cool down, put out a fire.

Out-comparisons:

suhu *Semau Helong*. put out fire with water. [Note: Jonker (1908:571) gives Helong **suhu(n)** 'to shower'.]

suhu *East Tetun*. immerse in water, quench or harden (hot steel). (Mo:175)

sowo *Bima*. cool/fresh, cold. (Ismail et al. 1985:147)

həβo *Sika*. put out (fire). (Pareira and Lewis 1998:75)

***suhat** *Rote*. kind of comb. *Etym*: *suat (PRM **suhat** would be regular from PMP *supat. Blust and Trussel give the following forms as evidence for their reconstruction with no medial consonant: Binukud and Mansaka **suwat**, Blaan (Sarangani) **swat**, Manam **ruat-i**, and 'Rote' <**sua**>.).

su?a-k *Termanu*. kind of comb worn as decoration by people from Timor, not worn by people from Rote. (J:568)

su?a-? *Korbafo*.

su?a-k *Bokai*.

sua-? *Bilbaa*.

su?a-k *Ba'a*.

suat *Dengka*.

suat *Oenale*.

***suhu** *Morph*: ***suhu-k**. *Rote*. boundary, border. *Etym*: *supu.

su?u-k *Termanu*. edge, side, shore. (J:578)

su?u-? *Korbafo*.

su?u-k *Bokai*.

suu-? *Bilbaa*.

suu-? *Rikou*.

su?u-k *Ba'a*.

suu-? *Dengka*.

suu-? *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

suut *Semau Helong*. edge. [Note: Jonker (1908:578) gives Helong **suut, ksuut**.]

huu *Hawu*. tip, end.

***suku** *Morph*: ***suku-k**. *Rote*. breadfruit. *Etym*: *sukun. *Pattern*: k-7.

su?u-k *Termanu*. breadfruit tree; its fruit. (J:578)

su?u *Korbafo*.

su?u-k *Bokai*.

- suku-ʔ** *Bilbaa*.
suku-ʔ *Rikou*.
suʔu-k *Ba'a*.
suʔu-k *Tii*.
suku-ʔ *Dengka*.
suku-ʔ *Oenale*.
***sulə** *PRM*. insert, plug. *Etym*: *sulə[n/d].
*[Sporadic: *ə > e /σ_# in wRote (perhaps *ə > *a > e /_#).]*
sule *Termanu*. close something with a stopper, put a stopper in something to close it. (J:573)
sule *Korbafo*.
sule *Bokai*.
sule *Bilbaa*.
sule *Rikou*.
sule *Ba'a*.
sule *Tii*.
sule *Dengka*.
sule *Oenale*.
n-suun *Molo*. corks. *[Note*: Jonker (1908:573) gives unmetathesised nominalised Meto **sunə-t**.] (M:523)
***suma** *PRM*. steam, vapour. *[History*: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PWMP ***s<um>ebuh** ‘to hiss or steam, of water touching a fire’ which is formally and semantically similar.]
suma *Termanu*. hold in hot steam, cook in steam, steaming. (J:574)
suma *Korbafo*.
suma *Bokai*.
suma *Bilbaa*.
suma *Rikou*.
suma *Ba'a*.
suma *Tii*.
suma *Dengka*.
sumaʔ (2) n-suma *Kotos Amarasi*.
 1) steam, vapour. 2) steaming.
sumaʔ *Molo*. steam from boiling water, etc. (M:523)
***sumanə** *Morph*: ***sumanə-k**. *PRM*. soul of a living being; soul of the rice plant. *Etym*: *sumanəd. *[Form*: Antepenultimate *u (high back rounded vowel) is probably required

to account for Landu *i* (high vowel), as well as the alternate Termanu from with antepenultimate *o* (back rounded vowel).]

samane-k, somane-k *Termanu*. life spirit. (J:519; Fanggidaej 1892:556)

samane-ʔ *Korbafo*.

samane-k *Bokai*.

samane-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

simane-ʔ *Landu*. (own field notes)

samane-ʔ *Rikou*.

samane-k *Ba'a*.

samane-k *Tii*.

mana-ʔ *Dengka*.

samana-ʔ *Oenale*.

smana-f *Kotos Amarasi*. spirit or soul of a person, spirit of the rice plant.

smana-f *Molo*. spirit. (M:504)

Out-comparisons:

smaŋin *Funai Helong*. spirit, soul; forehead.

hmaŋin *Semau Helong*. spirit, soul; forehead.

hemaŋa *Hawu*. spirit, soul. Spirit of both the living and the dead. What remains and continues on after the body dies.

***sunu** *Morph*: ***su~sunu**. *Rote*. kind of sea fish.

su~sunu *Termanu*. kind of sea fish. (J:576)

su~sunu *Korbafo*.

su~sunu *Bokai*.

su~sunu *Bilbaa*.

su~sunu *Rikou*.

su~sunu *Ba'a*.

su~sunu *Tii*.

su~sunu *Dengka*.

su~sunu *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

sunu *Kamarian*. a certain fish (*ikan papua*). *[Note*: also in Kaibobo.] (van Ekris 1865:118)

***sungə** *Morph*: ***sungə-k**. *PRM*. cheek hollow. *[Sporadic: *ə > e /σ_# in wRote (perhaps *ə > *a > e /_#).]*

[Form: The Meto unmetathesised form has not yet been attested. It could be ***suka-** or ***suku-**.]

suge-k (2) na-suge *Termanu*. 1) the inner part of the cheek. 2) hold something in the mouth between the cheeks. (J:575)

suge-ʔ *Korbafo*.

suge-k *Bokai*.

suge-k *Bilbaa*.

suke-ʔ *Landu*. cheek. (own field notes)

suke-ʔ *Oepao*. cheek. (own field notes)

sunge-k *Tii*.

sunge-ʔ *Dengka*.

sunge-ʔ *Oenale*.

suk~suuk-n=aa *Ro'is Amarasi*. cheekbone. [Note: This form was given (unprompted) by one Ro'is consultant, but was completely unknown by all other Ro'is consultants.]

***sura** *Morph*: ***sura-k**. *PRM*. horn. *Doublet*: ***sure**. *Etym*: ***suja** 'pitfall or trail spikes made of sharpened bamboo'. [History: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct both PCMP ***sula** and ***sulan** 'horn' on the basis of Termanu **sula** and Buru **sula-n**. This reconstruction is problematic as the other Rote languages clearly attest PRM ***r** (which also accounts regularly for Termanu *l*). Additionally, the putative Buru term **sula-n** is not found in any published sources I have access to. Instead they give **sodi-n** (Grimes and Grimes 2020:864) or **soden** (Hendriks 1897:93). Hoogervorst (2016:568) identifies Sanskrit *śūla* [ʃuːla] 'a spear or lance, an offensive weapon' as the source of putative PCMP ***sula**. While Sanskrit *śūla* [ʃuːla] may be the source of PRM ***sura**, this would not account straightforwardly for medial ***r**. Jonker (1908:573) compares the Rote forms to **tulane** from Asilulu in Ambon (Hoëvell 1877:69). But this form would not show regular sound

correspondences. Among languages of Ambon, Stresemann (1927:37) only records *t* as a reflex of ***s** in Amahei, and then only before non-high vowels.] **su~sula-k** *Termanu*. horn of a buffalo, of a deer, etc. (J:573)

su~sula-ʔ *Korbafo*.

su~sula-k *Bokai*.

su~sula-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

su~sura-ʔ *Landu*. horn. (own field notes)

su~sura-ʔ *Rikou*.

su~sula-k *Ba'a*.

su~sura-k *Tii*.

su~sula-ʔ *Dengka*.

sura-ʔ *Oenale*.

sunu-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. horn.

sunaf *Kotos Amarasi*. horn, antennae (of insects).

sunaf *Molo*. horn of livestock. (M:523)

sunaf *Kusa-Manea*. horn.

Out-comparisons:

suluʔ *Semau Helong*. horn. [irr. from PRM: ***a** = **u** correspondence]

***sure** *Morph*: ***sure-k**. *PRM*. pointed weapon; caltrop, sword. *Doublet*: ***sura**. *Etym*: ***suja** 'pitfall or trail spikes made of sharpened bamboo'. [minority from PMP: ***j** > ***r** (expect ***d**)] [Sporadic: ***a** > ***e** /*C+palatal _/] **sule-k** *Termanu*. something pointed, like a thorn, which is used as a caltrop (foot-trap); place a caltrop. (J:574)

sule-ʔ *Korbafo*.

sule-k *Bokai*.

sule-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

suri-ʔ *Rikou*.

sule-k *Ba'a*.

sure-k *Tii*.

sule-ʔ *Dengka*.

sure-ʔ *Oenale*.

sunijʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. sword, fighting sword. Particularly the long curved fighting sword found on Timor.

[*Sporadic*: vowel height harmony *e > i /uC_ in Meto.] [*Form*: Final *e > i on Timor mainland combined with semantic shift to ‘sword’ suggests diffusion/borrowing though the direction of diffusion remains to be determined.]

suni? *Molo*. sword. (M:524)

suni? *Kusa-Manea*. machete.

Out-comparisons:

suli? *Semau Helong*. sword. long thin fighting sword. May be about a metre in length, and width described as ‘between 2–3 fingers’.

surik *East Tetun*. sword with a long curved sharp blade which is sheathed in a scabbard when not in use. (Mo:176)

surik *Mambae, South*. sword, long curved fighting sword found on Timor, single blade. (Grimes et al. 2014b:42)

***suru** *PRM*. spoon, ladle, scoop. *Doublet*:

***soro**. *Etym*: *sudu.

sulu (2) **sulu-k** *Termanu*. 1) scoop up with a spoon. (J:574) 2) spoon. (J:574)

sulu *Korbafo*.

sulu *Bokai*.

sulu *Bilbaa*.

suru *Rikou*.

sulu *Ba'a*.

suru *Tii*.

sulu *Dengka*.

suru *Oenale*.

<**sunu**> *Amanuban*. spoon. (M:511)

sa~sunu? *Kusa-Manea*. spoon.

Out-comparisons:

sulu *Semau Helong*. spoon, scoop.
suru *East Tetun*. extract or take out with a spoon or ladle, to perform any similar action. (Mo:175)

huru *Kisar*. spoon.

kaba huru *Hawu*. spoon, ladle.

***susi** *PRM*. investigate, walk around. [*irr. from PRM*: *i > u in Bilbaa and Rikou] [*Semantics*: The semantic connection between the Meto terms and Rote terms is unclear to me, but Jonker (1908:576) gives the Meto forms as connected and it's better to give all the (potential) data than to sweep things under the carpet.]

susi *Termanu*. investigate a matter, inquire into something. (J:576)

susi *Korbafo*.

susi *Bokai*.

susu *Bilbaa*.

susu *Rikou*.

susi *Ba'a*.

susi *Tii*.

susi *Oenale*.

n-susi *Kotos Amarasi*. walk around without any particular destination in mind, go to someone's house and hang out without any plan.

n-susi *Molo*. one crawls back through something. (M:525)

***susu** *PRM*. tax. [*Semantics*: Given the semantics this may be a borrowing, though the kingdoms of Timor did have traditional systems of tribute.]

susu *Termanu*. apply taxes, tax. (J:577)

susu *Korbafo*.

susu *Bokai*.

susu *Bilbaa*.

susu *Rikou*.

susu *Ba'a*.

susu *Tii*.

susu *Dengka*.

nusu *Oenale*.

n-suus *Molo*. earn (money). (M:524)

Out-comparisons:

susut *Semau Helong*. tax.

***susu** *PRM*. female breast; udder. *Etym*: *susu. [*irr. from PRM*: *s > ? in Termanu, Korbafo, Bokai and Ba'a]

su?u *Termanu*. female breast. (J:577)

su?u *Korbafo*.

su?u *Bokai*.

susu *Bilbaa*.

susu *Rikou*.

suʔu *Ba'a*.

susu *Tii*.

susu(-ʔ) *Dengka*.

susu *Oenale*.

susu *Ro'is Amarasi*. breast.

susu-f *Kotos Amarasi*. breast.

susu *Molo*. milk, breasts (of woman).

(M:525)

Out-comparisons:

susu *Semau Helong*. breast.

susu-n *East Tetun*. breast (of women), udder (of animals).

(Mo:177)

***suti** *PRM*. nautilus, nautilus shell. [Semantics: I have reconstructed this term with the meaning 'nautilus' following the meaning in Rote rather than the meaning in Ro'is Amarasi as the people in Rote have a much stronger connection to the sea than the Atoni and it thus seems more likely that terms in Rote referring to the sea would be more conservative. This meaning is also probably partly retained in the Kotos Amarasi and Molo reflexes.]

suti *Termanu*. nautilus, nautilus shell.

(J:577; Fox 2016b)

suti *Korbafo*.

suti *Bokai*.

suti *Bilbaa*. nautilus, nautilus shell.

(J:577; own field notes)

suti *Rikou*. nautilus, nautilus shell.

(J:577; own field notes)

suti *Ba'a*.

suti *Tii*.

suti *Dengka*.

suti *Oenale*.

suti *Ro'is Amarasi*. sea snails/shellfish that are oval shaped and have a wide opening, often with a distinctive lip which runs the length of the shell: conches, volutes. [Note: **benkae** = 'nautilus'.]

suti *Kotos Amarasi*. little round plate upon which the woman has the spool twirl in order to wind the cotton thread. [Semantics: Regarding the semantic connection between the terms in Rote and the Kotos Amarasi and Molo terms, Fox (2016a:43) states: 'Suti, the nautilus shell, becomes the container for dye, particularly indigo dye; and Bina, the bailer shell, becomes the base on which the spindle for winding thread is turned. The two shells are ritual icons for the processes of preparing a cloth for weaving.']

suti *Molo*. little round plate upon which the woman has the spool twirl in order to wind the cotton thread. (M:526)

***suu₁** *PRM*. scrape the ground.

suu *Termanu*. dig or scoop out with the hands, also dig out in general. (J:566)

suu *Korbafo*.

suu *Bokai*.

suu *Bilbaa*.

suu *Rikou*.

suu *Ba'a*.

suu *Tii*.

suu *Dengka*.

suu *Oenale*.

na-k|suu (2) n-suu *Molo*.

1) scratches (ground), makes scratches (on the ground), scrabbles out. 2) scrabbles out. (M:518)

Out-comparisons:

suʔu *East Tetun*. mine, fossick, dig a mine shaft. (Mo:177)

***suu₂** *PRM*. carry on head. Etym: *suqun.

suu *Termanu*. put or carry on one's head. (J:566)

suu *Korbafo*.

suu *Bokai*.

suu *Bilbaa*.

suu *Rikou*.

suu *Ba'a*.

suu *Tii*.

suu *Dengka*.

suu *Oenale*.

n-suu *Kotos Amarasi*. carry on one's head.

n-suu *Molo*. carry on one's head.
(M:518)

suu *Kusa-Manea*. carry on head.

T - t

***taa₁** *PRM*. track, footprint. *Etym*: *tapak 'palm of the hand, sole of the foot' (PWMP). [*irr. from PMP*: *p > Ø (*p > Ø is regular in wRote, Bilbaa, Rikou and Meto but we would expect *p > ? in the other Rote languages)] [*Sporadic*: *a > e / _# in Meto.]

ta~taa *Termanu*. make an impression with the hand or foot, leave tracks behind. (J:580)

ta~taa *Korbafo*.

ta~taa *Bokai*.

ta~taa *Bilbaa*.

ta~taa *Rikou*.

ta~taa *Ba'a*.

ta~taa *Tii*.

ta~taa *Dengka*.

n-tae *Kotos Amarasi*. look down.

<**taë**> *Molo*. look down, trace/track down. [*Form*: Jonker (1908:580) gives Meto **ta?en** with the meaning 'identical [to the Rote meaning] and: agree upon'.] [*Semantics*: The meaning 'trace/track down' appears to be the semantic link between 'track' and 'look down'.] (M:527)

Out-comparisons:

tahe *Semau Helong*. sign.

***taa₂** *Rote*. unhusked rice. *See*: *eto. *Etym*: *qəta 'rice husk, rice bran'. [*irr. from PMP*: *ə > Ø with doubling of the final vowel to create a disyllable] (**hade**) **taa-k** *Termanu*. unhusked rice grains under the husked grains. (J:581)

taa-? *Korbafo*.

taa-k *Bokai*.

ka|taa-? *Bilbaa*.

taa-? *Rikou*.

taa-k *Ba'a*.

taa-k *Tii*.

taa-? *Dengka*.

taa-? *Oenale*.

***taa₃** *PnRote*. negative marker: no, not. *Etym*: *taq.

taa *Termanu*. non-existent, no, not.

[*Form*: Phrases such as <**ana-tāk**> **ana** **taa-k** 'childless' provide evidence for the double vowel.] (J:578)

taa *Korbafo*.

taa *Bokai*.

taa *Bilbaa*.

taa *Rikou*.

taa *Ba'a*.

taa *Tii*.

Out-comparisons:

ka *Kisar*. not.

***taa₄** *Morph*: ***taa-k**. *Rote*. endure. *Etym*: *taqan 'hold back, keep in reserve'. [*Form*: Final *k* cannot be straightforwardly analysed as synchronic suffix in Korbafo, Bilbaa and Dengka.]

na-taa-k=ana (2) na-ka-ta~taa-k *Termanu*. 1) endurance. 2) endure. (J:581)

na-taa|k=ana *Korbafo*.

na-taa-k=ana *Bokai*.

na-taa|k=ana *Bilbaa*.

na-taa-?=ana *Rikou*.

na-taa-k=ana *Ba'a*.

na-taa-k=ana *Tii*.

na-taa|k=ana (2) na-?a-ta~taa-? *Dengka*.

(2) na-?a-ta~taa-? *Oenale*.

***tabu** *PRM.* tread, step.

tabu *Termanu.* put the foot somewhere, step, tread. (J:582)

tabu *Korbafo.*

tabu *Bokai.*

tabu *Bilbaa.*

tabu *Rikou.*

tabu *Ba'a.*

tabu *Tii.*

tabu *Dengka.*

tabu *Oenale.*

tabu *Ro'is Amarasi.* time.

tabu *Kotos Amarasi.* time.

n-tabu *Amfo'an.* treads. (M:527)

tabu *Molo.* clock, hour. (M:527)

Out-comparisons:

tabu *Waima'a.* time, watch.

tabu *Galolen.* time.

***tadengus** *PRM.* kind of dove, probably Rose-crowned Fruit-Dove. *Ptilinopus regina*. Pattern: d-2. [irr. from *PRM*: vowel metathesis in *Kusa-Manea* *eCu > *uCe > uCi]

rekus *Landu.* Rose-crowned Fruit-Dove. *Ptilinopus regina*. (own field notes)

rekus *Rikou.* Rose-crowned Fruit-Dove. *Ptilinopus regina*. (own field notes)

lengus *Dengka.* dove; in *Dengka* species include: **lengu lasi**, **lengu ma?amuu**, **lengu manu_ina**. (J:722)

rengus *Oenale.* dove. (J:722)

kuum_treukus *Ro'is Amarasi.* Rose-crowned Fruit-Dove. *Ptilinopus regina*. [Form: **kumu** = 'wild dove'.]

ra-rukis *Kusa-Manea.* wild doves. [Sporadic: vowel height harmony *e > i /uC_ (alternately *e > i / _Cu before vowel metathesis).]

***tadu** *Morph.* ***la-tadu-k.** *CER.* opposite. **la-tadu-k** *Termanu.* sit opposite one another. (J:585)

la-tadu-k *Bokai.*

la-tadu-k *Ba'a.*

Out-comparisons:

ntando (2) satando (3) tando

Bima. 1) facing one another. (Ismail et al. 1985:103)
2) face towards. (Ismail et al. 1985:143) 3) forward, front part; face towards. (Ismail et al. 1985:151)

***tae** *nRM.* praying mantis. [Sporadic: consonant metathesis *rVt > tVr in Nuclear Meto; glottal stop insertion in Meto] [Form: The source of the initial element in Meto currently unknown. This element also has irregular Ro'is k = Nuclear Meto r correspondence. This is the reverse pattern to what would be expected for PMeto *r.]

telu_tae *Termanu.* kind of shrimp-like creature. (Fox 2016b:13, 55)

aka?ta?e *Ro'is Amarasi.* praying mantis.

ata?ra?e *Kotos Amarasi.* praying mantis.

ata?la?e *Molo.* praying mantis. (M:31)

Out-comparisons:

°akatae *Semau Helong.* praying mantis. Borrowed from: Ro'is Amarasi.

astatae *Welaun.* praying mantis.

***tafa** *Rote.* sword, machete.

tafa *Termanu.* sabre, sword. (J:586)

tafa *Korbafo.*

tafa *Bokai.*

tafa *Bilbaa.*

tafa *Rikou.*

tafa *Ba'a.*

tafa *Tii.*

tafa-? *Dengka.*

tafa-? *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

taha *East Tetun.* machete, a jungle knife. (Mo:178)

kawa *Kisar.* machete.

***taha** *Morph: *na-taha. PRM. answer. Etym: **taRa (pre-RM). [irr. from PMP: *R > *h (also in *noh and *klaha)] [Form: regular *h > Ø /a_a in Rote.]*
na-taa *Termanu. answer. (J:580f)*
na-taa *Korbafo.*
na-taa *Bokai.*
na-taa *Bilbaa.*
na-taa *Rikou.*
na-taa *Ba'a.*
na-taa *Tii.*
na-taa *Dengka.*
na-taa *Oenale.*
na-taha *Kotos Amarasi. answer.*
ta-taah *Kusa-Manea. answer.*
Out-comparisons:
tala *Semau Helong. answer.*
hataa *Fehan Tetun. respond, answer, give a reply to. (Mo:80)*
hataan *East Tetun. respond, answer, give a reply to. (Mo:81)*
***tahi** *Rote. winnow. Etym: *tapi. [irr. from PRM: *t > d in nRote]*
daʔi *Termanu. winnow. (J:71)*
daʔi *Korbafo.*
daʔi *Bokai.*
dai *Bilbaa.*
dai *Rikou.*
daʔi *Ba'a.*
daʔi *Tii.*
tai *Dengka.*
tai *Oenale.*
Out-comparisons:
tahin *Semau Helong. winnow.*
***taii** *Morph: *tai-k. PRM. belly, stomach, guts. Doublet: *taiʔ. Etym: *taqi [irr. from PRM: *a > e in Ro'is Amarasi and all Rote lects except Tii (sporadic assimilation to following i)]*
tei-k *Termanu. belly, intestines. (J:612f)*
tei-ʔ *Korbafo.*
tei-k *Bokai.*
tei-ʔ *Bilbaa.*
tei-ʔ *Landu. belly. (own field notes)*

tei-ʔ *Rikou.*
tei-ʔ *Oepao. belly. (own field notes)*
tei-k *Ba'a.*
tai-k *Tii.*
tei-ʔ *Dengka.*
tei-ʔ *Oenale.*
tei *Dela. stomach.*
tei-f *Ro'is Amarasi. belly, stomach.*
tai-f *Kotos Amarasi. belly, stomach, guts.*
tai-n *Molo. intestines. (M:623)*
Out-comparisons:
tain *Semau Helong. stomach, abdomen, belly.*
***taiʔ** *PRM. faeces, excrement. Doublet: *taii. Etym: *taqi. [irr. from PRM: *a > e in lects except Tii (sporadic assimilation to following i)]*
tei *Termanu. faeces, excrete. (J:612f)*
tei *Korbafo.*
tei *Bokai.*
tei *Bilbaa.*
tei *Landu. faeces. (own field notes)*
tei *Rikou.*
tei *Oepao. faeces. (own field notes)*
tei *Ba'a.*
tai *Tii.*
tei *Dengka.*
tei *Oenale.*
tei *Dela. faeces.*
tei *Ro'is Amarasi. faeces.*
tei (2) na-teʔi *Kotos Amarasi. 1) faeces. 2) excrete.*
tei *Molo. faeces. (M:623)*
Out-comparisons:
tai *Funai Helong. excrement.*
tai *Semau Helong. faeces.*
tee-n *East Tetun. excrement, dregs, residue. (Mo:183)*
***taiʔ** *Rote. stick to.*
tai *Termanu. adhere. (J:587)*
tai *Korbafo.*
tai *Bokai.*
tai *Bilbaa.*
tai *Rikou.*
tai *Ba'a.*
tai *Tii.*

tai *Dengka*.

tai *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

tai *Semau Helong*. hang, suspend.

***tairua** *CERM*. half. [*irr. from PRM: *t > h in nRote*] [*Form: second part from *dua* ‘two’.]

hailua *Termanu*. half full. (J:155)

hailua *Korbafo*.

hailua *Bokai*.

hailua *Bilbaa*.

hairua *Rikou*.

n-tainua (2) tainua *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) halve. 2) half. *Usage*: somewhat archaic, **stena?** from Malay *sətəŋa* is the usual term in my data.

Out-comparisons:

tailuaj *Semau Helong*. half-heartedly.

***tais** *PRM*. cloth, sarong. *Etym*: *tapis ‘loincloth (?)’. [*irr. from PMP: *p > Ø* (Meto Ø could be regular from *p, but we would still expect ? in Termanu)]

tai_sai-k *Termanu*. cloth, a torn piece of stuff, a nappy. *Usage*: still used in Dengka and Oenale, as in Meto, in disuse elsewhere in Rote. (J:589)

tais *Dengka*. pants. (J:768)

tais *Oenale*. pants. (J:768)

tais *Ro'is Amarasi*. clothing.

tais *Kotos Amarasi*. sarong, clothes.

tais *Molo*. sarong, skirt. (M:532)

tais *Kusa-Manea*. cloth.

Out-comparisons:

tais *East Tetun*. cloth of indigenous manufacture. (Mo:178)

***taku** *PRM*. fear. *Etym*: *takut. *Pattern*: k-8.

na-ka-ta~ta?u (2) ta?u-s (3)

ma-ka-ta~ta?u-k *Termanu*.

1) frighten, threaten. 2) fear.

3) someone (a person, demon, etc.) which causes fright. (J:604f)

na-ka-ta~ta?u *Korbafo*.

na-ka-ta~ta?u *Bokai*.

na-ka-ta~taku *Bilbaa*.

na-ta~ta?u *Rikou*.

na-ka-ta~ta?u *Ba'a*.

na-ka-ta~ta?u-k *Tii*.

na-?a-ta~ta?u-? (2) na-tau-? (3)

na-ma-tau *Dengka*. 1) frighten, threaten. (J:604) 2) frighten. (J:769f) 3) be afraid. (J:769f)

na-?a-ta~ta?u-? (2) na-tau-? (3)

na-ma-tau *Oenale*. 1) frighten, threaten. (J:604) 2) frighten. (J:769f) 3) be afraid. (J:769f)

— (2) — (3) **na-ma-tau** *Dela*. 3) becomes afraid, becomes worried.

na-m|tau *Ro'is Amarasi*. is scared.

na-m|tau (2) na-m|tau|s *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) scared. 2) scared of.

[*Form*: The final *s* in the transitive form **na-m|taus** ‘scared of’ may be a reflex of the final consonant reconstructed for PMP *takut, thus *t > s. The nominalising suffix -t in Meto has the allomorph -s after stems which contain a *t* (Edwards 2020:455f) and thus the putative change of *t > s in this form may be a case of dissimilation from word initial *t. Note also that the pair **n-mani** ‘laugh’ and **n-manis** ‘laugh at’ (see *malis) also has transitivity marked with final *s*. In this case, the final consonant of the transitive form also appears to be a reflex of the final consonant of PMP *malip (see §3.5.1.3).]

na-m|tau (2) na-m|tausan (3)

n-haka|tau (4) ma|taus *Molo*.

1) scared. 2) scared of. (M:332)

3) scare (someone). 4) those who are scared. (M:542)

Out-comparisons:

hata?uk *East Tetun*. be afraid, fear, dread. (Mo:183)

-ka?uk *Kisar*. afraid.

meda?u *Hawu*. afraid.

***talada** *PRM*. middle, centre. [*irr. from PRM: *t > k in Dengka*] [*Form: regular *d > **l / *l_ in Meto (and Helong)*.]

talada *Termanu*. middle. (J:590)
talada *Korbafo*.
talada *Bokai*.
talada *Bilbaa*.
talada *Rikou*.
talada *Ba'a*.
talada *Tii*.
kalada-ʔ *Dengka*.
talada-ʔ *Oenale*.
talada-ʔ *Dela*. centre.
tnana|ʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*.
tnana|ʔ, tnana-f *Kotos Amarasi*.
 middle, waist.
au tnana-k *Molo*. my interior.
 (M:561)

tnana|ʔ *Kusa-Manea*. middle.

Out-comparisons:

hlala *Semau Helong*. middle,
 centre.
tlala *Bolok Helong*. middle,
 centre.
klara-n *East Tetun*. middle, the
 centre. (Mo:109)
klalan *Galolen*. middle.
telora *Hawu*. middle.
ʔloran *Sika*. inside, in the middle.
 (Pareira and Lewis 1998:124)
hatalae *Kamarian*. among, in the
 middle. [Note: also in Kaibobo
 and Haruku.] (van Ekris
 1864:85)
hatarale *Kaibobo*. Usage: Piru
 village. (van Ekris 1864:85)
hatalea *Kaibobo*. Usage: Hatusua
 village. (van Ekris 1864:85)
samtarae *Alune*. [Note: language
 of west Seram, central Maluku
 ISO 639-3 [alp].] (van Ekris
 1864:85)
hatalea, haalea *Nusa Laut*.
 [Note: language of Lease
 Islands, central Maluku ISO
 639-3 [nul].] (van Ekris
 1864:85)

***tales** *Rote*. taro. *Colocasia esculenta*.
*Etym: *taləs. [minority from PMP: *ə
 > *e / _# (expect *ə > a in wRote)]*

tale *Termanu*. 1) kind of water plant
 with big leaves. (J:591) 2) taro.
 (Fox 1991:257)

tale *Korbafo*.

tale *Bokai*.

tale *Bilbaa*.

tale *Rikou*.

tale *Ba'a*.

ta~tale-k *Tii*.

ta~tales *Dengka*.

tale *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

talas *East Tetun*. an aroid plant
 with highly prized edible
 tubers. (Mo:179)

***tali** *PRM*. rope, cord, twine, string.

*Etym: *talih.*

tali *Termanu*. rope. (J:591)

tali *Korbafo*.

tali *Bokai*.

tali *Bilbaa*.

tali *Rikou*.

tali *Ba'a*.

tali *Tii*.

tali-ʔ *Dengka*.

tali-ʔ *Oenale*.

tani *Ro'is Amarasi*. rope.

tani *Kotos Amarasi*. rope.

tani *Molo*. rope. (M:538)

tani *Kusa-Manea*. rope.

Out-comparisons:

tali *Semau Helong*. rope, cord,
 string, twine, strand.

tali(n) *East Tetun*. rope, cord,
 string, etc. (Mo:179)

***talin** *PRM*. money. [History: This could
 be a borrowing, but a likely source
 language has not been identified.]

tali_doi-k *Termanu*. money in general.
 (J:591)

tali_doi-ʔ *Korbafo*.

tali_doi-k *Bokai*.

tali_doi-k *Bilbaa*.

tali_doi-ʔ *Rikou*.

tali_doi-k *Ba'a*.

tali_doi-k *Tii*.

tali_doi-ʔ *Dengka*.

tali_doi-ʔ *Oenale*.

tanin *Meto*. (J:591)

Out-comparisons:

talin *Helong*. (J:591)

***tama**₁ *PMeto*. enter. *Etym.*: *tama ‘enter, penetrate; bold, of persons’.

n-tama *Ro’is Amarasi*. enter.

n-tama *Kotos Amarasi*. enter.

an-tama *Molo*. go inside. (M:536)

n-tama *Timaus*. enter.

Out-comparisons:

tama *Semau Helong*. enter, go in.

tama *East Tetun*. enter, introduce, penetrate. (Mo:179)

***tama**₂ *Rote*. appropriate, suitable, right; fit together. *Etym.*: *tama(q) (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct both *tamaq and *tama as ‘disjuncts’ with almost identical semantics. The Termanu form is included as evidence for both.).

tama *Termanu*. fit together well.

papa-k=ala tama matalolole the planks fit well together. (J:592)

tama *Korbafo*.

tama *Bokai*.

tama *Bilbaa*.

tama *Rikou*.

tama *Ba’a*.

tama *Tii*.

tama *Dengka*.

tama *Oenale*.

***tamae** *Rote*. bedbug. *Etym.*: **tamayun (pre-RM). [Form: I have reconstructed antepenultimate PRM *a primarily on the basis of external evidence and the fact that this is the most common antepenultimate vowel in PRM. This means proposing antepenultimate *a > i in Landu. This sound change finds some support from PRM **sumanə-k** ‘soul’ > Landu **simane-ʔ**, which also shows a shift of an antepenultimate vowel to i. In both words this may be sporadic assimilation to the previous apical consonant.]

mae-k *Termanu*. bedbug. (J:340)

mae-ʔ *Korbafo*.

mae-k *Bokai*.

mae-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

timae-ʔ *Landu*. bedbug. (own field notes)

mae-ʔ *Rikou*.

mae-k *Ba’a*.

mae-k *Tii*.

mai-ʔ *Dengka*.

mai-ʔ *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

kmaen *Funai Helong*.

hmaen bedbug. *Helong*. (J:340)

(ta)madzun *Alorese*. bedbug. (Moro 2016)

təmadzun *Central Lembata*. bedbug. (Fricke 2015)

madzu *Central Nage*. bedbug. *Cimex lectularius*. (Forth 2016:335)

main *Sika*. bedbug. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:128)

madzun *Manggarai*. bedbug. *Cimex rotundatus*. (Verheijen 1967:304)

***tamo** *CERM*. ancestral name. [irr. from PRM: *o > a in Meto]

tamo-k *Termanu*. name established by divination; name of protecting ancestor. (Fox 2016b:53)

tama-f *Kotos Amarasi*. name someone after a deceased relative.

au tama-k *Molo*. the name of my grandfather after whom I must be called. (M:536)

Out-comparisons:

<**tamu**> *Kambera*. name, namesake. [Note: also in Mangili, Lewa, Anakalng and Mamboru.] (On:464)

<**tamo**> *Kodi*. [Note: also in Weyewa]

tamo *Ende*. name-sake, name-fellow.

tamo *Tolaki*. name. [Note: language of Southeast Sulawesi ISO 639-3 [lbw].] (own field notes)

- san/tamo** *Kulisusu*. namesake; name that two people choose in secret for each other but don't utter in public. [Note: language of Southeast Sulawesi ISO 639-3 [vkl]] [Form: initial **san-** from *isa 'one'.] (David Mead pers. comm. April 2016)
- ***tamu** *Morph: *na-tamu. PRM.* close the mouth, chew. *Etym:* *tamu (PCEMP. Blust and Trussel (ongoing) only give Motu **tamu-tamu** 'smack the lips while eating' and Uruava **tamu** 'eat' and the Termanu form as evidence for their reconstruction.).
- na-tamu (2) tamu~tamu** *Termanu.* 1) close the mouth suddenly. **bafi=a na-tamu bafa-n** the pig closes its mouth with a smack, **kaiboi-k kima=a na-tamu bafa-na** the clam suddenly closes itself 2) make a smacking sound while eating, like a pig. (J:593)
- na-tamu** *Korbafo.*
- na-tamu** *Bokai.*
- na-tamu** *Bilbaa.*
- na-tamu** *Rikou.*
- na-tamu** *Ba'a.*
- na-tamu** *Tii.*
- na-tamu** *Dengka.*
- na-tamu** *Oenale.*
- na-tamu** *Kotos Amarasi.* chew.
- na-tamu** *Molo.* chews. **mu-tamu koe~koe** chew your food properly (M:227)
- na-tamu** *Kusa-Manea.* chew.
- ***tamba₁** *CER.* throw.
- tapa** *Termanu.* throw, toss. (J:599)
- tapa** *Korbafo.*
- tapa** *Bokai.*
- tapa** *Bilbaa.*
- tapa** *Rikou.*
- Out-comparisons:*
- taba** *East Tetun.* stone, throw stones, chase away with stones; to break into fragments; grind, crush. (Mo:177)

toba *Bima.* throw, hurl, hurl at someone. (Jonker 1893:105)

taha *Kamarian.* stab, throw. [Note: also in Kaibobo and Nusa Laut.] (van Ekris 1864:119)

kaha *Haruku.* (van Ekris 1864:119)

ɟawa *Alune.* [Note: language of west Seram, central Maluku ISO 639-3 [alp].] (van Ekris 1864:119)

anna?ba? *Makassar.* throw a small round object at something (e.g. marble or candlenut). [Form: root = **ta?ba?**.] (Cense 1979:744)

***tamba₂** *PRM.* mend, patch. *Etym:* *tambal (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct a number of formally and semantically similar forms including: *tambəj 'tie up, bind tightly', and *tambəl 'patch'.).

tapa *Termanu.* stick, cleave. (J:599f)

tapa *Korbafo.*

tapa *Bokai.*

tapa *Bilbaa.*

tapa *Rikou.*

tampa *Ba'a.*

tamba *Tii.*

tamba *Dengka.*

tamba *Oenale.*

n-tapa *Molo.* binds (wound). [Form: Jonker (1908:600) gives Meto **na-ktapa, na-ktape.**] (M:539)

Out-comparisons:

tapa *Semau Helong.* connect, attach, stick to; patch.

tabar *Fehan Tetun.* join, go/be together with, mix, meet in one place from separate places; patch (clothes).

***tambele** *PRM.* suspend, hang.

pele~pele (2) pe~pele (3) pele *Termanu.* 1) to be hung up while spread out. (J:478) 2) hang something up while it is spread out. (J:478) 3) spread out, spread

(of news or rumour). In ordinary language, this has a physical sense of ‘of spreading a piece of cloth, or a sail, of hanging it up’. (Fox 2016b:45)

pele~pele *Korbafo*.

pele~pele *Bokai*.

pele~pele *Bilbaa*.

pele~pele *Rikou*.

mpele~mpele *Ba'a*.

mbele~mbele *Tii*.

mbele~mbele (2) na-ta-mbele
Dengka. 1) spread out, suspended.
(J:478) 2) fly. (J:752; Fox 2016b:45)

mbele~mbele (2) na-ta-mbele
Oenale. 1) spread out, suspended.
(J:478) 2) fly. (J:752; Fox 2016b:45)

na-tpene *Ro'is Amarasi*. fly (v.).

na-kpene *Kotos Amarasi*. fly (v.).

na-tpene *Amanuban*. fly (v.).

Out-comparisons:

table *East Tetun*. hang, dangle;
hanging, dangling. (Mo:177)

***tana|?** *PnMeto*. thorn. *Etym.*: **tara-k
(pre-Meto).

tana? *Kusa-Manea*. thorn.

Out-comparisons:

tarak, taran *East Tetun*. thorn.
(Mo:180)

ai taran *Kemak*. thorn.

<tara> *Kambera*. thorns, spines;
pandanus leaf. (On:482)

karna *Kisar*. cock's spur.

***tana**₁ *PRM*. cover.

ta~tana (2) tana *Termanu*.
1) cover something with a lid,
close something. (J:593) 2) put
something somewhere so that it is
covered up a little. (J:593)

ta~tana *Korbafo*.

ta~tana *Bokai*.

ta~tana *Bilbaa*.

ta~tana *Rikou*.

ta~tana *Ba'a*.

ta~tana *Tii*.

ta~tana *Dengka*.

ta~tana *Oenale*.

na-taan *Meto*. (J:593)

Out-comparisons:

tuga *Semau Helong*. close,
cover. [*irr. from PRM*: *a = u
correspondence]

ketaja *Hawu*. lid. (J:593)

<tanga> *Kambera*. lid, cover
which fits on top. (On:474)

***tana**₂ *Morph*: ***tana-k**. *Rote*. crispy,
dried out. *Etym.*: **taja (pre-RM).

tana-k *Termanu*. dry, snappy, crisply
baked or fried. (J:593)

tana-? *Korbafo*.

tana-k *Bokai*.

tana-? *Bilbaa*.

tana-? *Rikou*.

tana-k *Ba'a*.

tana-k *Tii*.

tana-? *Dengka*.

tana-? *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

taja *Semau Helong*. stiff,
withered, crispy, dried out.

***tana**₃ *PMeto*. ask, inquire. *Doublet*:

***tane**. *Etym.*: *utaña. [*History*: PRM
had two reflexes of *utaña: ***tane** and
***tana**. Both are still attested in Molo.]

na-tana *Ro'is Amarasi*. ask.

na-tana *Kotos Amarasi*. ask.

na-tana *Molo*. queries. (M:537)

***tane**₁ *Rote*. mud. *Etym.*: *tanəq ‘earth,
soil, land’. [*Form*: regular *ə > e / _q#.]

tane *Termanu*. mud. (J:594)

tane *Korbafo*.

tane *Bokai*.

tane *Bilbaa*.

tane *Rikou*.

tane *Ba'a*.

tane *Tii*.

tane *Dengka*.

tane *Oenale*.

***tane**₂ *Morph*: ***na-tane**. *PRM*. ask,
inquire. *Doublet*: ***tana**. *Etym.*: *utaña.
[*Sporadic*: *a > *e /*C+palatal_/]
[*History*: PRM had two reflexes of
*utaña: ***tane** and ***tana**. Both are still
attested in Molo.]

na-tane *Termanu*. ask, pose a question,
query. (J:594)

na-tane *Korbafo*.

na-tane *Bokai*.

na-tane *Bilbaa*.

na-tane *Rikou*.

na-tane *Ba'a*.

na-tane *Tii*.

na-tane *Dengka*.

na-tane *Oenale*.

ma-tane-n *Molo*. question one-another. (M:537)

***tanee** *PRM*. contain (liquid).

na-ta-nee *Termanu*. contain something, both liquids and other things. (J:384f)

na-ta-nee *Korbafo*.

na-ta-nee *Bokai*.

na-ta-nee *Bilbaa*.

na-ta-nee *Rikou*.

na-ta-nee *Ba'a*.

na-ta-nee *Tii*.

na-ta-nee *Dengka*.

na-ta-nee *Oenale*.

na-tnee *Molo*. contains. (M:562)

Out-comparisons:

tenae *Hawu*. contain (liquid).

***tani** *PnRote*. weep, cry; mourn. *Etym*:

**tanj*s.

na-ma-tani *Termanu*. **manahelo=a na-ma-tani** the poet recited in a complaining tone [*Semantics*: This form is given without a definition and with a note that in (unspecified) other varieties of Rote the meaning is 'weep'.] (J:595)

na-ma-tani *Korbafo*.

na-ma-tani *Bokai*.

na-ma-tani *Bilbaa*.

na-ma-tani *Tii*.

***tande** *Morph*: ***ma-tande**, ***tande-k**. *PRM*. sharp. *Etym*: **tazəm*. [*minority from PMP*: **z* > **nd* (expect **d*); **ə* > **e* / _# (expect **ə* > *a* in *wRote*, possibly **ə* > **a* > *e*)] [*History*: Blust and Trussel only give cognates in Taiwan and western MP languages. This, combined, with the irregular sound changes which must be posited,

may indicate that this form is not a direct inheritance from PMP, but a subsequent borrowing.]

ma-tane (2) tane-k (3) na-ma-tane *Termanu*. 1) sharp, pointy.

2) sharp, pointy; sharpness. 3) be or become sharp; sharpen. (J:594)

ma-tane *Korbafo*.

ma-tane *Bokai*.

ma-tane *Bilbaa*.

ma-tande *Rikou*.

ma-tane *Ba'a*.

ma-tande *Tii*.

tande-? *Dengka*.

tande-? *Oenale*.

***tanga** *PRM*. jasmine tree, Indian cork tree. *Millingtonia hortensis*.

tanga *Termanu*. kind of tree the leaves of which strongly resemble those leaves of the moringa tree *Moringa oleifera*. [*Semantics*: 'Kind of tree (with thick bark, fine leaves with white, sweet smelling flowers and excellent hard wood used for building)' (Fox 2016b:54).] (J:595)

tanga *Korbafo*.

tanga *Bokai*.

tanga *Bilbaa*.

tanga *Ba'a*.

tanga *Tii*.

tanga *Dengka*.

tanga *Oenale*.

<**hau taka**> *Amfo'an*. kind of tree. *Millingtonia hortensis*. [*Note*:

Middelkoop lists this form as occurring in Amfo'an, Beboki, Amarasi and Miomafo. Beboki also has the variant <**tacka**>. Middelkoop's entry is almost certainly from Meijer Drees (1950:17) who gives <(hau) **taka**>.] (M:533)

***tao** *PRM*. put, place, do. *Etym*: **taRuq* 'store, put away for safekeeping, hide valuables; to place a bet in gambling; lay an egg'. [*irr. from PMP*: **u* > **o*]

tao *Termanu*. set, lay, place, store, put in, place (a bet), etc.; do, act, make, cause. (J:595)

tao *Korbafo*.

tao *Bokai*.

tao *Bilbaa*.

tao *Rikou*.

tao *Ba'a*.

tao *Tii*.

tao *Dengka*.

tao *Oenale*.

n-tao *Ro'is Amarasi*. put.

n-tao *Kotos Amarasi*. put, do, cast a spell.

n-tao (2) tao-s *Molo*. 1) sets. 2) deeds. (M:542)

Out-comparisons:

tal *Semau Helong*. put; guarantee.

tau *East Tetun*. place, put, set. (Mo:183)

***tara** *Morph*: ***ta~tara**. *PRM*. adze. *Etym*: ***taRaq** 'hewing with an adze'. [minority from *PMP*: ***R** = ***r** (expect Ø)]

ta~tala *Termanu*. adze, that which is worked with an adze. (J:590)

ta~tala *Korbafo*.

ta~tala *Bokai*.

ta~tala *Bilbaa*.

ta~tara *Rikou*.

ta~tala *Ba'a*.

ta~tara *Tii*.

ta~talas *Dengka*.

ta~taras *Oenale*.

tan~tana *Meto*. (J:590)

***taruku** *PRM*. chiton. *Etym*: ***taduku** (own reconstruction) (*PCEMP*). *Pattern*: k-9.

lu?u *Termanu*. kind of edible mollusc without a shell that is found between rocks in seawater. (J:337)

lu?u *Korbafo*.

luku *Bilbaa*.

ruku-? *Landu*. chiton. [History: Jonker (1908) gives Rikou **rutu** as potentially cognate, but Landu has **sarutu-?** = 'sea urchin' which is a

more likely cognate for this Rikou form. Thus, Rikou **rutu** and Landu **sarutu-?** are probably not reflexes of ***taruku**.] (own field notes)

lu?u *Ba'a*.

ru?u *Tii*.

ru?u *Oenale*.

tnu?u *Ro'is Amarasi*. chiton.

Out-comparisons:

kruku *Waima'a*. sticky sea creature in the rocks by the edge of the sea.

***tadruku** *Proto-East Oceanic*. chiton. (Pawley 2011:197)

***tasa** *Morph*: ***ma-tasa-k**. *PRM*. ripe, cooked. *Etym*: ***tasak**.

tasa-k (2) na-ma-tasa *Termanu*. 1) cooked, boiled (e.g. rice). 2) be(come) cooked. (J:601f)

tasa-? *Korbafo*.

tasa-k *Bokai*.

tasa-? *Bilbaa*.

tasa-? *Rikou*.

tasa-k *Ba'a*.

tasa-k *Tii*.

tasa-? *Dengka*.

tasa-? *Oenale*.

m|tasa|? (2) me?e m|tasa|? *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) cooked, ripe. 2) maroon.

a-m|tasa|? *Amfo'an*. red.

m|tasa|? *Molo*. red. (M:332)

Out-comparisons:

tasa *Semau Helong*. cooked.

tasak, tasan *East Tetun*. mature, ripe; edible, cooked. (Mo:181)

maqasa *Dhao*. ripe, mature.

***tasi** *PRM*. sea, ocean. *Etym*: ***tasik** 'sea, saltwater'.

tasi *Termanu*. sea, ocean. (J:601)

tasi *Korbafo*.

tasi *Bokai*.

tasi *Bilbaa*.

tasi *Rikou*.

tasi *Ba'a*.

tasi *Tii*.

tasi-? *Dengka*.

tasi *Oenale*.

tasi-ʔ *Dela*. sea.

tasi *Ro'is Amarasi*. sea, ocean.

tasi *Kotos Amarasi*. sea, ocean.

tasi *Molo*. sea, ocean. (M:540)

tasi *Kusa-Manea*. sea, ocean.

Out-comparisons:

tasi *Semau Helong*. sea.

tasi *East Tetun*. sea, ocean.
(Mo:181)

kahi *Kisar*. salt water, sea.

***tata** *Rote*. clap, beat, hack. *Etym*:
*tabtab.

tata *Termanu*. split. **tata ai** split wood,
chop wood (J:602)

tata *Korbafo*.

tata *Bokai*.

tata *Bilbaa*.

tata *Rikou*.

tata *Ba'a*.

tata *Tii*.

tata *Dengka*.

***tata** *nRM*. boy, older sibling. [*irr. from*
PRM: *t > ʔ /V_V in most of Rote]

taʔe_ana-k *Termanu*. boy, youngster,
of about twelve years old. (J:586)

taʔe_ana-ʔ *Korbafo*.

taʔe_ana-k *Bokai*.

tate_anaʔ (2) tate *Bilbaa*. 2) boy.
(J:769)

tate_anaʔ (2) tate *Rikou*. 2) boy.
(J:769)

taʔe_ana-k *Ba'a*.

taʔe_ana-k *Tii*.

tata-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. same-sex older
sibling.

tata-f *Kotos Amarasi*. same-sex older
sibling.

tata-f oli-f (2) an-maʔ-oil tata=n
(3) tata-n *Molo*. 1) older and
younger brothers. 2) younger and
older brothers or younger and older
sisters with respect to one another.
3) older colt or male calf in respect
to a later birth. (M:541)

tata|ʔ *Kusa-Manea*. female older
sibling. [*Note*: **toʔo** = 'male older
sibling'.]

Out-comparisons:

tate, tata (2) kaka *Kisar*. 1) older
sibling. [*irr. from PRM*: *t =
t correspondence (expect k)]
2) older siblings.

***tati** *Rote*. cut, chop.

tati *Termanu*. chop with a machete,
cut with a sword. (J:602)

tati *Korbafo*.

tati *Bokai*.

tati *Bilbaa*.

tati *Rikou*.

tati *Ba'a*.

tati *Tii*.

tati *Dengka*.

tati *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

dati *Semau Helong*. cut.

***taum** *Morph*: *ka-taum. *PRM*. indigo
plant and dye. *Etym*: *taRum.

tau-k *Termanu*. the indigo plant,
indigo; also: dark blue. (J:604)

tau-ʔ *Korbafo*.

tau-k *Bokai*.

tau-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

tau-ʔ *Rikou*.

tau-k *Ba'a*.

tau-k, tau doo *Tii*.

tau-ʔ *Dengka*.

tau-ʔ *Oenale*.

ʔ|taum *Kotos Amarasi*. indigo plant, a
short tree whose leaves are used to
dye cloth black.

<**taum**> *Molo*. indigo. *Indigofera*
spec. (M:543)

taum=aa *Kusa-Manea*. kind of plant
mixed with mineral lime. **ao** to
make a black dye.

Out-comparisons:

talun *Helong*. indigo. *Ingofera*
spec. (Heyne 1950:770, ccxvii)

***taun** *PRM*. year. *Etym*: *taun 'year,
season'. [*irr. from PRM*: *a > e in
nRote] [*Form*: PwRM *toon.]

teu-k *Termanu*. year. (J:627)

teu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

teu-k *Bokai*.

teu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

teu-ʔ *Rikou*.

teu-k *Ba'a*.

teu-k *Tii*.

too(-ʔ) *Dengka*.

too *Oenale*.

toon *Ro'is Amarasi*. year.

toon *Kotos Amarasi*. year.

toon *Molo*. year. (M:570)

toan *Kusa-Manea*. year. [*irr. from PRM: *o > a*] [*Form: Kusa-Manea toan may not be a direct inheritance from PRM *taun. Instead, it may be a borrowing from Tetun tonan 'year'. If so, the form here would be the metathesised form of (currently unattested) *tona.*]

Out-comparisons:

taun *Semau Helong*. year.

***tea** *PRM*. arrive, until, the point that. [*irr. from PRM: *a > e* in all Rote and some Meto (sporadic assimilation)] [*Form: I have reconstructed final *a rather than *e as *a > e* can be motivated as sporadic assimilation while the reverse sound change would be unmotivated.]

tee *Termanu*. come, arrive. (J:607)

teʔe *Keka*. reach. (J:770)

tee *Korbafo*.

tee *Bokai*.

tee *Bilbaa*.

tee *Rikou*.

tee *Ba'a*.

tee *Dengka*.

n-tea *Ro'is Amarasi*. arrive, until, to the point that.

n-tea, n-tee *Kotos Amarasi*. arrive, until, to the point that. *Usage: tea* has 36 examples in my corpus while *tee* has 29 examples.

n-tee, n-tia *Molo*. enough, arrives. (M:544, 554)

n-tee, ntea *Timaus*. arrive, until, to the point that.

tea *Kusa-Manea*. arrive.

Out-comparisons:

toʔo *East Tetun*. arrive, reach; suffice, be enough; enough, sufficient; to, until, as far as. (Mo:188)

tii *Waima'a*. until.

***teas** *PRM*. heartwood of a tree, hard, durable core of wood; ironwood tree. *Etym: *təRas. [Sporadic: *a > e / _# in wRM.]*

tea, teas *Termanu*. core of wood. (J:608)

tea *Korbafo*.

tea *Bokai*.

tea *Bilbaa*.

tea *Rikou*.

tea *Ba'a*.

tea *Tii*.

tee-ʔ *Dengka*.

tee-ʔ *Oenale*.

teas *Kotos Amarasi*. hard centre of tree trunk.

teas, tees *Molo*. hard core of tree-trunk. (M:544)

teas *Kusa-Manea*. hard.

Out-comparisons:

telas *Semau Helong*. beam, strong. Sense of structurally sound, not corrupted by mould or rot.

toos *East Tetun*. hard, durable; stiff, difficult to open; stubborn. (Mo:188)

***tebes** *PRM*. true. [*irr. from PRM: *ʔ > ?* in *Termanu* and *Bokai*]

(teʔe~)teʔe *Termanu*. in truth, in reality, truly. (J:77)

(tebe~)tebe *Korbafo*.

(teʔe~)teʔe *Bokai*.

(tebe~)tebe, te~tebe-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

(tebe~)tebe, te~tebes=a *Rikou*.

(tebe~)tebe, te~tebes=a *Ba'a*.

(tebe~)tebe, te~tebe-k *Tii*.

(tebe~)tebe, te~tebes=a *Dengka*.

(tebe~)tebe, te~tebes=a *Oenale*.

te~tebes (2) tebe~tebes *Dela*.
1) true. 2) truly.

tebe (2) na-?tebe *Kotos Amarasi*.
1) true, earnest. 2) true, earnest.

teeb (2) <nateb> *Molo*. 1) yes, it is true. 2) confirms, accords. (M:544)

Out-comparisons:

tebes *Semau Helong*. true, right.

tebes *East Tetun*. certainly, truly, in truth. (Mo:183)

***tebi** *PRM*. break into pieces. *Etym*: *təbiq ‘split off, break off a piece, as in breaking off a section of betel nut’ (PWMP). [minority from PMP: *b > *ʔ /V_V] [irr. from PRM: *ʔ > b ~ ʔ in Termanu, Korbafo and Bokai]

tebi (2) teʔi *Termanu*. 1) chipped, crumbled at the edge. (J:608)
2) break something, break into pieces with the fingers. (J:613)

tebi (2) teʔi *Korbafo*.

tebi (2) teʔi *Bokai*.

tebi *Bilbaa*.

tebi (2) tebi *Rikou*.

tebi *Ba'a*.

tebi *Tii*.

tebi *Dengka*.

n-tebi *Kotos Amarasi*. break up into pieces (e.g. bread).

n-tebi *Molo*. crumble into pieces. (M:544)

Out-comparisons:

teben *Semau Helong*. stubby, short, chop. [irr. from PRM: *i = e correspondence]

tohi(k) *East Tetun*. chip off little pieces. (Mo:187)

***tede** *Rote*. crush with fingernail. *Etym*: *tindəs ‘crush lice with the fingernails’. [irr. from PMP: *nd > *d; *i > *e (also in eastern varieties of Malay)] [minority from PMP: *ə > *e /_# (expect *ə > a in wRote, possibly *ə > *a > e)] [Form: Some eastern Malays (e.g. Kupang Malay, Ambon Malay) have *tendes* ‘press’ also with *i > e. Hawu also shows *i > e.]

tede *Termanu*. flatten, whether between the fingernails or between a fingernail and a hard object. (J:609)

tede *Korbafo*.

tede *Bokai*.

tede *Bilbaa*.

tede *Rikou*.

tede *Ba'a*.

tede *Tii*.

tede *Dengka*.

tede *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

təda *Hawu*. (J:609)

<**tidihungu**> *Kambera*. press, press down. <**tidihungu wutu**> crush lice (On:493)

<**tiduhungu**> *Lewa*.

<**tiɖasungu**> *Anakalang*.

<**tede**> *Weyewa*.

<**katidihyo**> *Kodi*.

***tee** *Rote*. spear. *Etym*: **təRə (pre-RM).

tee *Termanu*. spear. (J:605)

tee *Korbafo*.

tee *Bokai*.

tee *Bilbaa*.

tee *Rikou*.

tee *Ba'a*.

tee *Tii*.

tee *Dengka*.

tee *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

kere *Kisar*. spear.

tera *Wetan*. spear. [Note: language of southwest Maluku, member of Luang language/dialect cluster ISO 639-3 [lex.]] (de Josselin de Jong 1987)

too *Welaun*. spear.

***tefe** *CER*. broken, tired.

tefe *Termanu*. weary (actually: ‘broken’). **tefe basa au luŋu laŋa so~solu-n** my knees and my shins are very weary (literally: broken), I’m very tired (J:612)

tefe *Korbafo*.

tefe *Bokai*.

tefe *Bilbaa*.

tefe *Rikou*. piece, broken. (J:770)

Out-comparisons:

tehen *Semau Helong*. break apart, snap.

***tefu** *PRM*. sugarcane. *Saccharum officinarum*. *Etym*: *təbuh.

tefu *Termanu*. sugarcane. (J:612)

tefu *Korbafo*.

tefu *Bokai*.

tefu *Bilbaa*.

tefu *Landu*. sugarcane. (own field notes)

tefu *Rikou*.

tefu *Ba'a*.

tefu *Tii*.

tefu *Dengka*.

tefu *Oenale*.

tefu *Ro'is Amarasi*. sugarcane.

tefu *Kotos Amarasi*. sugarcane.

tefu *Molo*. sugarcane. *Saccharum afficinarum*. (M:545)

tefu *Kusa-Manea*. sugarcane.

Out-comparisons:

tihu *Semau Helong*. sugarcane.

touhu *East Tetun*. sugarcane.

Saccharum officinarum.

(Mo:189)

keu *Kisar*. sugarcane.

***teka** *PRM*. call, greet. *Pattern*: k-10.

na-te?a *Termanu*. greet in passing, say goodbye. (J:608)

na-te?a *Korbafo*.

na-te?a *Bokai*.

na-teka *Bilbaa*.

na-te?a *Rikou*.

na-te?a *Ba'a*.

na-te?a *Tii*.

na-tea *Dengka*.

na-tea *Oenale*.

n-teka *Ro'is Amarasi*. call, refer to as.

n-teka *Kotos Amarasi*. call, refer to as.

n-teka (2) <a'teka> (3) <na-teka> *Molo*. 1) names. 2) riddle. 3) someone tells a riddle. (M:546)

Out-comparisons:

teka *Semau Helong*. tell, inform.

***teke** *Morph*: *ka-teke. *PRM*. gecko.

Etym: *təktək. *Pattern*: k-5. [minority from PMP: *ə > *e / # (expect *ə > a in wRM, possibly *ə > *a > e in wRM)] [*Semantics*: onomatopoeia.]

teke *Termanu*. gecko. (J:614)

teke *Korbafo*.

teke *Bokai*.

teke *Bilbaa*.

te?e *Rikou*.

teke *Ba'a*.

teke *Tii*.

teke *Dengka*.

teke *Oenale*.

teke *Ro'is Amarasi*.

?|teke *Kotos Amarasi*. gecko.

?|teke *Molo*. kind of tree lizard. (M:547)

Out-comparisons:

ktoket? *Funai Helong*. calling gecko. [*irr*: from PMP: *ə > o (expect e)]

toke? *Semau Helong*. gecko.

teki *East Tetun*. gecko lizard often found living in houses. [*irr*: from PMP: *ə > e (expect o)] (Mo:183)

***tekə** *PRM*. staff, walking stick. *Etym*: *təkən 'downward pressure; bamboo punting pole'. *Pattern*: k-8.

te~te?e-k (2) **te~te?e** *Termanu*. 1) staff, walking stick; the use of a walking stick. (J:610f) 2) use a walking stick.

te~te?e-? *Korbafo*.

te~te?e-k *Bokai*.

te~teke-? *Bilbaa*.

te~te?e-? *Rikou*.

te~te?e_ai-k *Ba'a*.

te~te?e_ai *Tii*.

te~tea-s *Dengka*.

te~tea-s *Oenale*.

te~tea-s *Dela*. walking stick, staff.

tea|s *Kotos Amarasi*. walking stick, staff.

tee|s, tea|s *Molo*. staff. (M:544, 552)

Out-comparisons:

tnikan *Funai Helong*. staff.

tikan (2) hnikan *Semau Helong*.

1) support, use a walking stick.

2) staff, walking stick, rod.

ai katoʔan *Welaun*. staff, pole.

***telu** *PRM*. three. *Etym.*: *təlu.

telu *Termanu*. three. (J:615)

telu *Korbafo*.

telu *Bokai*.

telu *Bilbaa*.

telu *Rikou*.

telu *Ba'a*.

telu *Tii*.

telu *Dengka*.

telu *Oenale*.

tenu *Ro'is Amarasi*. three.

tenu *Kotos Amarasi*. three.

tenu *Molo*. three. (M:550)

Out-comparisons:

tilu *Semau Helong*. three.

tolu *East Tetun*. three. (Mo:183)

telu *Waima'a*. three.

wokelu *Kisar*. three.

***tema**₁ *CERM*. eagle. [*Sporadic*: *a > e / _# in Meto.]

te~tema *Termanu*. kite (bird); fly down on something like a kite. (J:617)

te~tema *Korbafo*.

te~tema *Bokai*.

te~tema *Bilbaa*.

te~tema *Rikou*.

teme *Ro'is Amarasi*. kite.

teme *Kotos Amarasi*. eagle.

teme *Molo*. hawk. (M:548)

Out-comparisons:

tem/lusi *Helong*. (J:617)

***tema**₂ *Morph*: ***ka-tema-k**, ***teme~teme**. *PRM*. whole, entire. [*Sporadic*: *a > e / _# in wRM.]

tema~tema (2) ka-tema-k

Termanu. 1) intact, whole, in its entirety. 2) intact, entirely. (J:616)

tema~tema (2) ka-tema-ʔ *Korbafo*.

tema~tema (2) ka-tema-k *Bokai*.

tema~tema (2) ka-tema-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

tema~tema (2) ka-tema-ʔ *Rikou*.

tema~tema (2) ka-tema-k *Ba'a*.

tema~tema (2) ka-tema-k *Tii*.

teme~teme, teme-ʔ *Dengka*.

teme~teme, teme-ʔ *Oenale*.

ʔ|teme *Kotos Amarasi*. closed, sealed; entire, whole.

<**teme**> *Molo*. inaccessible (forest), virgin, virginal, full (moon), receptive (heart). (M:548)

Out-comparisons:

ḡae ktemaʔ *Funai Helong*. cooked corn.

tema *Semau Helong*. whole.

naktomak *East Tetun*. be complete; completed, entire. (Mo:188)

ke~keme *Kisar*. whole.

tema *Ili'uun*. all, together, whole, complete. (dJ:138)

ketəme *Hawu*. whole. (J:616)

təmak, təmaḡ *Sika*. unbroken, whole. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:193)

***temə** *Morph*: ***na-temə**. *PRM*. accustomed to. *Etym*: *təmə. (Dempwolff 1938:135) (Reconstructed with final *a, but this seems unable to account for the reflexes of the final vowels in a number of languages. Blust and Trussel (ongoing) list cognates under their 'noise' section.).

na-teme *Termanu*. used to, accustomed to, usual. (J:618)

na-teme *Korbafo*.

na-teme *Bokai*.

na-teme *Bilbaa*.

na-teme *Rikou*.

na-teme *Ba'a*.

na-teme *Tii*.

na-tema *Dengka*.

na-tema *Oenale*.

na-teem *Meto*. (J:618)

Out-comparisons:

teman *Helong*. (J:618)

toman *East Tetun*. be in the habit of, accusom. (Mo:188)

tima *Hawu.* often, normally, customarily.

***temba** *Rote.* sardine. *Etym:* *tamban (PWMP). [*irr. from PMP: *a > *e*] [*History:* Possibly a borrowing from Malay **tembanj**. Jonker also gives Makassar and Bugis **tembanj**.]

iʔa tepa *Termanu.* kind of small ocean fish that is like a sardine, called *ikan tembang* in Kupang. (J:623)

tepa *Korbafo.*

tepa *Bokai.*

tepa *Bilbaa.*

tepa *Rikou.*

tempa *Ba'a.*

temba *Dengka.*

temba *Oenale.*

***tena1** *PRM.* sink, submerge. [*Note:* Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct *təñəj 'sink, set (sun)' on the basis of the Termanu reflex (glossed 'sink, set (of the sun)') and a Cebuano reflex. But a regular reflex Termanu of this form would have a final *e* rather than *a*.]

tena (2) tena-k (3) te~tena-k (4) na-tena (5) na-ka-tena-k *Termanu.* 1) sinking, usually said of a ship when it is full of water; sink (transitive). 2) more definitely: drown. 3) sinking, etc.; pit, in which something has to sink, e.g. animals to catch them. 4) sink (transitive). 5) lower (something down). (J:619)

tena (2) tena-ʔ *Korbafo.*

tena (2) tena-k *Bokai.*

tena (2) tena-ʔ *Bilbaa.*

tena (2) tena-ʔ *Rikou.*

tena (2) tena-k *Ba'a.*

tena (2) tena-k *Tii.*

tena (2) tena *Dengka.*

tena *Oenale.*

n-tena *Ro'is Amarasi.* sink slowly like the sun.

n-tena *Kotos Amarasi.* sink slowly, like things in water.

Out-comparisons:

denes (2) dene *Semau Helong.*

1) submerge, drown. 2) set, go down. [*irr. from PRM: *t = d* correspondence; *a = e correspondence]

***tena2** *PRM.* alight, land. [*irr. from PRM: *t > n* in Kotos Amarasi] [*Sporadic: *a > e / _#* in Meto]

tena *Termanu.* alight, touch the ground, land on the ground; also, be landed (of a bird). (J:619)

tena *Korbafo.*

tena *Bokai.*

tena *Bilbaa.*

tena *Rikou.*

tena *Ba'a.*

tena *Tii.*

tena *Dengka.*

n-nene *Kotos Amarasi.* press, land.

tene *Meto.* (J:619)

***tena3** *PnMeto.* calm down, quieten. *Etym:* *təñəR. [*irr. from PMP: *ə > *e* (expect *ə > a in wRM, possibly *ə > *a > e in wRM)]

na-ʔ|tena|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi.* calm down, quieten.

<**na-tena**> *Molo.* become quiet. (M:548)

Out-comparisons:

tene *Semau Helong.* stop, cease.

***tene** *PRM.* kind of mangrove, with bark used for dyeing. *Ceriops* species. *Etym:* *təñəR. [*irr. from PMP: *ə > *e* (expect *ə > a in wRM, possibly *ə > *a > e in wRM)]

tene *Termanu.* kind of tree that grows on the beach, it has good wood and yields a red dye. (J:620)

tene *Korbafo.*

tene *Bokai.*

tene *Bilbaa.*

tene *Rikou.*

tene *Ba'a.*

tene *Tii.*

tene *Dengka.*

tene *Oenale.*

tene *Molo*. small tidal forest tree.
Ceriops tagal. (M:549)
***teni** *PMeto*. again.
n-teni? *Ro'is Amarasi*. again.
teni?, **n-teni** *Kotos Amarasi*. again.
n-teni *Molo*. again. (M:549)
Out-comparisons:
teni *East Tetun*. again, afresh.
 (Mo:184)
teni *Waima'a*. again.
***tenu** *PRM*. weave (cloth, baskets).
Etym: *tənun.
tenu *Termanu*. weave. (J:623)
tenu *Korbafo*.
tenu *Bokai*.
tenu *Bilbaa*.
tenu *Rikou*.
tenu *Ba'a*.
tenu *Tii*.
tenu *Dengka*.
tenu *Oenale*.
n-tenu *Kotos Amarasi*. weave.
n-tenu *Molo*. weave. (M:550)
Out-comparisons:
tinu *Semau Helong*. weave.
kenna *Kisar*. weave (cloth).
***tendə** *Morph:* ***tendə-k**. *PRM*. ribcage,
 lungs.
tene-k *Termanu*. the ribcage of a pig,
 the ribs together. (J:621)
tene-? *Korbafo*.
tene-k *Bokai*.
tene-? *Bilbaa*.
tende dui-? *Landu*. ribs. (own field
 notes)
tende-? *Rikou*.
tere-? *Oepao*. ribs. (own field notes)
tene-k *Ba'a*.
tende-k *Tii*.
tenda-? *Dengka*. chest. (J:771)
tenda-? *Oenale*. chest. (J:771)
tenda-? *Dela*. chest.
tere-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. lungs.
teka-f *Kotos Amarasi*. lungs.
teek noo-n (2) teek fua-n
Amanuban. 1) lungs. 2) heart.
teka-n *Amanatun*. heart.

teka-k *Amfo'an*. heart.
teka-n *Molo*. heart muscle. (M:546)
***tega** *PnRote*. hand span. *See:* ***hanga**.
tega *Termanu*. span; measure with
 spans. (J:621)
tega *Korbafo*.
tega *Bokai*.
tega *Bilbaa*.
teka *Rikou*.
tega *Ba'a*.
tega *Tii*.
***teri** *Morph:* ***oo_teri-k**. *Rote*. giant
 bamboo. *Dendrocalamus* species.
Etym: *təriŋ 'bamboo species'.
oo_teli-k *Termanu*. the biggest kind
 of bamboo. (J:615)
oo_teli-? *Korbafo*.
oo_teli-k *Bokai*.
oo_teli-? *Bilbaa*.
oo_teri-? *Rikou*.
oo_teri-k *Tii*.
oo_teli-? *Dengka*.
oo_teri-? *Oenale*.
***tesa** *CERM*. setting (of sun/moon).
tesa *Bilbaa*. the setting of the sun or
 moon. (J:771)
neon n-tees *Kotos Amarasi*. west.
Lit: 'sun sets'.
n-tesan *Molo*. decline. (M:552)
***teta** *PRM*. cut into small pieces, mince.
*[Sporadic: *a > e / # in Molo.]*
te~teta-ta~tata *Termanu*. cut into
 small pieces, mince. (J:625)
te~teta-ta~tata *Korbafo*.
te~teta-ta~tata *Bokai*.
te~teta-ta~tata *Bilbaa*.
te~teta-ta~tata *Rikou*.
te~teta-ta~tata *Ba'a*.
te~teta lutu? *Dengka*.
te~teta-ta~tata *Oenale*.
n-teta *Kotos Amarasi*. cut across
 something, dismantle, separate.
n-tete *Molo*. minces. (M:553)
Out-comparisons:
teta (2) tetas *Semau Helong*.
 1) cut off, amputate, chop off,
 lop off. 2) cut.

tetak *East Tetun*. crumble into pieces; to chop at with a cutting tool. (Mo:184)

***tete** *Morph: *ka-tete. CERM.* dam, dyke. [*Semantics:* I have reconstructed the meaning ‘dam, dyke’ as this accounts for the semantics in both Hawu and the Rote lects. The shift to ‘reef’ appears to have spread by contact between Bokai, Rikou, Amarasi and Helong (with subsequent shift of ‘reef’ to ‘ridge’ in Amarasi). This scenario seems more likely than the alternate in which shift to ‘dam, dyke’ occurred in Hawu and other Rote lects. Note also that Jonker (1908:670) also gives **unu-k/-?** as ‘reef which is visible at low tide’ for all Rote languages (including Oepao) except Bokai and Rikou.]

tete (2) na-ka-tete *Termanu*.
1) dyke, dam. 2) dam up. (J:626)

tete *Korbafo*.

— **(2) — (3) tete-k** *Bokai*. 3) reef that is visible at low tide. (J:772)

tete *Bilbaa*.

tete (2) — (3) tete-? *Rikou*. 3) reef which is visible at low tide. (J:772)

k|tete|? *Kotos Amarasi*. ridge.

Out-comparisons:

teten *Semau Helong*. reef.

titi *Hawu*. dam. (J:626)

tetu** *PRM.* upright, midday. [*Form:* The reflexes meaning ‘midday’ outside of RM reflect something like *dātu** or ****ndātu**.]

na-tetu (2) ledo=a na-ma-tetu (3) tetu~tetu (4) tetu-k *Termanu*. 1) upright, put upright, put something the right way up. 2) the sun stands high, it is midday. 3) completely upright. 4) in metaphorical senses: perfect, completely in order; perfection. (J:626f)

na-tetu (2) na-ma-tetu *Korbafo*.

na-tetu (2) na-ma-tetu *Bokai*.

na-tetu (2) na-ma-tetu *Bilbaa*.

na-tetu (2) na-ma-tetu *Rikou*.

na-tetu (2) na-ma-tetu *Ba'a*.

na-tetu (2) na-ma-tetu *Tii*.

na-tetu (2) na-ma-tetu *Dengka*.

na-tetu (2) na-ma-tetu *Oenale*.

na-tetu (2) na-m|tetu *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) stand upright. 2) upright.

na-tetu (2) manas na-m|tetun *Molo*. 1) is upright, stands upright. 2) the sun is in its zenith. (M:553)

Out-comparisons:

titu (2) lelo ditu *Semau Helong*.
1) straight. 2) midday.

loro natutun *East Tetun*. noon. (Mo:133)

nətu lodŋ *Hawu*. midday.

ləro dātu (2) dātun *Sika*.
1) midday. 2) flat area. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:37)

(ɔra) rətu (2) ndātu *Ende*.
1) midday. (J:626) 2) flat place, level ground.

***teu** *Morph: *ka-teu. PRM.* pigeon, dove. *Etym: **lakateRu* (pre-RM).

ka|teu *Termanu*. kind of pigeon, wild pigeon. (J:223)

ka|teu *Korbafo*.

ka|teu *Bokai*.

ka|teu *Bilbaa*.

ka|teu *Rikou*.

ka|teu *Ba'a*.

teu *Tii*.

teu *Dengka*.

teu *Oenale*.

too/tiu *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of bird like a White-necked Myna. [*Sporadic:* vowel height harmony *e > i / _u.]

Out-comparisons:

tilu? *Semau Helong*. dove, pigeon.

lakateu *East Tetun*. dove. (Mo:124)

laktyeru *Leti*. turtle-dove. [*Note:* language of southwest Maluku, member of Luang language/dialect cluster ISO 639-3 [lti].] (van Engelenhoven 2004:419)

lakateun *Kamarian*. turtle-dove.
 [Note: also in Kaibobo and Haruku.] (van Ekris 1864:104)
rakateun *Asilulu*. [Note: also in Lusa Laut.] (van Ekris 1864:104)
***təlo** *Morph: *təlo-k. PRM. egg. Etym: *qatəluR ‘egg; testicle’. [irr. from PRM: *ə > o in nRote; *l > n ~ k in Nuclear Meto (perhaps partly via intermediate irregular PMeto *l > *r before *r > k)] [Sporadic: *u > *o /_*R#.]*
tolo-k *Termanu*. egg. (J:641)
tolo-ʔ *Korbafo*.
tolo-k *Bokai*.
tolo-ʔ *Bilbaa*.
tolo-ʔ *Landu*. egg. (own field notes)
tolo-ʔ *Rikou*.
tolo-k *Ba'a*.
tolo-k *Lole*. egg. (Zacharias et al. 2014)
tolo-k *Tii*.
telo-ʔ *Dengka*.
telo-ʔ *Oenale*.
teno|ʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. egg.
teno|ʔ, teko|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. egg.
teko|ʔ *Molo*. egg. (M:550)
teno|ʔ *Kusa-Manea*. egg.
Out-comparisons:
tilun *Semau Helong*. egg.
tolu-n (2) tolon *East Tetun*. 1) an egg. 2) the germ of seeds. (Mo:188)
thelu *Waima'a*. egg.
telon *Kemak*. egg.
***tiam** *PRM. oyster. Etym: *tiRəm. [irr. from PMP: *ə > *a (expect *ə > e in nRote)]*
ti~tia-k *Termanu*. oyster, including the creature, also **ti~tia isi-k** for the creature and also **ti~tia lou-k** for the shell. (J:629)
ti~tia-ʔ *Korbafo*.
ti~tia-k *Bokai*.
ti~tia-ʔ *Bilbaa*.
ti~tia-ʔ *Rikou*.

ti~tia-k *Ba'a*.
ti~tia-k *Tii*.
ti~tia-ʔ *Dengka*.
ti~tia-ʔ *Oenale*.
tiam *Meto*. (J:629)
Out-comparisons:
tiaŋ *Helong*. (J:629)
***tiba** *Morph: *ka-tiba-k. PRM. bamboo container.*
tiba-k *Bokai*.
tiba-k *Ba'a*. bamboo container. (J:772)
tiba-k *Tii*.
tiba-ʔ *Dengka*.
tiba-ʔ *Oenale*.
ʔ|tiba|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. small tube shaped container for mineral lime.
***tido** *PRM. kind of tuber.*
tido (2) tido-k *Termanu*. 1) kind of plant with oblong, egg-shaped fruits. 2) **ina tei tido-k** a woman with a slim figure (J:629)
tido (2) tido-ʔ *Korbafo*.
tido (2) tido-k *Bokai*.
tido (2) tido-ʔ *Bilbaa*.
tido (2) tido-ʔ *Rikou*.
tido (2) tido-k *Ba'a*.
tido (2) tido-k *Tii*.
tido (2) tido-ʔ *Dengka*.
tido (2) tido-ʔ *Oenale*.
tiro|k *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of wild tuber that cannot be eaten, it causes an itch.
<tilo> *Molo*. kind of sweet potato with a stem which sticks up. (M:557)
***tii** *Morph: *tii-k. Rote. sea urchin. See: *k|teom. Etym: **tiRi (pre-RM). [Note: Although the reflexes here are similar to those under *k|teom (**tayum), they cannot be straightforwardly combined as the sound correspondences are not regular and both Tetun forms tii and teon would be unexplained if this were done.] [History: Possibly connected with PWMP *təRi ‘kind of small fish’, but the semantic shift seems unlikely.]*

tii-k *Termanu*. kind of small sea creature with long spines differentiated into **tii hade-k**, a white kind, and **tii bete-k**, a red kind. (J:628)

tii-? *Korbafo*.

tii-k *Bokai*.

tii-k *Ba'a*.

tii-k *Tii*.

tii-? *Dengka*.

tii-? *Oenale*.

tii-? *Dela*. sea urchin.

Out-comparisons:

tii *East Tetun*. sea urchin. *Echinus esculenta*. (Mo:185)

tiri *Fordata*. sea urchin. [Note: language of the Tanimbar Islands ISO 639-3 [frd].] (Drabbe 1932:175)

tir *Kei*. sea urchin. *Echinus esculentus*. [Note: language of the Kei Islands ISO 639-3 [kei].] (Geurtjens 1921)

***ti(?)o** *Rote*. goatfish, family *Mullidae*.
Etym: *tiqaw. [Form: Whether or not the Termanu form attests a medial glottal stop affects whether this should be reconstructed or not. Similarly, depending on the form of possible cognates in other Rote languages it may be possible to posit medial *h instead of *ʔ.]

tio (2) iʔa tiʔo *Termanu*. 1) kind of small but ritually important fish; Bar-Tail Goat Fish. *Mullidae*: *Upeneus tragula*. (Fox 2016b:56)
 2) kind of ocean fish. (J:632)

***tila** *Morph*: *tila-k. *PRM*. vagina. *Etym*: *tila.

tila-k *Termanu*. vagina. (J:630)

tila-? *Korbafo*.

tila-k *Bokai*.

tila-? *Bilbaa*.

tila-? *Rikou*.

tila-k *Ba'a*.

tila-k *Tii*.

tila-? *Dengka*.

tila-? *Oenale*.

tini-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. vagina.

tina-f *Kotos Amarasi*. vagina.

tina? *Molo*. vagina, private parts of a woman or female animal. (M:558)

***timi** *Morph*: *timi-k. *PRM*. chin, jaw.

Etym: *timid. [irr. from *PRM*: *i > u in Amanuban and Kusa-Manea]

timi-k *Termanu*. chin, jaw. (J:630)

timi-? *Korbafo*.

timi-k *Bokai*.

timi-? *Bilbaa*.

timi dai-? *Landu*. chin. (own field notes)

timi-? *Rikou*.

timi-k *Ba'a*.

timi-k *Tii*.

timi-? *Dengka*.

timi-? *Oenale*.

tai timu-n *Amanuban*. chin.

tool timi-n *Timaus*. chin.

timi-f *Meto*. (J:630)

ta~timu-f *Kusa-Manea*. chin.

Out-comparisons:

timir *East Tetun*. beard, whiskers, chin. (Mo:186)

***timu₁** *CER*. east wind. *Etym*: *timuR.

ani timu *Termanu*. east wind. (J:630)

***timu₂** *Morph*: *ka-timu-k. *PRM*. cucumber. *Cucumis sativa* L. *Etym*: *qatimun.

ti~timu-k *Termanu*. papaya (tree and fruit). (J:630)

ti~timu-? *Korbafo*.

ti~timu-? *Rikou*.

ti~timu-k *Ba'a*.

(ti~timu-k ?) *Tii*.

ti~timu-? *Dengka*.

ook_tiumu|k *Ro'is Amarasi*. cucumber.

oka_?|timu|k *Kotos Amarasi*. cucumber.

ook_<timo>, okan_<timo> *Molo*. watermelon. (M:401)

Out-comparisons:

saah-timun, tium-takan
Helong. (J:630)

***tina** *Rote*. dry field which is replanted every year. *Etym*: **tiŋaR (Mills 2010:285). [*irr. from PRM*: *a > e in Termanu, Korbafo, Rikou, Oenale, and Dela]

tina, **tine** *Termanu*. dry field or plantation that is cleaned and replanted every year. (J:630)

tina, **tine** *Korbafo*.

tina *Bokai*.

tina *Bilbaa*.

tine *Rikou*.

tina *Ba'a*.

tina *Tii*.

tine *Dengka*.

tine *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

tinan *East Tetun*. year, the commencement of the rainy season (usually in November) to the beginning of the next rainy season. (Mo:186)

kirna *Kisar*. garden.

tiran *Roma*. garden. (Steven 1991:51)

tina *West Damar*. garden. [*Note*: language of southwest Maluku ISO 639-3 [drn].] (Chlenov and Chlenova 2008:145)

ti-ol *Dawera-Daweloor*. garden. [*Note*: language of the Babar Islands, southwest Maluku ISO 639-3 [ddw].] [*Form*: regular *ŋ > Ø] (Chlenova 2002:170)

tikan *Welaun*. year.

***tino** *PRM*. peer, mirror. *Doublet*: ***tiro**. *Etym*: *tindaw ‘see in the distance’. [*Note*: I have placed the Meto forms here rather than under ***tiro** as the medial *n provides a potential motivation for irregular initial *t > n.] [*irr. from PMP*: *nd > *n] [*irr. from PRM*: *t > n in Meto]

ti~tino (2) **ti~tino-k** (3) **ti~tino-k** (4) **ti~tino** *Termanu*. 1) peep, peer, e.g. through a hole, but also

peering in general. 2) mirror. 3) peeping, peering, peeking. 4) go see, go visit. (J:631f)

ti~tino (2) **ti~tino** (4) **ti~tino** *Korbafo*.

ti~tino (2) **ti~tino-k** (4) **ti~tino** *Bokai*.

ti~tino (2) **tino_ao** (4) **ti~tino** *Bilbaa*.

ti~tino (2) **tino_ao** (4) **ti~tino** *Rikou*.

ti~tino (2) (**ti~tino-s** ?) (4) **ti~tino** *Ba'a*.

ti~tino (4) (**ti~tino** ?) *Tii*.

ti~tino *Oenale*.

?|ninu|? *Kotos Amarasi*. glass. [*Sporadic*: vowel height harmony *o > u /iC_ in Amarasi.]

?nino? (2) **noe** ?nino?, **koe** ?nino? *Molo*. 1) mirror. 2) the clear river. (M:371)

***tinga** *Morph*: ***tinga-k**, ***na-tinga**. *PRM*. heel. *Etym*: *tikəd. [*irr. from PMP*: *k > *ŋg; *ə > *a]

ei_tinga-k (2) **na-tinga** (3) **tinga** *Termanu*. 1) heel. 2/3) put the heels down firmly or put them in something. [*Semantics*: The meanings for **na-tinga** and **tinga** are given as identical.] (J:631)

ei_tinga-? (2) **na-tinga** *Korbafo*.

ei_tinga-k (2) **na-tinga** *Bokai*.

ei_tinga-? (2) **na-tinga** *Bilbaa*.

ei_tika-? (2) **na-tika** *Rikou*.

ei_tinga-k (2) **na-tinga** *Ba'a*.

ei_tinga-k (2) **na-tinga** *Tii*.

ei_tinga-? (2) **na-tinga** *Dengka*. 2a) put the heels down firmly or put them in something. 2b) kick.

ei_tinga-? (2) **na-tinga** *Oenale*. 2a) put the heels down firmly or put them in something. 2b) kick.

tiki-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. heel.

tika-f (2) **na-tika** *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) heel. 2) kick or stamp with the heel.

- tika-n (2) <an-tika loto> (3)**
 <**bikase**> **na-tiik** *Molo*. 1) heel.
 2) tumbles over the ground. 3) the
 horse kicks backwards. (M:556)
- *tiri** *Morph: *tiri~tiri*. *Rote*. drip. *Etym:*
**tiRis* ‘drip, ooze through, leak’.
*[minority from PMP: *R = *r (expect*
Ø)]
tiri~titi *Termanu*. flow by drops.
 (J:630)
tiri~titi *Korbafo*.
tiri~titi *Bokai*.
tiri~titi *Bilbaa*.
tiri~titi *Rikou*.
tiri~titi *Ba'a*.
tiri~titi *Tii*.
tiri~titi *Dengka*.
tiri~titi *Oenale*.
- *tiro** *Rote*. mirror, visit. *Doublet: *tino*.
*Etym: *tindaw* ‘see in the distance’.
*[irr. from PMP: *nd > *r]*
tiro_ao *Rikou*. mirror. (Nako et al.
 2014)
ti~tilo-s *Ba'a*. mirror. (J:632)
tilo *Lole*. look in on. (Zacharias et al.
 2014)
ti~tiro (2) tiro *Tii*. 1) mirror. (J:632)
 2) visit. (Grimes et al. 2014a)
ti~tilo_ao *Dengka*. mirror. (J:632)
tiro_ao *Oenale*. mirror. (J:632)
- *tisa** *nRM*. pour. *[irr. from PRM: *a > e* in
*Bokai, Tii and Rikou; *a > i* in *Bilbaa*
and Meto]
ti~tisa-k *Termanu*. the overhanging
 part of the roof from which water
 drips. (J:633)
ti~tisa-? *Korbafo*.
ti~tise-k *Bokai*.
ti~tisi-? *Bilbaa*.
ti~tise-? *Rikou*.
ti~tisa-k *Ba'a*.
ti~tise-k *Tii*.
n-tisi (2) na-tisi (3) na-m|tisi *Kotos*
Amarasi. 1) pour. 2) fill, complete.
 3) complete.
n-tesi, n-tosi, n-tisi (2) na-m|tisi
Molo. 1) pour. 2) complete. (M:559)

Out-comparisons:

- tiis** *Semau Helong*. pour.
tisi *East Tetun*. empty, spill, pour
 (liquids). (Mo:186)
- *titi** *Rote*. drip. *Etym: *titis* ‘drip, ooze’.
titi *Termanu*. drip. (J:633)
titi *Korbafo*.
titi *Bokai*.
titi *Bilbaa*.
titi *Rikou*.
titi *Ba'a*.
titi *Tii*.
titi *Dengka*.
- *tobi** *PRM*. hot, heated up. *[irr. from*
*PRM: *i > e* in *Meto]*
ma-tobi-k (2) na-tobi (3) tobi
Termanu. 1) hot. 2) be hot. 3) burn,
 scorch. (J:637)
ma-tobi-? *Korbafo*.
ma-tobi-? *Bilbaa*.
ma-tobi-? *Rikou*.
ma-tobi-k *Ba'a*.
ma-tobi-k *Tii*.
ma-tobi-? *Dengka*.
ma-tobi-? *Oenale*.
na-tobe *Meto*. steam cooked. (J:637)
- *todī** *PRM*. protuberance, stick out.
*[Sporadic: consonant metathesis *tVd*
> dVt in *Ba'a* for the first sense; vowel
 height harmony **i > e* /oC_ for first
 sense in *nRote* and *Meto*.] *[Form: The*
Meto forms are Historic compound of
**ka-ndou* ‘nape of the neck’ + **todī*.]
tode (2) todi (3) nisi todi-k
Termanu. 1) stick out lengthwise.
 2) stick out (said of teeth). 3) tooth
 that sticks out. (J:637)
tode (2) todi *Bokai*. 1) stick out
 lengthwise. 2) stick out (said of
 teeth).
(2) todi *Bilbaa*.
dote (2) todi *Ba'a*. 1) stick out
 lengthwise. 2) stick out (said of
 teeth).
(2) todi *Tii*.
(2) todi *Dengka*.

ko/tore-f *Kotos Amarasi*. nape of the neck.

ʔ|ko/tole-k *Molo*. the protuberance on the back of my head. (M:225)

***tofa**₁ *nRM*. weed (field).

tofa *Termanu*. weed (v.). (J:638)

tofa *Korbafo*.

tofa *Bilbaa*.

tofa *Rikou*.

tofa *Ba'a*.

tofa *Tii*.

n-tofa *Ro'is Amarasi*. weed, remove weeds.

n-tofa *Kotos Amarasi*. weed, remove weeds.

<**tofa**> *Molo*. weeding knife. (M:566)

Out-comparisons:

topa *Semau Helong*. weed.

***tofa**₂ *PRM*. quarrel.

tofa *Tii*. quarrel. (Grimes et al. 2014a)

na-tofa *Dengka*. dispute, quarrel. (J:773)

na-tofa *Oenale*. dispute, quarrel. (J:773)

n-tofa *Kotos Amarasi*. quarrel.

n-tofan *Molo*. have a dislike of. **ho m-tofan kau** you have a dislike of me (M:566)

***toka** *Rote*. impede, against. *Pattern*: k-8/9.

toʔa *Termanu*. but up against something, rebound, be stopped, impeded, obstructed. (J:635)

toʔa *Korbafo*.

toʔa *Bokai*.

toka *Bilbaa*.

toʔa *Rikou*.

toʔa *Ba'a*.

toʔa *Tii*.

toʔa *Dengka*.

toʔa *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

toka *Semau Helong*. support, prop up.

toka *Hawu*. gate (of fence). [Note: Jonker (1908:635) gives Hawu **toka**, **toke** 'stutten' = 'support'.]

tuki *Bima*. support. (Jonker 1893:107)

tuke *Sika*. support. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:201)

***toki** *PRM*. dig out. *Pattern*: k-8.

toʔi *Termanu*. bore out, chisel out. (J:639)

toʔi *Korbafo*.

toʔi *Bokai*.

toki *Bilbaa*.

toʔi *Rikou*.

toʔi *Ba'a*.

toʔi *Tii*.

toʔi *Dengka*.

n-toi *Kotos Amarasi*. dig out.

Out-comparisons:

tuki *Semau Helong*. dig out, peck, adze.

***toko** *Rote*. beat, knock. *Etym*: *tuktuk 'knock, pound, beat; crush'. *Pattern*: k-6. [irr. from PMP: *u > *o]

toko *Termanu*. beat, knock. (J:639)

toko *Korbafo*.

toko *Bokai*.

toko *Bilbaa*.

toʔo *Rikou*.

toko *Ba'a*.

toko *Tii*.

toʔo *Dengka*.

toʔo *Oenale*.

***toʔis** *CERM*. horn (instrument).

toʔi-k *Termanu*. triton shell, also a horn of a buffalo on which to blow, also a musical instrument made from lontar leaves. (J:639)

toʔi-ʔ *Korbafo*.

toʔi-k *Bokai*.

toi-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

toʔis *Rikou*.

toʔi-k *Ba'a*.

toiʔis *Ro'is Amarasi*. horn.

toʔis *Kotos Amarasi*. horn (musical instrument), trumpet.

toʔis *Amanuban/Amanatun*. blow on a horn. (M:567)

toʔis *Molo*. horn (instrument).
[Semantics: This apparently only occurs in Molo in the parallel pair **toʔis ma kniit**.] (M:223)

***toʔo** *PRM*. man, male. *Doublet*: ***tou**.
Etym: *tau. [irr. from *PMP*: Ø > *ʔ]
[History: The original meaning of forms combined with **huu-** (see ***huu**) ‘base, source, origin, beginning’ was probably ‘man’. Further evidence for this comes from Oenale which has **tou huu-ʔ** ‘maternal uncle’ (see ***tou**) in which the first element is identical to the word for ‘man’. Thus, for instance, Termanu **toʔo huu-k** was was probably originally ‘man of origin’. The woman is the source of life in Timorese thinking, and thus the mother’s brother has an important role as the representative of the wife-giving maternal relatives.]

toʔo-k (2) toʔo huu-k *Termanu*. maternal uncle. *Usage*: loses the final *k* in the vocative, etc. in the same way as fv;ama-k ‘father’. (J:644)

toʔo *Korbafo*.

toʔo-k *Bokai*.

too-ʔ, too huu-ʔ *Bilbaa*. [Note: **too-ʔ** comes from my own field notes, **too huu-ʔ** from Jonker (1908:644).]

toʔo=na *Landu*. (own field notes)

toʔo *Rikou*.

toʔo *Oepao*. (own field notes)

toʔo-k *Ba’a*.

toʔo *Lole*. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

toʔo-k *Tii*.

too huu-ʔ *Dengka*.

toʔo *Dela*. uncle, mother’s brother.

tooʔ *Kusa-Manea*. male older sibling, older brother. [Note: **tataʔ** (< ***tata**) = ‘female older sibling’.]
[Form: possibly the metathesised form of (currently unattested) ***toʔo**.]

***tonggo** *nRM*. meet together.

na-tongo *Termanu*. meet someone or something, meet together. (J:643)

na-tongo *Bilbaa*.

na-toko *Rikou*.

na-tonggo *Ba’a*.

na-tonggo *Tii*.

na-toko (2) noe toko-n *Molo*.

1) meet. 2) meeting place or confluence of two rivers. (M:568)

***tou** *PRM*. person. *Doublet*: ***toʔo**. *Etym*: *tau ‘person, human being’. [irr. from *PMP*: *a > *o (sporadic assimilation)] [irr. from *PRM*: *u > o in Meto (probably motivated by the rarity of the sequence *ou*)]

tou-k *Termanu*. man (in opposition to woman). (J:645)

tou-ʔ *Korbafo*.

tou-k *Bokai*.

tou-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

tou-ʔ *Landu*. man. (own field notes)

tou-ʔ *Rikou*.

tou-k *Ba’a*.

tou-k *Tii*.

tou-ʔ *Dengka*.

tou-ʔ (2) tou huu-ʔ *Oenale*. 1) man (in opposition to woman). (J:645)

2) maternal uncle. (J:644)

tou-ʔ *Dela*. male (only used for humans).

too *Ro’is Amarasi*. citizenry, populace.

too *Kotos Amarasi*. citizenry, populace.

too *Molo*. people. (M:564)

too *Kusa-Manea*. citizenry, populace.

***tua** *Rote*. big, size. *Etym*: *tuqah ‘old, of people; mature, as fruit’.

ma-tua (2) tua (3) na-ma-tua (4)

na-ka-tu~tua (5) ma-ka-tuas

Termanu. 1) big, size. 2) used in place of **matua** in compounds. 3) become big. 4) (make big), from that to make arrogant, usually said of spoilt children who always get their own way. 5) finally, ultimately. (J:647f)

ma-tua (5) ma-ka-tua-s *Korbafo*.

ma-tua (5) ma-ka-tuas *Bokai*.

ma-tua (5) ma-ka-tua-s *Bilbaa*.

ma-tua *Rikou*.

ma-tua (5) ma-ka-tuas *Ba'a*.

(5) ma-ka-tua-s *Tii*.

(5) ma-ʔa-tua *Dengka*.

(5) ma-ʔa-tua *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

tuan *Semau Helong*. big, large, huge.

tuan *East Tetun*. elderly, advanced age. (Mo:189)

***tua₂** *PRM*. lontar palm. *Borassus flabellifer*. *Etym.*: *tuak ‘palm wine’.

tua *Termanu*. the fan palm or lontar palm; the juice of the lontar palm. (J:647)

tua *Korbafo*.

tua *Bokai*.

tua *Bilbaa*.

tua *Rikou*.

tua *Ba'a*.

tua *Tii*.

tua-ʔ *Dengka*.

tua-ʔ *Oenale*.

tua|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. lontar palm.

tua|ʔ *Molo*. lontar palm. *Borassus flabellifer*. (M:572)

Out-comparisons:

tua *Semau Helong*. lontar juice, lontar tree.

tua *East Tetun*. an alcoholic drink; a palm from which palm juice is extracted. *Borassus flabellifer*. (Mo:189)

due *Hawu*. lontar palm.

***tua₃** *Morph.*: ***tua-k**. *PRM*. lord, master. *Etym.*: *qatuan. (Both Blust and Trussel (ongoing) and Wolff (2010:960) reconstruct the meaning as ‘deity’, but I do not consider this well supported by the non-Oceanic reflexes. Instead, ‘lord’ was probably the original meaning with expansion to ‘deity’ in POc and occasionally also in other languages. It is also unclear to me whether initial *qa is supported outside of Oceanic.)

lama/tua-k *Termanu*. lord, master, word of address for princes and officials. (J:275)

lama/tua-ʔ *Korbafo*.

lama/tua-k *Bokai*.

lama/tua-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

rama/tua-ʔ *Rikou*.

lama/tua-k *Ba'a*.

lama/tua-k *Tii*.

lama/tua-ʔ *Dengka*.

lama/tua-ʔ *Oenale*.

tua-n (2) tua|f (3) tua *Ro'is Amarasi*. 1) lord, master, owner, self. 2) individual, person. 3) sir, madam; yes, a discourse particle used to acknowledge the listener.

tua-n (2) tua|f (3) tua *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) lord, master, owner, self. 2) individual, person. 3) sir, madam; yes, a discourse particle used to acknowledge the listener.

uim_tua-f (2) ma-ʔusi-ʔ =ma ma-tua-ʔ *Molo*. 1) the owner, lord of the house. 2) have a prince and a lord. (M:573)

Out-comparisons:

lamtua *Semau Helong*. master, owner.

tuak *Fehan Tetun*. mother's brother, father's sister's husband.

am_tuak *East Tetun*. grandfather. (Mo:189)

***tudui** *nRM*. owl. *Pattern*: d-2. [*Form*: The first element in Meto reflexes is from ***nguu** ‘howl’.] [*History*: Clark (2011:331) reconstructs POc ***drudru**(r,R) ‘owl’.] [*Semantics*: onomatopoeia.]

tu~turui-ʔ *Rikou*. owl. (J:775)

tu~tului-k *Lole*. owl. (J:775)

tu~turui-k *Tii*. owl. (J:775)

ku/truu *Ro'is Amarasi*. owl.

ku/truʔu *Kotos Amarasi*. owl.

ku/tlui, ku/tluu *Molo*. owl. (M:242, 403)

***tudü** *PRM.* point at, point out; give directions. *Etym:* *tuzuq. [*irr. from PRM:* *t > r in Meto (likely sporadic assimilation; *tudü > PMeto *dudu)]
na-tudü *Termanu.* point, show, draw to someone's attention, have someone see. (J:650)

na-tudü *Korbafo.*

na-tudü *Bokai.*

na-tudü *Bilbaa.*

na-tudü *Rikou.*

na-tudü *Ba'a.*

na-tudü *Tii.*

na-tudü *Dengka.*

na-tudü *Oenale.*

na-ruru-? (2) **k|ruru-f** *Ro'is Amarasi.* 1) show, point out to. 2) finger, toe.

n-ruru (2) **na-ruru-?** (3) **k|ruru-f** *Kotos Amarasi.* 1) designate. 2) show, appoint, establish. 3) finger, toe.

n-lulu *Molo.* points something out with curled up lips. (M:650)

Out-comparisons:

tulu *Semau Helong.* point, show, designate.

hatudu *East Tetun.* show, indicate, point out, direct. (Mo:83)

pe-fufu *Hawu.* designated, selected, appointed (pl.).

***tufa** *PRM.* plant with roots that are pounded and put in rivers to stun fish. *Derris elliptica.* *Etym:* *tuba. [*Sporadic: *a > e / _# in wRM.*]

tufa *Termanu.* certain plant the roots of which are used to daze fish. (J:650)

tufa *Korbafo.*

tufa *Bokai.*

tufa *Bilbaa.*

tufa *Rikou.*

tufa *Ba'a.*

tufa *Tii.*

tufe *Oenale.*

tufe *Molo.* climbing plant the roots of which are used to daze fish. *Derris elliptica.* (M:573)

***tufu** *PRM.* punch. *Etym:* *tumbuk 'punch, hit, pound'. [*irr. from PMP: *mb > (*b) > *f*] [*irr. from PRM: *u > a in Rote; *t > t ~ nd in Termanu, Ba'a and Dengka; *t > t ~ n in Bilbaa*]

tufa, ndufa *Termanu.* hit with the fist, punch. (J:650, 426)

tufa *Korbafo.*

tufa *Bokai.*

tufa, nufa *Bilbaa.*

tufa *Rikou.*

tufa, ndufa *Ba'a.*

tufa *Tii.*

tufa, ndufa *Dengka.*

n-tufu *Kotos Amarasi.* punch.

n-tufu *Molo.* hit with the fist. (M:574)

Out-comparisons:

tupu *Ili'uun.* hit, strike. (dJ:140)

***tui₁** *PRM.* line, carve. [*irr. from PRM: *t > d in Rote*]

dui-k *Termanu.* stripe, put stripes. (J:105)

dui-? *Korbafo.*

dui-k *Bokai.*

dui-? *Rikou.*

dui-k *Ba'a.*

dui-k *Tii.*

dui *Dengka.*

n-tui *Ro'is Amarasi.* write.

n-tui *Kotos Amarasi.* write, carve.

n-tui *Molo.* writes. (M:574)

Out-comparisons:

tuis *Semau Helong.* carve, chisel, sculpt; line.

tui (2) **tuik** *East Tetun.* 1) scratch a line; to scratch with a fingernail or any similar object. 2) line, scratch, sore, or mark; thread, yarn. (Mo:190)

***tui₂** *Rote.* tui tree, mangrove trumpet tree. *Dolichandrone spathacea.* *Etym:* *tui.

tui *Termanu.* a) kind of tree with light wood that is used to make floating wood for fishnets. (J:652) b) kind of large tree that grows beside rivers and lakes. (Fox 2016b:58)

- tui** *Korbafo*.
tui *Bokai*.
tui *Bilbaa*.
tui *Rikou*.
tui *Ba'a*.
tui *Tii*.
tui *Dengka*.
tui *Oenale*.
***tuin** *CERM*. follow. *Etym*: **tuir (pre-RM).
tui *Termanu*. follow a track. (J:650f)
na-tuin *Ro'is Amarasi*. follow, because.
na-tuin *Kotos Amarasi*. follow, because of.
na-tuin *Molo*. follow. (M:575)
Out-comparisons:
tuig *Helong*. follow an example. (J:650)
tuir *East Tetun*. follow, come behind; to follow, to imitate; to follow, have the same opinion as; to follow, obey the orders of...; to follow, to support. (Mo:190)
tfoi, tfui *Ili'uun*. follow, following, according to, because. (dJ:139)
nui *Hawu*. follow a track. (J:650)
sui *Kamarian*. follow, go along with. [*Note*: also in *Alune* and most varieties of *Kaibobo*.] (van Ekris 1865:117)
kui *Haruku*. (van Ekris 1865:117)
***tuka** *Morph*: *tuka-?. *PwRM*. short, truncated. *Pattern*: k-5. [*irr. from PRM*: *a > u in *wRote* (sporadic assimilation?)]
tuku-? *Dengka*. truncated, blunt. (J:775)
tuku-? *Oenale*. truncated, blunt. (J:775)
tuka|? *Kotos Amarasi*. short, cut short.
tuka|? *Molo*. short. (M:575)
Out-comparisons:
tuk/leke *Semau Helong*. dwarf, stunted.

- *tuke** *Morph*: *tuke-k. *PRM*. bamboo vessel. *Etym*: *tukil (PWMP). *Pattern*: k-5. [*Note*: Jonker (1908:652) identifies the reflexes as being borrowings from Bugis **tokka**, but it is hard to explain final RM *e* under this hypothesis.] [*irr. from PMP*: *i > *e]
tuke-k *Termanu*. container made from a bamboo node used to store tobacco, sugar, milk or similar things. (J:652)
tuke-? *Korbafo*.
tuke-? *Bilbaa*.
tuke-? *Rikou*.
tuke-k *Ba'a*.
(tuke-k ?) *Tii*.
tuke-? *Dengka*.
tuke-? *Oenale*.
tuke|? *Kotos Amarasi*. piece of bamboo used as a water container.
tuke|? *Molo*. bamboo container. (M:575)
Out-comparisons:
au toka *Fehan Tetun*. bamboo container. (Mo:187)
***tuku₁** *Rote*. scull, row. *Pattern*: k-6.
tuku *Termanu*. scull, row. (J:652)
tuku *Korbafo*.
tuku *Bokai*.
tuku *Bilbaa*.
tu?u *Rikou*.
tuku *Ba'a*.
tuku *Tii*.
tu?u *Dengka*.
tu?u *Oenale*.
Out-comparisons:
tuku *Semau Helong*. paddle, pole (a boat), punt (a boat), push with pole. *Usage*: archaic.
tuku *Hawu*. row.
tuku *Sika*. scull. (Pareira and Lewis 1998:201)
***tuku₂** *Rote*. throw. *Pattern*: k-8/9.
tu?u *Termanu*. throw. (J:661)
tu?u *Korbafo*.
(tu?u ?) *Bokai*.
tuku *Bilbaa*.

tu?u *Rikou*.

tu?u *Ba'a*.

tu?u *Tii*.

tu?u *Dengka*.

tu?u *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

tuku *Hawu*. (J:661)

<**tuku**> *Kambera*. toss, throw.
(On:505)

***tula** *PRM*. gebang palm. *Corypha utan*.
[Sporadic: *a > e / _# in wRM.]

tula *Termanu*. gebang palm. (J:652)

tula *Korbafo*.

tula *Bokai*.

tula *Bilbaa*.

tula *Rikou*.

tula *Ba'a*.

tula *Tii*.

tule *Dengka*.

tule *Oenale*.

tune, tuni *Kotos Amarasi*. gebang palm. [Sporadic: vowel height harmony *e > i / uC_]

tune *Molo*. gebang palm. (M:577)

Out-comparisons:

kluti? *Funai Helong*. gebang palm. [irr. from *PRM*: *a > i] [Sporadic: consonant metathesis *IVt > tVI.]

kluti? *Semau Helong*. gebang palm.

***tuli** *Rote*. stop by to visit when travelling.
Etym: *tuluy.

tuli *Termanu*. drop in somewhere while passing by, 'come roaring along'. (J:653)

tuli *Korbafo*.

tuli *Bokai*.

tuli *Bilbaa*.

tuli *Rikou*.

tuli *Ba'a*.

tuli *Tii*.

tuli *Dengka*.

tuli *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

tuli *Semau Helong*. layover, stop by.

duli *Hawu*. (J:653)

***tuma** *PRM*. clothes louse. *Etym*: *tumah.
[Sporadic: *a > e / _# in wRM.]

tuma *Termanu*. louse, clothes louse.
(J:654)

tuma *Korbafo*.

tuma *Bokai*.

tuma *Bilbaa*.

tuma *Rikou*.

tuma *Ba'a*.

tuma *Tii*.

tume *Dengka*.

tume *Oenale*.

tume *Ro'is Amarasi*.

tume *Kotos Amarasi*. clothes louse.

tume *Amanuban*. body louse.

tume *Molo*. clothes louse. (M:578)

Out-comparisons:

ktuma? *Funai Helong*. clothes louse.

***tumbi** *Rote*. kind of tree that has soft wood.

tupi *Termanu*. kind of tree that has soft wood. (J:657)

tupi *Korbafo*.

tupi *Bokai*.

tupi *Rikou*.

tumpi *Ba'a*.

tumbi *Tii*.

tumbi *Dengka*.

tumbi *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

tuwi *Bima*. kind of soft wood.
(Ismail et al. 1985:158)

***tumbu** *CERM*. heap, abundant.
Doublet: ***numbu**. *Etym*: *tu(m)buq 'grow, germinate, sprout'. [irr. from *PRM*: *mb > p ~ b in Meto (forms with medial b are possibly from *tubuq with irr. *b = b)]

tupu~tupu (2) tu~tupu-k *Termanu*.
1) somewhere full of it, present in abundance. 2) heap, mass. (J:657)

tupu~tupu *Korbafo*.

tupu~tupu *Bokai*.

tupu~tupu *Bilbaa*.

tumpu~tumpu *Ba'a*.

- na-ʔ|tupu, na-ʔ|tubu (2) ʔ|tubu**
Kotos Amarasi. 1) heap up, pile up.
 2) hill.
- a-ʔ|tubu** *Molo*. hill. (M:573)
- ta~tubu** *Kusa-Manea*. mountain.
- ***tuna** *PRM*. freshwater eel. *Etym*: *tuna.
*[Sporadic: *a > e / _# in wRM]*
- tuna** *Termanu*. eel. (J:654)
- tuna** *Korbafo*.
- tuna** *Bokai*.
- tuna** *Bilbaa*.
- tuna** *Rikou*. freshwater eel. (J:654;
 own field notes)
- tuna** *Ba'a*.
- tuna** *Tii*.
- tune** *Dengka*.
- tune** *Oenale*.
- tune, tuni** *Kotos Amarasi*. eel, sea-
 snake. *[Sporadic: vowel height*
*harmony *e > i / uC_]*
- tune** *Molo*. eel. (M:577)
- Out-comparisons:**
- tuna** *Helong*. (J:654)
- tuna** *East Tetun*. conger eel.
[Congridae]. (Mo:190)
- thuno** *Waima'a*. eel.
- ***tuni** *PRM*. press.
- tuni** *Termanu*. press. (J:655)
- tuni** *Korbafo*.
- tuni** *Bokai*.
- tuni** *Bilbaa*.
- tuni** *Rikou*.
- tuni** *Ba'a*.
- tuni** *Tii*.
- tuni** *Dengka*.
- tuni** *Oenale*.
- tuni** *Meto*. (J:655)
- ***tunu₁** *PRM*. stumble, stub one's toe. *[irr.*
*from PRM: *u > a in Koto Amarasi; *n*
> nd in Rikou and Landu] *[Form: The*
*Meto forms are from *na-sa-tunu,*
while the Rote are forms from
**na-ka-tunu.]*
- na-ka-tunu** *Termanu*. bump against
 something with the foot, stumble.
 (J:656)
- na-ka-tunu** *Korbafo*.

- na-ka-tunu** *Bokai*.
- na-ka-tunu** *Bilbaa*.
- na-tundu** *Landu*. (own field notes)
- na-tundu** *Rikou*.
- na-ka-tunu** *Ba'a*.
- na-ka-tunu** *Tii*.
- na-ʔa-tunu** *Dengka*.
- na-ʔa-tunu** *Oenale*.
- na-stunan** *Kotos Amarasi*. stub one's
 toe.
- na-stuun** *Molo*. stumbles. (M:517)
- Out-comparisons:**
- tunun** *Semau Helong*. stumble.
- kedune** *Hawu*. (J:656)
- <**tunjuru**> *Kamera*. stub the
 tow, stumble. (On:509)
- <**tujuru**> *Anakalang*.
- <**katunjura**> *Mamboru*.
- <**kantunura**> *Weyewa*.
- tune (2) maatune** *Kamarian*.
 1) step, stamp with the foot or
 heel. *[Note: also in Kaibobo,*
Nusa Laut, and Asilulu.] (van
 Ekris 1864:127) 2) stub the
 toe. *[Note: also in Haruku and*
some varieties of Kaibobo.]
 (van Ekris 1864:303)
- tahatune** *Kaibobo*. stub the toe.
 (van Ekris 1864:303)
- ***tunu₂** *PRM*. roast, grill. *Etym*: *tunu.
- tunu** *Termanu*. fry, bake without fat.
 (J:656)
- tunu** *Korbafo*.
- tunu** *Bokai*.
- tunu** *Bilbaa*.
- tunu** *Rikou*.
- tunu** *Ba'a*.
- tunu** *Tii*.
- tunu** *Dengka*.
- tunu** *Oenale*.
- n-tunu?** *Kotos Amarasi*. roast, grill.
- <**tunu**> *Molo*. roast. (M:579)
- tuun** *Kusa-Manea*. burn.
- Out-comparisons:**
- tunu** *Semau Helong*. burn, roast.
- tunu** *East Tetun*. roast, bake (in an
 oven or over a fire). (Mo:190)

***turis** *PRM.* pigeon pea. *Cajanus cajan*. *Etym.*: *tuduy ‘agati *Sesbania glandiflora*’ (Fox 1991:258) (Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct *tudiq for *Sesbania grandiflora*, however Fox (1991) gives a number of reflexes from western languages including Sunda **turuy** and Madurese **toroy** which indicate final *uy.). [*irr. from PMP*: Ø > *s] [*Form*: source of final *s unclear.] [*Semantics*: The seed pods of *Sesbania grandiflora* are edible. This appears to be the basis for the semantic link between *Sesbania grandiflora* and pigeon peas.]

tulis *Termanu.* pigeon peas. *Cajanus cajan*. (J:653)

tuli-? *Korbafo.*

tuli-? *Bokai.*

tuli-? *Bilbaa.*

turis *Landu.* pigeon peas. (own field notes)

turis *Rikou.*

tulis *Ba’a.*

turis *Tii.*

tulis *Dengka.*

turis *Oenale.*

tuinis *Ro’is Amarasi.* pigeon pea.

tunis *Kotos Amarasi.* pigeon pea.

tunis *Molo.* pigeon peas. *Cajanus cajan*. (M:580)

Out-comparisons:

tulis *Helong.* (J:653)

turis *Fehan Tetun.* pigeon pea: bush 1–2 metres tall with yellow pea flowers, dark green beans 3’ long, cooked with rice. It grows mainly in the hills.

turis, tunis *East Tetun.* bush with a fruit pod similar to pea in looks and taste when tender. (Mo:191)

turiana *Kisar.* cashews.

tori *Hawu.* [*irr. from PRM*: *t = d correspondence (expect d)] (J:653)

ulis *Welaun.* pigeon pea. [*irr. from PRM*: *t = Ø correspondence (expect t)]

***turu** *PRM.* overflow, leak. *Etym.*: *tudug ‘leak, drip, as a leaky roof; a drop of water’. [*irr. from PRM*: *r > r ~ n in Meto]

tu~tulu *Termanu.* overflow, flow off around the edge while pouring. (J:653)

tu~tulu *Korbafo.*

tu~tulu *Bokai.*

tu~tulu *Bilbaa.*

tu~turu *Rikou.*

tu~tulu *Ba’a.*

tu~turu *Tii.*

tu~tulu *Dengka.*

tu~turu *Oenale.*

turu *Kotos Amarasi.* shower.

oe tunu *Amanuban.* aqueduct, that is a piece of bamboo or half a hollowed areca stem, placed in a water source on a higher level from which the water flows. (M:579)

oe tulu *Molo.* aqueduct, that is a piece of bamboo or half a hollowed areca stem, placed in a water source on a higher level from which the water flows. (M:579)

oa ta~tunu[?] *Kusa-Manea.* bamboo with which to shower.

Out-comparisons:

tudu *Semau Helong.* leak. [*irr. from PMP*: *d = d (expect l)]

turu *East Tetun.* drip, fall in drips or drops. (Mo:191)

noro *Hawu.* leak through, permeate. (J:653)

***tusi** *PRM.* split gebang palm leaf. [*irr. from PRM*: *t > d in Rote] [*Form*: Alternately we could reconstruct ***ɖusi** and propose irr. *ɖ > t in Meto and Helong. Under this hypothesis either the Helong or Meto form would be a borrowing.]

dusi *Termanu*. cut the outside part of a young gebang palm leaf off from the middle part with a knife. (J:108)

dusi *Korbafo*.

dusi *Bokai*.

dusi *Bilbaa*.

dusi *Rikou*.

dusi *Ba'a*.

dusi *Tii*.

dusi *Dengka*.

dusi *Oenale*.

tuis muti? (2) tuis molo? *Molo*.

1) the split pale underside of a gebang palm leaf that is used for thread in *ikat* weaving. 2) split yellowish underside of gebang palm leaf from which ropes for horses are made. the stem is **tusi** = 'divide'; which in compounds undergoes metathesis of the final syllable. (M:581)

Out-comparisons:

tusi *Helong*. (J:108)

***tusi**₂ *PRM*. rub.

tusi *Termanu*. rub and pinch, rub and press. (J:657)

tusi *Korbafo*.

tusi *Bokai*.

tusi *Bilbaa*.

tusi *Rikou*.

tusi *Ba'a*.

tusi *Tii*.

tusi *Dengka*.

tusi *Oenale*.

n-tuis *Kotos Amarasi*. massage, rub.

n-tusi *Molo*. rub. (M:581)

Out-comparisons:

tusi *Semau Helong*. massage.

tusi *Fehan Tetun*. rub sacred betel on someone (e.g. so he becomes a **fukun** elder).

***tute** *PRM*. join. [irr. from *PRM*: *e > i in Nuclear-Rote; *e > a in Meto (and Helong)]

tuti *Termanu*. join, join on, set a piece. (J:658)

tuti *Korbafo*.

tuti *Bokai*.

tuti *Bilbaa*.

tuti *Rikou*.

tuti *Ba'a*.

tuti *Tii*.

tute *Dengka*.

tute *Oenale*.

n-tuta *Kotos Amarasi*. continue, join.

Out-comparisons:

tutan *Semau Helong*. join, connect, chain, link.

***tutu** *PRM*. beat, pound. *Etym*: *tuktuk 'knock, pound, beat; crush'.

tutu *Termanu*. hitting, pounding on something with the fist or with an object. (J:659)

tutu *Korbafo*.

tutu *Bokai*.

tutu *Bilbaa*.

tutu *Rikou*.

tutu *Ba'a*.

tutu *Tii*.

tutu *Dengka*.

tutu *Oenale*.

n-tutu *Kotos Amarasi*. pound, beat.

tutu *Molo*. pounds (iron). (M:582)

Out-comparisons:

tutu *Semau Helong*. pound.

tutu (2) tuku *East Tetun*. 1) peck (birds); to prod with the end of an object (Mo:191). 2) hit, strike, hammer (with an implement). (Mo:190)

***tuu**₁ *Morph*: ***tuu-f**. *PMeto*. knee. *Etym*: *tuhud.

tuu-f *Ro'is Amarasi*. knee.

tuu-f *Kotos Amarasi*. knee.

<**tu**> *Molo*. knee. (M:572)

tuu-f *Kusa-Manea*. knee.

Out-comparisons:

tuur *East Tetun*. knee. (Mo:191)

rutuu *Hawu*. knee.

***tuu**₂ *Morph*: ***tuu-k**. *PnRote*. dry. *Etym*: *tuquR 'evaporate, dry up'.

tuu-k *Termanu*. dry. (J:646)

tuu-? *Korbafo*.

tuu-k *Bokai*.

tuu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

tuu-ʔ *Rikou*.

tuu-k *Ba'a*.

tuu-k *Tii*.

Out-comparisons:

tuu *Semau Helong*. dry. [Note: Jonker (1908:646) gives Helong **ptuu**.]

vomeduʔu *Hawu*. dry of beans. (J:646)

***tuur** *nRM*. sit. [Form: Reflexes of *ŋg in Rote develop as though they were word medial. Meto final *n* attests an earlier final consonant. Tetun **tuur** shows that this was *r*, with subsequent (regular) *r > *l > *n* in Meto, and loss of the final consonant in nRote.]

na-ŋa-tuu-k (2) **na-ŋa-tuu** (3)

tu~tuu-s (4) **tu~tuu-k** *Termanu*.

1) sit oneself down, sit, sit in a physical sense. 2) sit in a figurative

sense. 3) a seat of piled stones under a tree, e.g. as is used in a **huus** festival, these seats are made for the spirits of dead people. 4) seat, chair. (J:647)

na-ŋa-tuu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

na-ŋa-tuu-k *Bokai*.

na-ka-tuu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

na-tuu-ʔ *Rikou*.

na-ŋga-tuu-k *Ba'a*.

na-ŋga-tuu-k *Tii*.

n-tuun=oo-n *Ro'is Amarasi*. sit. Lit: 'seat oneself'. Usage: poetic.

n-tuun=oo-n *Kotos Amarasi*. sit. Usage: poetic.

Out-comparisons:

tuur *East Tetun*. sit down; to reside, inhabit; to settle; to rest or be resting. (Mo:191)

tuur *Ili'uun*. stay, live somewhere. (dJ:140)

U - u

***uas** *PRM*. jicama. *Pachyrhizus erosus*. [Sporadic: *Ø > ʔ /#_ in Oenale.]

uas *Termanu*. kind of tuber also called *uas* in Kupang. (J:662)

ua-ʔ *Korbafo*.

ua-ʔ *Bokai*.

ua-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

uas *Rikou*.

uas *Ba'a*.

uas *Tii*.

(ʔ)**uas** *Dengka*.

ʔ**uas** *Oenale*.

ʔ**uas** *Dela*.

uas *Kotos Amarasi*. jicama.

uas *Molo*. kind of herb that winds to the left, the tubers are eaten peeled. *Pachyrhizus erosus*. (M:584)

Out-comparisons:

uas *Fehan Tetun*. edible root plant.

***uat** *PRM*. vein, tendon, muscle, palm lines. Doublet: ***urat**. Etym: *uRat 'artery, blood vessel, blood vein;

muscle; nerve; sinew; tendon; fibre; vein of a leaf; grain of wood; strand (of thread, rope); fishing line; root'.

ua-k *Termanu*. vein, tendon, muscle. (J:662)

ua-ʔ *Korbafo*.

ua-k *Bokai*.

ua-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

ua-ʔ *Rikou*.

ua-k *Ba'a*.

ua-k *Tii*.

ua-ʔ *Dengka*. a) vein, tendon, muscle. (J:662) b) palm line. (J:776)

ua-ʔ *Oenale*.

ua-ʔ *Dela*. vein.

ua-n *Ro'is Amarasi*. palm lines.

ua-f (2) **uat** *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) the lines on the palm of one's hands. 2) blue vein, especially of an animal's liver (traditionally used in divination). [Note: **keo-f** = 'vein, artery, blood vessel'.]

ua-n (2) uat *Amanuban*. 1) the lines on the palm of one's hands. 2) veins.

<**ua**> *Molo*. veins in the hand; lot, age. (M:583)

Out-comparisons:

ulat, udat *Funai Helong*. veins.

ulat *Semau Helong*. strand, sinew, vein, tendon, nerve, artery; fortune, fate, luck, profit; divination, palm reading.

uan (2) uat *Fehan Tetun*. 1) fortune. 2) veins, grain of wood.

uat *East Tetun*. veins, artery, nerves, tendons. (Mo:192)

orok *Kisar*. veins.

***udan** *PRM*. rain. *Etym*: *quzan. [*Sporadic*: Ø > ʔ /#_ in *Dela-Oenale*.]

udan (2) uda *Termanu*. 1) rain. 2) raining. (J:662)

uda *Korbafo*.

uda *Bokai*.

uda *Bilbaa*.

uda *Rikou*.

udan *Ba'a*.

udan *Tii*.

(?)**udan** *Dengka*.

?**udan** *Oenale*.

?**udan** *Dela*. rain.

urun, uurn *Ro'is Amarasi*. rain.

uran (2) na-ʔura *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) rain. 2) rain (v.). [*Form*: automatic glottal stop insertion between CV- prefix and #V-initial stem.]

ulan *Molo*. rain. (M:587)

uran *Kusa-Manea*. rain.

Out-comparisons:

ulan *Semau Helong*. rain.

udan *East Tetun*. rain. (Mo:192)

usa *Kemak*. rain.

uus *Mambae, South*. rain. (Grimes et al. 2014b:46)

usan *Galolen*. rain.

usan *Ili'uun*. rain, rainy season. (dJ:141)

okon *Kisar*. rain.

əfi *Dhao*. rain. [*irr. from PMP*: *u > i]

əfi *Hawu*. rain. [*irr. from PMP*: *u > i]

***ue** *PRM*. rattan. *Calamus* species. *Etym*: *quay. [*irr. from PRM*: *e > e ~ a in *Meto*]

ue *Termanu*. rattan. (J:663)

ue *Korbafo*.

ue *Bokai*.

ue *Bilbaa*.

ue *Landu*. rattan. (own field notes)

ue *Rikou*.

ue *Ba'a*.

ue *Tii*.

ue *Dengka*.

ue *Oenale*.

ue *Dela*. rattan.

ue, ua *Amanuban*. rattan.

ue *Amanatun*. rattan.

ua-l *Fatule'u*. rattan.

agoe-l *Amfo'an*. rattan.

ue *Molo*. rattan. (M:574)

ua *Kusa-Manea*. rattan. [*Form*: Final *a* is also in *Uabau'* in which *e > a /V_ does not occur.]

Out-comparisons:

u/latu *Funai Helong*. rattan.

ui_latu *Semau Helong*. rattan.

hue *Kemak*. rattan. [*irr. from PMP*: Ø > h]

oe *Welaun*. rattan.

***ufi** *PRM*. purple yam, greater yam. *Dioscorea alata*. *Etym*: *qubi 'yam *Dioscorea alata*'.

ufi *Termanu*. tuber. (J:664)

ufi *Korbafo*.

ufi *Bokai*.

ufi *Bilbaa*.

ufi *Rikou*.

ufi *Ba'a*.

ufi *Tii*.

ufi *Dengka*.

ufi *Oenale*.

ufi *Dela*. tuber.

rauk_uŋi *Ro'is Amarasi*. greater yam.
Dioscorea alata.

rauk_uŋi *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of long yam.

laku uŋi *Amanuban*. kind of red tuber.
(own field notes)

Out-comparisons:

uhi *Helong*. (J:664)

uhi *East Tetun*. creeper with a single tuber. (Mo:193)

*-uki *PRM*. have, own, exist, wealth.
Pattern: k-9. [*Form*: The initial consonant correspondences in Rote and Meto cannot be reconciled. The remaining three segments show regular correspondences.]

suʔi *Termanu*. riches, treasures; wealth. (J:571)

suʔi *Korbafo*.

suʔi *Bokai*.

suki *Bilbaa*.

suʔi *Rikou*.

suʔi *Ba'a*.

suʔi *Tii*.

suʔi *Dengka*.

suʔi *Oenale*.

n-muʔi (2) muʔi|t (3) n-maʔ|muʔi

(4) n-haʔmuʔi *Ro'is Amarasi*.

1) have, own, exist. 2) domestic animal. 3) poor. 4) suffer.

n-muʔi (2) muʔi|t (3) maʔ|muʔi

(4) n-haʔmuʔi *Kotos Amarasi*.

1) have, own, exist. 2) domestic animal. 3) poor. 4) torment, torture, oppress.

n-muʔi *Molo*. possess. (M:332)

Out-comparisons:

kmukit (2) muki *Funai Helong*.
1) (domestic) animal. 2) rich.

muki (2) hmuki (3) hmukit
Semau Helong. 1) exist, is, are, have, own. 2) wealth, possessions. 3) (domestic) animal.

mukit *East Tetun*. be lacking, become poor; poor, needy, etc.
(Mo:144)

mukit *Dhao*. animal. (Charles Grimes pers. comm.)

***ule** *Rote*. wring, wring out. *Etym*: *puləs 'twist, wring'. [*irr. from PMP*: *p > Ø (expect *h); *ə > *e / _# (expect *ə > a in wRote, possibly *ə > *a > e)]

ule *Termanu*. wring, wring out. (J:665)

ule *Korbafo*.

ule *Bokai*.

ule *Bilbaa*.

ule *Rikou*.

ule *Ba'a*.

ule *Tii*.

ule *Dengka*.

ule *Oenale*.

***ulə** *Morph*: *ulə-k. *PRM*. worm, caterpillar. *Etym*: *quləj 'maggot, caterpillar, larva of a metamorphosing insect'. [*Form*: Meto **kaunaʔ** is probably from *ka-ulə-k with the nominal prefix *ka-.]

ule-k *Termanu*. worm, caterpillar in general, also: intestinal worms or maggots in a wound. (J:665)

ule-ʔ *Korbafo*.

ule-k *Bokai*.

ule-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

ule-ʔ *Rikou*.

ule-k *Ba'a*.

ule-k *Tii*.

ula *Dengka*.

ula *Oenale*.

ula *Dela*. caterpillar.

ka|una|ʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. creature; snake.

ka|una|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) creature.

kaunaʔ is a life form category for all creatures whose primary means of locomotion is perceived of as crawling or walking. The other life forms are **koro** 'birds' and **ikaʔ** 'fish'. 2) snake, worm.

ka|una|ʔ *Molo*. insect. (M:188)

ka|una|ʔ *Kusa-Manea*. grub, caterpillar.

Out-comparisons:

ulas *Semau Helong*. maggot, grub, caterpillar.

- ular** *East Tetun*. worm, caterpillar, larva. (Mo:193)
- orre** *Kisar*. worms, e.g. worms found in corn.
- ətu** *Hawu*. maggot.
- *uli** *Rote*. rudder. *Etym*: *qulin ‘rudder; steer (a boat)’.
- uli** *Termanu*. rudder of a vessel. (J:666)
- uli** *Korbafo*.
- uli** *Bokai*.
- uli** *Bilbaa*.
- uli** *Rikou*.
- uli** *Ba'a*.
- uli** *Tii*.
- uli** *Dengka*.
- uli** *Oenale*.
- na-uli** *Dela*. control, drive (a ship).
- Out-comparisons:**
- ulin** *Semau Helong*. rudder.
- *ulu** *PRM*. front, head hair. *Doublet*:
- *hulu**. *Etym*: *qulu ‘head; top part; leader, chief; headwaters; handle of a bladed implement; prow of a boat; first, first-born’.
- ulu-k (2) ulu** *Termanu*. 1) in front. 2) head hair. (J:666)
- ulu-? (2) ulu** *Korbafo*.
- ulu-k (2) ulu** *Bokai*.
- ulu-? (2) ulu** *Bilbaa*.
- ulu-? (2) ulu** *Rikou*.
- ulu-k (2) ulu** *Ba'a*.
- ulu-k (2) ulu** *Tii*.
- ulu-? (2) ulu** *Dengka*.
- ulu-? (2) ulu** *Oenale*.
- unu|?** *Ro'is Amarasi*. at first, past time.
- unu|?** *Kotos Amarasi*. earlier, olden days.
- un~unu|?** *Molo*. in the beginning. (M:588)
- Out-comparisons:**
- ulu(n)** *East Tetun*. head (of anything); the upper part; a position of leadership, a leader. (Mo:193)
- ulu-t** *Welaun*. head.
- ulu/wakun** *Kisar*. head.

- *uma** *PRM*. house. *Etym*: *Rumaq. [*Sporadic*: *a > e / _# in wRM; vowel height harmony *e > i / uC_ in Amarasi and Kusa-Manea.]
- uma** *Termanu*. house. (J:667)
- uma** *Korbafo*.
- uma** *Bokai*.
- uma** *Bilbaa*.
- uma** *Rikou*.
- uma** *Ba'a*.
- uma** *Tii*.
- ume** *Dengka*.
- ume** *Oenale*.
- ume** *Dela*. house, hut, building.
- umi** *Ro'is Amarasi*. house, building.
- umi, ume** *Kotos Amarasi*. house, building.
- ume** *Molo*. house. (M:587)
- umi** *Kusa-Manea*. house.
- Out-comparisons:**
- uma** *Semau Helong*. house.
- uma** *East Tetun*. house, dwelling place; lair (of animals); cocoon (of insects). (Mo:193)
- ruma** *Ili'uun*. granary. (dJ:136)
- rom** *Kisar*. house, clan.
- *umbu** *Morph*: ***umbu-k**. *PRM*. grandchild. *Etym*: *umpu ‘grandparent/ grandchild (reciprocal); ancestor’.
- upu-k** *Termanu*. grandchild. (J:670)
- upu-?** *Korbafo*.
- upu-k** *Bokai*.
- upu-?** *Bilbaa*.
- upu=na** *Landu*. grandchild. (own field notes)
- upu-?** *Rikou*.
- umpu-k** *Ba'a*.
- umbu-k** *Tii*.
- umbu-?** *Dengka*.
- umbu-?** *Oenale*.
- umbu-?** *Dela*. grandchild.
- upu-f** *Ro'is Amarasi*. grandchild.
- upu-f, upu?** *Kotos Amarasi*. grandchild.
- upu-f** *Molo*. grandchild. (M:590)
- upu-f** *Kusa-Manea*. grandchild.

Out-comparisons:**ana-upun, upu-ana** *Semau**Helong*. grandchildren.**upu-n** *Kisar*. grandparent, grandchild.***unə** *Morph: *unə-k. Rote*. scale of fish or reptile. *Etym: *quhənap* ‘scale of fish’ (PCOMP *qunəp/*qunap).**une-k** *Termanu*. scale of a fish, or of a snake; also: scale on the feet of a rooster. (J:668)**une-ʔ** *Korbafo*.**une-k** *Bokai*.**une-ʔ** *Bilbaa*.**une-ʔ** *Rikou*.**une-k** *Ba'a*.**une-k** *Tii*.**una-ʔ** *Dengka*.**una-ʔ** *Oenale*.**una-ʔ** *Dela*. scales of a fish or reptile.**Out-comparisons:****unaʔ** *Semau Helong*. scale.***undu** *Rote*. bore a hole, make a hole. [*irr. from PRM: *u > a in nRote*] [*Form: I have reconstructed final *u (rather than *a) mainly on the basis of the external evidence from Hawu.*]**una (2) una haʔi** *Termanu*. 1) hollow something out with a tool, make an opening or hole somewhere (usually with a glowing pointed piece of iron). 2) start a fire with two pieces of wood by turning one piece of wood on top of another. (J:668)**una** *Korbafo*.**una** *Bokai*.**una** *Bilbaa*.**unda** *Rikou*.**una** *Ba'a*.**unda** *Tii*.**undu** *Dengka*.**undu** *Oenale*.**Out-comparisons:****pudu** *Hawu*. bore; make a fire.***ura** *Morph: *ura-k. Rote*. palm lines, lines/sinews in the liver of a dead animal (traditionally used for divination).*Doublet: *uat. Etym: *uRat* ‘artery, blood vessel, blood vein; muscle; nerve; sinew; tendon; fibre; vein of a leaf; grain of wood; strand (of thread, rope); fishing line; root’. [*minority from PMP: *R = *r (expect Ø)*]**ula-k** *Termanu*. the lines of the hand, [...] the lines or sinews of the liver of a dead animal. (J:664f)**ula-ʔ** *Korbafo*.**ula-k** *Bokai*.**ula-ʔ** *Bilbaa*.**ura-ʔ** *Rikou*. [*Note: not known by my consultants.*]**ula-k** *Ba'a*.**ura-k** *Tii*.**ura-ʔ** *Oenale*.**Out-comparisons:****urat** *East Tetun*. spleen (of pigs); the word used to describe the many practices in the various customs for determining the cause of any problem, or the guilty party, or in foretelling the future. (Mo:193)***usi₁** *Rote*. pursue, chase away. *Etym: *qusiR* ‘pursuit (as of enemies or game)’. [*irr. from PRM: *Ø > h in Tii and Lole; *Ø > n in Dengka*] [*Sporadic: *i > e / _ *R# in Dengka.*]**usi** *Termanu*. pursue, hunt. (J:671)**usi** *Korbafo*.**usi** *Bokai*.**usi** *Bilbaa*.**usi** *Rikou*.**usi** *Ba'a*.**husi** *Lole*. chase away, expel. (Zacharias et al. 2014)**husi** *Tii*.**nuse** *Dengka*.***usi₂** *PMeto*. king, lord. *Etym: *usi* ‘relative of the third ascending or descending generation’ (PCMP). [*History: Although Middelkoop*

(1972:592) makes a connection between this form and Javanese *gusti* ‘lord, master’, it is difficult to account for the lack of an initial consonant in Meto under a borrowing hypothesis. Furthermore, the pervasiveness of the term being used for deities that are central to the cosmology of the Atoni indicates this is unlikely to be a recently borrowed term.]

uisi-f, usi? (2) **uis neno** *Ro’is Amarasi*. 1) king. 2) God. [History: In traditional Atoni thought **uis neno** is the supreme god who is the source of all (see Schulte Nordholt 1972:141).]

usi-f, usi? (2) **uis neno** *Kotos Amarasi*. king, master, lord, custodian.

usif, usi? (2) **usif neno** *Molo*. 1) lord. 2) the lord of heaven. (M:592)

(2) **uis neno** (3) **uis paah** *Insana*. 2) the lord of heaven, the supreme god. 3) the lord of earth, the ‘pendant’ of **uis neno**. [History: ‘Uis Pah [sic] is Uis Neno’s pendant. They form a dual divinity, in which Uis Neno’s superiority is obvious. That is not to say that Uis Pah has emanated from Uis Neno. They are two distinct entities, but are inseparable from each other — one cannot exist: without the other.’ (Schulte Nordholt 1972:145)]

(2) **usneno** *Kusa-Manea*. God.

Out-comparisons:

usi *East Tetun*. title of nobility; a former manner of address to those with the rights of royalty. (Mo:194)

osi *Buru*. great-grandparent, great-grandchild. (Grimes and Grimes 2020:689)

***utan** *PRM*. vegetables. *Etym*: *qutan ‘small, wild herbaceous plants; scrub-land, bush’.

uta-k, uta ai doo *Termanu*. all kinds of vegetables or herbs. (J:671)

uta ai doo *Korbafo*.

uta ai doo *Bokai*.

uta ai doo *Bilbaa*.

uta ?ai doo *Rikou*.

uta ai doo *Ba’a*.

uta-k, uta ai doo *Tii*.

uta-?, uta ai doo *Dengka*.

uta-?, uta ai doo *Oenale*.

uta-? *Dela*. vegetables.

utu|k, utal|k *Ro’is Amarasi*. vegetables; pumpkin, squash.

utan *Kotos Amarasi*. vegetables.

utan *Molo*. vegetables. (M:593)

Out-comparisons:

utan *Semau Helong*. vegetable.

utan *Ili’uun*. pea, bean. (dJ:141)

?uta *Keo*. vegetables. [Note: language of central Flores ISO 639-3 [xxk].] (Baird 2002:583)

***uti** *Morph*: ***uti-k**. *PRM*. penis. *Etym*: *qutin.

uti-k *Termanu*. penis. (J:671f)

uti-? *Korbafo*.

uti-k *Bokai*.

uti-? *Bilbaa*.

uti-? *Rikou*.

uti-k *Ba’a*.

uti-k *Tii*.

tuti-? *Dengka*.

uti-? *Oenale*.

uti-? *Dela*.

uti-n *Ro’is Amarasi*. penis.

uti-f *Kotos Amarasi*. penis.

<**uti**> *Molo*. penis. (M:594)

Out-comparisons:

uti *Semau Helong*. penis.

***uu** *Morph*: ***na-ga-uu**. *Rote*. oink. *Etym*: *uu ‘moaning sound’. [Semantics: onomatopoeia.]

na-ga-uu, na-ga-u~uu, uu~uu *Termanu*. imitation of the sound of a pig when it wants food: **bafi=a uu~uu**; also said of people in the sense of: grunt, grumble. (J:662)

na-ka-u~uu *Korbafo*.

na-ka-uu *Rikou*.

na-ŋga-u~uu *Ba'a*.

na-ʔa-uu *Dengka*.

***uut** *nRM*. chaff. [*History*: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct *uta on the basis of Kambara **uta** and Selaru **ut**.]

uu-k *Termanu*. chaff, bran. (J:662)

uu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

uu-k *Bokai*.

uu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

uu-ʔ *Rikou*.

uu-k *Ba'a*.

uu-k *Tii*.

uut *Kotos Amarasi*. flour.

uut (2) ut~uut *Molo*. 1) corn that has been roasted and then crushed. 2) crunched to dust. (M:593)

Out-comparisons:

uut *Helong*. (J:662)

uut *East Tetun*. dust, any unwanted fine powder. (Mo:194)

huut *Sundanese*. bran. [*Note*: language of east Java ISO 639-3 [sun].] (Coolsma 1913: 234)

oot, uot *Balinese*. husks, thrown away with the rice stalks. [*Note*: language of Bali ISO 639-3 [ban].] (Kersten 1984:432)

W - w

***wadi** *PRM*. same-sex younger sibling. *Etym*: *huaji 'younger sibling of the same sex; younger parallel cousin of the same sex'. [*Sporadic*: Ø > ʔ /#_ in Dela-Oenale.] [*Form*: PwRM ***odi**, PnRote ***fadi**]

fadi-k *Termanu*. younger brother or sister. (J:119)

fadi-ʔ *Korbafo*.

fadi-k *Bokai*.

fadi-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

fadi=na *Landu*. younger sibling. (own field notes)

fadi-ʔ *Rikou*.

fadi-k *Ba'a*.

fadi-k *Tii*.

(ʔ)odi-ʔ *Dengka*.

ʔodi-ʔ *Oenale*.

ʔodi *Dela*. younger sibling.

oriʔ *Ro'is Amarasi*. same-sex younger sibling.

ori-f *Kotos Amarasi*. same-sex younger sibling.

oli-f *Molo*. younger brother or sister. (M:403)

oriʔ *Kusa-Manea*. same-sex younger sibling.

Out-comparisons:

palin *Semau Helong*. younger brother/sister.

ali-n *East Tetun*. younger brother or sister. (Mo:3)

walin *Welaun*. younger sibling.

ali(n) *Ili'uun*. man's younger brother, father's brother's son or daughter (younger than himself), mother's sister's son or daughter (younger than himself), a woman's younger sister, father's brother's son or daughter (younger than herself), mother's sister's son or daughter (younger than herself). (dJ:112)

ari *Dhao*. younger sibling.

ari *Hawu*. younger sibling.

***wani** *PRM*. honey bee. *Etym*: *wani. [*Form*: PwRM ***oni**, PnRote ***fani**.]

fani *Termanu*. bee, honeybee. (J:125)

fani *Korbafo*.

fani *Bokai*.

fani *Bilbaa*.

fani *Rikou*.

fani *Ba'a*.

fani *Tii*.

oni *Dengka*.

oni *Oenale*.
oni *Dela*. bee.
oni *Ro'is Amarasi*. sugar.
oni *Kotos Amarasi*. sugar; bee.
oni *Molo*. bees. (M:405)
oni *Kusa-Manea*. bee.

Out-comparisons:

pani *Semau Helong*. bee.
wani *Fehan Tetun*. bee, wasp.
uani(n) *East Tetun*. honey bee.
 (Mo:192)
wani *Kisar*. bee.

#

#**adulara** *Rote*. kind of yellow wood.
Borrowed from: Hawu **afu** ‘wood’ +
lara ‘yellow’.

adulala *Termanu*. kind of wood that
 yields a yellow dye which is used in
 weaving. *Maclura cochinchinensis*.
 (J:3; Heyne 1950:551, lvi)

adulala *Korbafo*.

adulala *Bokai*.

adulala *Bilbaa*.

adulala *Rikou*.

adulala *Ba'a*.

adulala *Tii*.

adulala *Dengka*.

adurala *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

afu + **lara** *Hawu*. wood + yellow.

#**badzu** *PRM*. garment. *Borrowed from:*
Malay baju, ultimately Persian.

badu *Termanu*. garment; wear a
 garment, have a garment on. (J:19)

baruk *Dela*. pants.

baru *Kotos Amarasi*. shirt.

#**ba?at** *Morph:* #**ka-ba?at**. *PMeto*. root.
Doublet: ***oka2**. *Etym:* ***wakaR**.
*[irr. from PMP: *w > *b]* *[History:*
Probably borrowing from Helong
into PMeto. The opposite direction
of borrowing cannot easily explain
medial k in Helong. Note, however,
*that PMP *w > b is irregular in both*
Helong and Meto.]

?**ba?a-f** *Kotos Amarasi*. root.

?**ba?at** *Amfo'an*. root.

?**ba?at** *Molo*. root of a tree or plant.
 (M:39)

ba?a-f *Kusa-Manea*. root.

Out-comparisons:

kbakat *Funai Helong*. root.

#**baluk** *Rote*. boat with one or two
 masts and no outrigger. *Borrowed*
from: Malay *baluk*, ultimately Arabic
falawakat. *[History:* Blust and Trussel
 (ongoing) make a PMP reconstruction
 on the basis of this Rote form and Old
 Javanese, though they suggest the Rote
 form may be a loan. The Termanu form
 is almost certainly a Malay loan.]

(**ofa**) **balu-k** *Termanu*. boat with one
 or two masts and no outrigger.
 (J:29)

#**bane** *PRM*. bowl. *Borrowed from:*
 ultimately Tamil *pānai* [pa:nai] ‘large
 earthen pot or vessel’ (Hoogervorst
 2016).

bane *Termanu*. a kind of earthenware
 jug with a narrow neck and wide
 belly, among other things used to
 store dyes. (J:29)

bane *Korbafo*.

bane *Bokai*.

bane *Bilbaa*.

bane *Rikou*.

bane *Ba'a*.

bane *Tii*.

bane *Dengka*.

bane *Oenale*.

?|**fane**|? *Kotos Amarasi*. kind of bowl
 traditionally made from the husk of
 a large pumpkin and used to carry
 water.

?|**fane**|? *Molo*. a plate made from
 pumpkin skin. (M:110)

#**bnapa** *Morph*: #**bnapa-f**. *PMeto*. side, ribs. *Borrowed from*: probably Helong into Meto before *l > n. *bl* is a common cluster in Helong with more than 25 attestations in Balle and Cameron (2014) while *bn* is rare in Meto with only 7 attestations in my current Kotos Amarasi database.

bnapa-n *Ro'is Amarasi*. hips.

bnapa-f *Kotos Amarasi*. side, ribs; slope, incline.

bnapa-n *Molo*. side. (M:74)

Out-comparisons:

seen blapas *Funai Helong*. rib.

blapas *Semau Helong*. rib(cage); side, part; mate, partner.

#**[b/p]andut** *PRM*. torch. *Borrowed from*: ultimately Malay *panjut* [paŋdʒut].

banu-k *Termanu*. torch with wick, also: light. (J:30)

banu-ʔ *Korbafo*.

banu-k *Bokai*.

banu-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

bandu-ʔ *Rikou*.

baru-ʔ *Oepao*. crushed seeds of the fruit of the Ceylon Oak (*kusambi*) used to make a torch. (own field notes)

banu-k *Ba'a*.

bandu-k *Tii*.

bandut *Dengka*.

paru *Ro'is Amarasi*. lamp, torch.

paku *Kotos Amarasi*. lamp, torch.

paku *Molo*. lamp. (M:414)

Out-comparisons:

hadut *Semau Helong*. lamp, lantern. [Note: Jonker (1908:30) gives Helong **padut**.]

badut *East Tetun*. candles made from **kamii** [candlenut] and other plants. (Mo:8)

badu *Dadu'a*. lamp. (Penn 2006:52)

patʃu *Ili'uun*. lamp made of a fruit called **too** in Wetar and *bintanggar* in Ambon Malay. (dJ:133)

waʃu *Kisar*. lamp.

#**bruuk** *PMeto*. trousers. *Borrowed from*: Dutch *broek* [bru:k].

bruku *Ro'is Amarasi*. trousers.

[Form: This form may be a result of reanalysis of **bruuk** as a metathesised form with back formation to derive an unmetathesised form.]

bruuk *Kotos Amarasi*. trousers.

Out-comparisons:

bduuk *Funai Helong*. trousers.

bluuk *Semau Helong*. trousers.

#**bukae** *PMeto*. eat, dine. *Borrowed from*: the direction of borrowing between Meto and Tetun is unclear though the wider semantic range in Meto may point to it being the donor. *Pattern*: k-6/9.

n-bukae *Ro'is Amarasi*. eat and/or drink, implies a social activity which is carried out with other people.

n-bukae *Kotos Amarasi*. eat and/or drink, implies a social activity which is carried out with other people.

n-bukae *Amfo'an*. eat. [Semantics: Cannot mean 'drink'.]

bukae|1 (2) **n-bukae** *Molo*. 1) provisions. 2) eat. (M:88)

Out-comparisons:

bukae *East Tetun*. provisions for a trip, food taken on a journey. (Mo:18)

#**ʃaba** *PRM*. help; join with someone in doing something, do something together with someone, help someone. *Borrowed from*: ultimately a Chinese language, e.g. Hokkien 幫忙 *pang-bāng* [paŋ˥˩baŋ˥˩], Mandarin 帮 *bāng* *bāng* [baŋ˥˩baŋ˥˩] (imperative form). (J:18)

baba *Korbafo*.

baba *Bokai*.

baba *Bilbaa*.

baba *Rikou*.

baba *Ba'a.*

ḡaba *Tii.*

baba *Dengka.*

ḡaba *Oenale.*

n-baba *Kotos Amarasi.* help.

n-baba *Molo.* helps. (M:39)

Out-comparisons:

baba *Semau Helong.* follow together.

#**ḡanda** *Rote.* thing, animal. *Borrowed from:* ultimately Sanskrit *bhāṇḍa* [b^ha:ṇḍa] ‘goods’, compare Malay *barang* ‘thing’.

bana *Termanu.* animal, foremost a quadruped. (J:29)

bana *Korbafo.*

bana *Bokai.*

bana *Bilbaa.*

banda *Landu.* animal. (own field notes)

banda *Rikou.*

bara *Oepao.* (J:x)

bana *Ba'a.*

ḡanda *Tii.*

banda *Dengka.*

ḡanda *Oenale.*

bare? *Kotos Amarasi.* thing, stuff.

bale? *Amanatun.* cargo. (M:46)

bale mnasi? *Molo.* heirloom. (M:46)

Out-comparisons:

berai, barai, badain *Fehan Tetun.* thing.

bada (2) bara *Hawu.* 1) animal. 2) things, belongings, possessions; material; clothes.

badza *Dhao.* animal.

#**ḡasiu** *Rote.* dish. *Borrowed from:* Portuguese *bacio* [ḡasiu].

ḡasiu *Termanu.* kind of non-indigenous dish decorated with a flower pattern. (J:32)

ḡasiu *Korbafo.*

ḡasiu *Bokai.*

ḡasiu *Bilbaa.*

ḡasiu *Rikou.*

ḡasiu *Ba'a.*

ḡasiu *Tii.*

ḡasiu *Dengka.*

ḡasiu *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

ḡahiu *Hawu.* (J:32)

#**ḡesi** *PRM.* iron. *Borrowed from:* Malay *besi* [bəsi] ultimately from an Indic language, such as Sanskrit *vāṣṭī* [va:ṣi:] ‘sharp pointed knife or blade’, as proposed by Hoogervorst (2016:566).

ḡesi *Termanu.* iron. (J:46)

ḡesi *Korbafo.*

ḡesi *Bokai.*

ḡesi *Bilbaa.*

ḡesi *Rikou.*

ḡesi *Ba'a.*

ḡesi *Tii.*

ḡesi *Dengka.*

ḡesi *Oenale.*

ḡesi *Kotos Amarasi.* knife.

ḡesi *Molo.* iron, knife. (M:60)

#**ḡunga** *Rote.* decorative flower. *Doublet:*

***ḡuna.** *Borrowed from:* Malay *bunga* [buŋa].

ḡunga *Termanu.* flower, in the sense of an ornamental flower. (J:64)

ḡunga *Korbafo.*

ḡunga *Bokai.*

ḡunga *Rikou.*

ḡunga *Ba'a.*

ḡunga *Tii.*

ḡunga *Dengka.*

#**ḡangan** *PRM.* trade, commerce. *Borrowed from:* Malay *dagang*.

ḡangan *Termanu.* trading, trade. (J:75)

ḡangan *Korbafo.*

ḡangan *Bokai.*

ḡangan *Bilbaa.*

ḡangan *Rikou.*

ḡangan *Ba'a.*

ḡangan *Tii.*

ḡangan *Dengka.*

ḡangan *Oenale.*

n-rakan *Ro'is Amarasi.* trade, commerce.

n-rakan *Kotos Amarasi.* trade, commerce.

a-lakan *Molo.* trader. (M:18)

Out-comparisons:**dakan** *Semau Helong*. commerce.**raka** *East Tetun*. buy small quantities; to buy in halves, to buy a share. (Mo:158)**dzagan** *Ili'uun*. trade. (dJ:113)#**doi** *PRM*. money. *Borrowed from*: Dutch *duit* [dœyt].**doi-k** *Termanu*. money. (J:95)**doi-?** *Dela*. money.**roit** *Ro'is Amarasi*. money.**roit** *Kotos Amarasi*. money.**loit molo?** *Molo*. copper money. (M:282)**Out-comparisons:****duit** *Semau Helong*. money, coin.**loit balanda** *Fehan Tetun*. old Dutch money. This is more valuable, as not affected by inflation. *Borrowed from*: *Meto loit*.**doi** *Hawu*. money, currency, cash, funds.#**dzala** *PRM*. cast net. *Borrowed from*: ultimately Sanskrit *jāla* [dʒa:la], perhaps via Malay *jala*.**dala** *Termanu*. cast-net. (J:71)**dala** *Korbafo*.**dala** *Bokai*.**dala** *Bilbaa*.**dala** *Rikou*.**dala** *Ba'a*.**dala** *Tii*.**dala** *Dengka*.**dala** *Oenale*.**sala** *Molo*. kind of net. (M:471)**Out-comparisons:****sala** *Semau Helong*. cast net.**ɟala** *Dhao*. cast-net.**ɟala** *Hawu*. cast-net.#**ɟinela** *nRM*. window. *Borrowed from*: Portuguese *janela* [ʒanela], with reported regional variant *jinela*, ultimately from Vulgar Latin *januella* diminutive of *iānua* 'door'.**dinela** *Termanu*. window. (J:88)**dinela** *Tii*. window. (Grimes et al. 2014a)**eno sneer** *Kotos Amarasi*. window. [*Form*: reanalysis as **sneer=aa** ['sne:ɾɐ] with the determiner =aa attached to a consonant final stem. **eno?** = 'door'.]#**en** *PMeto*. similar, like; to, towards, irrealis locative indicating a location where someone will be in the future. *Borrowed from*: probably Helong into *Meto* before *l > n. [*irr. from PRM*: *e > o in Nuclear *Meto*]**en** *Ro'is Amarasi*. a) like, similar to. b) to, towards, irrealis locative indicating a location where someone will be in the future.**on** *Kotos Amarasi*. a) like, similar to. b) to, towards, irrealis locative indicating a location where someone will be in the future.**on ii** *Molo*. so is it, in this way. (M:405)**on** *Kusa-Manea*. like, similar to.**Out-comparisons:****el** *Semau Helong*. like, similar, as; to, towards.#**etu** *PMeto*. field. *Borrowed from*: the direction of borrowing between *Meto* and *Tetun* is unclear though the wider semantic range in *Tetun* indicates it is probably the donor.**etu** *Kotos Amarasi*. field. *Usage*: poetic.**etu** *Amfo'an*. field. *Usage*: poetic.**etu** *Molo*. land for the construction of a field for the king. (M:105)**Out-comparisons:****etun (2) liman etun (3) ai tuur etun (4) manu etun** *East Tetun*. 1) sustenance, nourishment, provisions. 2) the portion or share or levy of food that each person has to meet at celebrations, funerals, etc. [*Form*: **liman** = 'arm/hand'.] 3) the part of the crop belonging to the king when

the garden is made in another district or kingdom. [*Form*: **ai tuur** = ‘tree stump’.] 4) the part of the crop belonging to the king when the crop is made in the proper district of the farmer. [*Form*: **manu** = ‘chicken, bird’.] (Mo:30)

#**faduli** *PRM*. care for. *Borrowed from*: Arabic *faḍuli* [fad‘uli] ‘curious, inquisitive’, compare Malay *peduli*.

na-fa-duli *Termanu*. care for someone. (J:107)

na-fa-duli *Korbafo*.

na-fa-duli *Bokai*.

na-fa-duli *Bilbaa*.

na-fa-duli *Rikou*.

na-fa-duli *Ba'a*.

na-fa-duli *Tii*.

na-fa-duli *Dengka*.

na-fa-duli *Oenale*.

n-fairori (2) n-pairori *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) care, pay attention to. 2) prepare; convalesce. [*Form*: Jonker (1908:107) gives Meto **filoli, firoir**.]

#**fei** *Rote*. file. *Borrowed from*: Dutch *vijl* [feil].

fei *Termanu*. file. (J:130)

fei *Korbafo*.

fei *Bokai*.

fei *Bilbaa*.

fei *Rikou*.

fei *Ba'a*.

fei *Tii*.

fei *Dengka*.

fei *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

vei *Hawu*. (J:130)

#**filanda** *Rote*. European person. *Borrowed from*: Malay *belanda* [bəlanda], ultimately from Dutch *Hollander* ‘person from Holland’.

filana *Termanu*. Dutchmen, European in general, considered more polite than **olana**. (J:135)

fili_ana *Korbafo*.

filana *Bokai*.

fila_ana *Bilbaa*.

filanda *Rikou*.

filanda *Oepao*. (own field notes)

filana *Ba'a*.

filanda *Tii*.

filanda *Dengka*.

filanda *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

balanda *East Tetun*. Dutchman. (Mo:9)

walaṭe *Kisar*. Dutch, foreigner with white skin; foreign, manufactured.

#**fukar** *PMeto*. spices, seasonings. *Borrowed from*: probably Tetun into Meto given final *r*. Final *r* is rare in native Meto words (there are only about a dozen examples of final *r* in native words in my Kotos Amarasi database), but not uncommon in Tetun. The presence of this word in Galolen (whether native or borrowed) also probably indicates that Tetun is the ultimate donor. *Pattern*: k-6/9.

fukar *Kotos Amarasi*. herbs, spices, seasonings. *Usage*: archaic.

fukal *Molo*. seasonings. (M:131)

fukul *Timaus*. herbs and spices. [*Form*: regular assimilation of *a in final closed syllables.]

Out-comparisons:

fukar *East Tetun*. season, spice. (Mo:37)

ai fukar *Galolen*. cooking spices.

#**hada|k** *PMeto*. raised platform. *Borrowed from*: the direction of borrowing between Proto-Meto and Helong is unclear.

harak *Kotos Amarasi*. raised platform.

<**hala**> *Molo*. raised platform. (M:137)

Out-comparisons:

khadaŋ *Funai Helong*. platform.

hadaŋ *Semau Helong*. bed.

#**hadat** PRM. custom, tradition. *Borrowed from:* ultimately Arabic *‘adat* [ʕa:dat] ‘custom, habit’.

hada-k *Termanu*. custom, morals. (J:151)

harat *Ro'is Amarasi*. custom, tradition.

harat *Kotos Amarasi*. custom, tradition.

Out-comparisons:

hadat *Semau Helong*. custom, tradition, customary law.

hadat, adat *Fehan Tetun*. usage, custom. (Mo:42)

hadzak *Ili'uun*. custom. (dJ:155)

#**horo** *Rote*. saw. *Borrowed from:* ultimately probably Portuguese *corte* [kɔrtɐ].

holo *Termanu*. saw; cut in a sawing manner. (J:189)

holo *Korbafo*.

holo *Bokai*.

holo *Bilbaa*.

horo *Rikou*.

holo *Ba'a*.

horo *Tii*.

holo *Dengka*.

horo *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

holat *Semau Helong*. saw.

korat *East Tetun*. cut. (Mo:117)

#**huta** *Morph:* #**huta-k**. *Rote*. debt, fine. *Borrowed from:* Malay *hutang*.

huta-k *Termanu*. debt, financial debt, fine. (J:198)

huta-? *Korbafo*.

huta-k *Bokai*.

huta-? *Bilbaa*.

huta-? *Rikou*.

huta-k *Ba'a*.

huta-k *Tii*.

huta-? *Dengka*.

huta-? *Oenale*.

#**kaba** PRM. copper wire. *Borrowed from:* Malay *kawat*. *Pattern:* k-1.

(**tali**) **kafa** *Termanu*. copper wire. (J:212)

kafa *Korbafo*.

kafa *Bokai*.

kafa *Bilbaa*.

kafa *Ba'a*.

kafa *Tii*.

kafa *Dengka*.

kafa *Oenale*.

tain kaba *Molo*. telephone wire. (M:164)

Out-comparisons:

kaba *Semau Helong*. (J:212)

#**kabas** PRM. cotton. *Borrowed from:* ultimately Sanskrit *kārpāsa* [ka:rp̄a:sa]. Reflexes of *k probably indicate this term probably dispersed after the break-up of PRM. *Pattern:* k-irr.

(?)**abas** *Termanu*. cotton shrub; the raw material, cotton; cotton fruit; yarn, thread. (J:1f)

(?)**aba-?** *Korbafo*.

kaba-? *Bilbaa*.

?**abas** *Rikou*.

(?)**abas** *Ba'a*.

(?)**abas** *Lole*. cotton. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

(?)**abas** *Tii*.

(?)**abas** *Dengka*.

?**abas** *Oenale*.

?**abas** *Dela*. thread.

kabas *Ro'is Amarasi*. cotton.

?**abas** *Kotos Amarasi*. cotton.

?**abas** *Molo*. cotton plant, also cotton thread. (M:2)

?**abas** *Kusa-Manea*. cotton.

Out-comparisons:

kabas *East Tetun*. cotton or cotton plant. (Mo:92)

#**kadera** PRM. chair. *Borrowed from:* Portuguese *cadeira* [kadeira]. *Pattern:* k-1.

kadela *Termanu*. chair. (J:211)

kadela *Lole*. chair. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

kadera *Tii*. chair. (Grimes et al. 2014a)

kanreer [kand'rɛ:r] *Ro'is Amarasi*. chair. [Form: reanalysis as **kanreer=aa** ['kandɾɛ:rɐ] with the determiner =aa attached to a consonant final stem.]

kanleel *Molo*. chair. (M:180)

Out-comparisons:

kdeda *Funai Helong*. chair.

dela *Semau Helong*. chair.

kader *East Tetun*. chair. (Mo:93)

#**kado** *PRM*. sack. Borrowed from: Malay *karung/kandung*. Pattern: k-2b.

ka~kado (2) (ka~)kado-k *Termanu*.

1) carry betel (etc.) in a bag/sack formed by the fold of cloth or a sarong. 2) such a bag/sack. (J:211)

ka~kado *Korbafo*.

ka~kado *Bokai*.

na-kado *Bilbaa*.

(?)a~(?)ado *Rikou*.

ka~kado, kali_kado *Ba'a*.

kali_kado *Tii*.

ta?i (?)ado *Dengka*.

(?)a~(?)ado, ta?i (?)ado *Oenale*.

?karo? *Kotos Amarasi*. sack.

<kalo> *Molo*. bag, sack. (M:175)

Out-comparisons:

karon *East Tetun*. a sack made from sacking; a bale; sacking or hessian; the bag at the bottom of the casting net. (Mo:102)

kado *Hawu*. (J:211)

#**kameru**? *PMeto*. rice ear bug. *Leptocorisa oratorius*. Borrowed from: Tetun into Kusa-Manea. [Note: While it is possible to reconstruct Proto-Flores-Lembata *kəmeruŋ which is cognate with Tetun **kamerun** (thus pointing to an earlier regional Austronesian term), the absence of this term in any Rote-Meto language apart from Kusa-Manea indicates that Kusa-Manea has borrowed this term from Tetun.]

kameru? *Kusa-Manea*. rice ear bug. *Leptocorisa oratorius*.

Out-comparisons:

kamerun *Fehan Tetun*. small (1/2-inch-long) bug that damages rice by sucking it, so that the grain doesn't form. *Leptocorisa oratorius*. [Semantics: Indonesian gloss given as *walang sangit* = 'rice ear bug'.]

kamiru *East Tetun*. beetle. [Semantics: This is given as identical to **diru** which is glossed as: 'beetle which attacks palm trees'.] (Mo:100)

kəmeruŋ *Lamaholot, Ile Mandiri*. rice ear bug. *Leptocorisa oratorius*. Usage: Lewoingu dialect. [Note: language of east Flores ISO 639-3 [slp].] (Klamer 2015b)

kəmorog *Central Lembata*. rice ear bug. *Leptocorisa oratorius*. (Fricke 2015)

kameruŋ *Alorese*. rice ear bug. *Leptocorisa oratorius*. Usage: Alor Besar village. (Moro 2016, LexiRumah)

kameliŋ *Abui*. rice ear bug. *Leptocorisa oratorius*. [Note: non-Austronesian language of Alor ISO 639-3 [abz].] [Semantics: English gloss given as 'cockroach' in Kratochvil (2007:467).] (Saad 2015, LexiRumah)

#**kamba** *Rote*. buffalo. Borrowed from: Malay *kerbau*. Pattern: k-2/3.

kapa *Termanu*. buffalo. (J:221)

kapa *Korbafo*.

kapa *Bokai*.

kapa *Bilbaa*.

?apa *Landu*. buffalo. (own field notes)

?apa *Rikou*.

kampa *Ba'a*.

kamba *Tii*.

(?)amba *Dengka*.

?amba *Oenale*.

?amba *Dela*. buffalo, water buffalo.

Out-comparisons:

kabau *Fehan Tetun.* large domestic animal – includes cow, buffalo, horse.

karau *East Tetun.* water buffalo. (Mo:102)

#**kapir** *Morph: *ka-kapir. PRM.* plaited palm leaf bag or pouch. *Borrowed from: Malay kampil. Etym: *kampil (PWMP. Blust and Trussel (ongoing) note that the reflexes of this form may be a Malay loan distribution.). Pattern: k-1. [irr. from PMP: *mp > *p; *l > *r] [irr. from PRM: *p > b in Molo] [Form: Hawu also attests irregular medial b also found in Molo.] [History: Given the irregularities in the Rote and Meto forms, the reflexes included here were probably distributed by contact.]*

kapi-k *Termanu.* kind of basket woven from lontar leaves. (J:222)

kapi-? *Korbafo.*

kapi-k *Bokai.*

kapi-? *Bilbaa.*

kapi-k *Ba'a.*

kapi-? *Dengka.*

kapi-? *Oenale.*

kapi-? *Dela.* bag from palm leaf.

kaipir *Ro'is Amarasi.* braided bag typically used for holding betel nut.

?|kapi|? *Kotos Amarasi.* braided bag typically used for holding betel nut.

<kabi> *Molo.* four cornered betel nut basket. (M:165)

Out-comparisons:

kabir *Fehan Tetun.* container for betel nut.

kabi *Hawu.* (J:222)

#**kari** *Morph: *kari-f. PMeto.* kidneys. *Borrowed from: probably an early borrowing from Helong into PMeto. Pattern: k-2b. [Form: The Meto cognates set indicates earlier medial **nd. While the Helong forms indicate earlier **ŋ(g). This is perhaps a case of dissimilation of *ŋg > *nd /k_ in Meto. Compare PRM *kinggi 'cockroach'.]*

ka^hiri-f, kaer-n=aa *Ro'is Amarasi.* kidneys.

?aki-f *Kotos Amarasi.* kidneys.

?ake-k *Kopas.* lungs.

?aki-f *Molo.* kidneys. (M:14)

Out-comparisons:

kha^hin beas *Funai Helong.* kidneys. *Usage: obsolete. [Form: beas = 'seed'.]*

ha^hin *Semau Helong.* kidneys.

#**karu** *PRM.* cloth bag. *Borrowed from: an early borrowing from Malay karung or similar. The forms collected here probably represent several independent instances of borrowing. Pattern: k-irr.*

alu\kosu *Termanu.* bag, purse of linen or cotton. (J:9)

alu\kosu *Korbafo.*

alu\kosu *Bokai.*

alu\kosu *Bilbaa.*

alu\kosu *Rikou.*

alu\kosu *Ba'a.*

alu\kosu *Tii.*

alu\kosi *Dengka.*

alu\kosi *Oenale.*

a^huru|k *Ro'is Amarasi.* small cloth bag used for holding betel nut.

aru|k, aru|? *Kotos Amarasi.* small cloth bag used for holding betel nut.

alu|?, alu|k (2) <alu_kosu> *Molo.* 1) small bag for betel-nut. 2) small whey bag which can be closed up. (M:19)

ka~karu *Kusa-Manea.* betel-nut bag.

Out-comparisons:

olo\kohu *Hawu.* (J:9)

ka~kalu *Ili'uun.* a sack or bag made of imported cloth. (dJ:120)

#**kinde** *PRM.* spindle. *Borrowed from: connected with Malay kincir 'spinning wheel; spool, reel'. Reflexes of *k probably indicate this term was not borrowed into PRM, but has a later dispersion. Pattern: k-irr.*

(?)ine *Termanu*. long round piece of wood which one rotates resting on the **bina** in order to spin yarn. (J:203)

(?)ine *Korbafo*.

(?)ine *Bokai*.

kini *Bilbaa*.

?indi *Landu*. spindle. (own field notes)

?inde *Rikou*.

?iri *Oepao*. (own field notes)

(?)ina(_abas) *Ba'a*.

(?)inda *Lole*. spinner. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

(?)inde *Tii*.

(?)inde *Dengka*.

(?)inde *Oenale*.

kiri *Ro'is Amarasi*. spool for spinning cotton thread.

?ike *Kotos Amarasi*. spool for spinning cotton thread.

?ike *Molo*. spool for spinning cotton thread. (M:159)

Out-comparisons:

kida *East Tetun*. spindle (for spinning thread). (Mo:40)

kinde *Manggarai*. spindle, tools for spinning thread. (Verheijen 1967:220)

<**kindi**> *Kambera*. spindle. (On:211)

#**k|naba|?** *PMeto*. spider. Doublet: ***lau**.
Etyim: **lawaq*. [*irr. from PMP*: **wa* > **ba* (expect **o*)] [*History*: Probably borrowing from Tetun into pre-Meto before **l* > Proto-Meto **n*, as **w* > *b* is regular in East Tetun. Welaun has **dabadai(n)** and this may also be the source for the Meto form.]

k|naba|? *Ro'is Amarasi*. spider.

k|naba|? *Kotos Amarasi*. spider.

?|nab~naba|? *Molo*. spider, spider web. (M:338)

naba_k|ra~ra?i *Kusa-Manea*. spider. [*Note*: Kusa-Manea also has **labrait** which is a more recent borrowing from Tetun.]

Out-comparisons:

labadain *Fehan Tetun*. spider, cobweb. (Mo:122)

labadain *East Tetun*. spider. (Mo:122)

#**koedzabas** *PRM*. guava. Borrowed from: Portuguese *goiabas* [gojaβas] (pl. of *goiaba*), ultimately Arawak *guayabo*. *Pattern*: k-l. [*Form*: In Meto the insertion of /dʒ/ can be explained as a (historic) process to break up the sequence of three vowels. All three vowels are still seen in the Baikeno form. Some varieties have subsequently undergone *dʒ > r, or in the case of Kusa-Manea (unexpected) *dʒ > l. The appearance of /dʒ/ or /d/ in Rote is not explicable in the same way and these forms may be from Meto. The Tetun form appears to result from a different borrowing event.]

kudzabas, kudabas *Termanu*. in Kupang *kudzawas* kind of edible fruit. (J:255)

kudzawas *Lole*. guava. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

kuraibis *Ro'is Amarasi*. guava.

kudzabis, kurabis, kurabe *Kotos Amarasi*. guava.

kudzawas *Molo*. guava. (M:244)

koi-dʒ *Amfo'an*. guava.

kurabis *Timaus*. guava.

koedzabis *Baikeno*. guava. (Michael Rose pers. comm.)

koelabis *Kusa-Manea*. guava.

Out-comparisons:

koiabas, goiaba *East Tetun*. guava. (Mo:116,38)

kudzawas *Kupang Malay*. guava.

#**kofa** *Morph*: #**kofa-k**. *PRM*. canoe. Borrowed from: currently unidentified. *Pattern*: k-irr. [*Form*: Reflexes of *k indicate that this term is a borrowing after the break-up of PRM.] [*History*: May be connected (irregularly) with PMP *qabaŋ.]

(?)ofa-k *Termanu*. vessel. (J:454)

(?)ofa-? *Korbafo*.

(?)ofa-k *Bokai*.

kofa-? *Bilbaa*.

(?)ofa-? *Landu*. canoe. (own field notes)

?ofa-? *Rikou*.

(?)ofa-k *Ba'a*.

(?)ofa-k *Tii*.

(?)ofa-? *Dengka*.

?ofa-? *Oenale*.

?ofa-? *Dela*. boat.

kofa|? *Ro'is Amarasi*. canoe, boat.

kofa|? *Kotos Amarasi*. canoe, boat.

Out-comparisons:

kova *Hawu*. boat.

kowa *Ende*. canoe with two supporting poles on each side. (McDonnell 2009:25)

#koi *PRM*. bed. *Borrowed from:* Dutch *kooi* [ko:i], ultimately Latin *cavea*. *Pattern:* k-1.

koi *Rikou*. bed. (Nako et al. 2014)

koi *Lole*. bed. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

koi *Tii*. bed. (Grimes et al. 2014a)

koi *Dela*. bed.

koi *Timaus*. bed. [*Form:* Citation form with final consonant insertion is **koor**.]

Out-comparisons:

kui *Semau Helong*. bed.

koi *Fehan Tetun*. bed.

#kopi *PMeto*. knife. *See:* ***dombe**.

opi *Ro'is Amarasi*. knife.

Out-comparisons:

opi *Ili'uun*. sword, cutlass, chopping knife. (dJ:131, 143)

kopi *Roma*. knife.

opi-e *Central Marsela*. knife. [*Note:* language of the Babar Islands, southwest Maluku ISO 639-3 [mxz].] (Taber 1993:428)

#kota *PRM*. fortress, city. *Borrowed from:* ultimately Sanskrit *koṭa* [koṭa] 'fort', perhaps via Malay *kota*. *Pattern:* k-1.

kota *Termanu*. fort, fortress, in particular the fort at Kupang, also **Kota** as the Rote name for Kupang. Also: stone fence, or wall in general. (J:252)

kota *Dela*. city, city of Kupang.

koot, kota *Kotos Amarasi*. city, fort. [*Form:* The form **koot** is due to reanalysis as **koot=aa** ['kɔ:ɬɐ] with the determiner =**aa** attached to a consonant final stem.]

koot *Molo*. fort. (M:238)

#kusapi *PMeto*. Ceylon oak. *Schleichera oleosa*. *Borrowed from:* Hindi *kusumb*. *Pattern:* k-2b. [*History:* Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PMP *kasambi?, but the tree is not native to this area.]

kusapi *Ro'is Amarasi*. Ceylon oak. *Schleichera oleosa*.

?usapi *Kotos Amarasi*. Ceylon oak. *Schleichera oleosa*.

?usapi *Molo*. kind of tree the seeds of which have oil. (M:591)

?usapi *Kusa-Manea*. Ceylon oak. *Schleichera oleosa*.

Out-comparisons:

sapi? *Semau Helong*. Ceylon oak.

#laison *PRM*. shallot, eschalot, onion. *Allium Ascalonicum*. [*irr. from PRM:* *n > Ø in Meto] [*Sporadic:* glottal stop insertion in Amarasi.] [*History:* Ultimately from Sanskrit *rasuna*, perhaps via Makassar/Bugis *lasuna*.]

laison *Termanu*. onion. (J:271)

laison *Korbafo*.

laison *Bokai*.

laison *Bilbaa*.

laison *Rikou*.

laison *Ba'a*.

laison *Tii*.

laison *Dengka*.

laison *Oenale*.

naiso?o *Ro'is Amarasi*. eschalot, onion. *Allium Ascalonicum*.

naisoʔo *Kotos Amarasi*. eschalot, onion. *Allium Ascalonicum*. [Form: Final ʔo disappears in compounds e.g. **naiso noʔo** ‘spring onions, scallions’, same as **aidʒoʔo** ‘casuarina tree’.]

Out-comparisons:

lais’one *Waima’a*. onion.

lahono *Kisar*. onion.

#leko *PMeto*. good. Borrowed from: probably Helong into Meto after *l > n. If this were from Proto-Meto ***reko**, we would not expect initial l in the Waima’a out-comparison. Furthermore, Kusa-Manea does not have this form and instead has **na-mria** ‘good’.

reko *Ro’is Amarasi*. good.

reko *Kotos Amarasi*. good.

leko *Molo*. be good, be healthy.

Out-comparisons:

leko *Semau Helong*. beautiful.

loko *Waima’a*. beautiful. [irr. from PRM: e = o correspondence]

#mangga *Rote*. mango. Borrowed from: ultimately colloquial Tamil *māṅgā* [ma:ŋga:] (Tamil *māṅkaṇi* [ma:ŋkani]), perhaps via Malay *mangga*.

(pao) maŋa *Termanu*. the name of a big kind of mango. (J:346)

maŋa *Korbafo*.

maŋa *Bokai*.

makas *Rikou*.

maŋga *Ba’a*.

maŋga *Dengka*.

maŋga *Oenale*. mango. [Semantics: Jonker (1908:346) states ‘Oenale has **maŋga** in place of [Termanu] **pao**’.]

Out-comparisons:

makas *Funai Helong*. mango.

makas *Semau Helong*. mango.

***(m)baha** *Morph*: ***(m)baha-k**. *PRM*. fence. Borrowed from: ultimately Sanskrit *prākāra*. [History: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PMP

*pagər, but the correspondences in the east cannot be reconciled with this reconstruction.]

paʔa *Termanu*. fence, wooden hedge. (J:460)

paʔa *Bokai*.

mpaʔa *Ba’a*.

mbaʔa *Lole*. fence. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

mbaʔa *Tii*.

mbaa *Dengka*.

mbaa *Oenale*.

baha|k *Ro’is Amarasi*. fence.

baha|k *Kotos Amarasi*. (wooden) fence.

bahan *Molo*. fence made from sticks. (M:41)

bahan *Kusa-Manea*. fence.

Out-comparisons:

paha *Semau Helong*. fence.

baʔa *Fehan Tetun*. fence.

baha *East Tetun*. a circle of wall, defence or enclosure (around houses). (Mo:8)

#mei *PRM*. table. Borrowed from: Portuguese *mesa* [meza]. [Form: In most known varieties of Meto insertion of [dʒ] occurs after /i/ before a vowel initial enclitic. Thus, Kotos Amarasi **mei** + =aa → **meedʒaa** [ˈme:dʒe] ~ [ˈme:ʒe] (with mid-high [e:] not mid-low [ɛ:]). It would appear that the final vowel of Portuguese *mesa* [meza] was reanalysed as the determiner =aa (cf. *aa) with the previous [z] being analysed as an inserted consonant. Such an explanation is probably not possible for Rote, thus indicating that the Rote forms were borrowed from Meto. (Note further that in Baikeno and Amfo’an /dʒ/ is realised as [dʒ]~[ʒ]~[z]~[z].) A similar process probably took place with cognates of **#ŋgarei** ‘church’.]

mei *Termanu*. table. (J:354)

mei *Korbafo*.

mei *Bokai*.

mei *Bilbaa*.

mei *Rikou*.

mei *Ba'a*.

mei *Tii*.

mei *Dengka*.

mei *Oenale*.

mei *Kotos Amarasi*. table.

mei-dʒ *Amfo'an*. table.

mei *Molo*. table. (M:394)

mei-dʒ *Baikeno*. table. (Charles E. Grimes pers. comm.)

Out-comparisons:

midʒa *Semau Helong*. table.

mesa *East Tetun*. a table. (Mo:141)

#**mbarani** *Rote*. brave. *Borrowed from:* Malay *berani* [bəˈrani]. [*Form:* Either an early loan or a case of correspondence mimicry.]

palani *Termanu*. brave, bravery; hero. (J:466)

palani *Korbafo*.

palani *Bokai*.

palani *Bilbaa*.

parani *Rikou*.

palani *Lole*. dare, daredevil. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

parani *Tii*. hero, brave, superb. (Grimes et al. 2014a)

mbalani *Dengka*.

mbarani *Oenale*.

na-mba-rani *Dela*. brave. [*Form:* The antepenultimate syllable assimilates to the quality of the agreement prefix, thus providing evidence that it has been reanalysed as a prefix; i.e. 1SG ʔu-mbu-rani, 2SG mu-mbu-rani, 2PL/1PL. EXCL mi-mbi-rani, 0/obviative ne-mbe-rani.]

#**naka** *Rote*. anchor. *Borrowed from:* an unidentified source. Compare Persian رنگار [laŋgar], Hindi [laŋgar], Kambera <tanangga> (Onvlee 1984:471), Bima mangga (Ismail et al. 1985:85), Balinese manggar (Kersten 1984:403), and Malay jangkar [dʒaŋkar]. The ending -angga(r) seems

to be a kind of *Wanderwort* and may even be connected with Dutch *anker* [aŋkər], and English *anchor* [aŋkər] which are ultimately from Greek ἄγκυρα *ankura*. *Pattern:* k-5.

naka *Termanu*. anchor. (J:374)

naka *Korbafo*.

naka *Bokai*.

naka *Bilbaa*.

naʔa *Rikou*.

naka *Ba'a*.

naka *Tii*.

naka *Dengka*.

naka *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

tenaga *Hawu*. [*Form:* Grimes, Lado et. al (2008) have Seba and Raijua **penavu** and Dimu **penavo** ‘anchor’.] (J:374)

#**nane** *Morph:* #**nane-f**. *PMeto*. daughter-in-law, opposite sex sibling’s daughter. *Borrowed from:* probably Helong into Meto before *l > n. But note that Helong has **manhiu** ‘son-in-law’ which is a borrowing from another source as identified by the element **hiu**. This is ultimately from PMP *baqəRu ‘new’ which is otherwise retained regularly in Helong as **balu**. [*Note:* The Rote languages have phrases meaning literally ‘new woman’ for ‘daughter-in-law’, such as Termanu **feto feu-k** (Jonker 1908:134).]

nane-f *Kotos Amarasi*. daughter-in-law, opposite sex sibling’s daughter.

nane-f *Molo*. daughter-in-law. (M:348)

Out-comparisons:

nale-n *Funai Helong*. daughter-in-law, opposite sex sibling’s daughter.

nale-n *Semau Helong*. daughter-in-law.

#**nome** *PMeto*. Venus, morning star. *Borrowed from:* probably Helong into Meto before *l > n. [*Note:* Tetun

naroma ‘light’ could be connected./
[Semantics: Rikou has ruu manalepa bafi literally ‘the star carrying a pig’ for ‘Venus, morning star’ (Jonker 1908:722). The other Rote languages have phrases meaning ‘chicken star’, such as Termanu nduu manu-k (Jonker 1908:346).]
faif noem *Ro’is Amarasi*. Venus, morning star. *Lit.*: ‘pig **nome**’.
faif nome *Kotos Amarasi*. Venus, morning star. *Lit.*: ‘pig **nome**’.
[Semantics: nome has no known independent meaning.]
faif nome (2) <nome> *Molo*. 1) the morning star. 2) a kind of plant whose leaves will gleam when the morning star shines. (M:380)
Out-comparisons:
paap lome *Semau Helong*. Venus, morning star. *Lit.*: ‘father **lome**’.
[Semantics: lome has no known independent meaning.]
#ndara *Rote*. horse. *Borrowed from:* ultimately Javanese *jaran* [dʒaran].
*[irr. from PRM: *nd > d in Rikou]*
ndala *Termanu*. horse. (J:413)
ndala *Korbafo*.
lala *Bokai*.
lala *Bilbaa*.
ndara *Landu*.
dara *Rikou*.
rara *Oepao*.
ndala *Ba’a*.
ndala *Lole*.
ndara *Tii*.
ndala *Dengka*.
ndara *Oenale*.
ndara *Dela*. horse.
#ngarei *PRM*. church. *Borrowed from:* Portuguese *igreja* [igreʒa]. *[Note: Jonker (1908:431) does not give the forms for each Rote language, but states: ‘dialects ngalei, ngarei, karei’.]*
[Form: In most known varieties of Meto insertion of [dʒ] occurs after /i/ before a vowel initial enclitic. Thus,

Kotos Amarasi krei + =aa → kreedʒaa [ˈkreːdʒɐ] ~ [ˈkreːʒɐ] (with mid-high [eː] not mid-low [ɛː]). It would appear that the final vowel of Portuguese *igreja* [igreʒa] was reanalysed as the determiner =aa (cf. *aa) with the previous [ʒ] being analysed as an inserted consonant. (A similar process probably took place with cognates of #mei ‘table’.) Such an explanation is probably not possible for Rote, thus Meto may have been the donor for the Rote forms. However, proposing Meto as the intermediary for the Rote forms does not explain the ‘regular’ reflexes of *ngg. This would appear to be a case of adaption of non-native Portuguese [g] with correspondence mimicry (Alpher and Nash 1999:14f).]
ngalei *Termanu*. church. (J:431)
ngalei *Korbafo*.
ngalei *Bokai*.
ngalei *Bilbaa*.
karei *Rikou*.
ngalei *Ba’a*.
ngalei *Lole*. church. (Zacharias et al. 2014)
ngarei *Tii*.
ngalei *Dengka*.
ngarei *Oenale*.
krei *Ro’is Amarasi*. church, week.
krei *Kotos Amarasi*. church, week.
klei-dʒ, klii-dʒ *Amfo’an*. church, week.
klei *Molo*. church. (M:216)
#ngusi *PRM*. water jar. *Borrowed from:* Malay *guci* [guʃi] ‘earthenware jug’, ultimately Chinese, e.g. Mandarin 骨瓷 *gǔ cí* [guʈsʰiʈ] ‘bone china’.
ngusi *Termanu*. kind of jug. (J:450)
ngusi *Lole*. earthenware pot, clay pot. (Zacharias et al. 2014)
ngusi *Tii*. porcelain or earthenware jug. (Grimes et al. 2014a)
ngusi *Dela*. jar for water or lontar palm sugar made of clay. (Thersia Tamelan pers. comm. May 2017)

kusi *Kotos Amarasi*. water jar.

kusi *Molo*. water vessel. (M:253)

Out-comparisons:

kusi *East Tetun*. a clay jar or pot. (Mo:122)

kusi *Ili'uun*. large earthenware jar. (dJ:122)

uhi *Kisar*. water jar, earth container.

#ngute *Rote*. cut with scissors. *Borrowed from:* Malay *gunting* [guntin].

ngute *Termanu*. cut with scissors. (J:450)

ngute *Korbafo*.

gute *Bokai*.

gute *Bilbaa*.

kute *Rikou*.

ngute *Ba'a*.

ngute *Tii*.

ngute *Dengka*.

ngute *Oenale*.

#omba *Rote*. wave, billow, swell at sea. *Borrowed from:* Malay *ombak* [omba?]. [*irr. from PRM: *mb > m for second sense in Termanu*] [*History: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct *humbak to PWMP, but this would require irr. *u > o in Rote.*]

na-o~opa (2) na-o~oma *Termanu*.

1) wave, undulate. (J:458) 2) wave, undulate. (J:457)

na-o~opa *Korbafo*.

na-o~opa *Bokai*.

na-o~opa *Rikou*.

na-o~ompa *Ba'a*.

na-o~omba *Dengka*.

na-o~omba *Oenale*.

#oras *PwRM*. time. *Borrowed from:* Portuguese *horas* [oras], plural of *hora* 'hour, time'.

oras ia *Dela*. now.

oros *Ro'is Amarasi*. time.

oras *Kotos Amarasi*. time.

olas *Molo*. hour. (M:403)

Out-comparisons:

oras *Semau Helong*. time.

oras *East Tetun*. hour, time. (Mo:156)

ors *Kisar*. time.

#paha *PRM*. chisel. *Borrowed from:* Malay *pahat*.

pa?a *Termanu*. chiselling. (J:461)

pa?a *Korbafo*.

pa?a *Bokai*.

paa *Bilbaa*.

pa?a *Rikou*. chisel. (Nako et al. 2014)

mpa?a *Ba'a*.

pa?a *Tii*.

paa *Dengka*.

paa *Oenale*.

paah *Meto*. chiselling. (J:461)

Out-comparisons:

pahat *Semau Helong*. chisel, carve.

bahat *East Tetun*. chisel. (Mo:8)

#papan *PRM*. plank. *Borrowed from:* Malay *papan*. [*History: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PMP *papan, but the forms here cannot be regularly derived from this.*]

papa-k *Termanu*. plank of ordinary wood. (J:469)

papa-? *Korbafo*.

papa-k *Bokai*.

papa-? *Bilbaa*.

papa-? *Rikou*.

mpampa-k *Ba'a*.

papa-k *Tii*.

papa-? *Dengka*.

papa-? *Oenale*.

papan *Molo*. round planks or stones around the post of the **lopo** house which prevent mice from getting into the roof. (M:422)

#paria *Morph: #paria-k. PRM*. bitter melon. *Momordica charantia*. *Borrowed from:* Malay *peria* [pəria]. [*History: An early loan as indicated by regular Meto *r > *l > n.*]

palia-k *Termanu*. kind of bitter cucumber. (J:466)

palia-k *Bokai*.

palia-k *Ba'a*.

paria-k *Tii*.

palia *Dengka*.

paria *Oenale*.

pnia? *Kotos Amarasi*. bitter melon.

#**[p/b]isi** *PRM*. sprinkle. [*Form*: Meto and Helong show irregular initial consonants. The religious use of this word provides a cultural motivation for borrowing (see the note for the Hawu form).] [*History*: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct *picik to PMP and include the Rote and Hawu forms as part of their evidence. However, (as they concede) *p > p would be irregular in Rote.]

psi *Termanu*. sprinkle. (J:486)

psi *Korbafo*.

psi *Bokai*.

psi *Bilbaa*.

mpsi *Ba'a*.

(**psi** ?) *Tii*.

bisin *Kotos Amarasi*. sprinkle.

n-bisin *Molo*. sprinkles. (M:70)

Out-comparisons:

hiti? *Semau Helong*. splash, sprinkle, splatter.

hisik *East Tetun*. dust, shake out; to throw out. (Mo:86)

ʔbe *Dhao*. sprinkle, toss, cast, throw. [*Sporadic*: consonant metathesis: *bVʃ > ʔVb.]

pihi, **pihe** *Hawu*. sprinkle. [*Semantics*: ‘In traditional Sabu culture, this act of sprinkling can be used as a ritual at any time during one’s life where one feels defiled for whatever reason, and needs to be restored to a state of ritual purity. It can be done many times. It can also be done to dedicate a new house (using sugarcane juice, or coconut milk).’]

#**pinga** *Morph*: #**ka-pinga-k**. *PRM*. plate. Borrowed from: Malay *pinggan*, ultimately from Persian.

pija-k *Termanu*. dish, plate. (J:485)

pija-? *Korbafo*.

pija-k *Bokai*.

pija-? *Bilbaa*.

bika-? *Rikou*.

pinga-k *Ba'a*.

pinga-k *Tii*.

pinga-? *Dengka*.

pinga-? *Oenale*.

ʔ|pika|ʔ *Kotos Amarasi*.

<**pika**> *Molo*. plate. (M:437)

Out-comparisons:

pijas *Semau Helong*. plate.

bikan *East Tetun*. plate. (Mo:13)

#**pohat** *Morph*: #**ka-pohat**. *PMeto*. bark of tree, husk. [*History*: While borrowing between Helong and Meto is likely, the direction is unclear. Amarasi **ʔpoho-f** with medial *h* is probably a subsequent borrowing from Helong after this term had been shared between these languages.]

poho? *Ro'is Amarasi*. tree bark.

ʔ|poho-f *Kotos Amarasi*. tree bark, egg shell, book cover.

ʔ|poʔat, **ʔ|poʔot** *Kopas*. tree bark.

ʔ|poʔat *Molo*. shell or husk of a fruit. (M:442)

ʔ|poʔa-n *Amfo'an*. wet tree bark. [*Form*: **ʔkuit** = ‘dry tree bark’.] (own field notes)

ʔ|poʔo-f *Timaus*. tree bark.

poʔat *Kusa-Manea*. skin, bark, fingernail, toenail.

Out-comparisons:

kpohot *Funai Helong*. bark, husk, shell.

pohot *Semau Helong*. bark.

#**pukat** *PRM*. dragnet. Borrowed from: Malay *pukat*. Pattern: k-9'.

puʔa-k *Termanu*. dragnet. (J:499f)

pua-k *Korbafo*.

puʔa-k *Bokai*.

puka-? *Bilbaa*.

puka-? *Rikou*.

mpuʔa-k *Ba'a*.

puʔa-k *Tii*.

puʔat *Dengka*.

puʔat *Oenale*.

puʔat *Kotos Amarasi*. dragnet.
(M:453)

Out-comparisons:

pukat *Semau Helong*. dragnet.

#**puli** *Rote*. cure, heal. *Borrowed from:* Malay *pulih*. [History: While this may ultimately be connected with PMP *pa-quḍip the universal *d = l correspondence and *aqu = u show that this is a borrowing.]

puli *Termanu*. cure someone, treat a sick person. (J:503)

puli *Korbafo*.

puli *Bokai*.

puli *Bilbaa*.

puli *Rikou*.

mpuli *Ba'a*.

puli *Tii*.

puli *Dengka*.

puli *Oenale*.

#**rapa** *Rote*. bridle. *Borrowed from:* Hawu into Rote.

lapa *Termanu*. bridle, put on a bridle.
(J:281)

lapa *Korbafo*.

lapa *Bokai*.

lapa *Bilbaa*.

rapa *Rikou*.

lapa *Ba'a*.

rapa *Tii*.

la~lapa-t *Dengka*.

rapa *Oenale*.

Out-comparisons:

rapa *Hawu*. bridle. (J:281)

<**rapa**> *Kambera*. bridle, reins.
(On:432)

#**riti** *PRM*. copper, bracelet. *Borrowed from:* ultimately Sanskrit *rīti* [ri:ti] 'bell-metal'. [History: This is an early loan, as shown by Meto *r > *l > n.]

liti *Termanu*. copper. (J:315)

liti *Korbafo*.

liti *Bokai*.

liti *Bilbaa*.

riti *Rikou*.

liti *Ba'a*.

riti *Tii*.

liti *Dengka*.

riti *Oenale*.

niti *Kotos Amarasi*. bracelet.

niti-dɔ *Amfo'an*. bracelet.

Out-comparisons:

liti *Semau Helong*. bracelet.

riti *East Tetun*. copper, brass.
(Mo:161)

#**roa** *Morph*: #**roa-k**. *CER*. room.
Borrowed from: Malay *ruang*.

loa-k *Termanu*. room, chamber.
(J:318)

loa-ʔ *Korbafo*.

loa-k *Bokai*.

loa-ʔ *Bilbaa*.

roa-ʔ *Rikou*.

Out-comparisons:

loaŋ *Helong*. (J:318)

#**rusa** *PRM*. deer. *Borrowed from:* Malay *rusa*. [irr. from *PRM*: *r > (*l) > n in *Termanu*, *Korbafo*, *Bokai*, and *Ba'a*]

nusa *Termanu*. deer. (J:409)

nusa *Korbafo*.

nusa *Bokai*.

lusa *Bilbaa*.

rusa *Rikou*.

nusa *Ba'a*.

rusa *Tii*.

lusa *Dengka*.

rusa *Oenale*.

ruus *Kotos Amarasi*. deer. [Form: reanalysis as **ruus=aa** ['rʊ:sɐ] with the determiner =**aa** attached to a consonant final stem.]

luus *Molo*. deer. (M:293)

Out-comparisons:

lusa *Semau Helong*. deer.

rusa, bibi_rusa *East Tetun*. deer.
(Mo:162)

#**sama** *Rote*. same. *Borrowed from:* ultimately Sanskrit *sama*, perhaps via Malay *sama*.

sama *Termanu*. be the same. (J:518)

sama *Korbafo*.

sama *Bokai*.

sama *Bilbaa*.

sama *Rikou*.

sama *Ba'a*.

sama *Tii*.

sama *Dengka*.

#**sarani** *PRM*. baptise. *Borrowed from:* Arabic *naṣrānī* [nas'ra:ni:] 'Christians', compare Syriac *naṣrāyā* [nas'ra:ja:] 'Nazarene'. [*irr. from PRM: *n = n /l_ in Amfo'an (expect *n > l)*] [*Form:* The initial syllable was originally **na** which has been reanalysed as a third person agreement marker.] [*History:* This term is very old in the region. Grimes et al. (2014a) state: 'Widely used through much of eastern Indonesia in Malays and vernaculars, and its use has been established for centuries.']

salani *Termanu*. make someone Christian by baptising, baptise. (J:516)

sarani *Rikou*. baptise. (Nako et al. 2014)

salani *Lole*. baptise. (Zacharias et al. 2014)

sarani *Tii*. baptise; ritual for formally initiating people as members of the Christian faith; neutral as to method (e.g. immersion or sprinkling). (Grimes et al. 2014a)

sarani *Dela*. baptise, christen.

na-srani (2) srani? *Kotos Amarasi*. 1) baptise. 2) baptism, baptismal.

na-slani (2) slani? *Amfo'an*. 1) baptise. 2) baptism.

Out-comparisons:

sarani *Semau Helong*. baptise.

#**sarombo** *Rote*. pants, cover the body. *Borrowed from:* an unidentified source, possibly a language of Sulawesi give the Makassar form.

lopo (2) lo-po~lopo (3) uma=a na-sa-lo~lopo *Termanu*. 1) trousers. 2) he wears his sarong hanging down to the ankles like a woman's

sarong. **ana pake naa sidi=na lo-po~lopo** 3) the house has a low sloping roof. (J:327)

lopo *Korbafo*. trousers. (J:327)

lopo *Bokai*. trousers. (J:327)

(2) **lo-po~lo-po, na-sa-lo~lo-po** *Bilbaa*. 2) completely cover oneself or one's body. (J:727)

ropo *Rikou*. trousers. (J:327)

lompo (2) lompo~lompo *Ba'a*. 2) completely cover oneself or one's body. (J:727)

rombo (2) rombo~rombo, sa-ro~rombo *Tii*. 1) sarong. 2) completely cover oneself or one's body. (J:727)

(2) **lombo~lombo, na-sa-lo~lombo** *Dengka*. 2) completely cover oneself or one's body. (J:727)

Out-comparisons:

sapolo *Kisar*. trousers, pants.

robo *Hawu*. cover. (J:727)

saromboṅ *Makassar*. pillowcase. (J:727)

səromboṅ *Malay*. pipe, tube; hollow cylinder.

#**seṅge** *Rote*. cloves. *Syzygium aromaticum*. *Borrowed from:* Malay *cengkeh* [ʃeŋkeh]. [*Form:* The first element in most forms may be connected with Malay *pala* 'nutmeg'.]

pela/seṅge *Termanu*. cloves. (J:478)

pela/seṅge *Korbafo*.

pela/seṅge *Bokai*.

pela/seṅge *Bilbaa*.

pela/seke *Rikou*.

pela/seṅge *Ba'a*.

pele/seṅge *Tii*.

pela/seṅge *Dengka*.

seṅge *Oenale*.

#**seremere** *PRM*. Malay gooseberry. *Phyllanthus acidus*. *Borrowed from:* Malay *cermelek* [ʃfermele?].

selemele(-k), selumele-k *Termanu*. the Malay gooseberry tree, called *cermelek* in Kupang. (J:532)

sarmeri *Kotos Amarasi*. Malay Gooseberry.

salmele *Molo*. small tree the roots of which have toxic properties. *Phyllanthus acidus*. (M:472)

#**soro** *Rote*. push forwards. *Borrowed from*: Malay *sorong*. [*History*: Blust and Trussel (ongoing) reconstruct PWMP *suruŋ stating: ‘A number of these forms may be loans (from Malay ...), but the comparison as a whole cannot easily be dismissed as a product of borrowing.’ In the case of the Rote forms Jonker (1908) suggests they are borrowings from Malay and I agree, mainly due to the identical vowels which would not be explained by inheritance from *suruŋ.]

solo *Termanu*. push forwards. (J:560)

solo *Korbafo*.

solo *Bokai*.

solo *Bilbaa*.

soro *Rikou*.

solo-k *Ba'a*.

soro *Tii*.

solo *Dengka*.

soro *Oenale*.

#**sumba** *PRM*. oath, pledge; curse. *Borrowed from*: Malay *sumpah*.

supa *Termanu*. oath, curse. (J:576)

supa *Korbafo*.

supa *Bokai*.

supa *Bilbaa*.

supa *Rikou*.

sumpa *Ba'a*.

sumba *Tii*.

sumba *Dengka*.

sumba *Oenale*.

n-supu *Kotos Amarasi*. swear.

Out-comparisons:

sumpa *Semau Helong*. swear, oath.

#**tabe** *PRM*. greet. *Borrowed from*: Malay *tabek/tabik*, ultimately Sanskrit *kṣantavya* [kṣantavja] ‘be pardoned, forgiven’.

tabe-k *Termanu*. bring greetings, greetings on arrival. (J:582)

tabe *Dela*. shake hands.

n-tabu *Kotos Amarasi*. greet, shake hands with.

Out-comparisons:

tabe *Semau Helong*. greeting, respect. *Usage*: Archaic. Associated with pre-independence eras. A respectful greeting to a person of high status.

tabe *Fehan Tetun*. greeting. (Mo:177)

#**tai** *PRM*. weigh. *Borrowed from*: Malay *tahil* ‘unit of measurement for gold’.

tai *Termanu*. weigh something. (J:586)

tai *Korbafo*.

tai *Bokai*.

tai *Bilbaa*.

tai *Rikou*.

tai *Ba'a*.

tai *Tii*.

tai *Dengka*.

tai *Oenale*.

n-tai *Kotos Amarasi*. weigh, evaluate, balance.

tai *Molo*. scales. (M:530)

Out-comparisons:

tai *Semau Helong*.

#**tanda** *PRM*. sign. *Borrowed from*: Malay *tanda* An early borrowing as indicated by the regular correspondences, particularly *nd > *r > k in Amarasi.

tana *Termanu*. sign. (J:293)

tana *Korbafo*.

tana *Bokai*.

tana *Bilbaa*.

tanda *Rikou*.

tana *Ba'a*.

tanda *Tii*.

tanda *Dengka*.

tanda *Oenale*.

taka *Kotos Amarasi*. sign.

Out-comparisons:

tada *Semau Helong*. sign.

ha-tada, ha-tadak, ha-tadan

East Tetun. place a sign or mark (as a sign of ownership). (Mo:81)

#**tasu** *PRM.* fry pan. *Borrowed from:* Portuguese *tacho* [taʃu].

tasu *Termanu.* fry-pan. (J:602f)

tasu *Korbafo.*

tasu *Bokai.*

tasu *Bilbaa.*

tasu *Rikou.*

tasu *Ba'a.*

tasu *Tii.*

tasu *Dengka.*

tasu *Oenale.*

tasu *Kotos Amarasi.* wok.

Out-comparisons:

tasu *East Tetun.* small pan. (Mo:181)

#**tuhas** *Rote.* rice-cake snack cooked in a small container of woven young coconut leaves. *Borrowed from:* Malay *ketupat*. An early borrowing into Rote and Hawu as attested by the regular correspondences.

tuʔas *Ba'a.* packet of rice. (J:774)

tuʔas *Tii.*

tuʔas *Dengka.*

tuʔas *Oenale.*

Out-comparisons:

katupa, katufa, katuba *East Tetun.* rice cooked in little bags of green palm leaves. (Mo:104)

keduʔe *Hawu.* (J:774)

Total number of entries: 1,257

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