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Appendix

1 Texts

This appendix contains samples of the main texts used for my data analysis. The first is a story entitled ‘Frog, where are you?’. The second story entitled ‘The Pear / Avocado Story’. The third is a dialogue between two speakers. The fourth text is a monologue.

1.1 Frog, where are you?

_Frog, where are you?_ is a picture book without words created by Mercer Mayer (1969). It is a sequel to _A Boy, a Dog and a Frog_. The story goes as follows. A boy has a dog and a pet frog. One night the frog comes out of the jar where the boy usually keeps it and runs away while the boy and his dog are sleeping. The next morning the boy finds out that his frog is missing. He opens the window and calls the frog, ‘Frog, where are you?’ The boy and his dog search for the missing frog in a forest. On the way to find his pet frog, the boy and his dog meet various animals in the forest until they finally find the pet frog. This story was retold by a 61-year old male speaker of PT. I showed this informant the picture book and asked him to tell the story in PT.

1. _mahi ikao ana? nae?_  
   let 2.PL.child.A small.A  
   ‘Come here small children!’

2. _hua pada ikao usoi? jaehjaeh, _  
   PART than 2.PL.play.A RED-far.A  
   _mahi kitao caritao inei neh_  
   let 1.PL.INCL.story.A here neh  
   ‘Instead of playing far away [from home], come, listen to my story here!’

3. _kitao carito kajkau_  
   1.PL.INCL.story.O frog.A  
   ‘We will listen to a frog story’
4. *jadi* adea s-uha ana? nae?
   so exist.A one-CLF child.A small.A
   ‘So, there is a small kid’

5. *ŋo* ŋimo? kaŋkun *ŋo* dalon *toples*
   3.SG ACT.see.O frog.O 3.SG.POSS inside jar
   ‘He is watching his frog inside a jar’

6. *jadi* lah samao pulao anyae? ŋimo?
   so already follow too dog.A ACT.see.O
   ‘So, a dog is also watching [it]’

7. *jadi* suduah itoh, ta-kola?
   so already.A itoh PERF-asleep.A

   ana? ne? neh
   child.A small.O neh
   ‘Then, after that, this small kid falls asleep’

8. *jadi* ta-kola? ana? ne?
   so PERF-asleep.A child.A small.O

   neh. Hee lapaeh kaŋkun *ŋo*
   neh PART free.A frog.O 3.SG.POSS
   ‘So, this small kid falls asleep. Hmm… his frog escaped’

9. *jadi* lapaeh kaŋkun *ŋo*
   so free.A frog.O 3.SG.POSS
   ‘So, his frog escaped’

10. *səŋgo* anyae?, anye? *ŋo* adea
    then dog.A dog.O 3.SG.POSS exist.A

    pulao s-ikau, ŋimo? kaŋkun
    too one-CLF.A ACT.see.O frog.O

    *ŋo* toh lapaeh
    3.SG.POSS toh free.A
    ‘Then a dog, his dog, there is one [dog], sees that his frog escaped’

11. *səŋgo* di-jyun *ŋo* sapatou *bot* *ŋo*
    then PASS-carry.O 3.SG shoes boot 3.SG.POSS
    ‘He carries his boots’
12. rupo, masau? anje? po neh dalon toles
apparently enter.A dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh inside jar
‘Apparently, his dog gets stuck inside a jar’

13. jadi po ŋaaih
so 3.SG ACT.shout.A
‘So he shouts’

14. ŋaaih po ŋimbo anje? po
‘He calls his dog, shouting’

15. ŋaaih po ŋimbo anje? po.
rupo po masau? ruppo? mañ e mañ toles
apparently dog.O 3.SG.POSS enter.A inside jar
‘He calls his dog, shouting. Apparently his dog gets stuck inside the jar’

16. kaŋkun po toh ila
frog.O 3.SG.POSS toh disappear.A
‘His frog disappeared’

17. səŋgo ila kaŋkun po toh
then disappear.A frog.O 3.SG.POSS toh
‘Then, his frog disappeared’

18. anje? po masau? dalon toles,
dog.O 3.SG.POSS enter.A inside jar
haa po po ta-mañau
PART 3.SG 3.SG PERF-ponder.A
‘His dog gets stuck inside the jar. Hmm… he… he ponders’

19. ta-mañau po. səŋgo po ta-mañau
PERF-ponder.A 3.SG then 3.SG PERF-ponder.A
‘He ponders. Then, he ponders’

20. haa po ba-laho pulao
PART 3.SG VBLZ-run.A too
maŋkau anje? po
ACT.hold.A dog.O 3.SG.POSS
‘Hmm… he runs while carrying his dog’
“He gets his dog and he carries him”

22. *po nyaaih pulao nimbo kaŋkun po*  
“He calls his frog, shouting”

23. *nyaaih po nimbo kaŋkun.*  
kaŋkun lao gea dapua?  
frog.O not.yet also get.A  
“He calls the frog, shouting. The frog hasn’t been found yet”

24. *jadi adea guwa*  
so exist.A cave  
“So, there is a cave”

25. *adea po nimo? guwa, imo? guwa toh*  
exist.A 3.SG ACT.see.O cave see.O cave toh  
“He looks at the cave, looks at the cave”

26. *kirojo adea umpun kajau sa-batua*  
apparently exist.A cluster.O wood.A one.stem.A  
umpun kajau sa-batua,  
cluster.O wood.A one.stem.A  
“Apparently there is a tree, one, a tree, one”

27. *anje? neh nəgut anau sahan sala*  
dog.O neh ACT.bark.O thingy.A nest.O wasp.A  
“This dog barks at, uhm… a wasp’s nest”

28. *parabeu sahan sala*  
swarm.A nest.O wasp.A  
“The wasps swarm”

29. *parabeu sahan sala. Sango po nundau?*  
swarm.A nest.O wasp.A then 3.SG ACT.bow.A  
k-awoh. Nundau? po k-awoh  
“The wasps swarm. So that he bows down. He bows down”
Frog, where are you?

30. *jadì mundaì*? *pò* *k-awoh.* *Anje?*
   so ACT.bow.A 3.SG downward.O dog.O
   *pò* *neh* *torauh* *ugea* *nògut*
   3.SG.POSS neh continuous also ACT.bark.O
   *torauh* *ugea* *nògut*
   continuous also ACT.bark.O
   ‘So he bows down. His dog still barks at [the wasp nest],
   still barks at it’

31. *adea* *moncài? s-ikau* *gìmo?*
   exist.A mouse.A one-CLF.A ACT.see.O
   *pò* *mòkat* *idun* *pò*
   3.SG ACT.cover.O nose.O 3.SG.POSS
   ‘There is a mouse that is watching him covering his nose’

32. *halah* * pijao* *pò* *mòkat*
   PART why 3.SG ACT.cover.O
   *idun* *pò* *ke?*
   nose.O 3.SG.POSS PART
   ‘My God! Why does he cover his nose?’

33. *jadì sìngo* *salan* *neh* *nàrabeu, nàrabeu*
   so then wasp.O neh swarm.A swarm.A
   ‘Then, the wasps swarm, swarm’

34. *anye?* *pò* *neh* *ondo?*
   dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh want
   *nàlàke* *umpun* *kajau*
   ACT.climb.O cluster.O wood.A
   ‘His dog wants to climb a tree’

35. *dì onecit* *neh* *ka-luwa* *ta* *lon* *sahan*
   so mouse.O neh to.outside.A from inside nest.O
   ‘So this mouse comes out from the hole’

36. *ka-luwa* *ta* *lon* *sahan* *rupòno*
   to.outside.A from inside nest.O apparently
   ‘Comes out from the nest apparently’
37. \textit{jadi, \textit{no} neh, \textit{manya?}}
\textit{so 3.SG neh ACT.climb.A}

\textit{teh umpun kajau}
above cluster.O wood.A

\textit{‘So he climbs a tree’}

38. \textit{adea \textit{no} \textit{ŋimo?} lubua itou}
exist.A 3.SG ACT.see.O hole.A there

\textit{‘He sees a hole there’}

39. \textit{jadi adea lubua toh ke? sahan ola}
so exist.A hole.A toh at nest.O hawk.A

\textit{‘So, there is a hole at a hawk’s nest’}

40. \textit{səŋgo ka-luwa əlan toh}
then to.outside.A hawk.O toh

\textit{‘Then that hawk comes out’}

41. \textit{jadi əlan neh ka-luwa, \textit{no} ta-ʃateu̍h}
so hawk.O neh to.outside.A 3.SG PERF-fall.A

\textit{‘So this hawk comes out. He falls down accidentally’}

42. \textit{ta-ʃan əlan}
PERF-surprised.A ACT.see.O hawk.O

\textit{deh ka-luwa}
just.now to.outside.A

\textit{‘[He] is surprised to see the hawk coming out’}

43. \textit{jadi anye? \textit{no} neh}
so dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh

\textit{di-kantan wot sala}
PASS-attack.O by wasp.A

\textit{‘So his dog was attacked by wasps’}
Frog, where are you?

44. *wa*ih *di-kantan* *wot* *sala* *anye?*
   PART PASS-attack.O by wasp.A dog.O

   *ŋa*aih *ŋa*aih *ŋa* ba-lahoi
   3.SG.POSS RED-shout.A 3.SG VBLZ-run.A
   ‘His dog is attacked by wasps. He runs away, shouting’

45. *ŋa*di, *s*əŋgo *əla* *neh* *lah* *tərbua* *pulao*
   so then haw.k.A neh already fly.A too
   ‘So the hawk flies’

46. *tərbua* *əla* *neh. *ŋa*imbo *əlan* *toh*
   ‘The hawk flies. He calls that hawk’

47. *ŋa*imbo *əlan* *toh. *K*a-takut *əntah*
   ‘He calls that hawk. Perhaps [he is] scared’

48. *ŋa*ŋkat *ja*hi *ŋa* kateh
   3.SG ACT.lift.O finger.O 3.SG.POSS up
   ‘He raises his hands up’

49. *di-ŋkot* *ŋa*hi *ŋa* kateh
   ‘He raises his hands up’

50. *di* *sasuduah* *ŋa*ŋkat kateh
    so after.A 3.SG ACT.lift.O up
    ‘So, after he raises [his hands] up’

51. *ŋa naae?* *ateh* *anau, *batu* *dua*
    3.SG go.up.A above thingy.A stone.O big.A
    ‘He climbs on a, uhm, a big stone’

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146 Note the partial reduplication (< *ŋaa*ih ‘to shout’); *ŋaa*ih-ŋaa*ih* seems to be phonotactically exceptional.
52. naae? teh tu godua. no

ŋaaih. no nimbō anye? no
‘[He] climbs on the big stone. He shouts. He calls for his dog’

53. ŋaaih ŋimbō anye? no.
ACT.shout.A ACT.call.O dog.O 3.SG.POSS

anye? no nujkau?
ACT.dog.O 3.SG.POSS ACT.bow.A

awoh no ke?
below.O 3.SG PART
‘[He] calls his dog, shouting. His dog bows below him’

54. idia no taa. Səŋko no
NEG 3.SG know expect.O 3.SG

anye? no gi ʒæuh gea
dog.O 3.SG.POSS still far.A also
‘He didn’t know. He thought his dog was far away from him’

55. ƙiroŋo anye? no neh
apparently dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh

di bawoh no lah
on below.O 3.SG only
‘Apparently his dog is below him’

56. nujkau? anye? no
ACT.bow.A dog.O 3.SG.POSS
‘The dog bows’

57. ƙaɗi nujkau? anye? no neh
so ACT.bow.A dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh
‘Then his dog bows’

58. no tɔrauh pulao no na?
3.SG continuous too 3.SG xxx

geu naae? ateh puŋgun usao
stay.A go.up.A above back.O deer.A
‘He climbs on the back of a deer’
59. 
uso neh lah tibea ateh bateu
deer.O neh already arrive.A above stone.A
‘This deer is on the stone’

60. 
naae? no ateh anau pungun usao
go.up.A 3.SG above thingy.A back.O deer.A
‘He climbs on, uhm, the back of the deer’

61. 
haa kakei no di-kapa?
PART leg.O 3.SG.POSS PASS-place

no ke? tandou? no
3.SG on antlers.O 3.SG.POSS
‘Hmm… his legs are placed by him upon his antlers’

62. 
ka tandou? uso toh
upon antlers.O deer.O toh
‘On that deer’s antlers’

63. 
di haa uso toh ba-lahoi
so PART deer.O toh VBLZ-run.A
‘So, hmm… the deer runs’

64. 
ba-lahoi, adea pulao juran tu itoh
VBLZ-run.A exist.A too cliff at itoh
‘Running, and then there is a cliff there’

65. 
adea pulao juran. Uso
exist.A too cliff deer.O

tho endo? ma-lumpa?
tho want ACT-jump.A
‘There is a cliff. The deer is about to jump’

66. 
kiro no ta-jateuh
apparently 3.SG PERF-fall.A
‘Apparently he falls down accidentally’

67. 
no ta-jateuh. Uso neh idua? jateuh
3.SG PERF-fall.A deer.O neh NEG fall.A
‘He falls down accidentally. The deer does not fall down’
68. *geu ate* ‚*tsbin toh,*
stay.A above cliff.O toh

*ŋimo? no jateuh*
ACT.see.O 3.SG fall.A
‘The deer stops at the edge of the cliff looking at him falling down’

69. *jadi suduah itoh*
so already.A itoh
‘So after that’

70. *haa tɔræuh lao uso neh*
PART continuous too deer.O neh

*ila anau alon imbo*
disappear.A thingy.A inside forest.O
‘Hmm… the deer disappears, uhm, in the forest’

71. *ila alon imbo. Díŋu*
disappear.A inside forest.O NEG

*uio díŋu nampa?*
deer.O NEG visible
‘Disappears in the forest. The deer is not visible’

72. *jadi lah tibea alon imbo*
so already arrive.A inside forest.O
‘So [it] has arrived in the forest’

73. *haa kiro ana? nae?*
PART apparently child.A small.A

*neh jateuh dalon tɔbua?*
neh fall.A inside pond.A
‘Hmm… apparently the small kid falls into a pond’

74. *adea tɔbua? onta itoh*
exist.A pond.A at itoh
‘There is a pond there’

75. *sɔŋgo nampa? kakei*
then ACT.visible leg.O
‘Then, [his] leg is visible’
Frog, where are you?

76. *uso* *neh* *ŋimo?* *no* *jateuh*
   deer.O neh ACT.see.O 3.SG fall.A
   ‘This deer sees him falling down’

77. *di* *suduah* *toh,* *haa* *kɪroŋo* *lah*
   so already.A toh PART apparently already
   *tibea* *dalon* *tوباَ?
   arrive.A inside pond.A
   ‘Then hmm… [he] is inside the pond now’

78. *kɪro* *təbot* *toh* *ɪdua?*
   apparently pond.O toh NEG
   *no* *dalua* *ke?*
   3.SG deep.A PART
   ‘Apparently that pond is not so deep’

79. *bisua* *no* *dudeu?*
   can.A 3.SG sit.A
   ‘He can sit [over there]’

80. *kɪro* *anyæ?* *neh* *naae?* *pulao.*
   apparently dog.A neh go.up.A too
   *anyæ?* *toh* *ʒətia* *ŋə* *no*
   dog.O toh loyal with 3.SG
   ‘Apparently the dog goes up [his head]. That dog is very loyal to him’

81. *naae?* *lah* *anyæ?* *toh*
   go.up.A PART dog.O toh
   *ʒətia* *palo?* *no*
   to head.O 3.SG.POSS
   ‘That dog goes up to his head’

82. *haa* *ŋəŋo* *no* *bər-tərəʔ?* *Anyæ?*
   PART then 3.SG BER.shout dog.O
   *neh* *lah* *ila* *ke?*
   neh already disappear.A PART
   ‘Hmm… then he shouts. This dog disappears’
83. səŋgo ɲo lah geu bawoh bane kajau, then 3.SG already stay.A below.O log.O wood.A

sə-loh bane kajau
next.to.O log.O wood.A
‘He stays below a log, next to a log’

84. di bane kajau neh tapei təbuə?
so log.O wood.A neh edge.O pond.A
‘So the log is on the edge of the pond’

85. haa anje? toh tibea ba-rənu
PART dog.O toh arrive.A VBLZ-swim.A
‘Hmm… then that dog comes and swims’

86. ɲo əŋimbo anje? toh
PART dog.O toh
‘He calls that dog’

87. əɗi haa anje? toh ma-lumpə?
so PART dog.O toh ACT-jump.A

88. haa ɲo əndo? ma-lumpə? ugea, karno
PART 3.SG want ACT-jump.A also because

ɲo ɲo ənde?, idua? sampae kakei ɲo
‘Hmm… he wants to jump too, [but] because he is too small, his legs cannot reach [it]’

89. anje? itoh, haa suduah itoh
dog.O itoh PART already.A itoh

di-akon-akon ɲo
PASS-RED-eat.O 3.SG
‘That dog… hmm… After that, he eats it’

90. naeə? ɲo ateh bane kajau toh
go.up.A 3.SG above log.O wood.A toh
‘He climbs the log’
Frog, where are you?

91. *anye? no ateh bane*  
    dog.O 3.SG.POSS above log.O  
    kajau toh ugea  
    wood.A toh also  
    ‘His dog is on the log too’

92. *nampa? no, adea lao kaŋkau*  
    ACT.visible 3.SG exist.A too frog.A  
    duwo ikeu awoh toh  
    two.O CLF.A below.O toh  
    ‘He sees [frogs], there are frogs, two, below’

93. *anye? no neh nəgut kaŋkau*  
    dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh ACT.bark.O frog.A  
    ‘His dog barks at the frog’

94. *haa səŋgo anye? neh nəgut kaŋkau*  
    PART then dog.O neh ACT.bark.O frog.A  
    ‘Hmm… then, this dog barks at the frog’

95. *haa no lua?. no gəlua?*  
    PART 3.SG laugh.A 3.SG laugh.A  
    ateh bane kajau  
    above log.O wood.A  
    ‘Hmm… he laughs. He laughs [while standing] on top of the log’

96. *anye? no ateh bane*  
    dog.O 3.SG.POSS above log.O  
    kajau toh gea  
    wood.A toh also  
    ‘His dog is also on top of the log’

97. *adea kaŋkau duwo ikeu*  
    exist.A frog.A two.O CLF.A  
    ‘There are two frogs’

98. *indou? ɲə apo?. Haa ano?*  
    mother.O and father.O PART child.O  
    *no adea ugea*  
    3.PL.POSS exist.A also  
    ‘The mother and the father. Hmm… there are also their baby frogs’
99. *no* ŭimo? *ano?* *no*  
3.PL ACT.see.O child.O 3.PL.POSS  
‘They look at their baby frogs’

100. *ano?* toh adea ugea  
child.O toh exist.A also  
‘There are baby frogs’

101. *ano?* *no* *apo* ikau  
child.O 3.PL.POSS how.many.O CLF.A  
*ano?* *no* toh  
child.O 3.PL.POSS toh  
‘How many baby frogs are there?’

102. *ənan* ikau *ano?* *no*  
six.O CLF.A child.O 3.PL.POSS  
‘[There are] six of their baby frogs’

103. *haa* sënggo *no* dudeu?  
PART then 3.SG sit.A  
‘Hmm… then he sits’

104. *dudeu?* *no* anau, dalon təbua?, anye?  
*no* samao gea  
3.SG.POSS follow also  
‘He sits, uhm, inside the pond. His dog also sits’

105. *jədi* təbot toh danƙoa?  
sō pond.O toh shallow.A  
‘So that pond is shallow’

106. *danƙoa?* təbot *no*  
shallow.A pond.O 3.SG  
‘Shallow is the pond’

107. *haa* sënggo *no*  
PART then 3.SG  
‘So that he…’
Frog, where are you?

108.  *kaŋkun* toh *lah* ba-lihoi?
frog.O toh already STAT-line.up.O

*ateh* anau bane kajau toh
above thingy.A log.O wood.A toh
‘Those frogs stay there in a row above, uhm, the logs’

mother.O with father.O child.O 3.PL.POSS also
‘The mother and the father, [and] also their children’

110.  *ano?* adea tuyuh ikeu
child.O exist.A seven.O CLF.A
‘There are seven baby frogs’

111.  *s-ikau* awoh ano? *no*
one-CLF.A below.O child.O 3.PL.POSS

*idua?* pandae naae? kateh
NEG able.A go.up.A up
‘One little frog below cannot jump to the log’

112.  *səŋgo* itoh carito kitao neh
then itoh story.O 1.PL.INCL neh
‘So that’s the story’

113.  *əmbauh* coco? toh
want.A suitable toh
‘Is that fine?’
1.2 The Pear / Avocado Story

The *Pear Story* is a wordless short film produced by Wallace Chafe (1980). It is about a man picking pears and a boy with a bike who steals a basket of pears. The boy falls from the bike, after which other boys come and help him. This film was designed to be understood universally, without cultural information, in order to elicit linguistic data. Note, however, that my participant understood the fruit, pear, as *pukat* ‘avocado’ – a Malay loanword – since pears are uncommon in the PT area. The consultant was a 68-year old female speaker.

1. adea s-uha *patani*
   exist.A one-CLF farmer
   ‘There is a farmer’

2. adea *po* ba-ladon *pukat*
   exist.A 3.SG STAT-field.O avocado
   ‘He has a field filled with avocado trees’

3. *di* ladon *po* toh
   in field.O 3.SG.POSS toh
   adea bato *pukat*
   exist.A stem.O avocado
   ‘In his field there are avocado trees’

4. labua? *pa* uwoh *po*
   abundant.A really fruit.O 3.PL.POSS
   ‘The avocados are really abundant’

5. *jadi* di-koleih *po* *pukat* *neh*
   so PASS-look.O 3.SG avocado *neh*
   *lah* patau? *di-ambi?*
   already should.A PASS-take.O
   ‘He watches the avocados that are ready to be picked’

6. *di* sahingo *po* lalau ka ladon *po*
   so so.that 3.SG go.A to field.O 3.SG.POSS
   *ngambei?* uwoh *pukat* toh tadeh
   ACT.take.O fruit.O avocado toh just.now
   ‘He goes to his field to pick the avocados’
7. *di-uwea no uncan kaae jadi tampe?*
   *uvoh pukat no toh*
   fruit.O avocado 3.SG.POSS toh
   ‘He brings a cloth purse as a place to put his avocados’

8. *haa jadi lanzun no nambei?*
   PART so direct 3.SG ACT.take.O
   *uvoh pukat no toh*
   fruit.O avocado 3.SG.POSS toh
   ‘Hmm… so, he directly picks his avocados’

9. *di-tamau? no asu? karayan*
   PASS-put.into 3.SG into.O basket
   *ŋə di-uwea no tadeh*
   REL PASS-bring.A 3.SG just.now
   ‘[They] were put into a basket by him, which was brought by him’

10. *karayan toh ta-kapa? awoh*
    basket toh PERF-place below.O
    *baton pukat toh*
    stem.O avocado toh
    ‘The baskets are placed below the avocado trees’

11. *haa namau? su? karayan haa toh*
    PART ACT.put.into into.O basket PART toh
    *no namau?*
    3.SG ACT.put.into
    ‘Hmm… putting [them] into the basket, hmm… he puts [them] into [it]’

12. *haa adeu ŋə jateuh s-uwuah tadeh*
    PART exist.A REL fall.A one-CLF.A just.now
    ‘Hmm… there was one that dropped just now’

13. *di-ambi? no pam-balut lijei no*
    ‘He takes his bandana’

14. *di-lap no anau, uwoh pukat toh tadeh*
    PASS-polish 3.SG thingy.A fruit.O avocado toh just.now
    ‘He wipes, uhm, the avocados’
15. *adi pam-balut lijei toh*
   so NMLZ-bandage.O neck.O toh
di-pasa uha toh ali?
PASS-put.on 3.SG.M back.O
‘So, that bandana was put back on by him’

16. *lansun pulao uha toh mana?*
direct too 3.SG.M ACT.climb.A
ali? kateh aton *pukat* toh tadeh
back.O up stem.O avocado toh just.now
‘That person goes back to climb up the tree directly’

17. *haa jadi uha toh tibea*
PART so 3.SG.M arrive.A
ateh umpun *pukat*
above cluster.O avocado
‘Hmm… so he is on the top of the avocado tree’

18. *adea uha nɔmpauh, muwao kambae?*
‘There is a guy passing by with a goat’

19. *ŋihit kambae?*
ACT.drag.O goat.A
‘Dragging a goat’

20. *nɔmpauh awoh umpun *pukat*
ACT.pass.A below.O cluster.O avocado
*uha toh dokot karəŋan *pukat*
3.SG.M close.O basket avocado
tadeh, muwao kambae?
just.now ACT.bring.A goat.A
‘He passes underneath the avocado tree, next to the avocado basket, dragging along a goat’

21. *haa uha uwao *kambə?
PART people.A ACT.bring.A goat.O
neh ba-galua turauh
neh VBLZ-road.A continuous
‘Hmm… the person with the goat keeps walking’
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22. idia  uha toh  ōntai
   NEG 3.SG.M  stop.A
   ‘That person does not stop’

23.  uha toh  torauh  uha toh
   3.SG.M  continuous  3.SG.M
   ŋihit  kambe?  toh
   ACT.drag.O  goat.O  toh
   ‘He keeps dragging along that goat’

24.  jadi  uha ineh  torauh  ɬambeɁ?
    so  3.SG.M  continuous  ACT.take.O
    ūwoh  pukat  toh
    fruit.O  avocado  toh
    ‘So, he keeps picking the avocados’

25.  namauɁ  asuʔ  anau  tadeh,  tompeʔ?
    ACT.put.into  into.O  thingy.A  just.now  place.O
    pukat  toh  tadeh
    avocado  toh  just.now
    ‘Putting [them] into, uhm, the avocado place’

26.  jadi  torauh  ɬambeɁ?  itoh,  pukat  toh
    so  continuous  ACT.take.O  itoh  avocado  toh
    ‘So, [he] keeps picking those, the avocados’

27.  haɁa  nɔmpauh  lah  anʔaʔ  naeʔ?  ba-sopeda
    PART  ACT.pass.A  PART  child.A  small.A  STAT-bike
    ‘Hmm… a small kid on a bike is going pas’

28.  uha ineh  torauh  gea  ɬambeɁ?  pukat
    3.SG.M  continuous  also  take.O  avocado
    ‘He keeps picking the avocados’

29.  idia  uha toh  ɲimaʔ?  k-awoh
    NEG 3.SG.M  ACT.see.A  downward.O
    ‘He does not look down’

30.  anʔaʔ  naeʔ?  neh  nɔmpauh  tjuʔ  tompeʔ?
    child.A  small.A  neh  ACT.pass.A  to  place.O
   karanyan  pukat  toh  tadeh
    basket.O  avocado  toh  just.now
    ‘This small kid comes to the avocado baskets’
31. *haa jadi ana? nae? nəmpauh itou*  
PART so child.A small.A ACT.pass.A there  
‘Hmm… so, the small kid passes by’

32. *ŋimo? karanyəŋ pukat. Adea*  
ACT.see.O basket avocado exist.A  
tadeh ta-kapa? ənta itoh  
just.now PERF-place.A at itoh  
‘[He] looks at the basket of avocados. It was there just now’

33. *tuhan pə no dari ateh*  
go.down.A 3.SG from above  
*səpeda no toh*  
bike 3.SG.POSS toh  
‘He gets off his bike’

34. *tuhan dateh səpeda toh. Laŋsun pə*  
go.down.A from bike toh direct 3.SG  
*yəbuah səpeda pə tadeh*  
ACT.collapse bike 3.SG.POSS just.now  
‘Getting off the bike. He puts his bike down’

35. *laŋsun yəbuah səpeda pə*  
direct ACT.collapse bike 3.SG  
*yəma-ŋima? kateh umpun pukat toh*  
ACT.RED-see.A up cluster.O avocado toh  
‘[He] directly puts the bike down. He keeps looking at the avocado trees’

36. *apo adea uha tuwan pukat*  
what exist.A people.A master.O avocado  
*yimo? pə apo idua?*  
ACT.see.O 3.SG what NEG  
‘To check whether the person who owns the avocados sees him or not’
37. kiro uha tuwan pukat
   apparently people.A master.O avocado
   neh idia ŋimo? po
   neh NEG ACT.see.O 3.SG
   ‘Apparently, the person who owns the avocados does not see him’

38. laŋsun po ŋaŋkat karanyuŋ
   direct 3.SG ACT.lift.O basket
   pukat neh tadeh, ta? ke?
   avocado neh just.now place.A in
   uko sopedə neh tadeh
   front.O bike neh just.now
   ‘Directly he lifts the avocado basket, puts [it] in front of this bike’

39. haa laŋsun po ŋaŋkat sopedə po
   PART direct 3.SG ACT.lift.O bike 3.SG.POSS
   ‘Hmm… directly he picks up his bike’

40. ŋaŋkat sopedə po toh
   ACT.lift.O bike 3.SG.POSS toh
   ‘[He] picks up his bike’

41. naae? po kateh sopedə po
   go.up.A 3.SG up bike 3.SG.POSS
   ‘He gets on his bike’

42. haa di-aŋkot po karanyuŋ pukat
   PART PASS-lift.O 3.SG basket avocado
   toh. di-tua? po ke? uko
   toh PASS-place 3.SG in front.O
   sopedə po toh
   bike 3.SG.POSS toh
   ‘Hmm… he lifts the avocado basket. He places it in front of his bike’

43. di tempe? ke? uko aтеh
   at place.O in front.O above
   bosi ke? uko sopedə
   iron.O in front.O bike
   ‘In front of, on a [tool made of] iron, in front of the bike’
44. *haa no lansun muwao*
PART 3.SG direct ACT.bring.A

*pukat toh lahai*
avocado toh run.A
‘Hmm… he directly takes the avocados away’

45. *uha tuwan pukat tadeh*
people.A master.O avocado just.now

*idia gea yoleih tadeh*
NEG also ACT.look.O just.now
‘The person who owns the avocados does not see him’

46. *haa lansun muwao lahai*
PART direct ACT.bring.A run.A
‘Hmm… [he] directly takes [them] away’

47. *jadi tibea ke? jalu. jalon*
so arrive.A at road.A road.O

*toh kura, baŋua? bateu*
        toh bad.A many.A stone.A
‘So, on the road. That road is terrible, full of stones’

48. *haa jadi adea uha batino*
PART so exist.A people.A female.O
‘Hmm… so, there is a girl’

49. *arah dari ke? uko no əmpauh*
direction from in front.O 3.SG ACT.pass.A

*muwao əpeda ugea*
ACT.bring.A bike also
‘Coming from the opposite direction where he passes, on her bike as well’

50. *haa tibea di tømpe? no toh hoo*
PART arrive.A at place.O 3.SG toh PART
‘Hmm… [he] arrives at his place’

51. *haa kiro no ta-langa bateu, əpeda*
PART apparently PERF-bump stone.A bike
‘Apparently, the bike accidentally hits a rock’
52. di jateuh pukat toh k-awoh.
   so fall.A avocado toh downward.O

   Ba-cihe pukat toh
   VBLZ-scattered avocado toh
   ‘So, those avocados fall down. Those avocados scattered’

53. po ta-jateuh, ta-guloi, ta-əmpaeə palo
   ‘He accidentally fell, toppled, [and had his] head smacked down’

54. əpeda po toh ta-ŋukon
    bike 3.SG.POSS toh PERF-flip.over
    ‘His bike turns upside down accidentally’

55. haa jadi po yusouʔ-yusouʔ kakei tadeh
    PART so 3.SG ACT.RED-rub.O leg.O just.now
    ‘Hmm… so, he bruises his legs at many places’

56. lah sakaiʔ, Lah ta-rasao sakaiʔ.
    already ill.A already PERF-feel.A ill.A

   di-anu po kaw po k-awoh
   PASS-thingy 3.SG sock 3.SG.POSS downward.O
   ‘It hurts. The pain can be felt. He, uhm, his socks down’

57. haa di-apih po kakei po
    PART PASS-brush.O 3.SG leg.O 3.SG.POSS
    ‘Hmm… he bruises his legs’

58. haa suduah itoh tibea anaʔ pulao
    PART already.A itoh arrive.A child.A too

   ba-tigea yuse po
   STAT-three.A to 3.SG
   ‘Hmm… after that, kids arrive in a group of three approaching him’

59. s-uha toh nulun ŋapeih-ŋapeih
    one-CLF toh ACT.help.O ACT.RED-brush.O

   abesu di po tadeh
   dust.A on 3.SG just.now
   ‘One of them helps him to brush off all the dust’
60. ŋə ba-duwea nulan ŋanou pukat
REL STAT-two.A ACT.help.O ACT.thingy.O avocado
'[The kids] in a group of two help him to, uhm, the avocados'

61. haa toh lah, ba-tigea toh lah
PART toh already STAT-.three.A toh already
samao nulan ŋuraih pukat, namau?
follow ACT.help.O ACT.manage.A avocado ACT.put.into
pukat ɲo suʔ karanga
avocado 3.SG.POSS into.O basket
'[The kids] in a group of three help him to pick up the avocados
and put them into the basket'

62. ɲo ɲoguaʔ sapeda ɲo
3.SG ACT.erect.A bike 3.SG
'He picks up his bike'

63. haa uha ɲə s-uha, adea muwao
PART people.A REL one-CLF exist.A bring.A
pa-npeʔiʔ, maae bulu anau toh, maae
apo batmin apo toh tonis meʔa deh
what badmin what toh tennis table just.now
' Hmm… one kid brings a racket for playing feather… uhm, playing
what? Badmin… 147 what is that, table tennis'

64. haa əntah apo tanah, əntah apo bateu
PART perhaps what soil.A perhaps what stone.A
əntah, di-tpeʔiʔ-tpeʔiʔ ɲo nitoh
perhaps PASS-RED-beat.O 3.SG like.that
'H mm… either the soil or stones were beaten repeatedly by
him like that'

147 *Batmin* is an unfinished word. The speaker wanted to say ‘badminton’ but
hesitated.
65. **haa** suduah **uha ineh** nulun **ŋo**
   ‘They helped him’

66. **uha** tigea **neh lahai. ŋo** lahai
   pulao muwao **pukat toh tadeh**
   too ACT:bring.A avocado toh just.now
   ‘The three [kids] go away. He goes away as well with the avocados’

67. **jadi idua? jaeh** **uha ineh**
   so NEG far.A 3.SG.M
   *ba-jalua, nampa? tudeu*
   VBLZ-road.A ACT.appear hat.A
   ‘Not far away they walk, [they] see a hat’

68. **haa** kiro **tudun uha ŋo**
   PART apparently hat.O people.A REL
   *tuwan pukat toh tadeh*
   master.O avocado toh just.now
   ‘Apparently, it’s the hat of the person who owns the avocados’

69. **dì-ambi?** **uha ŋo s-uha, ŋo**
   PASS:take.O people.A REL one-CLF REL
   *bayu iyua tudun toh*
   shirt.O green.A hat.O toh
   ‘Someone in a green shirt takes that hat’

70. **lalau lo ŋanta bali? ka ŋo**
    go.A to ACT.deliver back.O to 3.SG
    ‘Going back towards him [to give his hat]’

71. **ŋo ŋo ba-duwea toh nantei? ke? itoh.**
    3.PL REL STAT-two.A toh ACT:wait.O at itoh
    *ŋo s-uha alo ŋanta*
    REL one-CLF go.O ACT:deliver
    ‘They, [the kids] in a group of two, wait [for him] there. One [kid] gives [his hat]’
Appendix

72. *di-agih*  
*ka*  
*ɲo*  
PASS-give.O to 3.SG  
‘It was given to him’

73. *tibea*  
*ɲo,*  
*ļansun*  
*ɲo*  
*ɲona?*  
arrive.A  
3.SG  
direct  
3.SG  
ACT.wear  
*tudun*  
*toh*  
*ka*  
*kapalo*  
*ɲo*  
hat.O toh on head.O 3.SG.POSS  
‘As for him, he directly wears that hat on his head’

74.  
*suduah*  
*ɲo*  
*ɲona?*  
*tudun*  
*toh*  
already.A  
3.SG  
ACT.wear  
hat.O toh  
‘He put that hat on’

75.  
*ɲo*  
*ŋambeiɁ*  
*uwoh*  
*pukat*  
*toh*  
3.SG  
ACT.take.O  
fruit.O  
avocado toh  
*magih*  
*se*  
*uha ineh*  
*tigo*  
*uwuah*  
ACT.give.O to 3.SG.M  three.O  
CLF.A  
‘He takes those avocados, gives him three avocados’

76.  
*ɲo*  
*ba-jalua*  
*lahai.*  
*Uha ineh*  
3.SG  
VBLZ-road.A  
run.A  
3.PL  
*ba-jalua*  
*lahai*  
*pulao*  
VBLZ-road.A  
run.A  
too  
‘He walks across. They walk across too’

77.  
*tibea*  
*ke?*  
*kantei*  
*ɲo,*  
*di-labuh*  
*ɲo*  
arrive.A  
at  
friend.O  
3.SG.POSS  
PASS-anchoring.O  
3.SG  
*kantei*  
*ɲo*  
*s-i*  
*s-uhan*  
*pukat*  
*toh*  
friend.O  
3.SG.POSS  
one-CLF.O  
one-CLF.O  
avocado toh  
‘When he is close to his friends, he gives his friends one avocado for each person’

78.  
*haa*  
*ɲo*  
*ba-jalua*  
*lah,*  
*samo*  
*ba-jalua*  
PART  
3.PL  
VBLZ-road.A  
PART  
same  
VBLZ-road.A  
*ɲo*  
*makan*  
*pukat*  
*toh,*  
*samo*  
*ba-jalua*  
3.PL  
eat.O  
avocado toh  
same  
VBLZ-road.A  
‘Hmm… they continue walking while eating the avocados’
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79.  
   haa jadi uha ṣa s-uhu neh,  
   PART so people.A REL one-CLF neh  
   di-ambei? ṣo pa-nde? anau tadeh  
   ‘Hmm… so, this one person, he takes the racket uhm just now’

80.  
   haa nukun ṣuse pukat ṣo.  
   PART ACT.hit.O to avocado 3.SG.POSS  
   muka? pukat ṣo makan  
   ACT.open avocado 3.SG ACT.eat.O  
   ‘Hmm… hitting his avocado. [He] peels the avocado, he eats it’

81.  
   haa uha tuwan pukat neh  
   PART people.A master.O avocado neh  
   tuhan dari tangao tadeh  
   go.down.A from ladder.A just.now  
   ‘The person who owns the avocados goes down the ladder’

82.  
   muwao pukat alon uncan  
   ACT.bring.A avocado inside pocket.O  
   ‘[He] brings the avocados in [his] purse’

83.  
   yimo? tibea awoh, ta-kaña?  
   ACT.see.O arrive.A below.O PERF-surprised  
   ŋitun. Pijao karanjən pukat kau neh  
   ACT.count.O why basket avocado 1.SG neh  
   tinga s-uuwaah agih, s-uuwaah kusau  
   leave.A one-CLF.A still one-CLF.A empty.A  
   ‘He is a bit surprised when he comes back and counts the baskets.  
   Why do I only have one full basket and one empty basket?’

84.  
   ta-pikai manao gi  
   PERF-think.A where go.O  
   ‘[He] was thinking, where did [the other basket] go?’
85. **haa toh lah ta-monau, toh**
PART toh already PERF-ponder.A toh

**lah dudeu? ke? tango toh**
already sit.A on ladder.O toh

tadeh, ta-monau, mikei
just.now PERF-ponder.A ACT.think.O

‘Hmm… [he] ponders, sits on the ladder, broods about [the missing basket]’

86. **nampauh lah uha nga makan pukat**
ACT.pass.A PART people.A REL eat.O avocado

**tadeh, ba-tigea, ke? uko uha itoh**
just.now STAT-three.A in front.O 3.SG.M

‘[Some people] pass by in a group of three, eating avocados in front of him’

87. **ta-laŋua woa uha toh leih. Idia**
PERF-stun.A only 3.SG.M look.O NEG

**uha toh nuwe?**
3.SG.M ACT.ask

‘[He] is stunned, looking at them. He does not ask [questions]’

88. **manao ikao ambi? pukat, idia uha toh**
where 2.PL take.O avocado NEG 3.SG.M

**nuwe?. Uha toh ba-laŋua**
ACT.ask 3.SG.M VBLZ-stun.A

**woa uha toh leih**
only 3.SG.M look.O

‘Where did you get the avocados?’ He does not ask. He is just stunned looking at them’

89. **haa jadi uha toh lah jaeuh**
PART so 3.PL already far.A

‘Hmm… so, they are already far away’

90. **haa ngo itoh**
PART until.O itoh

‘Hmm… that’s it’
The following text is a transcription of a free conversation among four participants. Two participants are PT native speakers who take a bigger part in the conversation than the other two. The first participant is a female speaker, aged 74 years at the time of recording. The second participant is a male speaker aged 63 years. The third participant is a native speaker of KK. The fourth participant is myself. My attendance was only to make sure the conversation kept going. Therefore, only the conversation between the two native speakers of PT is transcribed below. The first participant is called ‘N’, the second is called ‘A’. The topic of conversation is about life during the colonial era.

1. A: *sakulu waktu balandea uleu*  
   school.O time Holland.A in.the.past.A  
   ‘[On the topic of] schools during the Dutch era in the past’

2. A: *idia sempe idia uleu dea?. Sema idia*  
   NEG SMP NEG in.the.past.A TAG SMA NEG  
   ‘There was no Junior High School in the past, wasn’t there? There was no Senior High School’

3. N: *idia, toh ku atao se po*  
   NEG toh 1.SG tell.A to 3.SG  
   ‘There was no such thing. That was what I told her’

4. N: *kamai uleu eser uleu,*  
   1.PL.EXCL in.the.past.A SR in.the.past.A  
   idua? esde, esde minin neh  
   NEG SD SD now neh  
   ‘We, in the past, had SR, not SD like now’

5. N: *eser uleu kolas ona toma? kolas ona*  
   SR in.the.past.A class six.A graduate.A class six.A  
   ‘SR in the past, grade six. [We] graduated at the sixth grade’
Appendix

6. A: kalo ŋə tu balandea uleu, if REL time Holland.A in.the.past.A
   jea baso balandea. Masulo
   PART language Holland.A school.O

   eshakel, apo haa
   eshakel what PART
   ‘As for the Dutch era, people [spoke] Dutch. It was
   the Eshakel school, wasn’t it?’

7. A: haa idua? lao tingai sakulo dea?. Idua?
   PART NEG too high.A school.O TAG NEG
   uloih tor-batas, waktu balandea uleu
   may PERF-limit time Holland.A in.the.past.A
   ‘Hmm…it was not allowed to get higher education, was it? Not
   allowed, it was limited in the Dutch era’

8. N: nulaih diŋan batu tulis
   ACT.write.A with stone.O write
   ‘[We] wrote using slates’

   PART child.O rubber book NEG PART in.the.past
   ‘Hmm… small erasers, no books in the past’

10. A: idia uku, idia uku duleu
    NEG book NEG book in.the.past.A
    ‘No books, no books in the past’

11. A: buloih idua? pake solop, kakei ajan
    may NEG wear.O slippers leg.O chicken.O
    ‘It was allowed to not wear slippers; barefeet’

12. N: alau lo sula ɔɾɔmpo kajau
    go.A to school.A sandal wood.A
    ‘[You] went to school wearing wooden sandals’

148 Buku dade lah duli is a KK clause.
13. A: haa bagu basin woa, idia bagu saragam
PART shirt.O just.any only NEG shirt.O uniform
‘Hmm… [you could wear] any shirt, [as there were] no uniforms’

14. N: toempo kajau uleu alau sula
sandal wood.A in.the.past.A go.A school.A
‘[You] wore wooden sandals in the past to go to school’

but in.the.past.A sorry 1.SG tell.A TAG class
‘In the past, sorry to say, the sixth graders could [already] recite [the Qur’an], Arabic letters’

16. A: pinto-pinto, Tulisan ilau-ila?
RED-clever writing RED-good.A
‘Clever. The handwriting of people in the past was good’

17. A: esde uleu smbauh katao sempe
SD in.the.past.A want.A tell.A SMP
‘Elementary schools in the past are comparable to Junior High School nowadays’

18. A: bijua nulaih bijua uruh arap deu?
let ACT.write.A let letter arabic TAG
‘As for writing, as for [reciting] Arabic letters’

19. A: ineh sema pa idua? taau uruh arap
inh SMA even NEG know letter arabic
‘Right now, even SMA students do not know Arabic letters’

20. A: bot uleu disiplin
because in.the.past.A discipline
‘Because [people] in the past were disciplined’
21. A: manan caro guru ŋajua, ankat tanan how way teacher ACT.teach lift hand
di atus meya. ŋimo? kukou, on above table ACT.see.O nail.O
tukau anao ŋo panja kukou hit.A whoever REL long.A nail.O

‘As for people in the past, to be able to enroll in schools, [they would] measure [your] arm: you should be able to touch your ear’

lah isua asau? sula already can.A enrol.A school.A
‘If [one’s] hand could reach one’s ear, [one] could enroll in school’

tangal lahir. Uleu idia date birth in.the.past.A NEG
‘As for now, it does not work that way. [Schools now] check the date of birth. Not in the past’
Free Conversation 1


   jahi sampae dea?, anao ṣọ finger.O reach.A TAG whoever REL


   ‘Measuring [one’s] arm length. Whoever had long arms, could reach [their ears]. Whoever had short arms, could not reach [their ears]’

26. N: hee lah ikao kalo ponderitaan PART PART 2.PL if hardship

   maso ḫpuu lah puwaeh time japan.A already satisfied.A

   ‘Hmm… you know what, as for hardship during Japanese era, [I have gone] through that’

27. A: hoo ṣọŋjau jahi teh mijua, PART ACT.put finger.O above table.A

   imo? guru panya, tukau ṣọ see.O teacher long.A hit.A with

   rol, disiplin toh tiggai ruler discipline toh high.A

   ‘Hmm… putting hands on a table, [if] the teacher spotted long [nails], [we] were hit with a ruler. The discipline was high’


   ‘As for the Dutch era, I was in the second grade’

29. N: maso ḫpuu toh lao sula time japan.A toh not.yet school.A

   ‘During the Japanese era, [I hadn’t enrolled] in school yet’


   tiga ratus lima pulah tahun three x10^2 five x10^1 year

   ‘The Dutch colonized us for three hundred and fifty years’
31. **Appendix**


‘The Japanese came, the Dutch left’

32. A: *kalah balandea pəroa lose.A Holland.A war*

‘The Dutch was defeated in war’

33. A: *haa toh tərədi anau PART toh happen thingy.A toh, pəran di surabaja war in surabaya*

‘Hmm… it happened, uhm, a war in Surabaya’

34. A: *di-tədi-kan hari pahlawan sopuluh PASS-become.KAN day hero ten*

*nopember, are? surabaja november friend surabaya*

‘It became Heroes’ Day, November 10, of the Surabayans’


‘The English [army] came with ships and cannons, didn’t they? [The Surabayan heroes] fought there till the bitter end, didn’t they? That’s why we call that one day Heroes’ Day’


*Uha ingris adea gea əŋ matali people.A England exist.A also REL die.A*

‘Many of our people died. Some English people also died’
   3.PL want back.A ACT-colonize back.O
   ‘They wanted to colonize [us] again’

38. A: *uha kitao lah adea*
   people.A 1.PL.INCL.POSS already exist.A
   *sanjato. Sanyato japua, sanjato*
   *balandea ng tingoa*
   Holland.A REL left
   ‘Our people already had weapons. The Japanese weapons, the weapons of the Dutch who left’

39. N: *kamai balandea uleu,*
   1.PL.EXCL Holland.A in.the.past.A
   *lahai alo kateh uko?*
   run.A go.O up hill.A
   ‘During the Dutch [era], we ran to the hills’

40. N: *jadi maso japua uleu toh, jadi*
   so time Japan.A in.the.past.A toh so
   *kamai gi nae-nae? dea?*
   1.PL.EXCL still RED-small.A TAG
   ‘During the Japanese era, we were still small kids, weren’t we?’

41. N: *kamai kan dijua ke? umpun tarenda*
   1.PL.EXCL PART stay.A at umpun tarenda
   ‘We lived at Umpun Tarenda’

42. N: *ngo lah sija ahai toh,*
   until.O already afternoon.A day.A toh
   *kamai toh umuaah woa*
   1.PL.EXCL toh at.home.A only
   *ijon. Dua? uloih k-awuah*
   stay.O NEG may downward.A
   ‘During the day, we were at home. We were not allowed to go outside’

maso balandea uleu

‘They looked for females in the Dutch era’

44. A: di koreja uha nuntut inin neh in korea people.A ACT.sue.O now neh ‘In Korea, people now sue [those who kidnapped women]’


Dua? uloih nampa?

NEG may ACT.visible ‘Girls were hidden. [They] were not allowed to be visible’

46. A: dua? uloih nampa?. ppuu naka

NEG may ACT.visible japan.A naughty ‘[They] were not allowed to be visible. The Japanese were naughty’

47. N: mala lampou, lampou tuah evening.A lamp lamp tuah ‘In the evening, [we used] a resin lamp’


Free Conversation 1

51. N: \[\text{ŋįua} \text{ ng} \text{i} \text{mo} \? \text{idua}\. \text{ng} \text{mala}\]
    \[\text{NEG} \text{3.PL see.O NEG 3.PL evening.A} \]
    \[\text{bu-ŋalua} \text{ ng} \text{{ŋintai}-{ŋintai}}, \text{mana}\]
    \[\text{VBLZ-road.A 3.SG ACT.RED-peek.A where} \]
    \[\text{adea} \text{ ana} \? \text{gadih} \]
    \[\text{exist.A child.A female.O} \]
    ‘So that they did not see it. They would walk around in the evening, watching if there were girls’

52. A: \[\text{anau} \text{ neh} \text{nuntai}?, \text{nagara koreja}\]
    \[\text{thingy.A neh ACT.sue.A country korea} \]
    \[\text{neh nuntut ŋpua, korban poran}\]
    \[\text{neh ACT.sue.O japan.A victim war} \]
    \[\text{toh na agoi gi ideu}\. \text{toh even still.A still live.A} \]
    \[\text{inin, uha tuwo-tuwo toh} \]
    \[\text{now people.A RED-old.O toh} \]
    ‘Who sues them… Koreans sue the Japanese. The war victims who are still alive, the older people’

53. A: \[\text{uha tino toh di-kumpau-kumpau}\]
    \[\text{people.A female.O toh PASS-RED-collect} \]
    \[\text{ŋo. Naka ŋpua}\]
    \[\text{3.PL naughty japan.A} \]
    ‘Women were taken. The Japanese were naughty’

54. A: \[\text{uha toh na agoi ideu}. \text{Uha toh}\]
    \[\text{3.PL even still.A live.A 3.PL} \]
    \[\text{əndo}\. \text{nuntut ŋpua. əntah}\]
    \[\text{want ACT.sue.O japan.A perhaps} \]
    \[\text{di-gontoi əntah idua}\. \text{PASS-change.A perhaps NEG} \]
    ‘They are still alive. They want to sue the Japanese. Not sure whether [the victims will be] compensated or not’

55. A: \[\text{asau}\. \text{uha kita} \text{ño}\]
    \[\text{include.A people.A 1.PL.INCL.POSS neh also} \]
    ‘Including our people’

ondo? gambi? hasil hasil bumi
want ACT.take.O result result earth
‘As for the Dutch, they were not like that. The Dutch took agricultural products’


‘[During the] Dutch [era] they gave us luxuries’

58. A: toh adea sənan kitao

[toh exist.A happy.O 1.PL.INCL

‘[At least] there were [things that made] us happy’

59. A: cuma hasil bumi neh di-aŋkut

however result earth neh PASS-carry.O

‘However, the agricultural products were taken [by them]’

60. A: cuma idua? ugea

however NEG also

‘However, it was not good’

61. N: maso japua uleu gahon, time Japan.A in.the.past.A salt.O

gahon ingris don-don pel bayer
salt.O England RED-big.O pil bayer
‘During the Japanese era in the past, [as for] salt, the English salt was as big as a Bayer aspirin’

62. N: səndo itoh gahon

like itoh salt.O

‘The salt was like that’

63. N: ba-tana?, tamau? gahon duwo ijoı

VBLZ-cook.A put.into salt.O two.O CLF.A

‘To cook [rice], [we] put two salts into it’
Free Conversation 1

64. N: tana? campou kaca, campou kuboi?

mondrita lah maso papa uleu
suffering PART time japan.A in.the.past.A
‘Cooking [rice] mixed with nuts, mixed with potatoes. It was suffering during the Japanese era in the past’

65. N: padoi diambi? po umea
paddy.A PASS-take.O 3.PL at.rice.field.A
‘Paddy was taken by them from the rice fields’

66. N: biloi?-biloï? uha di-buikua
RED-room.A people.A PASS-destroy

po dea?
3.PL TAG
‘People’s rooms were destroyed by them, weren’t they?’

67. N: bansua? parane papua
bastard.A behavior.O japan.A
‘Japanese acted like bastards’

68. N: manao po janton-janton neh di-tawan
whoever REL RED-male.O neh PASS-prison
‘Males were imprisoned’

69. N: di-suhouh po maka? padon paeu
‘[We] were ordered by them to open up corn fields’

70. N: di ujun antan ando? po? si
so group grandfather.O andok father.O ART

nurdin uleu dea?, di-boroi po
PN in.the.past.A TAG PASS-give 3.PL

maka pagoi anykoi?,
eat.A morning.A wake.up.A

dalon saja? toh aka
inside half.a.coconut.A toh eat.A
‘So the group of Mr. Andok, the father of Nurdin, were in the past given breakfast in the morning [by the Japanese, after they] woke up, in [nothing more than] coconut shells. That was [how people] ate’
71. A: *socaro idua? lonsun, donan*  
    way NEG direct with  
    *caro itoh lah no munoh*  
    way itoh only 3.PL ACT.kill.O  
    'Indirectly, that was how they killed them'

72. N: *itoh lah no nazap*  
    itoh PART 3.PL ACT.torture  
    *kitao papua duleu*  
    1.PL.INCL japan.A in.the.past.A  
    'That was how they, the Japanese, in the past, tortured us'

73. A: *anao nə atai, atai*  
    whoever REL die.A die.A  
    'Whoever died, died'

74. N: *kamai gi naeʔ-naeʔ maso itoh*  
    1.PL.EXCL still RED-small.A time itoh  
    'We were small kids during that era'

75. N: *duaʔ salah akeu toh umou limo taan*  
    'If not mistaken, I was five years old'

76. N: *toh awaʔ lah iŋaʔ deaʔ*  
    toh 1.SG already remember.A TAG  
    'That’s why I still remember'

77. N: *ənduaʔ na nantən puhoi̊h*  
    NEG really grandfather.O ACT.ask.O  
    *soiʔ bawuah*  
    play.A below.A  
    '[My]old man did not allow [us] to play outside'

78. N: *duaʔ uloi̊h usoiʔ bawuah*  
    NEG may play.A below.A  
    '[We were] not allowed to play outside'

79. N: *amboiʔ di-ambiʔ no woa papua*  
    take.A PASS-take.O 3.PL only japan.A  
    '[They were] taking people just like that, the Japanese'
Holland.A NEG way like.that good.A 3.SG
‘The Dutch were not like that. They were nicer’

81. N: di-agih po kitao
PASS-give.O 3.PL 1.PL.INCL
‘We were given [things] by them’

82. N: adea pombagian, kitao di-agih
exist.A distribution 1.PL.INCL PASS-give.O
‘[When] there was a distribution, we were given [things]’

83. N: kita, tanah diambi? po dea?
‘Of us, land was taken by them, wasn’t it?’

84. N: idua? irijan jaja duleu diambi?
NEG irian jaya in.the.past.A PASS-take.O
kitao indonesija di-xxx po
1.PL indonesia PASS-xxx 3.PL
‘Wasn’t Irian Jaya taken in the past? Of us
Indonesians… by them’

85. A: ngə balandea neh ɲambi? hasil
REL Holland.A neh ACT.take.O result
‘The Dutch took the agricultural products’

86. A: be be em tamba-tamba neh dea? Baŋua?
BBM RED-mine.A neh TAG many.A
tamba maeh, pɔrkɔbun, hasil teh
mine.O gold.A farm result tea
‘Oil-based fuel, mines. Many gold mines,
plantations, tea harvests’

87. A: anao ngə rɔntən toh di-unoh tapi
whoever REL against toh PASS-kill.O but
idua? ɲədojo pɛmə po munoh dea?
NEG like japan.A 3.PL ACT.kill.O TAG
‘Whoever fought against them would be killed by them,
but not in the way the Japanese killed us, they killed us,
didn’t they?’

\[\text{di-}a\text{gah po alo sampae malaisija}\]
PAS-colonize 3.PL all until malaysia

‘All the way from, uhm, Korea, Thailand, [lands] were colonized, everybody, up to Malaysia’

89. N: kalo balanda uleu dea?, di-boro

\[\text{po kaan kitao dea?}\]
3.PL clothes.O 1.PL.INCL TAG distribution

\['As for the Dutch in the past, clothes were given by them to us, weren’t they? Clothes distribution. The marikan clothes of the past’\]

90. N: sarden toh di-agih

\['Sardines were given [by them]’\]

91. N: kalo popua duleu kaan torau?

\['As for the Japanese [era] in the past, [we wore] terau\]

\[150\]

92. A: idia uha na? bayeu

NEG people.A wear shirt.A

‘People did not wear shirts’


\['The thin gunnies. Those were the clothes’\]

\[149\] Marikan (‘American’) is a kind of unbleached cotton.

\[150\] Terau is an obsolete type of fabric that is no longer made.

idia kamai ŋəna? kaan NEG I.PL.EXCL ACT.wear clothes.O

gunoi ŋə torau? gunny.A and terauk.A

“We were lucky in the past, weren’t we? We did not wear gunny or terauk clothes”


po ŋə məkə dea? 3.SG.POSS from mecca TAG

‘The old men used gowns from Mecca’


‘[They] were made into shirts until nothing was left’


‘I made kulauk\(^{151}\) into shirts’


torau?, tika, apo terauk.A pandanus.mat.A what

‘Many people [had to] wear terauk clothes, [or] mats’


‘Especially males, [they were] suffering’


‘There were many bed bugs, weren’t there?’

\(^{151}\) Kulau is a traditional cloth worn as a top.
Appendix

101. A: tu balandeau leu idua?.
    time Holland.A in.the.past.A NEG
      no idua? keja, kaae adea
    3.PL NEG cruel clothes.A exist.A
    ‘The Dutch era wasn’t [like that]. They were not cruel. There were clothes’

102. N: sabun nosah ke kaau, idiu
    soap.O ACT.wash.A say 2.SG.F NEG
      make saben endo kitao
    ACT.use.O soap.A like.O 1.PL.INCL
    ‘Soap for washing clothes was not like the soap we have now, you know’

103. N: buwoh limbau ng bulua?-bulua? dua
    ‘[We used] limbsaus\(^{152}\) that were round and big’

104. N: əndo? nosah tukau-tukau lah,
    want ACT.wash.A RED-hit.A PART
      tamau? su? imbe
    put.into into.O bucket
    ‘To wash clothes, [we] smashed [the fruits] and put [them] into a bucket’

105. N: adea taau sabun limbau
    exist.A know soap.O limbau.A
    ‘Do you know limbau soap?’

\(^{152}\) Limbau is a kind of fruit with a yellowish peel and black seeds. The limbau tree is about 7-9 meters high and notoriously difficult to climb. The fruits are smashed and mixed with water. This mix produces foam that is used as a substitute for soap, including for washing clothes.
Free Conversation 1

106. N: sabun limbau toh, tujun soap.O limbau.A toh to
tukan səpəuh, adea toh
craftsmen.O plating.A exist.A toh
‘You can find limbau soap [being used among] silver workers’

at craftsmen.O ACT.plating.O silver itoh
Adea nəe?-nəe?, don-don neh, bula?-bula?
‘Among silver workers. It is small, as small as this, and round’

108. N: itoh yadi sabun
itoh become soap.O
‘That was the soap’

109. N: idia saben əndo kitao minin
NEG soap.A like.O 1.PL.INCL now
‘There was no soap like now’

110. N: hee sansarao lah maso pəpha
PART suffering.A PART time japan.A
‘Hmm… it was very much suffering during the Japanese era’

111. N: aka əndo toh pulao dea?
eat.A like.O toh too TAG
‘Also for eating’

112. N: aka tana? sampu jageu,
eat.A cook.A mix.O corn.A
sampu uboi
mix.O sweet.potato.A
‘For eating, [we] cooked [rice] mixed with corn, mixed with sweet potatoes’

113. N: ti bəreh tamau? ubi
substitute.O rice.O put.into sweet.potato.O
‘The substitute of rice was sweet potatoes’
1.4 Free conversation 2

The participant of the following text is a female speaker, 74 years old. She tells about her work experiences since she was young. There were some other participants when it was recorded. I occasionally asked questions to the speaker. However, I treat the recording as a monologue since the speaker plays the most dominant part in it.

1. *mulae na pandae ba-gawoa*
   
   start.A really able.A VBLZ-work.A
   
   *jea alo k-umau*
   
   PART go.O to.rice.field.A
   
   ‘At the very beginning, when [I] started to work, [I] was working at a rice field’

2. *adi lah ba-tani, lah umur, lah kəluarga*
   
   so already VBLZ-farm.O already age already family.A
   
   *lah. Lah kəluarga toh masih gea k-umau,*
   
   PART already family.A toh still also to.rice.field.A
   
   *nunan padoi, mutau, ba-sija dea?*
   
   
   ‘So [I was] a farmer when [I was] old enough, [and I] had a family. Already having a family, [I] still went to the rice field, planted paddy, cut and weeded’

3. *itoh gawe uleu. Di lah*
   
   *itoh work.O in.the.past.A so already
   
   *adea ano? ba-duwea tuka*
   
   exist.A child.O STAT-two.A craftsman.A
   
   *gawe. Toh jago ba-roah*
   
   work.O toh merchandize.O rice.A
   
   ‘That was work in the past. So, [when we had] two children [my husband] worked as a craftsman. [Then we] sold rice’
4. jago boroah pasa neh hee ke?
merchandize.O rice.A market neh PART at

anou, sumou bor neh, kato kitao
thingy.O well.O drilled neh tell.O 1.PL.INCL

uleu dea? Itou jago
in.the.past.A TAG there merchandize.O

roah uleu
rice.A in.the.past.A
‘Selling rice at the market, at, uhm, at the drilled well, we called it in
the past, didn’t we? There [I] sold rice in the past’

5. jago boroah lamao pulao jago

boroah, sampae suduah psendaran
rice.A until.A already.A war

abri uleu dea?
ABRI in.the.past.A TAG
‘[I] sold rice for quite a long time, until the end of the ABRI
war in the past’

6. no nimba? ka asrama polisi ahot,
3.PL ACT.shot.A to dormitory police upstream.O

haa itoh nine? jagua
PART itoh grandmother.O merchandize.A

s-ahai toh
one-CLF.A toh
‘They shot at the police dormitory upstream. I\textsuperscript{153} was selling
[rice] on that day’

\\n
\textsuperscript{153}Nine? ‘grandmother’ in this context refers to the speaker herself. Thus in the
translation, I translate it as the first person pronoun ‘I’.


*gunun* karensao udi? mountain.O karensao.A upstream.O

‘After selling rice, [I] worked as a farmer, worked at a field at, uhm, Mt. Karensao upstream’

8. *nana* *kantan, nana* *cabe,* ACT.plant.A potato ACT.plant.A red.pepper

*nana* *sajou* anau, sajou ACT.plant.A vegetable thingy.A vegetable

*bor* kato kitao

bor tell.O 1.PL.INCL

duleu. *Itoh* di-tana in.the.past.A. itoh PASS-cultivate.A

‘Planting potatoes, planting red peppers, planting vegetables, uhm, *bor,*154 that was what we called it in the past. Those were planted’


*taan* ka *ladan* toh year.A to field toh

‘It was quite a long time. It was about three years [I worked] at the field’

---

154 *Bor* is known in English as ‘Napa cabbage’ (*Brassica rapa* subsp. *Pekinensis*).
10. jadi na? sakula alo dea?. Lah
so child.A school.A all TAG already
dua-dua sakula, baloih lao, ba-jagua
lao gawe, jago pisa
too work.O merchandize.O banana.A
’So [my children went to] school, didn’t they? [When they had] grown up, [I went] back to selling stuff, selling bananas’

11. ba-jago pisa lamao lao ku jago
pisa kuko toko habe ili
banana.A in.front shop habe downstream.O
’Selling bananas for a long time. Selling bananas in front of the Habe\textsuperscript{155} shop’

12. jago pisa lao gawe ine?.
merchandize.O banana.A too work.O grandmother.O
lamao jago pisa toh lamao, lah
sampae po? pit neh hee pindah muwaro
until.A father.O PN neh PART move.A muaro
bungea, toh aku gih jago isa
bungea.A toh 1.SG still merchandize.O banana.A
’Selling bananas was my job. For a long time [I] sold bananas, until Pit’s father [my husband] had moved to Muaro Bungea, I was still selling banana’

13. adi akhir-akhir dea?, ano? ng toma?
so finally TAG child.O REL finish.A
sakula neh hee lahai korjea di anau,
school.A neh PART run.A work.A at thingy.A

\textsuperscript{155} Habe is a name of a shop.
Appendix

di pete sarang burung pete triplek, sarang
at PT sarang burung PT plywood sarang

burung jambi dea?, jambatan
burung jambi TAG bridge

aur duri toh. Korjua itou
aur duri toh work. There

'So, finally, the child who graduated from school worked at, uhm, at Sarang Burung Inc., Plywood Inc., Sarang Burung Jambi, at the Aur Duri bridge. [He] worked there'

14. ontai lao jago isa toh. Nuhau?
stop. A too merchandise. O banana. A toh ACT. follow. A

lah po k-ilai. Adea pulao sa-taan
PART 3.SG to. downstream. A exist. A too one. year. A

nine? nuhau? k-ilai
grandmother. O ACT. follow. A to. downstream. A
'[I] stopped selling bananas. [I] followed him downstream. It was for one year that I followed [my son] downstream'

15. haa doh toh, jea duai tahan gih
PART finish. O toh PART NEG stand anymore

dea?, kita o lah tuwo-tuwo. Ha janton
TAG 1.PL.INCL already RED-old. O people. A male. O

mudi? ijon, kita o d-ili ijon
upstream. O stay. O 1.PL.INCL at. downstream. O stay. O
'After that, [I] couldn’t take it anymore, could I? We were getting old. The Male [my husband] was upstream, I was downstream'

16. di basua? gea lah anou-anou dea?
so many. A also PART RED-thingy. O TAG
'So there were so many issues, weren’t there?'

17. kato uha nantan udi? ijon
'People said ‘your man is upstream”'

18. baloi? lao lah ine? kincai
back. A too PART grandmother. O kerinci. A
'I went back to Kerinci’
Free Conversation 2

19. muka?  kə̂dəu.  Kamai  ba-kə̂dəu  
ACT.open  kiosk.A  1.PL.EXCL  STAT-kiosk.A

uleu  ke?  umah  toh  dea?  
in.the.past.A  at  house.A  toh  TAG

‘[I] opened a kiosk. We worked as retailers in the past at home, didn’t we?’

20. uka?  kə̂dəu,  toh  po?  pit  
open  kiosk.A  toh  father.O  PN

gih  muwaro  buŋea  gea,  kuwa?  
still  muaro  bungea.A  also  often

muwao  aja  baloi?  udi?  

‘[When I] opened the kiosk, Pit’s father was still in Muaro Bungea. [He] often brought chicken upstream’

21. uka?  kə̂dəu  lao.  Lamao  lao  ine?  
open  kiosk.A  too  long.A  too  grandmother.O

uka?  kə̂dəu,  sampae  lah  anau  po,  ano?  

ŋə  indou?  kandar  toh  nikah  
REL  mother.O  PN  toh  marry

‘[I] opened a kiosk, it was for a long time I opened a kiosk until, uhm, [my] child, the mother of Kandar got married’

22. aqih  masih  ba-kə̂dəu  gea,  sampae  lao  
still  still  STAT-kiosk.A  also  until.A  too

ba-rə̂lə̂u?  lao  ŋə  kawan  lempau  
STAT-party.A  too  REL  get.married.A  Lempau.A

neh,  aqih  masih  ba-kə̂dəu  gea  
neh  still  still  STAT-kiosk.A  also

‘[I] still worked as a retailer. Until the one [child] who got married in Lempau got married, [I] still worked as a retailer’
23. *akhir*no *tutut* *kədoa* toh *hoo*, *bini*
finally close.O kiosk.A toh PART wife.O

*moran, moran kawan* *ŋə* *ini*
PN PN get.married.A with wife.O
‘Finally, [I] closed the kiosk. [When] Meran’s wife, [when] Meran got married to [his] wife’

24. *guru* *moran* adiʔ *morin* udiʔ*

*teacher PN younger.sibling.O PN upstream.O*

*toh* *deaʔ, kan kawan* *ŋə*
toh TAG KAN get.married.A REL

*mondah kamai* *s-uha*
guest.A 1.PL.EXCL.POSS one-CLF
‘Teacher Meran, the younger brother of Merin [who lives] upstream got married with one of our children’

25. *suduah* *no* *toh* *ba-rəloaʔ,* *idia*
already.A 3.SG toh STAT-guest.A NEG

*ba-jagua* *gih.* *Lah* *geu* *d-umuah* woa
STAT-merchandize.A anymore only stay.A at.home.A only

*lah* *gih* *gawe,* *sampae lah* *kinai* *neh*
PART again work.O until.A PART now neh
‘After she got married [I] did no longer work as a retailer. I stayed at home up to now’

26. *no* *anoʔ* *toh* *赎uaʔ* *puhouh* *deaʔ, * *duaʔ* *usah*
3.PL child.O toh NEG ACT.ask.O TAG NEG don’t

*gih* *ɔmaʔ* *ka* *sawah,* *iduaʔ* *usah* *gih*
anymore mother to rice.field.A NEG don’t anymore
‘They, the children, don’t allow [me to work], do they? ‘Don’t work at the rice field! [You] don’t need to do that’

27. *kitəo* *kan* *pisik* *lah* *əmahu*
1.SG KAN physic already weak.A

*kakei* *neh* *lah* *sakai?
leg.O neh already ill.A
‘1… [My] physical condition was weak. This leg was painful’
Free Conversation 2


‘[My] leg hurts. For two years my leg hurts’

29. dua? pa andae jalua, alo ka sojoi?. NEG really able.A road.A go.O to mosque.A

Pasao sijan tarawaih, idia alau fast.A pray.O tarawaih.A NEG go.A
‘[I] could not walk at all to go to the mosque. During the fasting month, [I] did not go for the Tarawih prayer’


kakei neh ba-itoi?-itoi? leg.O neh STAT-RED-shake.A
‘If [I] tried to stand for praying, [my] leg was shaking’


idia pa ku andae NEG really 1.SG able.A
‘[My] right leg was shaking. I could not do that’

32. tapi sjukur Alhamdulillah, taan neh paso but thank.God praise.be.to.God year.A neh fast.O

‘However, thank God! Praise is to Allah! This year, [I] completed a full fast and Tarawih prayer’

33. kakei toh dea?, lah sihat leg.O toh TAG already healthy.O
‘The leg has recovered’
This following wordlist represents forms which have appeared in the examples and discussions of the chapters (1-9). For each entry, I provide the absolute and oblique form, followed by their English translation. The absolute and oblique alternation is marked with a slash (/). Forms that are interchangeable are marked with a tilde (~). Some words only have one form; either absolute-like or oblique-like.

The column G-words in the following wordlist contains roots with a G-phoneme and roots without one but occurring with prefixes containing a G-phoneme. The column K-words consists of roots lacking a G-phoneme and polymorphemic words whose roots have lost their G-phoneme through nasalization of the root-initial voiced consonant. Some roots appear in both G-words and K-words. Some only occur either in G-words or in K-words. Truncated forms are followed by a cross-reference to the full form preceded by ‘see’.

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<th>K-words</th>
<th>English translation</th>
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<td>abeu/abu</td>
<td>n. ash; dust</td>
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<tr>
<td>aboa/abe</td>
<td>adj. neglected</td>
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<tr>
<td>aboih/abih</td>
<td>adj. finished</td>
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<tr>
<td>abua/abon</td>
<td>adj. red</td>
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<td>adea/ado</td>
<td>v. exist</td>
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<tr>
<td>adoiʔ/adıʔ</td>
<td>n. younger sibling</td>
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<td>aduaʔ/adot</td>
<td>prep. toward</td>
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<tr>
<td>ajua</td>
<td>v. to teach; to learn; to study</td>
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<tr>
<td>agih</td>
<td>adv. still; v. to give (see bagoih/bagih)</td>
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<tr>
<td>agoi</td>
<td>adv. still</td>
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<tr>
<td>agoʔ</td>
<td>adv. rather</td>
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<tr>
<td>ahoi</td>
<td>ahai/ahei n. day</td>
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<td>aih</td>
<td>part. my goodness!</td>
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<td>aja/ajan</td>
<td>n. chicken</td>
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<td>ajah/ajoh</td>
<td>n. uncle</td>
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<td>ajoj/aji</td>
<td>ajai/ajei n. water</td>
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<td>ajen</td>
<td>ajan/ajun v. to swing</td>
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<tr>
<td>aka/akan</td>
<td>n. mind; v. to eat (see maka/makan)</td>
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<tr>
<td>akua/ako</td>
<td>aka/ako n. root</td>
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<tr>
<td>akau–akeu–aku</td>
<td>pron. I (1st person singular)</td>
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<tr>
<td>akhirpo</td>
<td>adv. finally</td>
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<td>alah</td>
<td>part. oh my God</td>
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<td>aloih/alah</td>
<td>v. to switch</td>
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<td>alau</td>
<td>see lalau</td>
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<tr>
<td>alauh/alouh</td>
<td>adj. smooth; fine; soft; thin</td>
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<td>aloiʔ</td>
<td>see baloiʔ/baliʔ</td>
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<tr>
<td>alo</td>
<td>v. to go</td>
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<tr>
<td>alon</td>
<td>see dalon, kalon</td>
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<td>ama/aman</td>
<td>adj. safe</td>
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<tr>
<td>amba</td>
<td>adj. tasteless</td>
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<td>amboiʔ/ambiʔ</td>
<td>v. to take</td>
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<tr>
<td>ambaiʔ/ameiʔ</td>
<td>v. to take</td>
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<tr>
<td>ambau/ambun</td>
<td>n. rattan bag; v. to spread</td>
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<td>ambauʔ/ambouʔ</td>
<td>n. hair</td>
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<td>ampaε</td>
<td>see sampae/sampe</td>
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<tr>
<td>ampaɵ/ampo</td>
<td>adj. empty; n. something empty (e.g. paddy husk)</td>
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<td>anao</td>
<td>see manaʔ</td>
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<tr>
<td>anau/anou–anu</td>
<td>n. whatchamacallit (a filler; in this dissertation translated as uhm)</td>
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<tr>
<td>anuaʔ/anoʔ</td>
<td>n. child; children</td>
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<tr>
<td>ancau/ancou</td>
<td>adj. broken</td>
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<td>andae</td>
<td>see pandae/pande</td>
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<td>andauʔ/andouʔ</td>
<td>n. towel</td>
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<td>anjaeʔ/anjeʔ</td>
<td>n. dog</td>
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<tr>
<td>anta</td>
<td>v. to deliver</td>
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<tr>
<td>antan</td>
<td>see nanta/nantan</td>
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<tr>
<td>apaʔ</td>
<td>see hapuaʔ</td>
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<tr>
<td>aguaʔ</td>
<td>n. wind</td>
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<td>aŋaʔ/aŋat</td>
<td>adj. warm</td>
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<td>aŋkaʔ/aŋkat</td>
<td>v. to carry</td>
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<td>aŋkoiʔ</td>
<td>see baŋkoiʔ/baŋkit</td>
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<td>apoi/api</td>
<td>n. fire</td>
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<tr>
<td>apa</td>
<td>part. what!</td>
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<tr>
<td>apauh/apouh</td>
<td>v. to erase</td>
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<tr>
<td>apaʔ</td>
<td>n. father</td>
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<tr>
<td>apoʔ</td>
<td>n. husband, father of so.</td>
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<tr>
<td>apea/apo</td>
<td>see barapea/barapo</td>
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<tr>
<td>apo</td>
<td>quest. what; conj. or</td>
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<tr>
<td>apolagi</td>
<td>conj. especially</td>
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<tr>
<td>arah</td>
<td>n. direction</td>
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<tr>
<td>asuah/asoʔ</td>
<td>v. to sharpen</td>
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<td>asau/asou</td>
<td>v. to expel</td>
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<tr>
<td>aseuh</td>
<td>asauh/asouh</td>
<td>v. to nurture</td>
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<tr>
<td>asuaʔ/asaʔ</td>
<td>asaʔ/asat</td>
<td>n. smoke</td>
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<tr>
<td>asuʔ</td>
<td>see masuʔ</td>
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<tr>
<td>atah/atoh</td>
<td>n. bran (of rice)</td>
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<td>atai/atei</td>
<td>n. heart</td>
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<tr>
<td>atao</td>
<td>see katao/kato</td>
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<tr>
<td>ataʔ/atat</td>
<td>n. area above</td>
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<tr>
<td>ateh</td>
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<tr>
<td>aton</td>
<td>see batua/baton</td>
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<tr>
<td>atua</td>
<td>see datua/daton</td>
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<tr>
<td>awaʔ</td>
<td>pron. (1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; person; 2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; person; 3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; person)</td>
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<td>awoʔ</td>
<td>n. body</td>
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<td>awoh</td>
<td>see bawuah/bawoh</td>
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<td>bacea/baco</td>
<td>v. to read</td>
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<tr>
<td>badoa/bado</td>
<td>n. anchovy</td>
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<tr>
<td>badua/badon</td>
<td>n. body</td>
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<tr>
<td>baduaʔ/badoʔ</td>
<td>n. rhinoceros</td>
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<td>bajeu/baju</td>
<td>n. shirt</td>
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<tr>
<td>bago/bagi</td>
<td>v. to divide</td>
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<tr>
<td>bagoʔ/bagih</td>
<td>v. to give</td>
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<tr>
<td>bahajea/bahajo</td>
<td>adj. dangerous</td>
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<tr>
<td>baheu/baho</td>
<td>n. coals</td>
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<tr>
<td>bahu/bahon</td>
<td>n. barb (kind of fish)</td>
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<td>bajua/bajon</td>
<td>n. spinach</td>
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<tr>
<td>bakeʔ</td>
<td>n. leftover</td>
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<td>bakon</td>
<td>see makua/bakon</td>
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<tr>
<td>balandea/balando</td>
<td>n. Holland; adj. Dutch</td>
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<tr>
<td>balanjea/balanco</td>
<td>v. to go shopping; n. expense</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>baleuʔ/balut</td>
<td>n. bandage</td>
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<td>baloʔ/baliʔ</td>
<td>v. back; part. again</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banjo</td>
<td>prep. around</td>
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<tr>
<td>bane</td>
<td>n. log</td>
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<tr>
<td>bansuaʔ</td>
<td>adj. bastard</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>bantoa/bante</td>
<td>n. meat</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>bapuaʔ/bapoʔ</td>
<td>num. many; much</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>baŋkea/bangko</td>
<td>n. a region in Jambi Province</td>
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<td>baŋkeu/baŋkun</td>
<td>maŋkau/maŋkun v. to torture</td>
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<td>baŋkoo/baŋke</td>
<td>n. carcass</td>
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<td>baŋkoʔ/baŋkit</td>
<td>maŋkaiʔ/maŋkit v. to wake up</td>
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<tr>
<td>baŋku</td>
<td>n. stool, bench</td>
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<tr>
<td>baoʔ/baiʔ</td>
<td>adj. good</td>
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<tr>
<td>barapea/barapo</td>
<td>quest</td>
<td>how many; how much</td>
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<td>barənua/barənon</td>
<td>v.</td>
<td>to swim</td>
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<tr>
<td>baroih/barih</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>line</td>
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<td>basin</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>just any</td>
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<tr>
<td>baso</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>language; part. that</td>
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<td>basoi/basi</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>stale</td>
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<td>basuah/basoh</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>wet</td>
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<td>bateu/batu</td>
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<td>stone</td>
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<td>batinao/batino</td>
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<td>female</td>
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<td>batoah/bateh</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>boundary</td>
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<td>batuah/baton</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>stem (a classifier)</td>
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<td>bawua/bawon</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>onion</td>
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<td>bawuah/bawoh</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>bottom; prep. below</td>
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<td>babua/babon</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>burden</td>
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<td>baduaʔ/badoʔ</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>face powder</td>
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<td>bakua/bakon</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>food or money for a journey</td>
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<tr>
<td>baloah/baleh</td>
<td>num.</td>
<td>+10 (marks the numbers 11-19)</td>
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<td>balcʔ</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>a can (of food)</td>
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<td>baloi/bali</td>
<td>malai/malei</td>
<td>v. to buy</td>
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<td>baloiʔ/balit</td>
<td>malaiʔ/malit</td>
<td>v. to wind around</td>
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<td>baluah/baloh</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>portion</td>
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<td>bandua/bando</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>water course</td>
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<tr>
<td>banua/bano</td>
<td>mana/mano</td>
<td>v. to make</td>
</tr>
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<td>baŋoih/baŋih</td>
<td>maŋaih/maŋeih</td>
<td>adj. angry</td>
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<td>baroah/baræh</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>rice (dehusked)</td>
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<td>baroi</td>
<td>v.</td>
<td>to give</td>
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<td>barsoi/barsih</td>
<td>marai</td>
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<td>baruaʔ/barot</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>heavy; n. weight</td>
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<td>basoi/basi</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>iron</td>
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<td>batoih/batih</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>calf (of leg)</td>
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<td>bijoi/biji</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>seed (a classifier)</td>
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<td>bigua/bigo</td>
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<td>pandanus leave</td>
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<td>bijeh</td>
<td>adv.</td>
<td>very</td>
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<td>bijua</td>
<td>v.</td>
<td>let; conj. so that</td>
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<td>bilea</td>
<td>quest.</td>
<td>when</td>
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<td>biloʔ/biliʔ</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>room</td>
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<td>binatua/binaton</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>animal</td>
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<td>binoi/bini</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>wife</td>
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<tr>
<td>bisua</td>
<td>v.</td>
<td>can</td>
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<tr>
<td>boiih/bih</td>
<td>v.</td>
<td>to stew</td>
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<tr>
<td>bot</td>
<td>conj.</td>
<td>because</td>
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<td>buduaʔ/budoʔ</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>slave</td>
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<td>buhua/bupon</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>young man; guy; bachelor</td>
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<td>buheuʔ/buhuʔ</td>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>bad; ugly</td>
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<tr>
<td>bukeā/buko</td>
<td>mukaʔ</td>
<td>v. to open</td>
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<tr>
<td>bukoiʔ/bukit</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. fur</td>
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<tr>
<td>bukōn</td>
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<td>v. may</td>
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<tr>
<td>bułua/bulon</td>
<td>munauh/munoh</td>
<td>v. to kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bułuaʔ/bulot</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. moon; month</td>
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<tr>
<td>buñeah/bunoh</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buŋka</td>
<td>mugka</td>
<td>n. flower</td>
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<tr>
<td>buŋkāʔ/buŋkui</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. package</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buŋkau</td>
<td></td>
<td>adj. round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buŋkāʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to destroy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buŋoi/buŋi</td>
<td>n. sound</td>
<td>n. bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bureu/burun</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buseuʔ/busuʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>adj. stink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buteā/buto</td>
<td></td>
<td>adj. blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buweā/buwo</td>
<td>muwao/muwo</td>
<td>v. to bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buwuah/buwoh</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. fruit, piece (a classifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cābeuʔ/cabuți</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to pull out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cāboiʔ/cabīʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>adj. torn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cāhāi/cāhei</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to search for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>campāʔ/campou</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to mix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>campāʔ/campoʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cantin</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. small can; 1/4 kilogram (a partitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caŋkāi/caŋkei</td>
<td>n. cup</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caŋkāu/caŋkou</td>
<td>n. hoe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carītāo/carītō</td>
<td>n. story</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cāro</td>
<td>n. way; manner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cādoiʔ/cādiʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>adj. smart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cāgeuʔ/cāgūt</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to bark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cōhāe/cōhe</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to divorce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cōpaʔ/cōpat</td>
<td></td>
<td>adj. fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cian/ciun</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to kiss; to smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cihe</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to scatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cilāoʔ/ciloʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cinto</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cūbeā/cūbo</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to try</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cūcai/cucei</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cūcau/cucou</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cukaiʔ/cukeiʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to poke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-words</td>
<td>K-words</td>
<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cukauʔ/cukut</td>
<td>adj. enough</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuʃa</td>
<td>adv. however; only</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cumpauʔ/cumpouʔ</td>
<td>n. pile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuŋkauh/cuŋkouh</td>
<td>n. chunk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cupaʔ/cupoʔ</td>
<td>n. 1/2 liter (a partitive)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**D**

daen/daun        | n. leaf          |
dahin            | adv. in the past |
dahuah/dahoh     | n. blood         |
dahuʔ/dahot       | n. upstream      |
dakoi/daki       | nakai/nakei     |
|                 | v. to climb      |
dalon            | n. the inside; prep. inside |
daloʔ            | v. to search for |
dalua/dalon       | adj. deep        |
danua/dano        | n. lake          |
daŋkəoaʔ         | adj. shallow     |
dapeu/dapu       | n. kitchen       |
dapuaʔ/dapot      | v. to get        |
dari             | prep. from       |
daripado         | prep. than (in comparisons) |
dateh            | prep. from; above |
dateu/datun       | n. aunty         |
datua/datон       | v. to arrive     |
deaʔ             | part. tag        |
dbeu/dəbu         | n. dust          |
deh              | see tadeh       |
dskuaʔ/dakot     | adj. close       |
daŋua/dəŋo       | nəŋa/nəŋo       |
|                 | v. to hear       |
di               | prep. at, in, on |
dijea            | pron. s/he (3rd person singular) |
dijua/dijon      | v. to stay       |
dikoʔ/dikit    | adj. a few; a little |
dipu             | neg. not exist   |
diŋan            | prep. with; and  |
diŋon/diŋin      | adj. cold        |
don              | see gədua/gədon  |
duaʔ            | neg. not         |
dudeuʔ/duduʔ     | v. to sit        |
duleu/dulu       | adv. in the past |
dunjija/dunjio    | n. world         |
duŋeə/duŋu        | adj. stupid      |
dusen/dusun      | n. village       |
duto             | n. doctor        |
duweə/duwə       | num. two         |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G-words</th>
<th>K-words</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>duwot</td>
<td>prep. by</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duʔua/duʔo</td>
<td>n. pray</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ǝ**

| ǝloaʔ/ǝleʔ  | ǝla/alan | n. eagle            |
| ǝmaeh/ǝmeh  | ǝna/ǝna | n. party            |
| ǝmaʔ        | ǝncit | n. gold             |
| ǝmbauh/ǝmbouh | ǝndah | n. mother           |
| ǝmpoah/ǝmpeh | ǝmpao | v. want             |
| ǝmpaʔ/ǝmpʔ  | ǝmpaʔ/ǝmpʔ | ǝnduaʔ/ǝntuaʔ | v. to smash  |
| ǝnsou       | ǝnta/ǝntan | ǝntah | pron. you (2\(^{nd}\) person singular male) |
| ǝnta        | ǝnta/ǝntan | ǝntah | num. four         |
| ǝntah       | ǝnta/ǝntan | ǝntah | num. six          |
| ǝntoi       | ǝntai/ǝntai | ǝnti | v. want; prep. for |
| ǝntuaʔ      | ǝntai/ǝntai | ǝnti | v. to smash       |
| ǝnti        | ǝntai/ǝntai | ǝnti | neg. do not want  |

**G**

<p>| gadoa/gade  | ǝntuali/ǝntalei | v. to pawn          |
| gadoih/gadih | ǝntalai/ǝntalei | n. female; girl     |
| gaçoi/ɡaçi  | ǝntalai/ǝntalei | n. salary           |
| gaguah/gagoh | ǝntalai/ǝntalei | adj. handsome       |
| gaheu/gahu  | ǝntalai/ǝntalei | n. to disturb       |
| gahuə/gahon | ǝntalai/ǝntalei | n. salt             |
| gal          | ǝntalai/ǝntalei | num. all            |
| galoi/gali  | ǝntalai/ǝntalei | v. to dig           |
| ganjoi      | ǝntalai/ǝntalei | adj. odd            |
| ganteu/gantun | ǝntalai/ǝntalei | v. to hang          |
| gantua/gantun | ǝntalai/ǝntalei | n. 2.8 kilogram (a partitive) |
| gapoa/gape  | ǝntalai/ǝntalei | n. work             |
| gawoa/gawe  | ǝntalai/ǝntalei | see jugea           |
| gea         | ǝntalai/ǝntalei | adj. big             |
| gadua/gadon | ǝntalai/ǝntalei |                     |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G-words</th>
<th>K-words</th>
<th>English translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>galoah/galeh</td>
<td>ηala</td>
<td>n. glass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galua/galo</td>
<td>ηala</td>
<td>n. name; title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galua/galon</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. bracelet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galuaʔ/galoʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to laugh at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gantoʔ/ganti</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gŋgua/gŋgon</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. a handful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gapuʔ/gapuʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>adj. fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gatuaʔ/gatoh</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. sap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geu</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gigoʔ/gigit</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gih</td>
<td></td>
<td>adv. again; anymore; still; later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gilea/gilo</td>
<td></td>
<td>adj. crazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giloʔ/gili</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. turn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gilon/gilin</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to grind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gin</td>
<td></td>
<td>see sagin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goi</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>see agoʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulea/gulo</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. sugar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guleu/gulun</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. roll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guloa/gule</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. dish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guloʔ/guli</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to roll on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunduah/gundoʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>adj. depressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunea/gunun</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunoi/guni</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. gunny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guron/gurin</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to fry</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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<tr>
<td>ha</td>
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<td>see uha/uhan</td>
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<tr>
<td>haa</td>
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<td>part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hee</td>
<td></td>
<td>part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hei</td>
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<td>see ahai/ahei</td>
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<tr>
<td>hoo</td>
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<td>part.</td>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ibea/ibo</td>
<td></td>
<td>adj. sad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideu/idun</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ideuʔ/idut</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idia</td>
<td></td>
<td>neg. nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iduaʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>neg. not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ijea/ijo</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to spell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ijia</td>
<td></td>
<td>neg. nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ijoji</td>
<td></td>
<td>see bijoi/biji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ijuai/ijo</td>
<td></td>
<td>adj. green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ijuaiʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>neg. not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihoih/ihih</td>
<td>ihaih/iheih</td>
<td>n. slice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-words</td>
<td>K-words</td>
<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihoiʔ/ihit</td>
<td>ihaiʔ/ihit</td>
<td>v. to drag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ihon/ihin</td>
<td>ihan/ihin</td>
<td>v. to accompany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ijea</td>
<td></td>
<td>part. yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ijua/i jon</td>
<td></td>
<td>see dijua/dijon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikao</td>
<td></td>
<td>pron. You (2nd person singular/plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikeu</td>
<td>ikau/ikou</td>
<td>n. tail (a classifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ikaʔ/ikat</td>
<td>v. to tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ila/ilan</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. lost, to disappear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iloi/ili</td>
<td>ilai/ilei</td>
<td>n. lower area; prep. downstream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilauʔ/ilouʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>adj. good; attractive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ima/imo</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. tiger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imbao/imbo</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imbe</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. bucket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imba/imbo</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to call; to summon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imoʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>see kimaʔ/kimoʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impoiʔ/impit</td>
<td>impaiʔ/impit</td>
<td>v. to squeeze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indeuʔ</td>
<td>indauʔ/indouʔ</td>
<td>n. mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>indauʔ aih</td>
<td>part. my goodness me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ineh</td>
<td></td>
<td>dem. this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inei</td>
<td></td>
<td>see sinei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ini</td>
<td></td>
<td>see binoi/bini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inin</td>
<td></td>
<td>see minin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intau</td>
<td></td>
<td>see pintau/pintou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iqa/iqan</td>
<td></td>
<td>adj. easy; light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iqaʔ/iqat</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to remember</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isa</td>
<td></td>
<td>see pisa/pisan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isoʔ/isi</td>
<td>isai/issei</td>
<td>n. content; v. to fill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isoaʔ/isat</td>
<td></td>
<td>v. to suck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isua</td>
<td></td>
<td>see bisua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ita/itan</td>
<td></td>
<td>adj. black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iteu/itun</td>
<td>itau/itun</td>
<td>v. to count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iteʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. aunty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itoh</td>
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<td>dem. that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itou</td>
<td></td>
<td>see sitou</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| J              |               |                                              |
| jadoi/jadi     |               | v. to become; conj. so                       |
| jaeuh/jauh     |               | adj. far                                     |
| jageu/jagun    |               | n. corn; maize                               |
| jagua/jago     |               | n. merchandize                               |
| jahoi/jahi     |               | n. finger                                    |
| jahuaʔ/jahot   |               | adj. mean; immoral; criminal                 |
| jalua/jalon    |               | n. road; v. to walk                          |
| jambatan       |               | n. bridge                                    |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th>G-words</th>
<th>K-words</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jambeu/jambu</td>
<td>n. guava</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jamboi/jambi</td>
<td>n. a province in Sumatra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jandea/jando</td>
<td>n. widow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jantua/janton</td>
<td>n. male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jagua</td>
<td>neg. don’t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaoi?/jait</td>
<td>v. to sew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jateuh/jatuh</td>
<td>v. to fall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jawea/jawo</td>
<td>n. Java</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jawoi/jawi</td>
<td>n. cow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jawua?/jawot</td>
<td>v. to answer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jajua?/jajo?</td>
<td>n. footprint</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaloah/joleh</td>
<td>adj. clear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jangka/janko</td>
<td>n. span (of the hand)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jamea/jamo</td>
<td>v. to dry in the sun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>japua/japon</td>
<td>n. Japan, Japanese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jilua?/jilot</td>
<td>v. to lick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jinjoa?/jinje?</td>
<td>v. to lift; to carry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jinua?/jino?</td>
<td>adj. tame</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jon</td>
<td>n. watch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joo?</td>
<td>see sajo?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jubua/juboh</td>
<td>n. robe, gown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>judio/pudi</td>
<td>v. to gamble</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jujeu/jujun</td>
<td>v. to carry on the head</td>
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<td>juwua/juwon</td>
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<td>kəluarga/kəluargo</td>
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<td>prep. at; in; on</td>
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<td>v. to plant</td>
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<td>kihan</td>
<td>v. to send</td>
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<td>kiro</td>
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<td>kumpa/kumpan</td>
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<td>kupah/kupoh</td>
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<td>kura/kuran</td>
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<td>kursai/kursei</td>
<td>n. chair</td>
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<td>kusau/kusun</td>
<td>adj. empty</td>
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<td>kuwalai/kuwalei</td>
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<td>kuwaʔ</td>
<td>adv. often</td>
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<td>kuwo</td>
<td>see kauwo</td>
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</table>

**L**

| laon  | laan/lain | adj. different          |
| lauʔ/laouʔ | n. fish    |                        |
| labeuh/labuh | v. to anchor |                    |
| ladua/ladon | n. field     |                        |
| lagea/lago  | v. to fight |                         |
| lahoi/lahi  | lahai/lahei | v. to run               |
| lahaiʔ/laheiʔ | n. a row of houses that are joined together |
| lakoi/laki  | lakai/lakei | n. husband             |
| lakau/lakou | n. act; adj. marketable |
| lalaʔ        | n. fly (insect) |
| lamao/lamo   | adj. long    |                        |
| lambaʔ/lambat | adj. slow     |
| lampou       | n. lamp      |                        |
| lansau/lansun | adv. directly |
| lantae/lante | n. floor     |                        |
| laŋga        | v. to bump   |                        |
| laŋua/lago   | v. to stun   |                        |
| lao           | part. again; adv. not yet, too, also |
| lapua        | lapa/lapo   | adj. hungry            |
| laboih/labih | lawa/lawan  | n. opponent; prep. versus |
| labuaʔ/labot | adv. more    |                        |
| leih         | see kolaih/kaleih |
| ləkoah/ləkeh | adj. fast    |                        |
| ləmah/ləmoh  | adj. weak    |                        |
| ləmaʔ/łamoʔ  | adj. tasty   |                        |
| ləmpau/ləmpou | n. a village in Kerinci |
| ləŋah/ləŋoh  | adj. careless |
| ləŋaih/lęŋeih | adj. thin    |
| ləpaeh/lępeh  | adj. loose, free |
| łəsau/łasun   | n. mortar    |                        |
| ɫstuaʔ       | lotaʔ/łtoʔ  | n. place               |
| libua/libo   | adj. broad   |                        |
| licaʔ/licoʔ  | v. to trample on |
| lihoiʔ/lihit  | lihaiʔ/łheiʔ | n. row                 |
### Appendix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G-words</th>
<th>K-words</th>
<th>English translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lijai/lijei</td>
<td>n. neck</td>
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<td>lilai/lilit</td>
<td>v. to coil around something</td>
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<td>limao/limo</td>
<td>num. five</td>
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<td>li?</td>
<td>see baloi/bali?</td>
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<td>luja/lujan</td>
<td>n. metal tray</td>
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<td>lumpa/lumpat</td>
<td>v. to jump</td>
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<td>luna/luno?</td>
<td>adj. soft</td>
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<td>ma</td>
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<td>maae</td>
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<td>mahao/maho</td>
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<td>makua/bakon</td>
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<td>maka/makan</td>
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<td>makin</td>
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<td>adj. shy</td>
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<td>malau/malou</td>
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<td>manan</td>
<td>quest. how</td>
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<td>manao</td>
<td>quest. which; where; whoever; whichever</td>
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<td>mandai/mandei</td>
<td>v. to take a bath</td>
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<td>manja?/manjat</td>
<td>v. to climb</td>
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<td>manjo</td>
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<td>v. to emigrate</td>
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<td>G-words</td>
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<td>English translation</td>
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<td>masauʔ/masouʔ</td>
<td>v. to enter; to put; to come; to enroll; to include</td>
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<td>v. to cook</td>
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<td>masih</td>
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<td>maso</td>
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<td>masuʔ</td>
<td>prep. into</td>
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<td>adj. raw</td>
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<td>matai/matei</td>
<td>v. to die</td>
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<td>matao/mato</td>
<td>n. eye; 100 grams (a partitive)</td>
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<td>maʔ</td>
<td>n. mother</td>
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<td>maʔãoh</td>
<td>n. apology</td>
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<td>minen</td>
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<td>minin</td>
<td>n. now</td>
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<tr>
<td>moʔ</td>
<td>neg. don’t; conj. so that</td>
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<td>mudea/mudo</td>
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<td>mudoʔ/mudiʔ</td>
<td>n. upper area; prep. upstream</td>
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<td>muko</td>
<td>n. front</td>
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<td>mulae/mule</td>
<td>v. to start</td>
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<td>muwao/muwo</td>
<td>see buwea/buwo</td>
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| N | |
| naaeʔ/naeʔ | v. to go up |
| naeʔ/ncʔ | adj. small |
| naka | adj. naughty |
## G-words | K-words | English translation
---|---|---
nakai/nakei | see dakoi/daki |  
namao/namo | n. name |  
nanta/nantan | n. grandfather |  
nasai/nasei | n. rice (cooked) |  
nasao/naso | adj. broken |  
ndeh | part. |  
neh | see ineh |  
nąŋa/nąŋo | see dąqua/dąŋo |  
ninaeʔ/nineʔ | n. grandmother |  
nuweʔ | see tuwaiʔ/tuweiʔ |  

### J

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<td>adv. really; even</td>
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<td>naaiʔ</td>
<td>see jaoiʔ/jait</td>
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<td>ooʔ</td>
<td>n. shit</td>
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<td>sajaʔ/sajat</td>
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<td>v. to follow; adj. same</td>
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<td>sampau/sampou–sampu</td>
<td>v. to mix</td>
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<td>v.</td>
<td>to recite a mantra in order to cure illnesses</td>
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<tr>
<td>taʔ?</td>
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<td>lataʔ/lataʔ?</td>
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<tr>
<td>G-words</td>
<td>K-words</td>
<td>English translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>taʔäʔ</td>
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<tr>
<td>tabua/tabon</td>
<td>adj. thick; v. to cut</td>
<td>named. pond</td>
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<tr>
<td>tabea/tapot</td>
<td>n. pond</td>
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<td>tagea/tago?</td>
<td>adj. strapping</td>
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<tr>
<td>tagua/tago?</td>
<td>v. to build; to stand</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tolau/tolou</td>
<td>n. egg</td>
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<tr>
<td>tōma/tōmou</td>
<td>v. to meet</td>
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<tr>
<td>tompe?</td>
<td>v. to finish</td>
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<tr>
<td>tōna/tōnan</td>
<td>v. to pass</td>
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<td>topeʔ</td>
<td>n. edge</td>
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<td>tōrauʔ</td>
<td>adv. continuously</td>
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<td>tarbua/tarbun</td>
<td>v. to fly</td>
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<td>tarjeu/tarjun</td>
<td>v. to fall</td>
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<td>tōrampu</td>
<td>n. sandal</td>
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<td>tībea/tibo</td>
<td>v. to arrive</td>
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<td>tīdeu/tidu</td>
<td>v. to sleep</td>
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<td>tīgea/tigo</td>
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<td>tika/tikan</td>
<td>n. pandanus mat</td>
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<td>timbaʔ/timbo</td>
<td>v. to draw</td>
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<td>tinaʔ/tinan</td>
<td>v. to shoot</td>
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<td>tīnao/tīno</td>
<td>v. to remember</td>
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<tr>
<td>tīnjau/tīnjou</td>
<td>v. to punch</td>
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<tr>
<td>tīnoʔ</td>
<td>v. to target</td>
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<tr>
<td>tīngga/tīnggan</td>
<td>v. to leave</td>
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<td>tīngga/tīng ei</td>
<td>adj. tall; high</td>
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<tr>
<td>tīti/titei</td>
<td>v. to walk on a narrow and long path</td>
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<td>tītin</td>
<td>n. bridge</td>
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<td>tū</td>
<td>see bateu/batu</td>
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<td>tūah</td>
<td>see gatuah/gotoh</td>
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<td>tūdeu/tudun</td>
<td>n. hat</td>
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<tr>
<td>tūjeu/tujuh</td>
<td>num. seven</td>
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<tr>
<td>tūgeʔ/tuguʔ</td>
<td>n. hat</td>
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<tr>
<td>tūhan/tuhun</td>
<td>v. to go down</td>
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<tr>
<td>tūhauʔ/tuhut</td>
<td>v. to follow</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tūka</td>
<td>v. to change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūka/tukan</td>
<td>n. mason; craftsman</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūkau/tukun</td>
<td>v. to hit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūlah/tuleih</td>
<td>v. to write</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūlau/tulun</td>
<td>v. to help</td>
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</table>
### G-words K-words English translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G-words</th>
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<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tumbauh/tumbouh</td>
<td>v. to grow</td>
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<td>tumbauʔ/tumbouʔ</td>
<td>v. to pound; to hit</td>
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<tr>
<td>tumpau/tumpou</td>
<td>v. to be based on</td>
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<tr>
<td>tumpun</td>
<td>n. a pedestal</td>
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<tr>
<td>tundauʔ/tundouʔ</td>
<td>v. to bow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuntauʔ/tuntut</td>
<td>v. to sue</td>
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<tr>
<td>tungau/tungou</td>
<td>v. to wait</td>
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<tr>
<td>tuŋkauʔ/tuŋkut</td>
<td>v. to bow</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tutauʔ/tutouʔ</td>
<td>v. to close</td>
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<tr>
<td>tuwae/tuwe</td>
<td>v. to harvest</td>
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<tr>
<td>tuwaiʔ/tuweiʔ~</td>
<td>n. to ask</td>
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<tr>
<td>nuwe</td>
<td>v. to ask</td>
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<tr>
<td>tundauʔ/tundouʔ</td>
<td>v. to master</td>
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<tr>
<td>tuntauʔ/tuntut</td>
<td>adj. old</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### U

<p>| Ubea/ubo        | adj. dumb        |                             |
| Uboi/ubi        | n. cassava       |                             |
| Ubuaʔ/ubot      | n. medicine      |                             |
| Ujua/ujon       | n. rain          |                             |
| Ugea            | see jugea        |                             |
| Uha/uhan        | n. people; person (a classifier) |                             |
| Ujun            | n. group         |                             |
| Ukaoʔ/ukoʔ      | n. cigarette     |                             |
| Ukeu/ukou       | v. to measure    |                             |
| Ukoʔ?           | see bukoʔ/buit   |                             |
| Ukua?           | see bukuaʔ       |                             |
| Uleu            | see duleu        |                             |
| Uloih           | see buloih       |                             |
| Umuah/umoh      | n. house         |                             |
| Umea            | n. rice field    |                             |
| Umau            | n. age           |                             |
| Umpen/umpun     | n. cluster       |                             |
| Umpauʔ/umput    | n. grass         |                             |
| Unca/uncan      | n. purse         |                             |
| Unteu/untun     | n. profit        |                             |
| Untuʔ?          | prep. for, to    |                             |
| Ungauʔ/ungouʔ   | n. bunch         |                             |
| Upuah/upoh      | n. wage; v. to hire; v. to employ |                             |
| Uralh/ureuh     | v. to organize; to manage |                             |
| Usah            | neg. do not      |                             |
| Usao/uso        | see ruso/ruso    |                             |
| Utau            | n. debt          |                             |
| Utauʔ/utoʔ      | n. brain         |                             |
| Uwua            | n. money         |                             |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G-words</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uwea</td>
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<td>see buwea/buwo</td>
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<tr>
<td>uwoh</td>
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<td>see buwuah/buwoh</td>
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<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>waih</td>
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<td>part. wow</td>
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<tr>
<td>woa</td>
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<td>adv. only</td>
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<tr>
<td>wot</td>
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<td>see duwot</td>
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### 3 Morphological derivation in PT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Combination</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>A/O</th>
<th>Example</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maN-</td>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>To become X</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>kanun/kunin 'yellow' to become yellow'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>To be like X</td>
<td>ABS/OBL</td>
<td>gunea/gunun 'mountain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-</td>
<td>Any root</td>
<td>Active construction</td>
<td>ABS/OBL</td>
<td>takau/hakan 'to hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Monovalent verbs and adjectives</td>
<td>Causative construction</td>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>tideu/tidu 'to sleep'</td>
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<tr>
<td>di-</td>
<td>Any root</td>
<td>Passive construction</td>
<td>ABS/OBL</td>
<td>takau/hakan 'to hit'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Imperative</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>maka/makan 'to eat'</td>
<td>dimakua 'please eat!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>To make sth. more X</td>
<td>ABS/OBL</td>
<td>pana/panan 'long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>To treat sth. as X</td>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>bokau/bokon 'food or money for a journey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A larger entity of which X is a part</td>
<td>OBL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paN-</td>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>So, for whom / sth. for which X is a typical feature</td>
<td>ABS/OBL</td>
<td>malau/malou 'shy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Monovalent verbs</td>
<td>So, who typically does X</td>
<td>ABS/OBL</td>
<td>jadoi/judi 'to gamble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Bivalent verbs</td>
<td>The tool or agent for X</td>
<td>ABS/OBL</td>
<td>apah/bapoh 'to erase'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Verbs</td>
<td>The result of X</td>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>cahai/cahei 'to search for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa-</td>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>Excessive quality of X / so X</td>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>takau/takun 'afraid'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>To possess X</td>
<td>ABS/OBL</td>
<td>kipae/kipke 'money'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Verbs</td>
<td>To emphasize the verbal status of the word</td>
<td>ABS/OBL</td>
<td>jaluas/jalun 'to walk, read'</td>
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<td>Verbs</td>
<td>To do a relatively time stable activity</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>pikai/pikei 'to think'</td>
</tr>
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<td>Verbs</td>
<td>To highlight the random manner of an action</td>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>torbaa/torbon 'to fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-an</td>
<td>Any root</td>
<td>A noun formed through X</td>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>titai/titei 'to walk on a bridge'</td>
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<td>To possess X</td>
<td>ABS/OBL</td>
<td>kipae/kipke 'money'</td>
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<td>Reciprocity</td>
<td>ABS</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derived form</th>
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<td>Prefix</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Compounds</strong></td>
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<td><strong>ka-</strong></td>
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