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Phrasal alternation in Kerinci

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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. *mahae ikao ana? nae?*
let 2.PL child.A small.A
‘Come here small children!’

2. *haa pado ikao usoi? jaeuh-jaeuh,*
PART than 2.PL play.A RED-far.A

mahae 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 kankau*
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. *jo ηimo? kaŋkun jo 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? ηimo?*
so already follow too dog.A ACT.see.O
'So, a dog is also watching [it]'
7. *jadi suduah itoh, ta-kəla?*
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-kəla? ana? ne?*
so PERF-asleep.A child.A small.O

neh. Hee ləpaeh kaŋkun jo
neh PART free.A frog.O 3.SG.POSS
'So, this small kid falls asleep. Hmm... his frog escaped'
9. *jadi ləpaeh kaŋkun jo*
so free.A frog.O 3.SG.POSS
'So, his frog escaped'
10. *səŋgo anyae?, anye? jo adea*
then dog.A dog.O 3.SG.POSS exist.A

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

jo toh ləpaeh
3.SG.POSS toh free.A
'Then a dog, his dog, there is one [dog], sees that his frog escaped'
11. *səŋgo di-juun jo sapatou bot jo*
then PASS-carry.O 3.SG shoes boot 3.SG.POSS
'He carries his boots'

12. *rupono, masau? anye? no neh dalon toples*
 apparently enter.A dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh inside jar
 ‘Apparently, his dog gets stuck inside a jar’
13. *jadi no ηaaih*
 so 3.SG ACT.shout.A
 ‘So he shouts’
14. *ηaaih no ηimbo anye? no*
 ACT.shout.A 3.SG ACT.call.O dog.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘He calls his dog, shouting’
15. *ηaaih no ηimbo anye? no.*
 ACT.shout.A 3.SG ACT.call.O dog.O 3.SG.POSS
- rupono anye? no masau? alon toples*
 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 no toh ila*
 frog.O 3.SG.POSS toh disappear.A
 ‘His frog disappeared’
17. *səŋgo ila kaŋkun no toh*
 then disappear.A frog.O 3.SG.POSS toh
 ‘Then, his frog disappeared’
18. *anye? no masau? dalon toples,*
 dog.O 3.SG.POSS enter.A inside jar
- haa no no ta-mənau*
 PART 3.SG 3.SG PERF-ponder.A
 ‘His dog gets stuck inside the jar. Hmm... he... he ponders’
19. *ta-mənau no. səŋgo no ta-mənau*
 PERF-ponder.A 3.SG then 3.SG PERF-ponder.A
 ‘He ponders. Then, he ponders’
20. *haa no ba-lahoi pulao*
 PART 3.SG VBLZ-run.A too
- maŋkau anye? no*
 ACT.hold.A dog.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Hmm... he runs while carrying his dog’

21. *dapua?* *anye?* *no* *toh,* *di-pajkau* *no*
get.A dog.O 3.SG.POSS toh PASS-hold.A 3.SG
'[He] gets his dog and he carries him'
22. *no* *ɲaaih* *pulao* *ɲimbo* *kaŋkun* *no*
3.SG ACT.shout.A too ACT.call.O frog.O 3.SG.POSS
'He calls his frog, shouting'
23. *ɲaaih* *no* *ɲimbo* *kaŋkun.*
ACT.shout.A 3.SG ACT.call.O frog.O
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* *no* *ɲimo?* *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. *kiroŋo* *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. *anye?* *neh* *ɲəgut* *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. *ɲarabeu* *sahan* *sala*
swarm.A nest.O wasp.A
'The wasps swarm'
29. *ɲarabeu* *sahan* *sala.* *Səŋgo* *no* *nundau?*
swarm.A nest.O wasp.A then 3.SG ACT.bow.A
k-awoh. *Nundau?* *no* *k-awoh*
downward.O ACT.bow.A 3.SG downward.O
'The wasps swarm. So that he bows down. He bows down'

30. *jadi nundau? no k-awoh. Anye?*
 so ACT.bow.A 3.SG downward.O dog.O
- no neh tərauh ugea jəgut*
 3.SG.POSS neh continuous also ACT.bark.O
- tərauh ugea jəgut*
 continuous also ACT.bark.O
 ‘So he bows down. His dog still barks at [the wasp nest], still barks at it’
31. *adea məncai? s-ikau ŋimo?*
 exist.A mouse.A one-CLF.A ACT.see.O
- no məkat idun no*
 3.SG ACT.cover.O nose.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘There is a mouse that is watching him covering his nose’
32. *halah pijao no məkat*
 PART why 3.SG ACT.cover.O
- idun no ke?*
 nose.O 3.SG.POSS PART
 ‘My God! Why does he cover his nose?’
33. *jadi səŋgo salan neh narabeu, narabeu*
 so then wasp.O neh swarm.A swarm.A
 ‘Then, the wasps swarm, swarm’
34. *anye? no neh əndo?*
 dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh want
- ŋalake umpun kajau*
 ACT.climb.O cluster.O wood.A
 ‘His dog wants to climb a tree’
35. *di əncit 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 rupopo*
 to.outside.A from inside nest.O apparently
 ‘Comes out from the nest apparently’

37. *jadi, no neh, manya?*
so 3.SG neh ACT.climb.A

teh umpun kajau
above cluster.O wood.A
'So he climbs a tree'
38. *adea no njimo? lubang itou*
exist.A 3.SG ACT.see.O hole.A there
'He sees a hole there'
39. *jadi adea lubang toh ke? sahan ala*
so exist.A hole.A toh at nest.O hawk.A
'So, there is a hole at a hawk's nest'
40. *səŋgo ka-luwa alan toh*
then to.outside.A hawk.O toh
'Then that hawk comes out'
41. *jadi alan neh ka-luwa, no ta-jateuh*
so hawk.O neh to.outside.A 3.SG PERF-fall.A
'So this hawk comes out. He falls down accidentally'
42. *ta-kanya? njimo? alan*
PERF-surprised.A ACT.see.O hawk.O

deh ka-luwa
just.now to.outside.A
'[He] is surprised to see the hawk coming out'
43. *jadi anye? no neh*
so dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh

di-kantan wot sala
PASS-attack.O by wasp.A
'So his dog was attacked by wasps'

44. *waih di-kantan wot sala anye?*
PART PASS-attack.O by wasp.A dog.O
- no. ηηaaih no ba-lahoi*
3.SG.POSS RED-shout.A¹⁴⁶ 3.SG VBLZ-run.A
'His dog is attacked by wasps. He runs away, shouting'
45. *jadi, səŋgo əla neh lah tərbua pulao*
so then hawk.A neh already fly.A too
'So the hawk flies'
46. *tərbua əla neh. no ηimbo əlan toh*
fly.A hawk.A neh 3.SG ACT.call.O hawk.O toh
'The hawk flies. He calls that hawk'
47. *no ηimbo əlan toh. Ka-takut əntah*
3.SG ACT.call.O hawk.O toh VBLZ-afraid.O perhaps
'He calls that hawk. Perhaps [he is] scared'
48. *no ηaŋkat jahi no kateh*
3.SG ACT.lift.O finger.O 3.SG.POSS up
'He raises his hands up'
49. *di-aŋkot no jahi no kateh*
PASS-lift.O 3.SG finger.O 3.SG.POSS up
'He raises his hands up'
50. *di sasuduah no ηaŋkat kateh*
so after.A 3.SG ACT.lift.O up
'So, after he raises [his hands] up'
51. *no 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'

¹⁴⁶ Note the partial reduplication (< *ηaaih* 'to shout'); **ηaaih-ηaaih* seems to be phonotactically exceptional.

52. *naae?* *teh* *tu* *gədua.* *no*
 go.up.A above.O stone.O big.A 3.SG
ŋaaih. *no* *ŋimbo* *anye?* *no*
 ACT.shout.A 3.SG ACT.call.O dog.O 3.SG.POSS
 '[He] climbs on the big stone. He shouts. He calls for his dog'
53. *ŋaaih* *ŋimbo* *anye?* *no.*
 ACT.shout.A ACT.call.O dog.O 3.SG.POSS
anye? *no* *nuykau?*
 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* *taau.* *Səŋko* *no*
 NEG 3.SG know expect.O 3.SG
anye? *no* *gi* *jaeuh* *gea*
 dog.O 3.SG.POSS still far.A also
 'He didn't know. He thought his dog was far away from him'
55. *kiroŋo* *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. *nuykau?* *anye?* *no*
 ACT.bow.A dog.O 3.SG.POSS
 'The dog bows'
57. *jadi* *nuykau?* *anye?* *no* *neh*
 so ACT.bow.A dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh
 'Then his dog bows'
58. *no* *tərauh* *pulao* *no* *na?*
 3.SG continuous too 3.SG xxx
geu *naae?* *ateh* *pungun* *usao*
 stay.A go.up.A above back.O deer.A
 'He climbs on the back of a deer'

59. *uso neh lah tibe a 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 uran ta itoh*
 VBLZ-run.A exist.A too cliff at itoh
 ‘Running, and then there is a cliff there’
65. *adea pulao uran. Uso*
 exist.A too cliff deer.O

toh ando? ma-lumpa?
 toh 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 ateh təbin 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 tərauh 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. Diju*
 disappear.A inside forest.O NEG

uso diju 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 təbua?
 neh fall.A inside pond.A
 ‘Hmm... apparently the small kid falls into a pond’
74. *adea təbua? ənta itoh*
 exist.A pond.A at itoh
 ‘There is a pond there’
75. *səŋgo nampa? kakei*
 then ACT.visible leg.O
 ‘Then, [his] leg is visible’

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 kiroŋo lah*
 so already.A toh PART apparently already

tibea dalon tɔbua?
 arrive.A inside pond.A
 ‘Then hmm... [he] is inside the pond now’
78. *kiro tɔbot toh idua?*
 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. *kiro anyae? neh naae? pulao.*
 apparently dog.A neh go.up.A too

anye? toh sətia 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 anye? toh*
 go.up.A PART dog.O toh

anta palo? no
 to head.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘That dog goes up to his head’
82. *haa səŋgo no bər-təria? Anye?*
 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 no 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 təpei təbua?*
 so log.O wood.A neh edge.O pond.A
 ‘So the log is on the edge of the pond’
85. *haa anye? toh tibea ba-rənuə*
 PART dog.O toh arrive.A VBLZ-swim.A
 ‘Hmm... then that dog comes and swims’
86. *no ŋimbo anye? toh*
 3.SG ACT.call.O dog.O toh
ənta bane kajau toh
 at log.O wood.A toh
 ‘He calls that dog at the log’
87. *jadi haa anye? toh ma-lumpa?*
 so PART dog.O toh ACT-jump.A
sə-loh bane kajau
 next.to.O log.O wood.A
 ‘So, hmm... that dog jumps next to the log’
88. *haa no əndo? ma-lumpa? ugea, karno*
 PART 3.SG want ACT-jump.A also because
no nae?, idua? sampae kakei no
 3.SG small.A NEG reach.A leg.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Hmm... he wants to jump too, [but] because he is too small, his legs cannot reach [it]’
89. *anye? itoh, haa sudah itoh*
 dog.O itoh PART already.A itoh
di-akon-akon no
 PASS-RED-eat.O 3.SG
 ‘That dog... hmm... After that, he eats it’
90. *naae? no ateh bane kajau toh*
 go.up.A 3.SG above log.O wood.A toh
 ‘He climbs the log’

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* *ɲəgut* *kaŋkau*
 dog.O 3.SG.POSS neh ACT.bark.O frog.A
 ‘His dog barks at the frog’
94. *haa* *səŋgo* *anye?* *neh* *ɲəgut* *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 ηimo? 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 səŋgo no dudeu?*
 PART then 3.SG sit.A
 ‘Hmm... then he sits’
104. *dudeu? no anau, dalon təbua? anye?*
 sit.A 3.SG thingy.A inside pond.A dog.O

no samao gea
 3.SG.POSS follow also
 ‘He sits, uhm, inside the pond. His dog also sits’
105. *jadi təbot toh daŋkoa?*
 so pond.O toh shallow.A
 ‘So that pond is shallow’
106. *daŋkoa? təbot no*
 shallow.A pond.O 3.SG
 ‘Shallow is the pond’
107. *haa səŋgo no*
 PART then 3.SG
 ‘So that he...’

108. *kajkun 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’
109. *indou? diya apo? ano? jo gea*
 mother.O with father.O child.O 3.PL.POSS also
 ‘The mother and the father, [and] also their children’
110. *ano? adea tujuh ikeu*
 child.O exist.A seven.O CLF.A
 ‘There are seven baby frogs’
111. *s-ikau awoh ano? jo*
 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 pətani*
exist.A one-CLF farmer
‘There is a farmer’
2. *adea no ba-ladon pukat*
exist.A 3.SG STAT-field.O avocado
‘He has a field filled with avocado trees’
3. *di ladon no toh*
in field.O 3.SG.POSS toh

adea baton pukat
exist.A stem.O avocado
‘In his field there are avocado trees’
4. *ləbua? na uwoh no*
abundant.A really fruit.O 3.PL.POSS
‘The avocados are really abundant’
5. *jadi di-kəleih no 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 no lalau ka ladon no*
so so.that 3.SG go.A to field.O 3.SG.POSS

nambei? 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?*
 PASS-bring.A 3.SG purse.O clothes.A become.O place.O
uwoh 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 langsun no nambei?*
 PART so direct 3.SG ACT.take.O
uwoh pukat no toh
 fruit.O avocado 3.SG.POSS toh
 ‘Hmm... so, he directly picks his avocados’
9. *di-tamau? no asu? karanjaŋ*
 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. *karanjaŋ 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? karanjaŋ, 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 adea 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*
 PASS-take.O 3.SG NMLZ-bandage.O neck.O 3.SG.POSS
 ‘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. *lan̄sun pulao uha toh manja?*
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 n̄mpauh, muwao kambae?*
exist.A people.A ACT.pass.A ACT.bring.A goat.A
'There is a guy passing by with a goat'
19. *jihit kambae?*
ACT.drag.O goat.A
'Dragging a goat'
20. *n̄mpauh awoh umpun pukat*
ACT.pass.A below.O cluster.O avocado
- uha toh d̄kot karanjan 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 kambe?*
PART people.A ACT.bring.A goat.O
- neh ba-jalua t̄rauh*
neh VBLZ-road.A continuous
'Hmm... the person with the goat keeps walking'

22. *idia uha toh əntai*
NEG 3.SG.M stop.A
'That person does not stop'
23. *uha toh tərauh uha toh*
3.SG.M continuous 3.SG.M

ɲihit kambe? toh
ACT.drag.O goat.O toh
'He keeps dragging along that goat'
24. *jadi uha ineh tərauh ɲambei?*
so 3.SG.M continuous ACT.take.O

uwoh pukat toh
fruit.O avocado toh
'So, he keeps picking the avocados'
25. *namau? asu? anau tadeh, təmpe?*
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 tərauh ɲambei? itoh, pukat toh*
so continuous ACT.take.O itoh avocado toh
'So, [he] keeps picking those, the avocados'
27. *haa nəmpauh lah ana? nae? ba-səpeda*
PART ACT.pass.A PART child.A small.A STAT-bike
'Hmm... a small kid on a bike is going pas'
28. *uha ineh tərauh gea ambei? pukat*
3.SG.M continuous also take.O avocado
'He keeps picking the avocados'
29. *idia uha toh ɲima? k-awoh*
NEG 3.SG.M ACT.see.A downward.O
'He does not look down'
30. *ana? nae? neh nəmpauh tuju təmpe?*
child.A small.A neh ACT.pass.A to place.O

karanja 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. *ηimo? karanay pukāt. 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 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. Laysun no*
 go.down.A from bike toh direct 3.SG

ηəbuah səpeda no tadeh
 ACT.collapse bike 3.SG.POSS just.now
 ‘Getting off the bike. He puts his bike down’
35. *laysun ηəbuah səpeda. no*
 direct ACT.collapse bike 3.SG

ηima?-ηima? kateh umpun pukāt 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 pukāt*
 what exist.A people.A master.O avocado

ηimo? no 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 ηimo? no*
 neh NEG ACT.see.O 3.SG
 ‘Apparently, the person who owns the avocados does not see him’
38. *lan̄sun no ηaŋkat karan̄aŋ*
 direct 3.SG ACT.lift.O basket
- pukat neh tadeh, ta? ke?*
 avocado neh just.now place.A in
- uko səpeda neh tadeh*
 front.O bike neh just.now
 ‘Directly he lifts the avocado basket, puts [it] in front of this bike’
39. *haa lan̄sun no ηaŋkat səpeda no*
 PART direct 3.SG ACT.lift.O bike 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Hmm... directly he picks up his bike’
40. *ηaŋkat səpeda no toh*
 ACT.lift.O bike 3.SG.POSS toh
 ‘[He] picks up his bike’
41. *naae? no kateh səpeda no*
 go.up.A 3.SG up bike 3.SG.POSS
 ‘He gets on his bike’
42. *haa di-aŋkot no karan̄aŋ pukat*
 PART PASS-lift.O 3.SG basket avocado
- toh. di-tua? no ke? uko*
 toh PASS-place 3.SG in front.O
- səpeda no toh*
 bike 3.SG.POSS toh
 ‘Hmm... he lifts the avocado basket. He places it in front of his bike’
43. *di təmpe? ke? uko ateh*
 at place.O in front.O above
- bəsi ke? uko səpeda*
 iron.O in front.O bike
 ‘In front of, on a [tool made of] iron, in front of the bike’

44. *haa jo lan̄sun 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 η̄leih tadeh
NEG also ACT.look.O just.now
'The person who owns the avocados does not see him'
46. *haa lan̄sun muwao lahai*
PART direct ACT.bring.A run.A
'Hmm... [he] directly takes [them] away'
47. *jadi tibeā ke? jalua. jalon*
so arrive.A at road.A road.O

toh kura, bayua? 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 jo n̄mpauh*
direction from in front.O 3.SG ACT.pass.A

muwao s̄peda ugea
ACT.bring.A bike also
'Coming from the opposite direction where he passes, on her bike as well'
50. *haa tibeā di t̄mpe? jo toh hoo*
PART arrive.A at place.O 3.SG toh PART
'Hmm... [he] arrives at his place'
51. *haa kirōno ta-lan̄ga bateu, s̄peda*
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. *no ta-jateuh, ta-guloi, ta-əmpaeh palo*
3.SG PERF-fall.A PERF-roll.on.A PERF-smash.A head.O
'He accidentally fell, toppled, [and had his] head smacked down'
54. *səpɛda no toh ta-juŋkon*
bike 3.SG.POSS toh PERF-flip.over
'His bike turns upside down accidentally'
55. *haa jadi no ŋusou?-ŋusou? 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 sakai?. Lah ta-rasao sakai?.*
already ill.A already PERF-feel.A ill.A
- di-anu no kaus no 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 no kakei no*
PART PASS-brush.O 3.SG leg.O 3.SG.POSS
'Hmm... he bruises his legs'
58. *haa suduah itoh tibea ana? pulao*
PART already.A itoh arrive.A child.A too
- ba-tigea ŋuse no*
STAT-three.A to 3.SG
'Hmm... after that, kids arrive in a group of three approaching him'
59. *s-uha toh nulun ŋəpeih-ŋəpeih*
one-CLF toh ACT.help.O ACT.RED-brush.O
- abeu di no tadeh*
dust.A on 3.SG just.now
'One of them helps him to brush off all the dust'

60. *ηə ba-duwea nulun ηanou 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 nulun ηuraih pukat, namau?
 follow ACT.help.O ACT.manage.A avocado ACT.put.into

pukat no su? karanjan
 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. *no nəgua? səpeda no*
 3.SG ACT.erec.A bike 3.SG
 ‘He picks up his bike’
63. *haa uha ηə s-uha, adea muwao*
 PART people.A REL one-CLF exist.A bring.A

pa-nəpei?, maae bulu anau toh, maae
 NMLZ-beat.O play.A feather.O thingy.A toh play.A

apo batmin apo toh tənīs meja 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-təpei?-təpei? no nitoh
 perhaps PASS-RED-beat.O 3.SG like.that
 ‘Hmm... 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 jo*
PART already.A 3.SG.M ACT.help.O 3.SG
'They helped him'
66. *uha tigea neh lahai. jo lahai*
people.A three.A neh run.A 3.SG run.A

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? jaeuh 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 ηə*
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. *di-ambi? uha ηə s-uha, ηə*
PASS-take.O people.A REL one-CLF REL

baju ijua tudun toh
shirt.O green.A hat.O toh
'Someone in a green shirt takes that hat'
70. *lalau lo ηanta bali? ka jo*
go.A to ACT.deliver back.O to 3.SG
'Going back towards him [to give his hat]'
71. *jo ηə ba-duwea toh nantei? ke? itoh.*
3.PL REL STAT-two.A toh ACT.wait.O at itoh

ηə s-uha alo ηanta
REL one-CLF go.O ACT.deliver
'They, [the kids] in a group of two, wait [for him] there. One [kid] gives [his hat]'

72. *di-agih ka no*
PASS-give.O to 3.SG
'It was given to him'
73. *tibea no, lansun no ηəna?*
arrive.A 3.SG direct 3.SG ACT.wear

tudun toh ka kapalo no
hat.O toh on head.O 3.SG.POSS
'As for him, he directly wears that hat on his head'
74. *suduah no ηəna? tudun toh*
already.A 3.SG ACT.wear hat.O toh
'He put that hat on'
75. *no ηambeɪ? 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. *no 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 no, di-labuh no*
arrive.A at friend.O 3.SG.POSS PASS-anchoring.O 3.SG

kantei no s-iji 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 no ba-jalua lah, samo ba-jalua*
PART 3.PL VBLZ-road.A PART same VBLZ-road.A

no makan pukat toh, samo ba-jalua
3.PL eat.O avocado toh same VBLZ-road.A
'Hmm... they continue walking while eating the avocados'

79. *haa jadi uha ηə s-uha neh,*
PART so people.A REL one-CLF neh
- di-ambei? jo pa-nəpei? anau tadeh*
PASS-take.O 3.SG NMLZ-beat.O thingy.A just.now
'Hmm... so, this one person, he takes the racket uhm just now'
80. *haa nukun ηuse pukat jo.*
PART ACT.hit.O to avocado 3.SG.POSS
- muka? pukat, jo 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. *ηimo? tibeā awoh, ta-kanya?*
ACT.see.O arrive.A below.O PERF-surprised
- ηitun. Pijao karanjan pukat kau neh*
ACT.count.O why basket avocado 1.SG neh
- tinga s-uwuah agih, s-uwuah 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-mənaʉ, toh*
 PART toh already PERF-ponder.A toh
- lah dudeuʔ keʔ taŋgo toh*
 already sit.A on ladder.O toh
- tadeh, ta-mənaʉ, mikei*
 just.now PERF-ponder.A ACT.think.O
 ‘Hmm... [he] ponders, sits on the ladder, broods
 about [the missing basket]’
86. *nəmpauh lah uha ŋə makan pukat*
 ACT.pass.A PART people.A REL eat.O avocado
- tadeh, ba-tigea, keʔ 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 nuweʔ*
 3.SG.M ACT.ask
 ‘[He] is stunned, looking at them. He does not ask [questions]’
88. *manao ikao ambiʔ pukat, idia uha toh*
 where 2.PL take.O avocado NEG 3.SG.M
- nuweʔ. 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 jaauh*
 PART so 3.PL already far.A
 ‘Hmm... so, they are already far away’
90. *haa ŋgo itoh*
 PART until.O itoh
 ‘Hmm... that’s it’

1.3 Free conversation 1

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: *sakulo 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 no*
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 kelas ana tama? kelas ana*
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’

6. A: *kalo ɲə 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 tər-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 dijan batu tulis*
ACT.write.A with stone.O write
'[We] wrote using slates'
9. A: *haa ano? karit, buku dade lah duli*¹⁴⁸
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 səlop, kakei ajan*
may NEG wear.O slippers leg.O chicken.O
'It was allowed to not wear slippers; barefeet'
12. N: *alau lo sula tərəmpo 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 baju basin woa, idia baju s̄aragam*
 PART shirt.O just.any only NEG shirt.O uniform
 ‘Hmm... [you could wear] any shirt, [as there were] no uniforms’
14. N: *t̄ar̄ampo 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’
15. A: *tapi uleu maʔaoh ku atao deaʔ k̄alas*
 but in.the.past.A sorry 1.SG tell.A TAG class

əna lah andae ŋəyoi, uruh arap
 six.A already able.A ACT.recite.A letter arabic
 ‘In the past, sorry to say, the sixth graders could [already] recite [the Qur’an], Arabic letters’
16. A: *pinto-pinto. Tulisan ilauʔ-ilauʔ*
 RED-clever writing RED-good.A

uha uleu
 people.A in.the.past.A
 ‘Clever. The handwriting of people in the past was good’
17. A: *esde uleu əmbauh katao sempe*
 SD in.the.past.A want.A tell.A SMP

inin neh tumban
 now neh level
 ‘Elementary schools in the past are comparable to Junior High School nowadays’
18. A: *bijua nulaih bijua uruh arap deaʔ*
 let ACT.write.A let letter arabic TAG
 ‘As for writing, as for [reciting] Arabic letters’
19. A: *ineh sema ja iduaʔ taau uruh arap*
 ineh 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 ηajua, ankat tajan*
 how way teacher ACT.teach lift hand
di atas meja. ηimo? kukou,
 on above table ACT.see.O nail.O
tukau anao ηə panya kukou
 hit.A whoever REL long.A nail.O
 ‘How teachers taught [pupils] in the past: ‘Put your hands on the table! Checking [their] nails, hitting [the hands of] whoever had long nails’
22. N: *kalo uha uleu əndo? masau? sula*
 if people.A in.the.past.A want enrol.A school.A
ukau jahi ηgo kaliηo? dea?
 measure.A finger.O until.O ear.O TAG
 ‘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’
23. N: *sampae jahi ηuse kaliηo? neh*
 reach.A finger.O to ear.O neh
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’
24. N: *kalo inin idua?. Inin neh ηimo?*
 if now NEG now neh ACT.see.O
tanggal 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’

25. N: *ukau jahi. Anao ηə panya*
 measure.A finger.O whoever REL long.A
- jahi sampae dea?, anao ηə*
 finger.O reach.A TAG whoever REL
- panda? jahi, dua? ampae*
 short.A finger.O NEG reach.A
 ‘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 panderitaan*
 PART PART 2.PL if hardship
- maso jəpua 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 ηunjavu jahi teh mijua,*
 PART ACT.put finger.O above table.A
- imo? guru panya, tukang ηə*
 see.O teacher long.A hit.A with
- rol. disiplin toh tingai*
 ruler dicipline 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’
28. N: *kalo maso balandea akau lah kəlas duwea*
 if time Holland.A 1.SG already class two.A
 ‘As for the Dutch era, I was in the second grade’
29. N: *maso jəpua toh lao sula*
 time japan.A toh not.yet school.A
 ‘During the Japanese era, [I hadn’t enrolled] in school yet’
30. A: *balandea man-jayah kitao neh*
 Holland.A ACT-colonize 1.PL.INCL neh
- tiga ratus lima puluh tahun*
 three x10² five x10¹ year
 ‘The Dutch colonized us for three hundred and fifty years’

31. A: *jəpua masau? balandea lahai*
japan.A come.A Holland.A run.A
'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 tərjadi anau*
PART toh happen thingy.A

toh, pəraŋ di surabaja
toh war in surabaya
'Hmm... it happened, uhm, a war in Surabaya'
34. A: *di-jadi-kan hari pahlawan səpuluh*
PASS-become.KAN day hero ten

nopember, are? surabaja
november friend surabaya
'It became Heroes' Day, November 10, of the Surabayans'
35. A: *ingris masau? dəŋan kapa dəŋan məriam*
England come.A with ship.A with cannon

dea?. Oh bər-təmpur itou habis-habisan
TAG PART VBLZ-fight there till.the.bitter.end

dea?. Itoh mako di-gəlua
TAG itoh therefore PASS-name.A

hari pahlawan s-ahai toh
day hero one-CLF.A toh
'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'
36. A: *uha kitao baŋua? ŋə matai.*
people.A 1.PL.INCL.POSS many.A REL die.A

Uha ingris adea gea ŋə matai
people.A England exist.A also REL die.A
'Many of our people died. Some English people also died'

37. A: *jo əndo? baloi? man-ɨɨah li?*
 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

sanyato. Sanyato ɰəpua, sanyato
 weapon.O weapon.O japan.A weapon.O

balandea ηə ɨngo
 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 ukoi?
 run.A go.O up hill.A
 ‘During the Dutch [era], we ran to the hills’
40. N: *jadi maso ɰəpua 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 tarənda*
 1.PL.EXCL PART stay.A at umpun tarenda
 ‘We lived at Umpun Tarenda’
42. N: *ηgo lah sija ahai toh,*
 until.O already afternoon.A day.A toh

kamai toh umuah 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’

43. N: *no nalo? uha tino,*
3.PL ACT.look.for people.A female.O

maso balandea uleu
time Holland.A in.the.past.A
'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]'
45. N: *manao ana? gadoih-gadoih neh di-imbua.*
whoever child.A RED-female.A neh PASS-hide.A

Dua? uloih nampa?
NEG may ACT.visible
'Girls were hidden. [They] were not allowed to be visible'
46. A: *dua? uloih nampa?. jəpua 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 sap.A
'In the evening, [we used] a resin lamp'
48. N: *tina ikao dea?. Lampou tuah*
remember.A 2.SG TAG lamp sap.A
'You remember, don't you? The resin lamp'
49. N: *itoh lampou mijno? anau, po kalikai*
itoh lamp oil.O thingy.A what pebbles.A
'That was a lamp with oil, uhm, what, with pebbles'
50. N: *tuah-tuah toh tamau? lao su? loa?*
RED-sap.A toh put.into too into.O can.A
'The resin was put into a can'

51. N: *jaŋua ŋo imo? idua? ŋo mala*
 NEG 3.PL see.O NEG 3.PL evening.A
ba-jalua ŋo ŋintai?-ŋintai? manao
 VBLZ-road.A 3.SG ACT.RED-peek.A where
adea ana? gadih
 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: *anau neh nuntau?, n̄gara koreja*
 thingy.A neh ACT.sue.A country korea
neh nuntut j̄pua, korban p̄aran
 neh ACT.sue.O japan.A victim war
toh ja agoi gi ideu?
 toh even still.A still live.A
inin, uha tuwo-tuwo toh
 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: *uha tino toh di-kumpau-kumpau.*
 people.A female.O toh PASS-RED-collect
ŋo. Naka j̄pua
 3.PL naughty japan.A
 ‘Women were taken. The Japanese were naughty’
54. A: *uha toh ja agoi ideu?. Uha toh*
 3.PL even still.A live.A 3.PL
əndo? nuntut j̄pua. əntah
 want ACT.sue.O japan.A perhaps
di-gəntoi əntah idua?
 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: *asau? uha kitao neh gea*
 include.A people.A 1.PL.INCL.POSS neh also
 ‘Including our people’

56. A: *kalo balandea idua? itoh. Balandea*
 if Holland.A NEG itoh Holland.A
səndo? ɲambi? hasil, hasil bumi
 want ACT.take.O result result earth
 ‘As for the Dutch, they were not like that. The Dutch
 took agricultural products’
57. N: *balandea mewah kitao di-bagih no*
 Holland.A luxury 1.PL.INCL PASS-give.O 3.SG
 ‘[During the] Dutch [era] they gave us luxuries’
58. A: *toh adea sənən 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-anġkut*
 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 ɲəpua uleu gahon,*
 time japan.A in.the.past.A salt.O
gahon ingris don-don pel bajer
 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 iġoi*
 VBLZ-cook.A put.into salt.O two.O CLF.A
 ‘To cook [rice], [we] put two salts into it’

64. N: *tana?* *campou kaca, campou kuboi?*
 cook.A mix.O nut.A mix.O potato.A
məndərita lah maso jəpua 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 di-ambi? no umea*
 paddy.A PASS-take.O 3.PL at.rice.field.A
 ‘Paddy was taken by them from the rice fields’
66. N: *biloi?-biloi? uha di-buŋkua*
 RED-room.A people.A PASS-destroy
no dea?
 3.PL TAG
 ‘People’s rooms were destroyed by them, weren’t they?’
67. N: *bansua? paraŋe jəpua*
 bastard.A behavior.O japan.A
 ‘Japanese acted like bastards’
68. N: *manao ŋə janton-janton neh di-tawan*
 whoever REL RED-male.O neh PASS-prison
 ‘Males were imprisoned’
69. N: *di-suhouh no muka? padon jageu*
 PASS-ask.O 3.PL ACT.open field.O corn.A
 ‘[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-bəroi no
 PN in.the.past.A TAG PASS-give 3.PL
maka pagoi aŋkoi?
 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: *səcaro idua? laŋsun. dəŋan*
 way NEG direct with

caro itoh lah jo munoh
 way itoh only 3.PL ACT.kill.O
 ‘Indirectly, that was how they killed them’
72. N: *itoh lah jo ηazap*
 itoh PART 3.PL ACT.torture

kitao jəpua duleu
 1.PL.INCL japan.A in.the.past.A
 ‘That was how they, the Japanese, in the past, tortured us’
73. A: *anao ηə atai, atai*
 whoever REL die.A die.A
 ‘Whoever died, died’
74. N: *kamai gi nae?-nae? maso itoh*
 1.PL.EXCL still RED-small.A time itoh
 ‘We were small kids during that era’
75. N: *dua? salah akeu toh umou limo taan*
 NEG wrong.A 1.SG toh age.O five.O year.A
 ‘If not mistaken, I was five years old’
76. N: *toh awa? lah iŋa? dea?*
 toh 1.SG already remember.A TAG
 ‘That’s why I still remember’
77. N: *əndua? ja nantan juhouh*
 NEG really grandfather.O ACT.ask.O

soi? bawuah
 play.A below.A
 ‘[My]old man did not allow [us] to play outside’
78. N: *dua? uloih usoi? bawuah*
 NEG may play.A below.A
 ‘[We were] not allowed to play outside’
79. N: *amboi? di-ambi? jo woa jəpua*
 take.A PASS-take.O 3.PL only japan.A
 ‘[They were] taking people just like that, the Japanese’

80. N: *balandea idua? caro nitoh. Ilau? no*
Holland.A NEG way like.that good.A 3.SG
'The Dutch were not like that. They were nicer'
81. N: *di-agih no kitao*
PASS-give.O 3.PL 1.PL.INCL
'We were given [things] by them'
82. N: *adea pambagian, kitao di-agih*
exist.A distribution 1.PL.INCL PASS-give.O
'[When] there was a distribution, we were given [things]'
83. N: *kitao, tanah di-ambi? no dea?*
1.PL.INCL land.A PASS-take.O 3.PL TAG
'Of us, land was taken by them, wasn't it?'
84. N: *idua? irijan jaja duleu di-ambi?*
NEG irian jaya in.the.past.A PASS-take.O

kitao indonesija di-xxx no
1.PL indonesia PASS-xxx 3.PL
'Wasn't Irian Jaya taken in the past? Of us
Indonesians... by them'
85. A: *ηə balandea neh ηambi? hasil*
REL Holland.A neh ACT.take.O result
'The Dutch took the agricultural products'
86. A: *be be em tamba-tamba neh dea?. Bayua?*
BBM RED-mine.A neh TAG many.A

tambam maeh, p̄arkəbunan, hasil teh
mine.O gold.A farm result tea
'Oil-based fuel, mines. Many gold mines,
plantations, tea harvests'
87. A: *anao ηə n̄antan̄ toh di-unoh tapi*
whoever REL against toh PASS-kill.O but

idua? əndojō jəpua no 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?'

88. A: *masau?* *dari* *anau* *dea?*, *koreja*, *tailan*,
 come.A from thingy.A TAG korea Thailand
di-ajah *no* *alo* *sampae* *malaisija*
 PASS-colonize 3.PL all until malaysia
 ‘All the way from, uhm, Korea, Thailand, [lands]
 were colonized, everybody, up to Malaysia’
89. N: *kalo* *balandea* *uleu* *dea?*, *di-bəroi*
 if Holland.A in.the.past.A TAG PASS-give
no *kaan* *kitao* *dea?* *Pəmbagian*
 3.PL clothes.O 1.PL.INCL TAG distribution
kaae. *jadi* *kaan* *marikan* *duleu*
 clothes.A so clothes.O marikan in.the.past.A
 ‘As for the Dutch in the past, clothes were given by them
 to us, weren’t they? Clothes distribution. The *marikan*¹⁴⁹
 clothes of the past’
90. N: *sarden* *toh* *di-agih*
 sardine toh PASS-give.O
 ‘Sardines were given [by them]’
91. N: *kalo* *jəpua* *duleu* *kaan* *tərau?*
 if japan.A in.the.past.A clothes.O terauk.A
 ‘As for the Japanese [era] in the past, [we wore]
*terauk*¹⁵⁰ clothes’
92. A: *idia* *uha* *na?* *bəyeu*
 NEG people.A wear shirt.A
 ‘People did not wear shirts’
93. N: *gunoi-gunoi* *alauh-alauh.* *Itoh* *kaan*
 RED-gunny.A RED-soft.A itoh clothes.O
 ‘The thin gunnies. Those were the clothes’

¹⁴⁹ *Marikan* (‘American’) is a kind of unbleached cotton.

¹⁵⁰ *Tərau?* is an obsolete type of fabric that is no longer made.

94. N: *kamai untau duleu dea?*
1.PL.EXCL lucky.A in.the.past.A TAG

idia kamai ηəna? kaan
NEG 1.PL.EXCL ACT.wear clothes.O

gunoi ηə tərau?
gunny.A and terauk.A
'We were lucky in the past, weren't we? We did not wear gunny or *terauk* clothes'
95. N: *bake? baju jubuah nantan*
leftover shirt.O robe.A grandfather.O

no ate məkah dea?
3.SG.POSS from mecca TAG
'The old men used gowns from Mecca'
96. N: *sa-abih-abih itoh jadi bajeu*
PREF.RED-finish.O itoh become.O shirt.A
'[They] were made into shirts until nothing was left'
97. N: *kulau? ku bukua? jadi bajeu*
kulauk.A 1.SG open become.O shirt.A
'I made *kulauk*¹⁵¹ into shirts'
98. N: *uha aɲua? ηəna? kaan*
people.A many.A ACT.wear clothes.O

tərau?, tika, apo
terauk.A pandanus.mat.A what
'Many people [had to] wear *terauk* clothes, [or] mats'
99. N: *bih uhan janton, əndeh sansarao*
more.O people.O male.O PART suffering.A
'Especially males, [they were] suffering'
100. N: *bajua? tumau, bajua? dea?*
many.A bed.bug.A many.A TAG
'There were many bed bugs, weren't there?'

¹⁵¹ *Kulau?* is a traditional cloth worn as a top.

101. A: *tu balandea uleu idua?*
 time Holland.A in.the.past.A NEG

no idua? kəjam, 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 nəsah je kaau, idia*
 soap.O ACT.wash.A say 2.SG.F NEG

make saben əndo 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 ηə bulua?-bulua? dua*
 fruit.O limbau.A REL RED-round.A big.A
 ‘[We used] *limbaus*¹⁵² that were round and big’
104. N: *əndo? nəsah 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.

106. N: *sabun limbau toh, tuḡun*
 soap.O limbau.A toh to

tukan səpauh, adea toh
 craftsman.O plating.A exist.A toh
 ‘You can find *limbau* soap [being used among]
 silver workers’
107. N: *di tukan jəpuh pera? itoh.*
 at craftsman.O ACT.plating.O silver itoh

Adea nae?-nae?, don-don neh, buloa?-buloa?
 exist.A RED-small.A RED-big.O neh RED-round.A
 ‘Among silver workers. It is small, as small as this, and round’
108. N: *itoh jadi 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 jəpua*
 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

nanan padoi, mutau, ba-sija dea?
ACT.plant.O paddy.A ACT.cut.A VBLZ-weed.A TAG
'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 bəroah
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* *bəroah* *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* *bəroah* *lamao* *pulao* *jago*
 merchandize.O rice.A long.A too merchandize.O
- bəroah,* *sampae* *suduah* *pəpəraŋan*
 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. *jo* *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. I¹⁵³ was selling [rice] on that day’

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

7. *lah suduah jago roah toh,*
already finish.A merchandize.O rice.A toh
- lahai ba-ladua, ba-ladua di anou*
run.A STAT-field.A STAT-field.A at thingy.O
- gunun karənsao 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'
9. *lamao pulao, adea pulao tigo*
long.A too exist.A too three.O
- 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*
 RED-big.A school.A back.A too STAT-merchandize.A
- 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*
 STAT-sell.O banana.A long.A too 1.SG merchandize.O
- pisa k-uko toko habe ili*
 banana.A in.front shop habe downstream.O
 ‘Selling bananas for a long time. Selling bananas in front of the Habe¹⁵⁵ shop’
12. *jago pisa lao gawe ine?*
 merchandize.O banana.A too work.O grandmother.O
- lamao jago pisa toh lamao, lah*
 long.A merchandize.O banana.A toh long.A already
- sampae po? pit neh hee pindah muwaro*
 until.A father.O PN neh PART move.A muaro
- bunjea, 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-akhirno dea?, ano? ŋə təma?*
 so finally TAG child.O REL finish.A
- sakula neh hee lahai kərjea di anau,*
 school.A neh PART run.A work.A at thingy.A

¹⁵⁵ *Habe* is a name of a shop.

di pete saran burun pete triplek saran
 at PT sarang burung PT plywood sarang

burun jambi dea? jambatan
 burung jambi TAG bridge

aur duri toh. Karjea itou
 aur duri toh work.A 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. antai lao jago isa toh. Nuhau?
 stop.A too merchandize.O banana.A toh ACT.follow.A

lah no 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 dua? tahan gih
 PART finish.O toh PART NEG stand anymore

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

mudi? ijon, kitao 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 bajua? 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
 tell.O people.A grandfather.O upstream.O stay.O
 ‘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’

19. *muka?* *kədoə.* *Kamai* *ba-kədoə*
 ACT.open kiosk.A 1.PL.EXCL STAT-kiosk.A
- uleu* *ke?* *umah* *toh* *deə?*
 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?* *kədoə,* *toh* *po?* *pit*
 open kiosk.A toh father.O PN
- gih* *muwaro* *bugea* *gea,* *kuwa?*
 still muaro bungea.A also often
- muwao* *aja* *baloi?* *udi?*
 ACT.bring.A chicken.A back.A upstream.O
 ‘[When I] opened the kiosk, Pit’s father was still in Muaro Bungea. [He] often brought chicken upstream’
21. *uka?* *kədoə* *lao.* *Lamao* *lao* *ine?*
 open kiosk.A too long.A too grandmother.O
- uka?* *kədoə,* *sampae* *lah* *anau* *po,* *ano?*
 open kiosk.A until.A PART thingy.A what child.O
- 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. *agih* *masih* *ba-kədoə* *gea,* *sampae* *lao*
 still still STAT-kiosk.A also until.A too
- ba-rəloa?* *lao* *ŋə* *kawan* *ləmpau*
 STAT-party.A too REL get.married.A Lempau.A
- neh,* *agih* *masih* *ba-kədoə* *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. *akhirŋo tutut kədoə toh hoo, bini*
 finally close.O kiosk.A toh PART wife.O
- məran, məran 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 məran adi? mərin udi?*
 teacher PN younger.sibling.O PN upstream.O
- toh dea?, kan kawan ŋə*
 toh TAG KAN get.married.A REL
- məndah 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 ŋo toh ba-rəloa?, 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. *ŋo ano? toh əndua? ŋuhouh dea?, dua? usah*
 3.PL child.O toh NEG ACT.ask.O TAG NEG don’t
- gih əma? ka sawah, idua? 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. *kitao kan pisik lah ləmah.*
 1.SG KAN physic already weak.A
- kakei neh lah sakai?*
 leg.O neh already ill.A
 ‘I... [My] physical condition was weak. This leg was painful’

28. *kakei sakai? Adea duwo taan*
leg.O ill.A exist.A two.O year.A

ine? sakai? kakei
grandmother.O ill.A leg.O
‘[My] leg hurts. For two years my leg hurts’
29. *dua? na andae jalua, alo ka sɔjoi?*
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 Tarawaih prayer’
30. *kalo di-uwea tɔgua? sambija toh*
if PASS-bring.A stand.A pray.A toh

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

idia na 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

təma?, sambijan taraweih təma?
finish.A pray.O taraweih.O finish.A
‘However, thank God! Praise is to Allah! This year, [I] completed a full fast and Taraweih prayer’
33. *kakei toh dea?, lah sihat*
leg.O toh TAG already healthy.O
‘The leg has recovered’

2 Pondok Tinggi – English wordlist

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’.

G-words	K-words	English translation
A		
abeu/abu		<i>n.</i> ash; dust
aboa/abe		<i>adj.</i> neglected
aboih/abih		<i>adj.</i> finished
abua/abon		<i>adj.</i> red
adea/ado		<i>v.</i> exist
adoi?/adi?		<i>n.</i> younger sibling
adua?/adot		<i>prep.</i> toward
ajua		<i>v.</i> to teach; to learn; to study
agih		<i>adv.</i> still; <i>v.</i> to give (see bagoih/bagih)
agoi		<i>adv.</i> still
ago?		<i>adv.</i> rather
ahoi	ahai/ahei	<i>n.</i> day
	aih	<i>part.</i> my goodness!
	aja/ajan	<i>n.</i> chicken
	ajah/ajoh	<i>n.</i> uncle
	ajai/ajei	<i>n.</i> water
ajoi/aji	ajan/ajun	<i>v.</i> to swing
ajen	aka/akan	<i>n.</i> mind; <i>v.</i> to eat (see maka/makan)
akua/ako	aka/ako	<i>n.</i> root

G-words	K-words	English translation
	akau~akeu~aku	<i>pron.</i> I (1 st person singular)
	akhirpo	<i>adv.</i> finally
	alah	<i>part.</i> oh my God
aloih/alih	alaih/aleih	<i>v.</i> to switch
	alau	see lalau
	alauh/alouh	<i>adj.</i> smooth; fine; soft; thin
ali?		see baloi?/bali?
	alo	<i>v.</i> to go
	alon	see dalon, kalon
	ama/aman	<i>adj.</i> safe
	amba	<i>adj.</i> tasteless
amboi?/ambi?	ambai?/ambei?	<i>v.</i> to take
	ambau/ambun	<i>n.</i> rattan bag; <i>v.</i> to spread
	ambau?/ambou?	<i>n.</i> hair
	ampae	see sampae/sampe
	ampao/ampo	<i>adj.</i> empty; <i>n.</i> something empty (e.g. paddy husk)
	anao	see manao
	anau/anou~anu	<i>n.</i> whatchamacallit (a filler; in this dissertation translated as <i>uhm</i>)
anua?/ano?	ana?/ano?	<i>n.</i> child; children
	ancau/ancou	<i>adj.</i> broken
	andae	see pandae/pande
	andau?/andou?	<i>n.</i> towel
	anjae?/anje?	<i>n.</i> dog
	anta	<i>v.</i> to deliver
	antan	see nanta/nantan
apua?		see bapua?
	aŋan/aŋin	<i>n.</i> wind
aŋua?	aŋa?/aŋat	<i>adj.</i> warm
	aŋkau?/aŋkut	<i>v.</i> to carry
aŋkua?/aŋkot	aŋka?/aŋkat	<i>v.</i> to lift
aŋkoi?		see baŋkoi?/baŋkit
apoi/api	apai/apei	<i>n.</i> fire
	apao	<i>part.</i> what!
	apauh/apouh	<i>v.</i> to erase
	apa?	<i>n.</i> father
	apo?	<i>n.</i> husband, father of so.
	apea/apo	see barapea/barapo
	apo	<i>quest.</i> what; <i>conj.</i> or
	apolagi	<i>conj.</i> especially
	arah	<i>n.</i> direction
asuah/asoh	asah/asoh	<i>v.</i> to sharpen
	asau/asou	<i>v.</i> to expel

G-words	K-words	English translation
barapea/barapo		<i>quest.</i> how many; how much
barənua/barənon		<i>v.</i> to swim
baroih/barih		<i>n.</i> line
basin		<i>adj.</i> just any
baso		<i>n.</i> language; <i>part.</i> that
basoi/basi		<i>adj.</i> stale
basuah/basoh		<i>adj.</i> wet
bateu/batu		<i>n.</i> stone
batinao/batino		<i>n.</i> female
batoah/bateh		<i>n.</i> boundary
batua/baton		<i>n.</i> stem (a classifier)
bawua/bawon		<i>n.</i> onion
bawuah/bawoh		<i>n.</i> bottom; <i>prep.</i> below
bəbua/bəbon		<i>n.</i> burden
bəduaʔ/bədoʔ		<i>n.</i> face powder
bəkua/bəkon		<i>n.</i> food or money for a journey
bəloah/bəleh		<i>num.</i> +10 (marks the numbers 11-19)
bəleʔ		<i>n.</i> a can (of food)
bəloi/bəli	məlai/məlei	<i>v.</i> to buy
bəloiʔ/bəlit	məlaiʔ/məlit	<i>v.</i> to wind around
bəluah/bəloh		<i>n.</i> portion
bəndua/bəndo		<i>n.</i> water course
bənua/bəno	məna/məno	<i>v.</i> to make
bəŋoih/bəŋih	məŋaih/məŋeih	<i>adj.</i> angry
bəroah/bəreh		<i>n.</i> rice (dehusked)
bəroi	mərai	<i>v.</i> to give
bərsoih/bərsih	mərseih	<i>adj.</i> clean
bəruaʔ/bərot		<i>adj.</i> heavy; <i>n.</i> weight
bəsoi/bəsi		<i>n.</i> iron
bətoiʔ/bətih		<i>n.</i> calf (of leg)
bijoi/biji		<i>n.</i> seed (a classifier)
bigua/bigo		<i>n.</i> pandanus leave
bijeh		<i>adv.</i> very
bijua		<i>v.</i> let; <i>conj.</i> so that
bilea		<i>quest.</i> when
biloiʔ/biliʔ		<i>n.</i> room
binatua/binaton		<i>n.</i> animal
binoi/bini		<i>n.</i> wife
bisua		<i>v.</i> can
boih/bih		<i>v.</i> to stew
bot		<i>conj.</i> because
buduaʔ/budoʔ		<i>n.</i> slave
buja/bujon		<i>n.</i> young man; guy; bachelor
buheuʔ/buhuʔ		<i>adj.</i> bad; ugly

G-words	K-words	English translation
bukea/buko		v. to break the fast
bukoi?/bukit		n. hill
bukon		n. food for breaking the fast; see bukea/buko
bukua?	muka?	v. to open
buleu/bulu		n. fur
buloih		v. may
bulua/bulon		n. moon; month
bulua?/bulot		adj. round
buneah/bunoh	munauh/munoh	v. to kill
buŋea/buŋo		n. flower
buŋkeuh/buŋkuh		n. package
buŋkeu?/buŋku?		adj. hunch-backed
buŋkua	muŋka	v. to destroy
buŋoi/buŋi		n. sound
bureu/burun		n. bird
buseu?/busu?		adj. stink
butea/buto		adj. blind
buwea/buwo	muwao/muwo	v. to bring
buwuah/buwoh		n. fruit, piece (a classifier)
C		
cabeu?/cabut		v. to pull out
caboi?/cabi?		adj. torn
	cahai/cahei	v. to search for
	campau/campou	v. to mix
	campa?/campo?	v. to throw
	cantin	n. small can; 1/4 kilogram (a partitive)
	caŋkai/caŋkei	n. cup
	caŋkau/caŋkou	n. hoe
	caritao/carito	n. story
	caro	n. way; manner
cədoi?/cədi?		adj. smart
cəgeu?/cəgut		v. to bark
	cəhae/cəhe	v. to divorce
	cəpa?/cəpat	adj. fast
	cian/ciun	v. to kiss; to smell
	cihe	v. to scatter
	cilao?/cilo?	v. to steal
	cinto	v. to love
cubea/cubo		v. to try
	cucai/cucei	v. to wash
	cucau/cucou	n. grandchild
	cukai?/cukei?	v. to poke

G-words	K-words	English translation
	cukauʔ/cukut	<i>adj.</i> enough
	cuma	<i>adv.</i> however; only
	cumpauʔ/cumpouʔ	<i>n.</i> pile
	cun̄kauh/cun̄kouh	<i>n.</i> chunk
	cupaʔ/cupoʔ	<i>n.</i> 1/2 liter (a partitive)
D		
daen/daun		<i>n.</i> leaf
dahin		<i>adv.</i> in the past
dahuah/dahoh		<i>n.</i> blood
dahuaʔ/dahot		<i>n.</i> upstream
dakoi/daki	nakai/nakei	<i>v.</i> to climb
dalon		<i>n.</i> the inside; <i>prep.</i> inside
daloʔ		<i>v.</i> to search for
dalua/dalon		<i>adj.</i> deep
danua/dano		<i>n.</i> lake
daŋkoaʔ		<i>adj.</i> shallow
dapeu/dapu		<i>n.</i> kitchen
dapuaʔ/dapot		<i>v.</i> to get
dari		<i>prep.</i> from
daripado		<i>prep.</i> than (in comparisons)
dateh		<i>prep.</i> from; above
dateu/datun		<i>n.</i> aunty
datua/daton		<i>v.</i> to arrive
deaʔ		<i>part.</i> tag
dəbeu/dəbu		<i>n.</i> dust
deh		see tadeh
dəkuaʔ/dəkot		<i>adj.</i> close
dəŋua/dəŋo	nəŋa/nəŋo	<i>v.</i> to hear
di		<i>prep.</i> at, in, on
dijea		<i>pron.</i> s/he (3 rd person singular)
dijua/dijon		<i>v.</i> to stay
dikoiʔ/dikit		<i>adj.</i> a few; a little
dipu		<i>neg.</i> not exist
dijan		<i>prep.</i> with; and
dijon/dijin		<i>adj.</i> cold
don		see gədua/gədon
duaʔ		<i>neg.</i> not
dudeuʔ/duduʔ		<i>v.</i> to sit
duleu/dulu		<i>adv.</i> in the past
dunijua/dunijo		<i>n.</i> world
duŋeu/duŋu		<i>adj.</i> stupid
dusen/dusun		<i>n.</i> village
duto		<i>n.</i> doctor
duwea/duwo		<i>num.</i> two

G-words	K-words	English translation
duwot duʔua/duʔo		<i>prep.</i> by <i>n.</i> pray
Ə		
əloaʔ/əleʔ	əla/əlan	<i>n.</i> eagle
	əmaeh/əmeħ	<i>n.</i> party
	əmaʔ	<i>n.</i> gold
	əmbauh/əmbouħ	<i>n.</i> mother
əmpoah/əmpəħ	əmpaeh/əmpəħ	<i>v.</i> want
	əmpao	<i>v.</i> to smash
	əmpaʔ/əmpəʔ	<i>pron.</i> you (2 nd person singular male)
	əna/əna	<i>num.</i> four
	əncit	<i>num.</i> six
	əndah	see məncit
	əndoʔ	<i>adj.</i> short
	ənduaʔ	<i>v.</i> want; <i>prep.</i> for
	ənsou	<i>neg.</i> do not want
	ənta	<i>n.</i> the third child; the youngest child
	ənta/əntan	<i>prep.</i> at; to
	əntah	<i>v.</i> to kick
əntoi	əntai/əntei	<i>adv.</i> perhaps
əntuaʔ	əntaʔ/əntoʔ	<i>v.</i> to stop
	ənti	<i>v.</i> to stamp
ənua		<i>neg.</i> don't see bənua/bəno
G		
gadoa/gade		<i>v.</i> to pawn
gadoih/gadiħ		<i>n.</i> female; girl
gajoı/gajo		<i>n.</i> salary
gaguah/gagoh		<i>adj.</i> handsome
gaheu/gahu	ŋahau/ŋahou	<i>v.</i> to disturb
gahua/gahon		<i>n.</i> salt
galo		<i>num.</i> all
galoi/gali	ŋalai/ŋalei	<i>v.</i> to dig
ganjoı		<i>adj.</i> odd
ganteu/gantun	ŋantau	<i>v.</i> to hang
gantua/ganton		<i>n.</i> 2,8 kilogram (a partitive)
gapoa/gape	ŋapae/ŋape	<i>v.</i> to reach
gawoa/gawe	ŋawae	<i>n.</i> work
gea		see jugea
gədua/gədon		<i>adj.</i> big

G-words	K-words	English translation
gəloah/gəleh		<i>n.</i> glass
gəlua/gəlo	ŋəla	<i>n.</i> name; title
gəlua/gəlon		<i>n.</i> bracelet
gəluaʔ/gəloʔ		<i>v.</i> to laugh at
gəntoi/gənti		<i>v.</i> to change
gəŋgua/gəŋgon		<i>n.</i> a handful
gəpeuʔ/gəpuʔ		<i>adj.</i> fat
gətuah/gətoh		<i>n.</i> sap
geu		<i>v.</i> to stay
gigoiʔ/gigit		<i>v.</i> to bite
gih		<i>adv.</i> again; anymore; still; later
gilea/gilo		<i>adj.</i> crazy
gilo/gili		<i>n.</i> turn
gilon/gilin		<i>v.</i> to grind
gin		see sagin
goi		<i>v.</i> to go
goʔ		see agoʔ
gulea/gulo		<i>n.</i> sugar
guleu/gulun		<i>n.</i> roll
guloa/gule		<i>n.</i> dish
guloi/guli		<i>v.</i> to roll on
gunduah/gundoh		<i>adj.</i> depressed
gunea/gunun		<i>n.</i> mountain
gunoi/guni		<i>n.</i> gunny
guron/gurin		<i>v.</i> to fry
H		
	ha	see uha/uhan
	haa	<i>part.</i>
	hee	<i>part.</i>
	hei	see ahai/ahei
	hoo	<i>part.</i>
I		
ibea/ibo		<i>adj.</i> sad
ideu/idun		<i>n.</i> nose
ideuʔ/idut		<i>v.</i> to live
idia		<i>neg.</i> nothing
iduaʔ		<i>neg.</i> not
ijea/ijo		<i>v.</i> to spell
ijia		<i>neg.</i> nothing
ijoi		see bijoi/biji
ijua/ijo		<i>adj.</i> green
ijuaʔ		<i>neg.</i> not
ihoih/ihih	ihaih/iheih	<i>n.</i> slice

G-words	K-words	English translation
ihoi?/ihit	ihai?/ihit	v. to drag
ihon/ihin	ihan/ihin	v. to accompany
	ijea	part. yes
	ijua/ijon	see dijua/dijon
	ikao	pron. You (2 nd person singular/plural)
ikeu	ikau/ikou	n. tail (a classifier)
	ika?/ikat	v. to tie
	ila/ilan	v. lost, to disappear
iloi/ili	ilai/ilei	n. lower area; prep. downstream
	ilau?/ilou?	adj. good; attractive
	ima/imo	n. tiger
	imbao/imbo	n. forest
	imbe	n. bucket
	imba/imbo	v. to call; to summon
	imo?	see kima?/kimo?
impoi?/impit	impai?/impit	v. to squeeze
indeu?	indau?/indou?	n. mother
	indau? aih	part. my goodness me
	ineh	dem. this
	inei	see sinei
ini		see binoi/bini
	inin	see minin
	intau	see pintau/pintou
	iŋa/iŋan	adj. easy; light
	iŋa?/iŋat	v. to remember
	isa	see pisa/pisan
isoi/isi	isai/isei	n. content; v. to fill
	isa?/isat	v. to suck
isua		see bisua
	ita/itan	adj. black
iteu/itun	itau/itun	v. to count
	ite?	n. aunty
	itoh	dem. that
	itou	see sitou
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
jahua?/jahot		adj. mean; immoral; criminal
jalua/jalon		n. road; v. to walk
jambatan		n. bridge

G-words	K-words	English translation
ꦗꦩꦧꦺ/ꦗꦩꦧꦸ		<i>n.</i> guava
ꦗꦩꦧꦺ/ꦗꦩꦧꦶ		<i>n.</i> a province in Sumatra
ꦗꦩꦺꦢ/ꦗꦩꦺꦢ		<i>n.</i> widow
ꦗꦩꦺꦠ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>n.</i> male
ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>neg.</i> don't
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ	ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ	<i>v.</i> to sew
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ		<i>v.</i> to fall
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>n.</i> Java
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>n.</i> cow
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>v.</i> to answer
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>n.</i> footprint
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>adj.</i> clear
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>n.</i> span (of the hand)
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ	ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ	<i>v.</i> to dry in the sun
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>n.</i> Japan, Japanese
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ	ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ	<i>v.</i> to lick
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ	ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ	<i>v.</i> to lift; to carry
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>adj.</i> tame
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>n.</i> watch
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		see sꦱꦺꦴꦠꦺ
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>n.</i> robe, gown
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>v.</i> to gamble
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>v.</i> to carry on the head
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>adv.</i> also
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>n.</i> champion
ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ		<i>v.</i> to sell
J		
	ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦗꦩꦺꦠ	<i>adj.</i> orphan
	ꦗꦩꦺꦠꦺ	<i>part.</i> yeah
K		
	ꦏ	<i>prep.</i> to
	ꦏꦩꦺ/ꦏꦩꦺ	<i>n.</i> clothes
	ꦏꦩꦺ/ꦏꦩꦺ	<i>v.</i> to shout
	ꦏꦩꦺ	<i>pron.</i> you (2 nd person singular female)
	ꦏꦩꦺꦠꦺ	<i>adv.</i> downward
ꦏꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦏꦩꦺꦠ		<i>adj.</i> blurred
	ꦏꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦏꦩꦺꦠ	<i>n.</i> nuts
	ꦏꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦏꦩꦺꦠ	<i>n.</i> bottle; glass
		<i>adv.</i> sometimes
ꦏꦩꦺꦠꦺ	ꦏꦩꦺꦠꦺ/ꦏꦩꦺꦠ	<i>n.</i> sack
	ꦏꦩꦺꦠꦺ	<i>pron.</i> you (2 nd person singular for a respected person)

G-words	K-words	English translation
	kajao/kajo	<i>adj.</i> rich
	kajau/kajou	<i>n.</i> wood
	kakai/kakei	<i>n.</i> leg
	kalah/kaloh	<i>v.</i> to lose
	kalai/kalei	<i>n.</i> time
	kalakun	<i>n.</i> behaviour; see lakau/lakou
	kalau/kalun	<i>n.</i> necklace
	kaliŋao?/kaliŋo?	<i>n.</i> ear
	kalo	<i>conj.</i> if
	kalon	<i>prep.</i> into
	kalupan	<i>v.</i> to let sth. slip from one's mind; see lupao/lupo
	kamai	<i>pron.</i> we (1 st person singular/plural)
	kamalun	<i>v.</i> to be ashamed; see malau/malou
	kamatin	<i>v.</i> to lose so. to death; see matai/matei
	kambae?/kambe?	<i>n.</i> goat
	kan	<i>part.</i>
	kana/kanan	<i>n.</i> right
	kanda/kandan	<i>n.</i> cage
	kanja?/kanjat	<i>adj.</i> surprised
	kanta/kantan	<i>n.</i> potato; <i>v.</i> to attack
	kantai/kantei	<i>n.</i> friend; <i>pron.</i> I (1 st person singular)
	kanuhai/kanuhei	<i>n.</i> feast
	kaŋkau/kaŋkun	<i>n.</i> frog
	kapalao/kapalo	<i>n.</i> head
	kapa/kapan	<i>n.</i> ship
	kapa?	<i>v.</i> to place
	karagun	<i>v.</i> to hesitate; see rageu/ragu
	karamin	<i>n.</i> crowdedness; see ramae/rame
	karita/karito	<i>n.</i> cart
	karno	<i>conj.</i> because
	kasa	<i>adj.</i> rude
	katao/kato	<i>v.</i> to tell
	kateh	<i>adv.</i> up
	kauwo	<i>v.</i> to go outside; to go to the market
	kawan/kawin	<i>v.</i> to marry
	kawoh	see ka awoh
kāben/kābun		<i>n.</i> garden
kābua?/kābot		<i>n.</i> bundle

G-words	K-words	English translation
kədoa/kəde		<i>n.</i> kiosk
kəɟua/kəɟo		<i>v.</i> to chase
	kəla/kelan	<i>adj.</i> dark
	kəlah/kəleih	<i>v.</i> to look
kəluarga/kəluargo		<i>n.</i> family
	kənao/kəno	<i>v.</i> to hit (adversative passive marker)
	kəna?	<i>v.</i> to wear
	kəncə/kəncan	<i>adj.</i> fast; taut
	kəpan/kəpin	<i>n.</i> piece
	kəraeh/kəreh	<i>adj.</i> hard
	kəraih/kəreih	<i>n.</i> dagger
	kəran/kərin	<i>adj.</i> dry
	kəraʔ/kərat	<i>n.</i> slice
kəɾjea/kəɾjo		<i>v.</i> to work
	kəɾtaeh/kəɾteh	<i>n.</i> paper
	kətouʔ	<i>v.</i> to knock
	keʔ	<i>prep.</i> at; in; on
kibeuʔ		<i>v.</i> to winnow
	kicaeʔ/kiceʔ	<i>n.</i> speech
	kicaʔ	<i>v.</i> to taste
	kiha/kihan	<i>v.</i> to plant
	kihan	<i>v.</i> to send
	kijun	<i>adv.</i> there
	kimaʔ/kimoʔ	<i>v.</i> to look
	kinai/kinei	<i>adv.</i> now
	kincai/kincei	<i>n.</i> Kerinci
	kipae/kipe	<i>n.</i> money
	kiro	<i>adv.</i> apparently
	kitao	<i>pron.</i> we (1 st person plural)
	koah	see ləkoah/ləkeh
kuboiʔ/kubiʔ		<i>n.</i> potato
	kucaeʔ/kuceʔ	<i>n.</i> cat
kudea/kudo		<i>n.</i> horse
	kukau/kukou	<i>n.</i> nail
	kumauh/kumouh	<i>adj.</i> dirty
	kumpa/kumpan	<i>n.</i> roll
	kuɲah/kuɲoh	<i>v.</i> to chew
	kunan/kunin	<i>adj.</i> yellow
	kuncaikuncei	<i>n.</i> key
	kupai/kupei	<i>n.</i> coffee
	kura/kuran	<i>adv.</i> less
	kurauh/kurouh	<i>adj.</i> skinny
	kursai/kursei	<i>n.</i> chair
	kusau/kusun	<i>adj.</i> empty

G-words	K-words	English translation
	kuwah/kuwoh	<i>n.</i> gravy
	kuwai/kuwai	<i>n.</i> frypan
	kuwa?	<i>adv.</i> often
	kuwo	see kauwo
L		
laon	laan/lain	<i>adj.</i> different
	laau?/laou?	<i>n.</i> fish
labeuh/labuh		<i>v.</i> to anchor
ladua/ladon		<i>n.</i> field
lagea/lago		<i>v.</i> to fight
lahoi/lahi	lah	<i>adv.</i> only, already; <i>part.</i>
	lahai/lahei	<i>v.</i> to run
	lahai?/lahei?	<i>n.</i> a row of houses that are joined together
lakoi/laki	lakai/lakei	<i>n.</i> husband
	lakau/lakou	<i>n.</i> act; <i>adj.</i> marketable
	lalau	<i>v.</i> to go
	lala?	<i>n.</i> a fly (insect)
	lamao/lamo	<i>adj.</i> long
	lamba?/lambat	<i>adj.</i> slow
	lampou	<i>n.</i> lamp
	lansau/lansun	<i>adv.</i> directly
	lantae/lante	<i>n.</i> floor
	lannga	<i>v.</i> to bump
	lanqua/lanjo	<i>v.</i> to stun
	lao	<i>part.</i> again; <i>adv.</i> not yet, too, also
lapua	lapa/lapo	<i>adj.</i> hungry
	lawa/lawan	<i>n.</i> opponent; <i>prep.</i> versus
ləboih/ləbih		<i>adv.</i> more
ləbua?/ləbot		<i>adj.</i> abundant
	leih	see kəlahih/kəleih
	ləkoah/ləkeh	<i>adj.</i> fast
	ləmah/ləmo	<i>adj.</i> weak
	ləma?/ləmo?	<i>adj.</i> tasty
	ləmpau/ləmpou	<i>n.</i> a village in Kerinci
	ləŋah/ləŋoh	<i>adj.</i> careless
	ləŋaih/ləŋeih	<i>adj.</i> thin
	ləpaeh/ləpeh	<i>adj.</i> loose, free
	ləsau/ləsun	<i>n.</i> mortar
lətua?	ləta?/ləto?	<i>n.</i> place
libua/libo		<i>adj.</i> broad
	lica?/lico?	<i>v.</i> to trample on
lihoi?/lihit	lihai?/lihei?	<i>n.</i> row

G-words	K-words	English translation
liloi?/lilit	lijai/lijei lilai?/lilit limao/limo	<i>n.</i> neck <i>v.</i> to coil around something <i>num.</i> five see baloi?/bali?
li?		see baloi?/bali?
loah		see ɟəloah/ɟəleh
loi		see bəloi/bəli
lon		see dalón
lua?		see gəlua?/gəlo?
lubua/lubon		<i>n.</i> hole <i>n.</i> noon <i>n.</i> metal tray <i>v.</i> to jump <i>adj.</i> soft <i>adj.</i> loose <i>v.</i> to forget <i>n.</i> the outside, <i>prep.</i> outside <i>adj.</i> wide
	luhau/luhou luja/lujan lumpa?/lumpat luna?/luno? lungga/lunggo lupao/lupo luwa/luwo luwaeh/luweh	
M		
	ma maae	see cuma <i>v.</i> to play <i>adj.</i> drunk <i>adj.</i> expensive <i>part.</i> let's <i>n.</i> danger <i>n.</i> Thursday
mabeu?/mabu?	maha/mahan mahaē mahao/maho maih/meih	
makua/bakon	maka/makan makin mako	<i>v.</i> to eat <i>adv.</i> ever more (in comparisons) <i>adv.</i> therefore
malua	mala/malan malaeh/maleh malau/malou malau?/malut maliwa? mama?/mamo? manaih/maneih manan manao	<i>n.</i> night; evening <i>adj.</i> lazy <i>adj.</i> shy see baleu?/balut <i>adv.</i> too <i>n.</i> uncle <i>adj.</i> sweet <i>quest.</i> how <i>quest.</i> which; where; whoever; whichever <i>v.</i> to take a bath <i>v.</i> to climb <i>adj.</i> spoiled
	mandai/mandei manja?/manjat manjo manjai?/manjit mankau/ mankun maranta	see banjai?/banjit see bankeu/banjun <i>v.</i> to emigrate

G-words	K-words	English translation
	masau?/masou?	v. to enter; to put; to come; to enroll; to include
masjoi?/masjit	masa?/maso?	v. to cook n. mosque adv. still
	masih	n. time
	maso	prep. into
	masu?	adj. raw
	matah/matoh	v. to die
	matai/matei	n. eye; 100 grams (a partitive)
	matao/mato	n. mother
	ma?	n. apology
	ma?ãõh	see bãloi/bãli
	mãlai/mãlei	see bãloi?/bãlit
	mãlai?/mãlit	see bãnuã/bãno
	mãna/mãno	v. to ponder
	mãnau/mãnun	n. mouse
	mãncãi?/mãncei?~	
	mãncit	see bãõõih/bãõõih
	mãõõaih/mãõõeih	see bãroĩ
	mãrai	see bãrsõih/bãrsih
	mãrseih	n. table adj. skew
mijua/mijo	mihan/mihin	n. dream
mimpoi/mimpi	mimpai/mimpei	v. to drink
minen	minan/minun	n. now
	minin	neg. don't; conj. so that
	mo?	adj. young
mudeã/mudo		n. upper area; prep. upstream
mudoi?/mudi?		adj. easy
muduãh/mudoh	muhãh/muhoh	adj. cheap
	muka?	see bukua?
	muko	n. front
	mulae/mule	v. to start
	mulaõ/mulo	n. beginning
	munãuh/munoh	see buneh/bunoh
	muncau/muncun	n. mouth
	muõka	see buõkua
	musãuh/musõuh	n. enemy
	muwãõ/muwo	see buweã/buwo
N		
	naeã?/nae?	v. to go up
	nae?/ne?	adj. small
	naka	adj. naughty

G-words	K-words	English translation
	nakai/nakei	see dakoi/daki
	namao/namo	<i>n.</i> name
	nanta/nantan	<i>n.</i> grandfather
	nasai/nasei	<i>n.</i> rice (cooked)
	nasao/naso	<i>adj.</i> broken
	ndeh	<i>part.</i>
	neh	see ineh
	nəŋa/nəŋo	see dəŋua/dəŋo
	ninae?/nine?	<i>n.</i> grandmother
	nuwe?	see tuwai?/tuwei?
ŋ		
	ŋa	<i>adv.</i> really; even
parabeu	ŋaai?	see jaoi?/jait <i>v.</i> to swarm
	ŋatao	<i>adj.</i> real
	ŋawao/ŋawo	<i>n.</i> soul
	ŋəmao	see jaəmea/jəmo
	ŋilat/ŋilot	see ji lua?/jilot
	ŋinjae?/ŋinje?	see jinjoa?/jinje?
	ŋo	<i>pron.</i> she/he/it/they (3 rd person singular/plural)
O		
	oo?	<i>n.</i> shit
ŋ		
	ŋahau/ŋahou	see gaheu/gahu
	ŋalai/ŋalei	see galoi/gali
	ŋantau	see ganteu/gantun
	ŋapae/ŋape	see gapoa/gape
	ŋawae	see gawoa/gawe
	ŋə	<i>conj.</i> and; <i>prep.</i> with; a relative marker
	ŋəla	see gəlua/gəlo
	ŋgo	see səŋgo
	ŋuse	<i>prep.</i> to
P		
padoi/padi		<i>n.</i> rice (in husk); paddy
	pach	see ləpach/ləpeh
pagoi/pagi		<i>n.</i> morning
	pajah/pajoh	<i>adj.</i> difficult
	pakae/pake	<i>v.</i> to use; to wear

G-words	K-words	English translation
	pakau/pakou	<i>n.</i> nail
	palimba/palimban	<i>n.</i> Palembang; a city in South Sumatra
	palin	<i>adv.</i> most
	palo	see kapalao/kapalo
	panaeh/paneh	<i>adj.</i> hot; warm
	pancahin	<i>n.</i> earnings; see cahai/cahei
	pandae/pande	<i>adj.</i> able; smart
	pandaʔ/pandoʔ	<i>adj.</i> short
	panja/panjan	<i>adj.</i> long
	panta/pantan	<i>n.</i> forbidden
	paŋga/paŋgan	<i>v.</i> to burn; to grill
	paŋkau/paŋkou	<i>v.</i> to hold; <i>n.</i> hoe
	papah/papoh	<i>v.</i> to support
	paraŋae/paraŋe	<i>n.</i> behavior
	pasa	<i>n.</i> market; <i>v.</i> to put on
	pasai/pasei	<i>n.</i> sand
	pasao/paso	<i>v.</i> fast
	paʔ/poʔ	<i>n.</i> Sir; father
pədoah/pədeh		<i>adj.</i> spicy
	pəlahuh/pəlouh	<i>n.</i> sweat
	pənan/pənin	<i>adj.</i> dizzy
	pənahuh/pənouh	<i>adj.</i> full
	pərae/pəre	<i>v.</i> free (holiday)
	pərtamao/pərtamo	<i>num.</i> first
	pətaiʔ/pəteiʔ	<i>v.</i> to pick
	pəta/pətan	<i>n.</i> afternoon
	pətan	<i>n.</i> yesterday
	pihan/pihin	<i>n.</i> plate
	pihaiʔ/piheiʔ	<i>v.</i> to grind
	pijao	<i>quest.</i> why
	pikai/pikei	<i>v.</i> to think
	pilaih/pileih	<i>v.</i> to choose; to vote
	pindah/pindoh	<i>v.</i> to move
	pinta	<i>adj.</i> clever; smart
	pintau/pintou	<i>n.</i> door
	pintaʔ/pintoʔ	<i>n.</i> request
	piŋga/piŋgan	<i>n.</i> plate
	pisa/pisan	<i>n.</i> banana
	po	see apo
	pukat	<i>n.</i> avocado
	puku	<i>n.</i> clock
	pula/pulan	<i>v.</i> to return
	pulao	<i>adv.</i> too
	pulauh/pulouh~	<i>num.</i> 10 ¹ (units of ten)

G-words	K-words	English translation
	puluh	
	pundau?/pondou?	<i>n.</i> Pondok (a place name); cottage
	pungau/pungun	<i>n.</i> back
	pusei?	<i>n.</i> toy
	pusakao/pusako	<i>n.</i> sacred heirloom
	puta	<i>v.</i> to turn
	putaih/puteih	<i>adj.</i> white
	putau/putun	<i>n.</i> piece; <i>v.</i> to cut
	puwaeh/puweh	<i>adj.</i> satisfied
R		
rageu/ragu		<i>adj.</i> hesitate
rambuah	rajao/rajo	<i>n.</i> holiday
	rambah/ramboh	<i>v.</i> to clear away
	ramae/rame	<i>adj.</i> crowded
	rasao/raso	<i>n.</i> flavor; <i>v.</i> to feel; to taste
rateuh	ratauh/ratouh~	<i>num.</i> $\times 10^2$ (units of hundred)
	ratuh	
rəbuah		<i>v.</i> to collapse
ribeu/ribu		<i>num.</i> $\times 10^3$ (units of thousand)
	ringai?/ringei?	<i>num.</i> 250 rupiah
roah		see bəroah/bəreh
	rupopo	<i>adv.</i> apparently
	rusao/ruso	<i>n.</i> deer
	rusa?/ruso?	<i>adj.</i> broken
S		
	saa?/saat	<i>v.</i> to close
saben/sabun		<i>n.</i> soap
sabəntua		<i>adv.</i> shortly, in a moment
saboa/sabe		<i>n.</i> chili, red pepper
saboi?/sabit		<i>n.</i> sickle
	sacaro	<i>adv.</i> in a ... way
sado ineh		<i>num.</i> all this
sajin		<i>n.</i> offerings
sajoi/saji		<i>v.</i> to serve food
sagalo		<i>num.</i> all
sagərea		<i>adv.</i> soon
sagin		<i>adv.</i> later
	saha/sahan	<i>n.</i> nest
	saha?/sahat	<i>n.</i> garbage
	sahingo	<i>conj.</i> so that
	sajao/sajo	<i>v.</i> to order

G-words	K-words	English translation
	sajaʔ/sajat	<i>n.</i> half a coconut
	sajou	<i>n.</i> vegetable
	sakaiʔ/sakit	<i>adj.</i> ill, sick, hurt
	sakula/sakulo	<i>n.</i> school
	sala/salan	<i>n.</i> wasp
	salah/saloh	<i>adj.</i> wrong
	salamo	<i>prep.</i> for the duration of, during
	samao/samo	<i>v.</i> to follow; <i>adj.</i> same
	sambija/sambijan	<i>v.</i> to pray
	sampae/sampe	<i>v.</i> to reach; <i>prep.</i> until
	sampau/sampou~	<i>v.</i> to mix
	sampu	
	sanda	<i>v.</i> to lean up against sth.
	sanjatao/sanjato	<i>n.</i> weapon
	sansarao	<i>adj.</i> suffering
	santa/santan	<i>n.</i> coconut milk
	sapao/sapo	<i>v.</i> to greet
	sapatou	<i>n.</i> shoes
	sapo	<i>quest.</i> who
	sarəmpoʔ	<i>adj.</i> together
	satau/satou	<i>num.</i> one
	satəŋah/satəŋoh	<i>num.</i> half
	saʔāʔ	<i>n.</i> moment
	sawah/sawoh	<i>n.</i> rice field
	se	see ŋuse
səbeuʔ/sebut		<i>v.</i> to call, to mention
səbuaʔ/səbot		<i>conj.</i> because
sədon		<i>adv.</i> (a progressive marker)
səjoʔ		<i>adv.</i> since
	səmpoʔ	see sarəmpoʔ
	səna/sənan	<i>adj.</i> happy
	səpaʔ/səpat	<i>adj.</i> quiet
	səndauʔ/səndouʔ	<i>n.</i> spoon
	səndo	<i>prep.</i> like
	səntua	see sabəntua
	səŋgo	<i>adv.</i> then
	səpauh/səpouh	<i>n.</i> plating
	sərah/səroh	<i>v.</i> to give
	sərau/sərou	<i>v.</i> to promote; to exclaim
	səсах/səsoh	<i>v.</i> to wash
	sətau	<i>n.</i> Saturday
	sihaʔ/sihat	<i>adj.</i> healthy
	sija/sijan	<i>n.</i> noon; <i>v.</i> to weed
	sijao/sijo	<i>n.</i> rent
	sijau/sijou	<i>n.</i> a whistle

G-words	K-words	English translation
	sikaʔ/sikat	<i>n.</i> bunch, brush
	sinei	<i>adv.</i> here
	siŋkaeʔ/siŋkeʔ	<i>adj.</i> short
	sipaʔ/sipoʔ	<i>v.</i> to kick
	sitou	<i>adv.</i> there
	siwa/siwan	<i>n.</i> pants
	skao/sko	see pusakao/pusako
subeaʔ/suboʔ		<i>v.</i> to meet
sudeu/sudu		<i>n.</i> spoon
suduah/sudoh		<i>adv.</i> already; <i>adj.</i> finished
	suhauh/suhouh	<i>v.</i> to ask
	sukat	<i>n.</i> 2 liter (a partitive)
	sula	see sakula/sakulo
	sumau/sumou	<i>n.</i> water well
	sun	see ləsau/ləsun
	sundau/sundun	<i>v.</i> to burn
	suŋae/suŋe	<i>n.</i> river
	supajo	<i>conj.</i> in order to
	suraeʔ/sureʔ	<i>n.</i> letter
T		
	taan/taun	<i>n.</i> year
	taau	<i>v.</i> to know
tadeh		<i>adv.</i> just now
	takauʔ/takut	<i>adj.</i> afraid
	talai/talei	<i>n.</i> rope
	talampo	<i>adv.</i> too (much)
	tamauʔ	<i>v.</i> to put into
	tambah/tamboh	<i>v.</i> to add
	tampaʔ	<i>adj.</i> visible
	tana/tanan	<i>v.</i> to cultivate
	tanah/tanoh	<i>n.</i> soil; land
	tanaʔ/tanoʔ	<i>v.</i> to cook
	tandauʔ/tandouʔ	<i>n.</i> bunch
	tantaiʔ/tanteiʔ	<i>v.</i> to wait
	taŋgao/taŋgo	<i>n.</i> ladder
	taŋkaʔ/taŋkat	<i>v.</i> to arrest
	tao	see kitao
	tapi	<i>conj.</i> but
	tarawaih/taraweih	<i>n.</i> Tarawih (a communal prayer during Ramadan)
	tarimao/tarimo	<i>v.</i> to accept
	tawa	<i>v.</i> to recite a mantra in order to cure illnesses
	taʔ	see lətaʔ/lətoʔ

G-words	K-words	English translation
təbua/təbon təbuaʔ/təbot təgeaʔ/təgoʔ təguaʔ/təgoʔ	taʔāʔ	<i>adj.</i> obedient <i>adj.</i> thick; <i>v.</i> to cut <i>n.</i> pond <i>adj.</i> strapping <i>v.</i> to build; to stand <i>n.</i> egg <i>v.</i> to meet <i>v.</i> to finish <i>v.</i> to pass <i>n.</i> a place <i>adj.</i> quiet <i>v.</i> to beat <i>n.</i> edge <i>adv.</i> continuously <i>v.</i> to fly <i>v.</i> to fall <i>n.</i> sandal <i>n.</i> cherry tomato <i>v.</i> to arrive <i>v.</i> to sleep <i>num.</i> three <i>n.</i> pandanus mat <i>v.</i> to draw <i>v.</i> to shoot <i>v.</i> to remember <i>n.</i> grandmother <i>v.</i> to punch <i>v.</i> to target <i>v.</i> to leave <i>adj.</i> tall; high <i>v.</i> to walk on a narrow and long path <i>n.</i> bridge see bateu/batu see gətuah/gətoh <i>n.</i> hat <i>num.</i> seven <i>n.</i> hat <i>v.</i> to go down <i>v.</i> to follow <i>v.</i> to change <i>n.</i> mason; craftsman <i>v.</i> to hit <i>v.</i> to write <i>v.</i> to help
tərbua/tərbon tərjen/tərjun	təlau/təlou təmau/təmou təmaʔ təmpauh/təmpouh təmpeʔ təna/tənan təpaiʔ/təpeiʔ təpei tərauh tərəmpo təroaka/təroako	
tibea/tibo tideu/tidu tigea/tigo	tika/tikan timbao/timbo timbaʔ/timboʔ tina/tinan tinao/tino tinjau/tinjou tinoʔ tiŋga/tiŋgan tiŋgai/tiŋgei titai/titei titin	
tu tuah tudeu/tudun tujeuh/tujuh tugeuʔ/tuguʔ	tuhan/tuhun tuhauʔ/tuhut tuka tuka/tukan tukau/tukun tulaih/tuleih tulau/tulun	

G-words	K-words	English translation
	tumbauh/tumbouh	v. to grow
	tumbau?/tumbou?	v. to pound; to hit
	tumpau/tumpou	v. to be based on
	tumpun	n. a pedestal
	tundau?/tundou?	v. to bow
	tuntau?/tuntut	v. to sue
	tungau/tungou	v. to wait
	tujkau?/tujkut	v. to bow
	tutau?/tutou?	v. to close
	tuwae/tuwe	v. to harvest
	tuwai?/tuwei?~ nuwe?	v. to ask
	tuwan	v. to master
	tuwao/tuwo	adj. old
U		
ubea/ubo		adj. dumb
uboi/ubi		n. cassava
ubua?/ubot		n. medicine
ujua/ujon		n. rain
ugea		see jugea
	uha/uhan	n. people; person (a classifier)
	ujun	n. group
	ukao?/uko?	n. cigarette
	ukau/ukou	v. to measure
ukeu/ukou		see bukoi?/bukit
ukoi?		see bukua?
ukua?		see duleu
uleu		see buloih
uloih		n. house
umuah/umoh	umah/umoh	n. rice field
umea	umau	n. age
	umau/umou	n. cluster
umpen/umpun	umpan/umpun	n. grass
	umpau?/umput	n. purse
	unca/uncan	n. profit
unteu/untun	untau/untun	prep. for, to
	untu?	n. bunch
	ungau?/ungou?	n. wage; v. to hire; v. to employ
upuah/upoh	upah/upoh	v. to organize; to manage
uraih/ureuh	urauh/urouh	neg. do not
	usah	see rusao/ruso
	usao/uso	n. debt
utua	uta/utan	n. brain
utua?/uto?	uta?/uto?	n. money
uwua	uwa/uwan	

G-words	K-words	English translation
uwea		see buwea/buwo
uwoh		see buwuah/buwoh
W		
	waih	<i>part.</i> wow
	woa	<i>adv.</i> only
	wot	see duwot

3 Morphological derivation in PT

Prefix	Combination	Meaning	A/O	Example	
				Root	Derived form
maN-	Adjectives	To become X	ABS	<i>kunan/kunin</i> 'yellow'	<i>majunan</i> 'to become yellow'
	Nouns	To be like X	ABS/OBL	<i>gunea/gunun</i> 'mountain'	<i>mangunan/mangunun</i> 'to pile up'
N-	Any root	Active construction	ABS/OBL	<i>tukau/tukun</i> 'to hit'	<i>nukau/nukun</i> 'to hit'
	Monovalent verbs and adjectives	Causative construction	OBL	<i>tideu/tidu</i> 'to sleep'	<i>nidu</i> 'to make so. Sleep'
di-	Any root	Passive construction	ABS/OBL	<i>tukau/tukun</i> 'to hit'	<i>ditukau/ditukun</i> 'to be hit'
		Imperative	ABS	<i>maka/makan</i> 'to eat'	<i>dimakua</i> 'please eat!'
pa-	Adjectives	To make sth. more X	ABS/OBL	<i>panja/panjan</i> 'long'	<i>papanja/papanjan</i> 'to lengthen'
	Nouns	To treat so. as X	Frozen ABS / Frozen OBL	<i>budua?/budo?</i> 'slave'	<i>pabudua?</i> 'to enslave'
		A larger entity of which X is a part	OBL	<i>bakua/bakon</i> 'food or money for a journey'	<i>pabakon</i> 'stock, provisions'
paN-	Adjectives	So. for whom / sth. for which X is a typical feature	ABS/OBL	<i>malau/malou</i> 'shy'	<i>pamalau/pamalou</i> 'shy person'
	Monovalent verbs	So. who typically does X	ABS/OBL	<i>judoi/judi</i> 'to gamble'	<i>panjudoi/panjudi</i> 'a gambler'
	Bivalent verbs	The tool or agent for X	ABS/OBL	<i>apauh/apouh</i> 'to erase'	<i>panapauh/panapouh</i> 'an eraser'
	Verbs	The result of X	OBL	<i>cahai/cahei</i> 'to search for'	<i>pancahin</i> 'earnings'
sa-paN- ...itoh ja no	Adjectives	Excessive quality of X / so X	OBL	<i>takau?/takut</i> 'afraid'	<i>sapanakut itoh ja no</i> 'S/he is so scared'
*-an	Any root	A noun formed through X	OBL	<i>titai/titei</i> 'to walk on a bridge'	<i>titin</i> 'bridge'
ba-	Nouns	To possess X	ABS/OBL	<i>kipae/kipe</i> 'money'	<i>bakipae/bakipe</i> 'to have money'
	Verbs	To emphasize the verbal status of the word	ABS/OBL	<i>jaluajalon</i> 'to walk, road'	<i>bajaluabajalon</i> 'to walk'
		To do a relatively time stable activity	ABS	<i>pikai/pikei</i> 'to think'	<i>bapikai</i> 'to be thinking, to reflect'
		To highlight the random manner of an action	OBL	<i>tərbua/tərbun</i> 'to fly'	<i>batərbun</i> 'to fly in all directions'
	Nouns and verbs	Reciprocity	ABS	<i>kantai/kantei</i> 'friend'	<i>bakantai</i> 'to be friends'

Prefix	Combination	Meaning	A/O	Example	
				Root	Derived form
	Compounds	To form compounds	ABS/ OBL	<i>lagea/lago</i> 'to fight'; <i>kambae?/kambe?</i> 'goat'	<i>balago kambe?</i> 'to bump against each other'
	Cardinal numerals	Collectivity	ABS	<i>duwea/duwo</i> 'two'	<i>baduwea</i> 'in a group of two'
ta-	Verbs	Unintentionality	ABS/ OBL	<i>dudeu?/dudu?</i> 'to sit'	<i>tadudeu?/tadudu?</i> 'to come to sit'
	Verbs and adjectives	Potentiality	ABS	<i>aboih/abih</i> 'finished'	<i>taaboih</i> 'be able to finish'
ka-	Any root	Adversativeness	OBL	<i>uyua/uyon</i> 'rain'	<i>kauyon</i> 'caught in the rain'
		To form abstract nouns based on X	OBL	<i>rageu/ragu</i> 'to hesitate'	<i>karagun</i> 'hesitation'
	Adjectives	Too X	OBL	<i>manaih/maneih</i> 'sweet'	<i>kamaneih</i> 'too sweet'
	Reduplicated adjectives	To act (as if) X	OBL	<i>ilau?/ilou?</i> 'good, attractive'	<i>kailou?-ilou?</i> 'to act pretty'
	Reduplicated color adjectives	To denote the reduced presence or intensity of a color	OBL	<i>abua/abon</i> 'red'	<i>kaabon-abon</i> 'reddish'
	Reduplicated nouns	To act like X	OBL	<i>anyae?/anye?</i> 'dog'	<i>kaanye?-anye?</i> 'to act like a dog'
	Cardinal numerals	Ordinal numerals	ABS/ OBL	<i>duwea/duwo</i> 'two'	<i>kaduwea/ kaduwo</i> 'second'
Collective numerals		OBL	<i>duwea/duwo</i> 'two'	<i>kaduwo</i> 'both'	