

Kuuy T'mεεr

A Grammar

of

Kelantan Temiar

David P. Quinton

| Updates        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| June 2025      | Intensive edits to Introduction, Phonology, Verbs (causatives).<br>Moved imperatives, emphatic, affirmatives, negatives to Syntax.                                                                                                                                                      |
| August 2025    | Changed alphabetic order of word lists: vowels before consonants, ? first consonant.<br>Added some quantitatives (§7.2.2), changes to §8 Syntax.                                                                                                                                        |
| September 2025 | Added numerals to quantitatives ( <a href="#">§7.2.2</a> )<br>Revised approximants ( <a href="#">§2.2.6</a> )<br>Revised nominaliser phoneme [n] ( <a href="#">§2.3.7</a> )<br>Revised reflexive pronouns ( <a href="#">§5.4.1</a> )<br>Revised affirmatives ( <a href="#">§8.1.9</a> ) |
| October 2025   | Revised list of ideophones ( <a href="#">Appendix 3</a> )                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| November 2025  | Revised description of ideophones ( <a href="#">§7.3</a> )                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |

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# Preface

Just as Temiar traditions, beliefs and culture have been in great need of presenting in a detailed and accurate form for many years, and which I have attempted to do in my book, *The Temiars of the Puyan River* (2022), so also does the Temiar language. Former attempts have been severely lacking in accuracy and the error in them must have led many to nowhere with learning Temiar. On the one hand, a former dictionary published by the Means (1998) was riddled with mistakes and lacked any proper orthography needed to represent vowel sounds, while the numerous and detailed papers published by Geoffrey Benjamin have only proven to be halfway there in fully understanding Temiar (I describe these problems more fully in the preface to my dictionary of Kelantan Temiar).

My work with the Temiar language began back in 2010 when I reached the upriver valleys of Ulu Kelantan and started reviewing the said error-ridden dictionary and recording new vocabulary. No less than thirty persons from six villages around the Pos Símpor and Pos Goo̽b valleys helped in the beginning, proving or disproving the contents of that work while loading me with the names of species of every kind of plant and creature, including birds, fish, frogs, trees, fruits and vines, along with the methods they use in preparing food and making crafts. At the start, the grammar I collected was nothing more than some bare lists of demonstratives and pronouns, without any analysis at all. These lists gradually grew and grew, as I continued with the Temiars, adding more colloquial expressions and phrases. Once I had settled at Pípcor̄n village, at Pos Goo̽b, in 2016, I realised that this work needed some serious attention to make it more presentable, though I had practically no idea how to commence such a daunting task. Still, the deep and accurate knowledge of the Temiars here, of their customs and life-skills, aided me enormously as they offered their unceasing support. By 2018, I had only made some rough attempts at describing inflectional verb forms and it was only in early 2022 that I began to systematically treat each part of the language to make it something more usable among linguists. Eventually, the initial word lists that were inserted at the front of the dictionary soon took shape and were transformed into a solid grammar, that in turn found its way back into the dictionary in a concise version!

Two sources of linguistic material have greatly assisted in this work also. The first is Geoffrey Benjamin's various papers on Temiar, which, while the grammar in them did not pass very well with my respondents (I write comments to his papers elsewhere), they did help highlight certain areas for testing. His book, *Temiar Religion* (2014), enabled me to dig deeply into Temiar customs and beliefs, leading to my detailed accounts in the first two chapters of my aforementioned book and to many fuller definitions in the dictionary..

Temiars will typically not tell you everything about any subject and this is especially true with their language. And, unless one is thoroughly trained in linguistic research and can systematically investigate every aspect, it can be rather taxing to put all the loose ends together simply from observation. In reality, it takes years of interaction to hear the language to begin with and then tie all the ends together. I found myself seeking proofs of the language highlighted by Benjamin, while also disproving many aspects as I investigated with my respondents. And for this reason, some of my grammatical rules may appear contradictory to what Benjamin lays out in his papers, and I endeavor to make it clear where I have differed in my own assessment, since that his work has already been

largely assented as the truth on the matter! My definitions of customary practices will also differ from his conclusions, which highly knowledgeable Temiars here helped to cast light on.

According to Benjamin (personal communications in 2019) such conflicts in studies may be attributed to regional language differences, as the Temiars have certainly remained secluded in their river valleys through the centuries, leading to different modes of speech being favoured. I too make note that there are several distinct variations of dialect across the Temiar territories. But so many grammatical aspects have been pointed at by the Temiars here, as being convoluted or plain nonexistent, that I have reason to believe that Benjamin's few visits of only months at a time and his research base being removed from the Temiar world, and his notable lack of fluency in Temiar, has led to many unfortunate miss-conclusions.

The other resource that has been crucial to my work, helping me to rectify my careless guesses at the grammar in every area, is Niclas Burenhult's richly detailed 'A Grammar of Jahai' (2005). It has been a complete pleasure to work through, even as a non-Jahai speaker, but as a Temiar-speaker, as so many aspects carry close similarities to the language in my scrutiny, being a close relative in the 'Aslian' languages and also a geographic lingual neighbour. It is quite a remarkable survey of a difficult language, especially since he only had a year to research it. I owe him many thanks for making his thesis available to the public, as it is extremely difficult for me to order published books at this time, given my remote location. As a non-linguist myself, sometimes it took me three to four reads of a paragraph to understand what he was describing, for example with verbs and aspect. Some areas of the analysis, such as the section on phonotactics, have proven to be the most taxing project for me to undertake in my entire life. But it has been well worth the effort now that the work has been completed (without any help or critique to date) and I hope that it will prove valuable to others interested with Senoiic or even Mon Khmer language studies.

As I gather new vocabulary and semantic information, by overhearing conversation or by questioning, unless very clearly described, I do not take the language as a hundred percent true. There is plenty of room for a misunderstanding of the description, and especially if my respondent described only half of the picture, being tired or lazy at the time, or by slip of mind gave me wrong information. The language still needs proving, which can be done by hearing its use again, from day to day, or by re-questioning later on. With Semai, I had some very good respondents who could read over the draft language and offer corrections. But with the Temiars it has been hard to find people not so laid back to help thoroughly, and so offering them words and phrases is the only way.

When I began building the species lists, in 2009, they eagerly named all the birds for me at the first village, seeming to identify them so easily. But when I continued the work further upriver, I found contradictions and then I had them identify the birds again, only to find that many mistakes had been made initially. It has been the same with gathering history—one story sounds so good but then someone else gives better light on it and I find out the first source was mixed up or even made up entirely.

There is also much 'old language' that is phasing out, falling into disuse, and being well-forgotten by the younger generation. Discovering this language is indeed a challenge, as nowadays there are fewer people from the previous generation who are able to spend time and share their knowledge with me. Fortunately, I have a very attentive wife who learned her mother tongue from her grandmother and she knows much of the proper

language that these days is being pushed out by modern slang words. She will always refer questions back to her parents or grandparents, when unsure, who are always at hand to help with clarification of words which are too old or with areas of traditions that she doesn't have the knowledge to describe for me.

Areas that I have not managed as yet to properly record are the traditional g'nabag, ritual songs, and also the c'naal, oral folktales, due to the fact that the people in the villages around me have not practiced their ritual dancing for the last 20 years or so. This cessation of rituals is often due to the influence of Christianity (some Chinese pastors tell the Temiars to stop practicing 'dark' traditions) and also because, in recent times, some practitioners promote their own 'powers' and demand people to follow them, acting contrary to traditional soul-mediums. Time has also not allowed for transcribing of the folktales, of which we have dozens recorded on audio (some transcripts are available at my Figshare page).

The hand-written folktales, written by the Temiars themselves, are by far the best material that I have seen for analysis. Anything else they write would be helpful also, but these folktales are descriptive of every-day activities and contain imaginary discourse. In these their real language is put on paper, with practically no room for error, there being no non-native speaker in the middle of the transcription.

### **Example text**

The example texts and phrases in this work are either collated from overheard speech, especially the more complex phrases found in §8 Syntax, but there are many simple phrases that are easy enough to construct from my own knowledge of Temiar. Words borrowed from Malay or English are marked with a " symbol.

### **The layout of this work**

In the first chapter, I give a description of the Temiars, their origins and the challenges they face, and of the Temiar language, with a brief overview and comparisons with other nearby indigenous languages. Then, in the following chapters, I commence my description of Temiar grammar, beginning with phonology, looking at vowel and consonant sounds, and then derivation of word morphemes by processes of inflection (Chapter 2). Then come several chapters where I describe the word classes of nouns (Chapter 3), names, including toponyms, autonyms and kin terms (Chapter 4), pronouns, including personal pronouns, demonstratives and relative pronouns (Chapter 5), verbs (Chapter 6), and adjectives and adverbs (Chapter 7). Finally, I give a description of syntax, looking at phrase construction (Chapter 8). The appendices contain a comparison of Temiar and Semai lexicon, lists of words exhibiting fossilised morphology, and lists of ideophones.

## Abbreviations

|                                                                                                            |                                             |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <i>1SG</i> , <i>2SG</i> , <i>3SG</i> - 1 <sup>st</sup> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular | <i>INT.</i> interrogative                   |
| <i>1DU.INC</i> - 1 <sup>st</sup> person dual (inclusive)                                                   | <i>INTENT-PROX.</i> intentive-proximate     |
| <i>1DU.EXC</i> - 1 <sup>st</sup> person dual (exclusive)                                                   | <i>INV.</i> involitive verb                 |
| <i>2DU</i> , <i>3DU</i> - 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> person dual                                    | <i>MUT.</i> mutual activity verb form       |
| <i>1PL.INC</i> - 1 <sup>st</sup> person plural (inclusive)                                                 | <i>N.</i> noun                              |
| <i>1PL.EXC</i> - 1 <sup>st</sup> person plural (exclusive)                                                 | <i>NEG.</i> negative participle             |
| <i>2PL</i> , <i>3PL</i> - 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> person plural                                  | <i>NOM.</i> nominative                      |
| <i>ACC.</i> <i>accusative</i>                                                                              | <i>OPEN-ARTIC.</i> open-articulated         |
| <i>ADJ.</i> adjective                                                                                      | <i>PL.ADJ.</i> plural adjective             |
| <i>ADV.</i> adverb                                                                                         | <i>PREP.</i> preposition                    |
| <i>AFF.</i> affirmative                                                                                    | <i>PRM.</i> pronoun referral marker         |
| <i>ANS.</i> answer                                                                                         | <i>PRON.</i> pronoun                        |
| <i>AV.TERM</i> avoidance term                                                                              | <i>QUANT.</i> quantitative <i>adjective</i> |
| <i>CAUS.</i> causative                                                                                     | <i>REF.</i> reference term                  |
| <i>COLL.</i> collective term                                                                               | <i>REL.</i> relative pronoun                |
| <i>CONJ.</i> conjunctive                                                                                   | <i>SPAT.</i> spatial <i>adjective</i>       |
| <i>DEM.</i> demonstrative                                                                                  | <i>SUCC.PRON.</i> succinct pronoun          |
| <i>EXP.</i> expressive                                                                                     | <i>TEMP.</i> temporal adverb                |
| <i>IMPF.</i> imperfective verb                                                                             | <i>U.</i> uncontrolled action verb form     |
|                                                                                                            | <i>v.</i> verb                              |

# Pronunciation Guide

Below is a brief set of symbols that are used throughout this work. More detailed description of phonemes can be found in Section 3.

## Vowel symbols

|         |                                                                         |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a aa    | front vowel, as in pat, but ‘aa’ can tend to a central sound, as in art |
| ə əə    | mid-central vowel, as in her                                            |
| ə̄      | a central sound, as in cup                                              |
| ɛ ɛɛ    | mid-front ‘e’, as in pet                                                |
| i ii    | high-front vowel, as in feet                                            |
| í íí    | mid-front ‘i’, as in pit; i or ii is slightly higher, as in rear        |
| o oo    | a rounded ‘o’, as in poke, but ‘oo’ can be higher, almost ‘uu’          |
| ɔ̄ ɔ̄ɔ̄ | a half-rounded ‘o’, as in cord                                          |
| ɔ̄ ɔ̄ɔ̄ | back, unrounded ‘o’, as in pot                                          |
| u uu    | back, rounded vowel, as in do                                           |
| ʉ ʉʉ    | mid-central ‘u’, as in ‘ew’                                             |
| ù ùù    | a half-rounded ‘u’, as in book                                          |

## Consonant sounds that are different to English

|   |                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| c | is pronounced similar but shorter than an English ‘ch’, and word-finally it is shortened even more                                                                                                     |
| j | is like English ‘j’ except word-finally where it is usually silent (it positions the mouth to make a ‘j’ but it is not sounded)                                                                        |
| ŋ | ‘ng’ as in pingpong, N when capitalised                                                                                                                                                                |
| ɲ | a nasalised ‘y’, as in the Spanish ñ                                                                                                                                                                   |
| ɳ | the ‘ny’ sound, N when capitalised                                                                                                                                                                     |
| x | is the velar /k/ word-finally, often having slight aspiration.                                                                                                                                         |
| k | is the glottal stop at syllable-end, which marks a truncation of the vowel sound. (raised so that it isn’t confused for the velar /k/).                                                                |
| ? | is a glottal stop pronounced before a vowel at word-beginning or mid-word where a consonant does not begin the vowel sound. It is marked here to show that words in Temiar do not run into each other. |

## Vowels with approximants, w or y, often at word-end:

|            |            |                                                                                                          |
|------------|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ay aay     | as in fly  |                                                                                                          |
| ei, εy εεy | as in say  | Also, there are ōw, ōōw, əy, əəy, uy, uuy, ʉw and ʉy which are not found in English.                  |
| oy ōoy    | as in toy  |                                                                                                          |
| aw aaw     | as in how  | The mark ['] denotes an i-offglide, where a consonant [c] or [j] affects the preceding vowel toward /i/. |
| ow oow     | as in snow |                                                                                                          |
| uw uuw     | as in flew |                                                                                                          |

# 1 Introduction to Kelantan Temiar

## 1.1 Background to the Temiars

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The Temiars are an indigenous people group of Malaysia, whose homeland covers the forested and mountainous region of eastern Perak and western Kelantan<sup>1</sup>. On the Perak side, their villages extend as far as Pos Kimaar and Ciyun, situated at the Temjor River, now a reservoir. On the Kelantan side, their territory reaches from the source of the B'rōox River, at Pos Bær, until its lower stretches where it becomes the Neng'riik, at Perla<sup>k</sup>, including seven main tributary rivers which flow eastward from the valleys (see Map 2).

Out of some nineteen officially recognised indigenous groups (there could be more following linguistic definitions), the Temiars make up a family with three other ethnic groups, the Semai, Lanoh and Jah Hut (who are perhaps linguistically diverse from the other three). These four groups are referred to as the Senoi. The Semai is the largest indigenous people group in the Peninsula, having a population estimated at over 42,000<sup>2</sup>, sharing a dozen dialects between them, and being spread over the highland area of Perak and Pahang, while the Temiar population is estimated at some 25,000. Together they make up three quarters (76%) of the indigenous population who speak Aslian languages or languages diverse from Malay and are likely Austroasiatic in origin. They make up nearly half (47%) of the whole indigenous population, including those groups who speak Malayic languages, such as the Temuan and Jakun peoples.

The Senoi are so labeled because in their languages the word, *sen'ooy*, stands for people, and in Semai more definitely, for indigenous or forest people. They are also labeled the Central Aslian peoples because of their geographic location, that reaches no further than Banun, to the north, in Perak. The group of indigenous peoples to the north and west of the Senoi, including the Jehai, Menriq and Bateq, are labeled Jehaic, as well as Northern Aslian. The Senoi and Jehaic groups share many similar cultural traits, but they also have many dissimilarities. One would be wrong to suggest that all Senoic peoples are sedentary swiddeners while the Jehaic peoples are nomadic and seasonal opportunists, as the Lanoh, of the Senoi, are nomadic in nature, and the Semaq Beri, of the Jehaic speakers, are swiddeners. The Semai and Temiar peoples are certainly sedentary and non-nomadic, however. These labels are drawn more by their language relationships and not their lifestyles.

Semais and Temiars have practiced swiddening for centuries, preferring to cultivate land near to rivers and forest, where the rainfall is plentiful and where fishing and hunting is easily accessible. Once the land has produced and it can't be replanted due to resurgent

---

1 The main mountain range of Malaysia, the Titiwangsa, consisting of five or six peaks over 2000m, runs down the middle of the peninsula like a spine, from its beginning in Thailand down until its farthest continuous high-level land in Selangor.

2 According to figures from 2008, given at the Gombak museum. Today's figures could have increase by 20% or perhaps more?

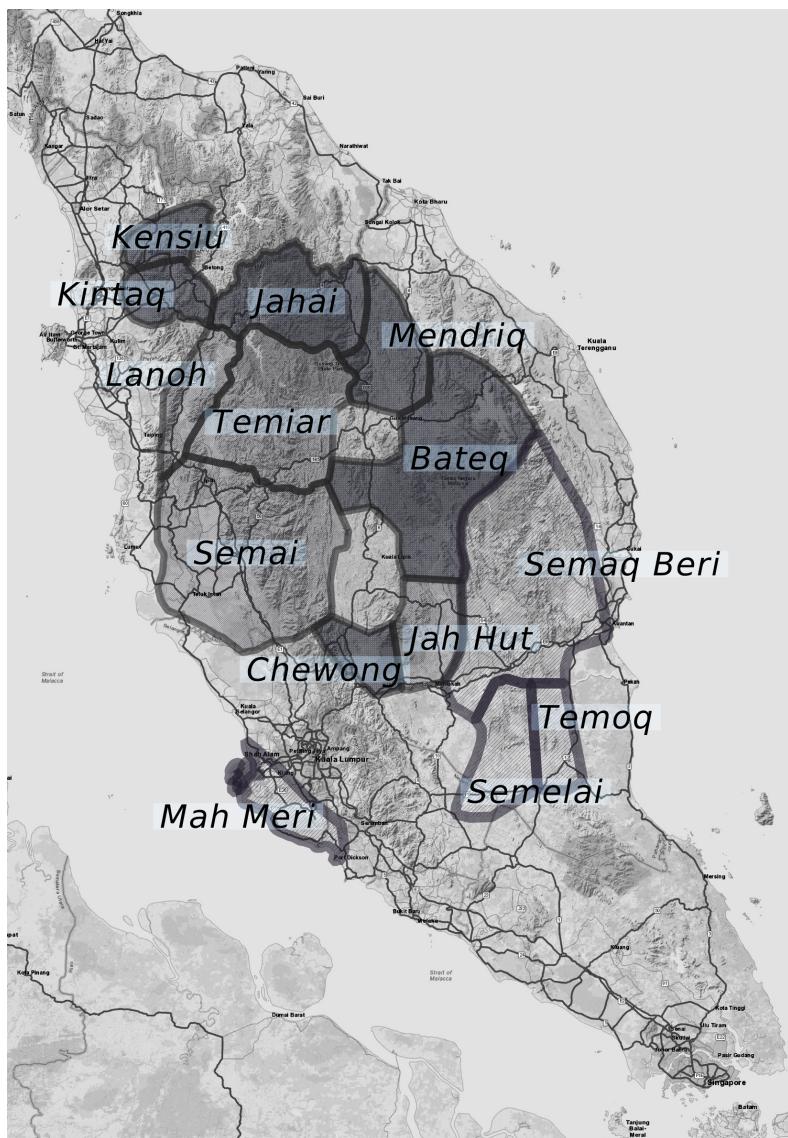
## *2 A Grammar of Kelantan Temiar*

forest growth, they move on to cut down a new area of forest, and burn it and plant again. Former cut areas regrow quickly and return to forest in twenty years, so there is never any permanent harm done to the environment. An old swidden may be re-used, anywhere between 10 to 100 years after it was first cut and cultivated, and thus swidden sites are remembered and returned to, and especially for fruit trees that may have grown there since. A distant ancestor who first migrated to a particular river valley, and dwelt there, perhaps with other contemporaries, planting crops up and down the region, would pass on the sites to his sons and grandsons with all their families. The valley would become the inheritance of the kin-group, called their sakaak<sup>k</sup>, with all the natural resources that were found by the early dwellers, from which they procured all their needs.

This custom is respected by Senoi communities all over their territories, so that one hereditary kin group never trespasses on another kin-group's land, for fear of causing disputes. But, unfortunately, this traditional rights system is not recognised at an official level, and thus the resources of the Senoi are continually appropriated for outside benefactors and areas of customary land often become no-entry zones for the generational owners. Complete upheaval and change of lifestyle, away from forest-dependence, is sometimes imposed upon the Senoi with serious social consequences. Areas of Senoi territory where the natural forest still stands and still supports a traditional lifestyle are now few, and are typically the more inaccessible upriver regions. But these areas would not have been left untouched without some form of resistance to change shown by the Senoi inhabitants, who would need to organise themselves and take their complaints to whatever authority would listen, or stand on the road in the way of the lorries or make their case heard in the courts.

For those communities which were brave to make a stand for their rights, against all who criticised hanging onto the land with their naturalistic lifestyle, the environment around them seems to be stable and this allows for their expression of culture to continue. They are able to maintain their identity as unique descendants of early dwellers, who carry a wealth of hereditary knowledge, both of the land and the species that thrive in it. It is also good for their language, which is rooted in their culture, itself rooted in customs that are land and resource dependent.

The Temiar language is not threatened by disappearance, however, even in areas that have seen large-scale land development and subsequent loss of cultural practices (such as at Lojing), as the Temiar community is still intact. But modern changes are bound to have effects on the language, pushing a change of cultural expression, such as conversion to Islam occurring in many villages. Only in the remote river valleys does the language remain resilient and undiluted by the adoption of Malay, the nearest lingual influence. Just the every-day absorption of the sounds of nature, aromas of the forest and the dropping of flowers from the canopies, and the loudness of the greenery, makes for a stabilising effect on the forest-dwellers' minds. As they observe the perpetual equilibrium of nature, they know how they fit into that balance—it is the beating of the heart to them. Thus from this mind, being enclosed in their own realm and free from the ideals of a world outside, comes all thought, humour and expression, giving colour and life to their speech.



**Map 1. Approximate distribution of the indigenous people groups of Malaysia which make up the speakers of the Aslian languages (Northern, Central and Southern Aslian).**

The rain forest has been the home of the Senoi for perhaps three thousand years, where they have walked with the blowpipe, foraged fruits, collected wild fern shoots or fragrant plants to adorn themselves, without fear of conflict with man. They are ingenious with animal traps made from rattan cords and fish traps made of palm skins tied into a bottle and funnel. Known to them are well over a thousand species of plants and creatures that they encounter, use or don't use, eat or don't eat. The 'outside' forest, or *bex*, is their true

environment, where they find happiness and well-being.

In the Temiar world-view (to which other Senoi or Jehaic groups may have very similar views), all living things are known to contain a ‘soul’, called *r’waay*, which is the life-giving element. To them, even profound geological features such as the mountains, rivers and waterfalls all have souls. And because the animal and plant world is distinct from the human world, the souls of those worlds either become antagonistic or else helpful toward human souls, depending on the style of encounter or conflagration that is made. On a basic level, the souls of plants give growth to crops and so they must be treated well, just by ensuring the seed or stems are planted in good soil and tended. The souls of fruit trees are different somewhat, in that they need more careful respect, such as a prayer being made before the year’s first harvest, for they are believed to contain power to steal people’s souls away. Souls of mountains and main rivers are also potent, along with those at waterfalls and boulders, and visitors do not dare disregard them, by shouting or laughing, for they have been known to meddle with people in their sleep.

Concerning animals and insects, all their souls can be easily offended by human careless activity, and they can cause many serious problems. Laughing at creatures or mocking them, will cause a storm to blow up. Mentioning their names while walking would either cause bad luck on a hunt with nothing being caught or else ill fate in terms of a beast appearing on the path. Mentioning their names while eating them would cause a life-threatening bout of diarrhea. Many game animals are known from the dreams of the ancestors to cause serious illness, even leading to possession of the person by the animal’s soul, if eaten by persons who are weak enough to be in danger (children, expecting mothers and menstrual women). This means there are complex food taboos that the Temiars strictly adhere to, as well as avoidance terms to use so that their real names are not mentioned at the wrong time.

Because of the instability that could be so easily caused, the Temiars have soul-mediums who are men or women apt in spiritual vision, seeing the wandering souls of all these creatures or entities in their dreams. To the Temiars, the *r’waay* resides in the heart or *hup* of a person, or creature, and can freely wander out of the body during dreams, trances or when stolen away. The community look to their soul-medium, or *halaa<sup>k</sup>*, for spiritual guidance and for healing, when they are affected by ailments from nature or attacks from souls of the wild. He or she will kneel beside a patient, lying down, and recite words from dreams and blow, or *t’hool*, through a clenched fist onto their body. In finding the cause of the ailment, it is sucked out through the hand and tossed away, but often one session does not bring a complete end to the suffering. In the case of a soul having been tricked to wander off, the *halaa<sup>k</sup>* can seek out that soul in his dream and return it to its body. The *halaa<sup>k</sup>* meets souls in dreams and from those good souls he or she meets, alliances are made, and the soul becomes a permanent dream guide, called a *guníg*, revealing things in the dream world to its keeper and teaching him or her songs that will invoke the useful souls of the fruit trees and mountains. The songs are important, because the ritual dance is arranged with the intention of seeking peace with souls of the outside *beex*, and obtaining health and safety from them.

*Gunígs* can help their keeper in waking hours too, because the *guníg* is the soul of a real animal in the forest, and that animal, even a sun bear, or a Burmese python, can come to give aid when summoned. Certain dream guide alliances are very useful in that the *guníg* transfers a spiritual power to its keeper, called *kalyex*, and it is with this store of power within him that a *halaa<sup>k</sup>* administers healing to sick folk. The greatest of all *gunígs*

is the soul of a roaming tiger, of an evil kind of tiger that seeks to be kept by an adept. The alliance produces many benefits to the community, because of the gunig's power in the dream world, but also carries great danger, in that the tiger will not be patient when they forget to dance and make him pleased with the offerings of fragrant leaves they must provide. The main advantage it gives them, through the dreams of the halaa<sup>k</sup>, is safety from other roaming tigers, or at least early warning of their presence, and if they are hunting down anyone for offense made to the animal realm.

The great guardian over the earth and its creator, Nu<sup>k</sup> ?Aluj, is entreated whenever persons walk in the forest, climb a mountain, plant a field, or harvest crops or fruits. He watches over their steps and provides them with food. The other guardian, Kariiy, who was with ?Aluj to begin with, is evil-natured and feared for causing great storms when the creatures he sees as his own grandchildren are offended by human actions. He is also entreated by Temiars, but only by a halaa<sup>k</sup> and only to implore that his storms soon cease. There is a code, a hukom, that Nu<sup>k</sup> ?Aluj gave the ancestors in dreams, for humans follow so that they may procure life for themselves and return to him when they p'loow or make their final soul journey. Those who forsake this code become encased in their sins, which are sure to bring ill fate on them. The hukom is passed on orally by the elders, whenever it is necessary to teach it, and also by the examples in the folktales that are told to entertain at night. The hukom ensures that the Temiars maintain a healthy social fabric and above all are passive toward violence. Young people learn to respect their elders and parents learn not to deal blows to the children.

The Temiar share many culture traits with their neighbours in the south, the Semai, keeping traditions that are almost identical in many respects. They make the blowpipe in the same way, and carry blow-darts in a hip-quiver. They hunt the same animals and tie the same kinds of traps. Homes are built with identical skills (except only the Temiar build with stacked bamboo poles). Weaving skills are apparent, but basket styles differ and only the Temiar weave from fine montane pandanus leaf, whereas the Semai only use coarser varieties. Their knowledge of trees and plants are probably equal (although today, the Temiars consume more wild vegetables than the Semai). They all possess a love for the wild and the ability to roam far and sleep rough among the palms and trees. They plant the same staple foods and crops including millet, hill rice, manioc, yams and bananas. They have the same dependence on spiritual power obtained through dreams and ritual dance, to procure healing, personal protection, wisdom and so forth, although there is considerable difference in the bamboo music and song styles, as well as the entities which are invoked through rituals.

Many modern-day factors, such as relocation schemes, commercial plantations and the disappearance of natural resources, are having an inevitable impact on how traditional customs are preserved. Fruits, fish, animals, medicinal herbs and flowers were once abundant but have now either vanished or are much harder to source and gather due to disturbance of ecological systems. The idealistic life that was once enjoyed has been broken open in many respects, as also many outside pressures force change of habits.

Back in the 1950s, the Temiars became dependent on government aid for the first time, when their swiddens with vital food supply, which the Chinese communists were feeding off, were bombed from the air. In the 1970s, things returned to normal for a period, when the threat of war was over, but the 1990s brought logging, and destruction of the forest. Thus a new era of scarcity of food began in the 2000s, compounded by the exhaustion of natural products to trade in the 2010s. Instead of the Temiars having an ample choice of

food sources, they now have to work themselves into the ground in order to survive, while at the same time becoming more dependence on aid—even though it only trickles through.

Some kind of benefit has arisen, however, due to the difficult times that the Temiars (along with other forest peoples of former Malaya), have been forced to cope with, such as a unifying affect of communities that were once isolated from each other, and the realisation that their identity needs much safe-keeping. And this has had a positive affect on self-esteem as a people and moreover on the love of their own language.

### 1.2 Origins of the language

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In the mind of the Temiars, the Senoic peoples were the first inhabitants of the Peninsula, who were perhaps once a single ethnic group (or ethnic conglomerate), together with the Jehaic peoples, who were encountered wherever they made their nomadic sojourns. To them the land was called Tanjux, ‘peninsula’. Legend has it, or it is told in the Temiar oral folktales, that a catastrophic flood destroyed the whole world, while only two siblings managed to escape, fleeing from Cōos cave (known today as Gua Cha, about to be submerged again due to the building of a new hydro dam) to Cēnkey mountain, where they survived some years, as the flood covered everything. Being alone so long they decided to marry and they bore six sons and six daughters. These were paired off and from each of them emerged an ethnic group of the original peoples (six of the indigenous groups today). Anthropological studies propose that the Senoi and Jehaic peoples extend from Mon-Khmer genetic roots, the evidence built on language similarities, but could it be that they truly originated right here in Tanjux as the folktales say, and may have been only influenced by the far-reaching Mon kingdom long ago? Who can know? They are identified as non-Austronesian and therefore of different origins to those of the Melayu.

Another legend speaks about a Temiar kingdom with a regal family that once enjoyed sovereign rule at the B'rōox River source. Perhaps this would fit with the idea that the Temiar people, born from the siblings after the flood had abated, first settled in this region also. It is said that they could have built stone buildings, but I haven't seen any real evidence so far to support the claims. It is possible that the Temiars had very close links with the Semais in the distant past, thus giving way to sharing of life skills, areas of custom that we still see mirrored today (in some degree of relation but not exactly equal) and of course, language. Temiars of the Puyan valley, actually the most northerly river valley of the Kelantan Temiars' territory, remark that their ancestors migrated to the Puyan from further south, from the region of the Bær River, at the B'rōox River source. That region is called ?Asal Gerlōox, and is where all the Temiar people are said to originate from.

Due to migration into the adjacent river valleys or those further afield, while searching for lands to hunt in and plant swiddens, different groups would have emerged, and their speech would have gradually become localised. Over a few hundred years, the seclusion of those different river valley groups, having their hereditary sakaa<sup>k</sup> to guard, and meeting each other only on short visits or perhaps for seeking spouses, caused speech to diversify, producing the southern and northern (in Kelantan) division we find today.

While ethnographers try to explain that the real divide between kinds of Temiar speech

is North-South, regardless of the Central mountain range, the Temiars here do place a certain lingual divide along that mountain border. The Temiars of the Puyan, for example, are certain that the Temiars over the mountain border at Pos Kimaar, apart from their own migrated relatives who live there, speak a different lingo than theirs. Thus I follow their word on the matter, while noting many examples of mainly semantic difference, and conclude that the mountains have indeed created a linguistic divide. And, even though I haven't made any research over at Kimaar, the language that Temiars here report as being 'Perak speak' are certainly different to speech here in Kelantan. The Temiars here go further and claim that their Temiar speech is the most original and the purest in its forms, and that Perak or southern Temiar has been influenced by the large Semai population bordering them in the south.

From Pos Gōb to Pos Balaar, several river valleys to the south, the kind of Temiar spoken is considered plain and direct, and because of that fact these Temiars call themselves *t'meer*, meaning 'plain and clear'. Temiars further south in Kelantan, from Boox B'tas (Kuala Betis) to Pos Haw, speak with intonations that gain them the label of *genlæəl*, meaning 'wavering'. Further south still, and akin to the Temiars of Perak, Temiar speech can be found mixed with Semai. Over in Perak, to the west, the Temiars speak slowly and slur their speech, thus giving themselves the title of *p'læəh* (which possibly comes from the word *p'laheen*, 'slowly').

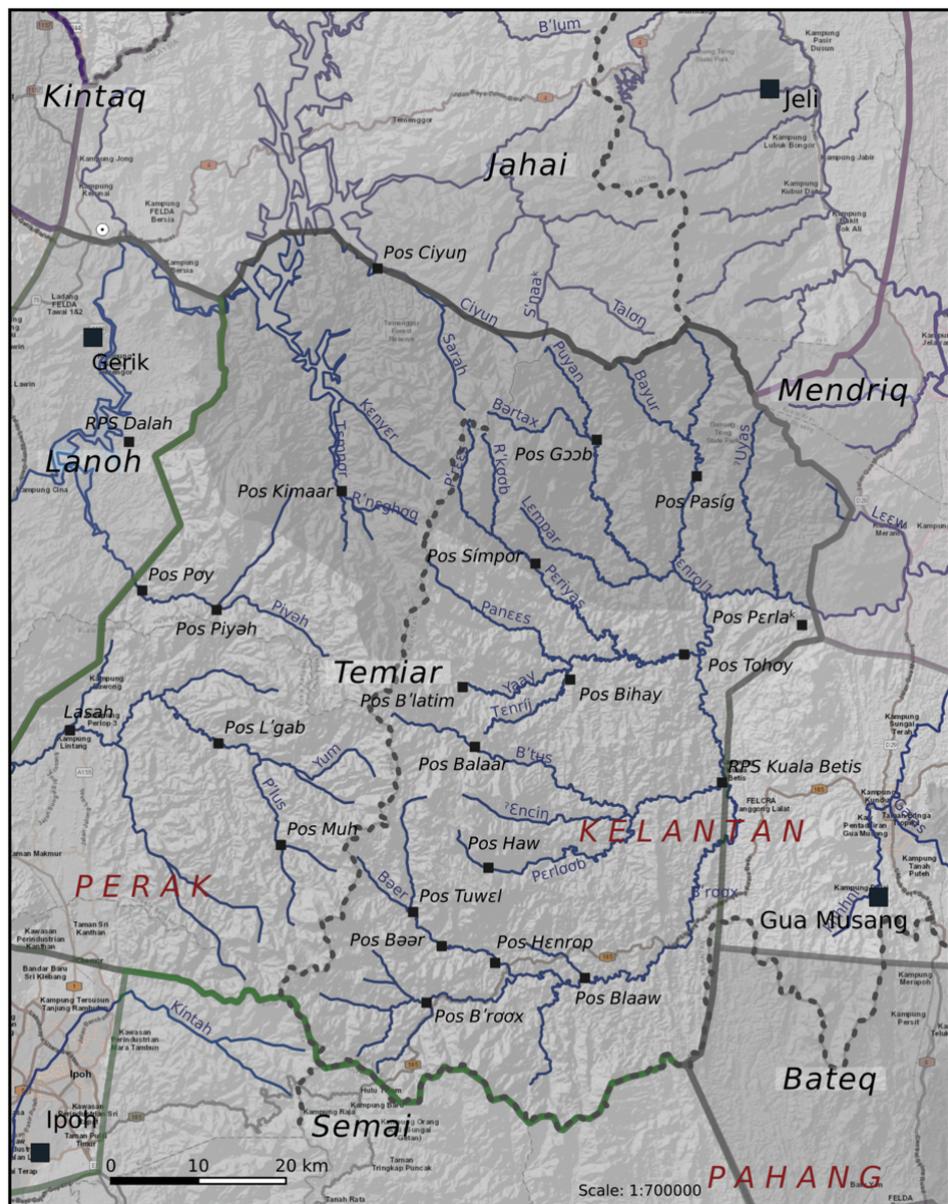
The ethnonym ***t'meer*** could also carry the meaning of a people who prefer clear spaces, as well as having clear speech, who keep the *diix* 'home' and *bæx* 'forest' well separated, particularly by their observance of many taboos, for their health and safety. Compare this to the ethnonym ***j'haay***, which according to Temiars here, could describe a people who live 'hidden in the forest' as, historically, they have always preferred not to emerge into the open.

There are countless different words used by Temiars in Perak and their formation of complex words by -inflection largely follows Semai rules. Nominalisation of verbs, for example, is made by infixation of *-n-*, to form nouns such as their *cebniib* 'a journey' (from *ciib* 'to go'), as opposed to *næbciib*, which is spoken in Kelantan (the verb is prefixed with the nominaliser phoneme instead). It is evident today, that the southern Temiars, of B'røox, as far as Haw, speak a form of Temiar lexically and morphologically different from that spoken further north, in the area from Balaar as far as Pasig. Those in the southern area take on speech similar to Temiars in Perak, and also to Semais to the south of them.

Other differences include lexical words, for example, *buwal* 'talk' of southern (equal to Semai) as opposed to northern *caal*, and *liiw* 'late' of southern (also equivalent to Semai), compared to *lamad*. Word-final consonants can also vary, such as southern 'd' for the northern 't' and vice-versa, for example, *bød* 'breast' of the southern, against *bøt* of the northern, and *bøt* 'to gird with' against *bød*.

Some other lexical differences between Kelantan and Perak Temiar include the following words:

| <i>Temiar K</i>  | <i>Temiar P</i> | <i>English</i>   |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| lahççx           | ?angaar         | 'to lie'         |
| s'løøk           | bobo*           | 'to trick'       |
| caa <sup>k</sup> | giyy            | 'to eat'         |
| ?uyaah           | ?ulaah          | TOA. between men |



**Map 2. Temiar territory: the area of land spread out across the hinterland of Perak and Kelantan states that the Temiars inhabit.**

The Kelantan Temiar of this language assessment can be found spoken by Temiars from the valleys of the <sup>7</sup>Uyas (Wias on printed maps) and Jenrol Rivers, of the Puyan and Periyas Rivers, and of the Yay (Yai) and B'tus (Betis) Rivers until Boox B'tus. This form of Temiar is still relatively pure, and remains unmixed with Perak Temiar, which has

taken on language forms and vocabulary from Semai. This branch of Temiar, apart from some variation of word-ending sounds, and different slang words used in downriver and upriver regions, is standard in Kelantan, on the east of the central mountains, and hence I call it Kelantan Temiar. It may even be the true Temiar that was once also spoken in Perak before their dialect was influenced by Semai from the south.

From the valleys of Haw until B'rōox (Pos Brooke), still Temiar valleys in Kelantan, one will find that the Temiar spoken there is mixed with Perak speech and Semai due to intermixing of Senoi populations in those areas. With modern influences such as movies and smart phones now prevalent, and increased contact with the Malay language, more and more words are being adopted as slang, and these are replacing many old-fashioned Temiar words. The result is that many proper Temiar terms are now no longer known to the younger generation.

### **1.3 An overview of the language**

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#### **1.3.1 Articulation**

Temiar has a broad set of vowel phonemes, all of which can be pronounced short or long, as well as with nasalisation, giving the language (theoretically) up to 48 different vowel sounds. There are still sounds that lie in between the vowel sounds that I have identified, such as the sound between /o/ and /u/. Vowels do not show reduction from their true sounds (for example, to the schwa) in normal conditions. The consonant-separating sound that is found within a consonant cluster (and is referred to as the epenthetic or semi-vowel by linguists) can sometimes grow into a full vowel sound and therefore might be assumed to be contracted from a full vowel. Certain clitics see their vowel reduced to this epenthetic sound in some situations, such as ma- reduced to m'- and bə- to b'-.

Articulation of Temiar is enhanced by a wide range of consonant sounds, including the aspirated /kh/ which I denote as ‘x’, following the preference of literate Temiars and Semais I have met or worked with. Certain word-final consonants have the ability to make subtle inflection on the preceding vowel, with [c, j, y, n] causing the vowel before them to sound toward ‘i’, not merely ‘tail off’ toward ‘I’. Word final [c] and [j] are often unreleased, but the first can be heard after a fractional pause, and the latter very clearly with a few words, or else by the speaker’s preference with other words.

The glottal stop is common throughout and it acts to truncate the preceding vowel. Vowel-initial words must be commenced from a glottal stop position, or a stop of the breath. This ensures that words do not run into one another, or become slurred together.

There is much use of intonation, mainly for giving expression, but no lexical change is given to words by intonation change and thus the language is by no means a tonal one.

#### **1.3.2 Lexicon**

The Temiar lexicon is large and rich, having native words and phrases which cover all areas of life. In my ten years of research, I have recorded over 5000 words, which I suspect may be only two-thirds, or perhaps only a half, of the language. There are also many words considered ‘old language’, that belong to previous generations, but are being

phased out by the newer generation, as they choose to use slang terms instead. For example, the word *liwəəh* ‘to delay’, a modified borrow word, is now preferred over the native word *wəəg*. for some reason. New words are also still appearing in the language, such as *j'būūh* ‘sound of heavy liquid dropping’, a slang word for condensed milk. Temiar also borrows many words from neighbouring Malay<sup>3</sup>, as well as a few from English, for concepts that have not been native to their existence, especially pre-1950s, and these will be immediately noticeable to any Malay-speaker who converses with them.

### 1.3.3 Lexical structure

The majority of Temiar root words consist of monosyllabic or disyllabic consonant-vowel structure. Monosyllabic words may also have a multi-consonant onset, with the consonants separated by a non-phonemic sound (often labeled the ‘epenthetic’) made by the primary consonant of the onset cluster. These words have been called ‘semi-disyllabic’, or ‘sesquisyllabic’<sup>4</sup>, by other linguists, but I hold them monosyllabic, as I do not treat the separating sound as a vowel (disyllabic words may also carry a di-consonant onset). Some words are also formed as trisyllabic in structure and even tetrasyllabic, but the latter are usually doubled disyllabic words. Words with a word-initial or word-final glottal stop also neatly fit into these structures, which can be shown by the following consonant-vowel strings (see §2.3.2 for a full list of syllabic structures):

|              |                                        |
|--------------|----------------------------------------|
| monosyllabic | CVC or C'CVC                           |
| disyllabic   | CV.CVC or CVC.CVC or C'CVC.CVC         |
| trisyllabic  | CVC.CVC.CVC or CVC.CV.CVC or CV.CV.CVC |

Stress always falls equally on all syllables of words, even where affixes have produced new syllables, which I find to be equally stressed. Words may receive stress on the word-final syllable to give special emphasis. Long vowels are always found at final syllable position, never at penultimate or antepenultimate positions.

### 1.3.4 Syntax

Phraseology of Temiar bears many resemblances to Malay, such as there being no auxiliary verb ‘to be’, for one, so that the demonstrative, adjective or adverb follows the noun directly, such as with:

|            |                           |
|------------|---------------------------|
| dii̯x doh  | =house this, ‘this house’ |
| dii̯x paay | =house new, ‘new house’   |

But with help from clitics attached to the noun, such as the nominative and accusative, these words can also precede the noun, such as with:

|                                          |                                            |
|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| rayaa <sup>k</sup> yi-mad<br>ADJ. NOM-N. | =large its eye, ‘its eye (is) large’       |
| hōy cə-hāā <sup>k</sup><br>ADJ. ACC-2SG  | =none to which you, ‘there’s none for you’ |

3 See the extensive list of borrow words in Appendix 9 of my Dictionary of Kelantan Temiar.

4 This term was invented by Matisoff (1973), and literally means ‘one-and-a-half-syllable’.

Verbal phrases can be constructed with verb stated post-subjectively, when the subject is to be emphasised, or else pro-subjectively, when the verb is to be emphasised, as in:

?Aloŋ na-wε<sup>k</sup>      “?Aloŋ went”  
 na-wε<sup>k</sup> ?Aloŋ ?atεε<sup>k</sup> =went ?Aloŋ just now, “?Aloŋ went just now”

The seemingly convoluted phrasal construction in the second example, above, might lead to confusion as to what the description actually implies (at least for non-Temiar anyway). Likewise, in the following phrase, the literal meaning is not the intentional meaning:

cuwa<sup>k</sup> na-coh tajuu<sup>k</sup> =dog struck snake, ‘the snake struck at the dog’

The correct meaning is much easier to see when the nominative is attached to the noun or pronoun, like so:

na-kab yi-tajuu<sup>k</sup> ‘the snake (in question) bit’

### 1.3.5 Clitics and affixes

Personal pronouns number some eleven in total (plus one or two) and each of them has an abbreviated (succinct) form that attaches to the front of verbs, adjectives and demonstratives, to relate the word to the subject pronoun. For example,

|                                   |                   |                          |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| <u>yi</u> -lex                    | SUCC. 1SG + V.    | ‘I know’                 |
| <u>na</u> -bɔɔd                   | SUCC. 3SG + ADJ.  | ‘he/she is uninterested’ |
| b'laaw <u>ha</u> -na <sup>k</sup> | SUCC. 2SG + SPAT. | ‘your blowpipe that’     |

Each pronoun also has an ‘open articulated’ form, which closes with aspiration of breath and is typified by the word-final [h], in place of the full pronoun’s final consonant or glottal stop. These softer spoken variants are used to avert stress from the subject, either when the subject is already well identified, and announcement with a full pronoun (clarifying what or who) is not necessary, or when following a proper noun to express ownership, as with, ma-diix eh ‘to our house’. The articulated form of a pronoun can also stand alone, in some cases, again to allow another word to receive full stress, for example, neeh, hah! ‘look, you!’ Where the imperative verb receives more focused attention than the proceeding pronoun.

Root words do not cliticise to other words, and even though this may appear to occur with spitals in post-nominal position, such as, diix doh ‘this house’, the spatial is not necessarily an enclitic. Only the reflexive, rii<sup>k</sup> ‘self’, tends to attach to articulated pronouns in the pro-word position, as in rii<sup>k</sup>-häh ‘yourself’. Affixation of non-root words, takes place pro- or inter-word and never post-word. Pro-word, these affixes affect the causative sense on verbs, such as with ber-, per- or ter-, as well as the continuous sense, with b'-, and the possessive, with b'- or bar-, for example, bar-leh ‘with wife (married)’. Affixes to demonstratives show the degree of position, such as ?en- and ?a- ‘at’, ma- ‘to’ or ‘at’, nùm- ‘from’, ni- ‘along the way’, da- and du- ‘of’, ?o- ‘really’, and thus create adverbs. For example, ?en-reih ‘downriver’, ?a-níín ‘right there’, ma-doh ‘to here’, nùm-na<sup>k</sup> ‘from there’, ni-tih ‘somewhere up there’, da-tuuy ‘from over there’, du-tuuy-du-tuuy ‘further and further’, ?o-doh ‘this is the one’. Other affixes form the nominative, as with

yi-, for example, yi-mad ‘its eye’, or the accusative, as with cə-, for example, cə-nana<sup>k</sup> ‘which is his/hers’. Affixing ?a- to the front of a verb creates the negative imperative, for example, ?a-we<sup>k</sup> ‘don’t go’ and it is really a short form of ?ago<sup>k</sup> ‘do not’.

Affixation readily occurs with monosyllabic verbs, deriving the imperfect, the uncontrolled/mutual, the causative or the nominal, in the form of prefixed copy of the root, with a prespecified syllable sound. For example, from caa<sup>k</sup> ‘to eat’, the words cɛ<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup> ‘eating’, cacaa<sup>k</sup> ‘all eating’, and ne<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup> ‘food’ are derived. The causative form is made by affixation of [r], either as an infix or prefix: sərløg ‘to put to sleep’, bərcaa<sup>k</sup> ‘to feed’. By further infixation, the causative can become imperfect or on-going, for example, b're<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup> ‘feeding’, or nominal, b'rencaa<sup>k</sup> ‘a feeding’. Infixation also occurs readily with di-consonant onset verbs, but it doesn’t occur so readily with disyllabic verbs. For example, with the word s'løg ‘to sleep’, the following phonetic material, when infixated to the first syllable position, derives these new forms:

|      |                                                 |
|------|-------------------------------------------------|
| -eg- | derives the imperfect, səgløg ‘sleeping’        |
| -a-  | derives the uncontrolled, saløg ‘asleep’        |
| -er- | derives the causative, sərløg ‘to put to sleep’ |
| -en- | derives the nominal, senløg ‘sleep’             |

Many disyllabic words can receive infixation, but not all do. Take juwah ‘to play’, for example, which can derive the phonemes jɛh<sup>w</sup>wah ‘playing’, jawah ‘playing together’, jer<sup>w</sup>wah ‘to make play’, or jenwah ‘game’. The word is actually more monosyllabic with a di-consonant onset, but a full first syllable is forced by the medial consonant which is the approximant [w]. Disyllabic verbs with first syllable ‘a’, such as gabag ‘to sing’, balíc ‘to insult’ or ?aso<sup>x</sup> ‘to prod the ground’, can only receive infixation of [n] to form nouns: g'nable, b'nalíc, ?ənasəo<sup>x</sup>. The continuous is derived by affixation of b'-, such as, b'gabag and b'balíc. There are other disyllabic verbs which act in the same way as those with a first syllable [a], such as gulap ‘to shoulder’, ?iwo<sup>h</sup> ‘to celebrate’, and julog ‘to kindle’, as well as certain borrow words from Malay, such as lipad ‘to fold’, tukar ‘to swap’ or gorej ‘to fry’.

Benjamin describes disyllabic words with first syllable [a] as conveying the ‘middle voice’ (2011:13-14), where the subject both carries out the action while at the same time the action is performed upon the subject. With word halab, for example, ‘to ride down a slope’ or ‘raft down-river’, the subject just lets go and the action happens to it. This inference may be plausible for verbs, but it is difficult to infer that even nouns carry a middle voice component, including names of plants and animals with first syllable [a] (Benjamin 2011:28-37).

### 1.3.6 Verb tense

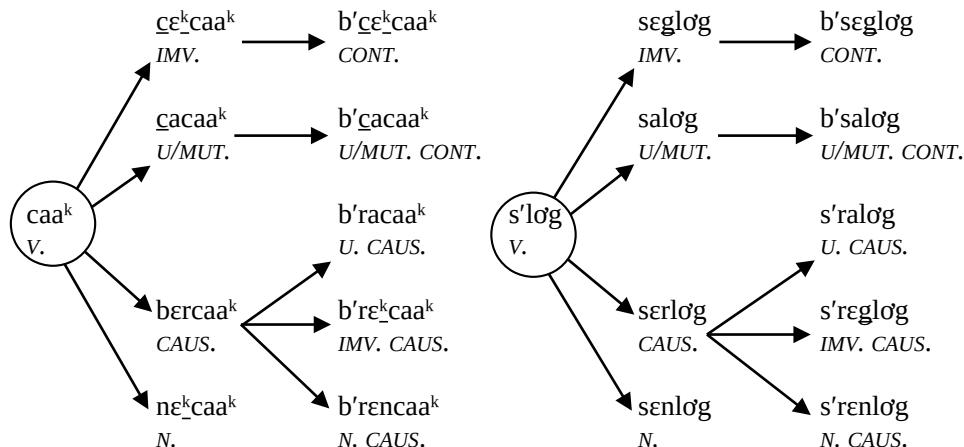
Verbs must always carry a prefixed marker to show agreement with the subject pronoun. Verbs can only stand alone when in the imperative sense and it is really nonsensical to try using verbs in narratives without attaching the correct subject markers. The subject marker takes on the abbreviated form of a personal pronoun, and I designate it the term, pronoun referral marker.

Verbs show no inflection, that is, they do not change morphological form, to indicate different verbal tense. Tenses are logically conveyed by the use of time-related words in the phrase, such as ?is hatøp ‘yesterday’, ?atee<sup>k</sup> ‘just now’, or none at all for the present

tense. The intutive tense is further distinguished by use of the noticeably different pronoun referral marker, typified by its final consonant phoneme [m]. The tense created is irrealis, in that it always indicates of an action not yet commenced, for example, *yím-wé<sup>k</sup>* ‘I will go’, in contrast to a verb with the simple marker attached, as in, *yi-lex* ‘I know’.

### 1.3.7 Verbal morphology

Morphology of verbs is perhaps the most interesting area of Temiar, with complex word forms created along consistent morphological rules. From any one root verb there can be created at least nine other verb forms, each with specific semantic usage. The diagram below demonstrates the three routes of morphological change that a simple root verb can take, involving reduplication and affixation of the root’s phonetic material to the front of the word, in order to produce new complex forms.



**Figure 1.1 Morphological routes taken by monosyllabic root verbs (here, *caa<sup>k</sup>* ‘to eat’ and *s'lög* ‘to sleep’). Phonetic material that is duplicated from the root word into the new verb form is shown underlined.**

The first and perhaps the most obvious route is that of creating the imperfect verb form by reduplication process. This verb form should be quite familiar to anyone who has heard Temiar speech and tried to speak it. The imperfect carries the sense of an action not yet completed or is ongoing or is frequently undertaken. With short monosyllabic verbs, this is done by affixing a duplicate of the base, its final CVC syllable, with its onset and coda consonants, to its front, while inserting a new, shortened vowel sound into the new syllable (CeC.CVC). Monosyllabic verbs that have a di-consonant onset (DCO), such as *s'lög* ‘to sleep’, follow the same route, except that the morphological change must take place internally, so that the verb doesn’t become unnecessarily trisyllabic, as it would do if it received affixation to its front. The ‘consonant voice’ between the onset consonants is opened into a full vowel, as with short verbs, and the coda consonant of the root’s final syllable is infixated after it. Note that verbs may also be duplicated in entirety, in their root

forms, with the duplicate being cliticised to the front of the base word, and this indicates the repetition of a completed action (as opposed to an ongoing, incomplete action). For example, *caa<sup>k</sup>-caa<sup>k</sup>* ‘eat, eat’, indicates eating more than once. The imperfect form, *ce<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup>* ‘eating’, would speak of eating at one time and the action not yet completed. Most disyllabic verbs do not receive reduplicational affixes as they do not readily derive imperfectives.

Verbs can be morphed down a second route, very similar to the first, which involves copying only the base word’s onset consonant during the reduplication process, while infixing the phoneme [a], instead of [ɛ], creating an open pre-final syllable (Ca.CVC). The derived phoneme carries ‘middle voice’ sense, denoting an action not fully controlled by the subject, but partly acted upon the subject. When the form is used with a singular subject, it denotes uncontrolled action<sup>5</sup> (someone falls asleep, or sits abruptly), but when used with a plural subject, it denotes mutual activity, of a group of things doing an activity together (a group go hunting together or dig roots together).

Both the first and second routes can be inflected further, by affixing b'- to the front of the word, to create the continuous sense. The affix is attached minimally to disyllabic words (i.e. imperfectives made from monosyllabic roots and disyllabic roots), as non-inflected monosyllabic roots do not receive the continuous affix b'. When the continuous affix attaches to the imperfective (as b'CeC.CVC), the derived phoneme denotes current, ongoing activity. When it attaches to the mutual (as b'Ca.CVC), it denotes an activity currently being carried out by a group of things.

The next route that verbs take is to create the causative verb form, which is used to give the sense of causing someone or something to do something, or to put something into another state of being, when the adjective is used. The form is created by affixation of short prefixes [ter-, ber-, per-, ker-] to root monosyllabic verbs or by infixation of [r] to longer words (berCVC or CerCVC).

The causative form may also take the imperfect sense, that is, of an on-going or frequent action, such as using up something or causing annoyance, and this is done by alteration of the initial causative affix into a more imperfective affix-looking shape (b'reC.CVC). The causative form may also take on the uncontrolled sense, by alteration of the initial causative affix into a ‘middle voice’ looking shape (b'ra.CVC).

The fourth route that verbs take is nominalisation, so that the action of doing the verb is described. In the case of short monosyllabic words, this is done by affixing the reduplicated final syllable of the root to the front, but replacing its initial consonant with the nominaliser phoneme [n] (neC.CVC). With di-consonant onset words, the nominaliser phoneme is infixated before the final syllable onset consonant to become the new pre-final syllable coda (Cen.CVC). Nominalisation also takes place with the causative form, by infixing the nominaliser phoneme, to describe the action of the causative verb (b'ren.CVC).

### 1.3.8 Adjective morphology

Adjectives are treated as if they were verbs, to some degree, with monosyllabic words receiving affixation of the duplicated root to the front, and disconsonant monosyllabic (DCO) words receiving infixation, to create the plural or complete sense. The nominaliser

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<sup>5</sup> At first I labeled this verb form as the unintentional, but this is quite synonymous with the involitive (INV.), or the activity carried out without the intention or volition of the subject, such as falling over.

and causative affixes can also be attached, as well as morphing the causative form into the imperative causative. For example, *sōoj* ‘finished’ can become *sejsōoj* ‘all finished’, *tersōoj* (also *bersōoj*) ‘to finish’, *t'rejsōoj* ‘finishing’, *t'rasōoj* ‘finishing unwittingly’, *t'rensooj* ‘the finishing’. The nominal form *nejsōoj* is not readily used, so *nedbud* ‘heat’ (from *bud* ‘hot’) would be a better example of a nominalised adjective.

Disyllabic adjectives receive infixation of the base coda consonant into the penultimate syllable, -eC-, when they describe either totality or the appearance rather than the kind, for example, *rayaa<sup>k</sup>* ‘large’ becomes *re<sup>k</sup>yaa<sup>k</sup>* ‘totally large’, *?ajoog* ‘small’ becomes *?egjoog* ‘small ones’. To construct the causative sense, disyllabic words are preceded by *?uuy* ‘make’, for example, *?uuy rayaa<sup>k</sup>* ‘make it big’.

### **1.3.9 Ideophones**

Phonosemantic expressions (also known as ideophones) play a core part in drawing graphic and humorous amplification on actions and events as they happen, whether in reality or in the imagination. These are words that are appended to a phrase, as if they were a contributing adjective, but they carry the phonics of the action that is being spoken of, or else the impression of character or appearance. They can be simple, as with *ciit* ‘sound of a smack’, that could describe an unfortunate or deserving direct hit, or *rəb* ‘to descend on the place’, when food is on the go. Or they can be much more elaborate, such as *c'rəghaag* ‘splashing of water’, of a waterfall, or *kejk'r'lūuh* ‘rocks tumbling’, in a flooded river. They can mimic what people or things are doing, such as with *k'rahabbab* ‘munching food together’, at a party, *k'regləəg* ‘distant cutting’, of someone cutting down a tree, or *b'rehgəəh* ‘breaking’, of bamboo being stamped on by an elephant.

### **1.3.10 Expressives**

Real expressives are single words that are either without meaning normally, or are used in a new sense, e.g. *?ajññ<sup>k</sup>!* ‘oh my!’ which is derived from *ññ<sup>k</sup>* ‘mother’. They are often exclamatory and are used to express surprise, pain, excitement, disgust, or profanity.

Expressive phrases are made of a group of two or more words that are commonly used and without much variation, often stating profanities against persons or circumstances. One example is the phrase made with *sarc<sup>k</sup>*, followed by the name of a person or thing, which infers the state of ‘rotten corpse’ on that thing mentioned (usually something one is very annoyed with, such as a mosquito, the elephant or a bad person).

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## **1.4 A brief comparison of Temiar with Semai**

### **1.4.1 Lexical congruity**

Temiar and Semai bear many close similarities, and after learning both languages myself, I can confirm that a considerable number of words are similar in both lexical form and semantics<sup>6</sup>. Many words are wholly congruous, in that they look exactly alike, with

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6 In my comparison of over 1300 common Temiar words with equivalent Semai words (see Appendix 1), I sorted the congruous words and found them to make up 45% of the total, giving a good indication of

perhaps only a differing vowel or end consonant sound, while others may be noted as being near-congruous, in that they carry some noticeable differences, which is often the result of pronunciation rules. The examples of congruous words given below could easily be said to have originated from the same Senoi root words.

*Temiar/Semai:* b'laaw/b'laaw ‘blowpipe’, ciib/ciip ‘go’, diix/dæəŋ ‘home’, lug/lux ‘laugh’, Ɂɔs/Ɂɔs ‘fire’, yaap/jaam ‘cry’

There are also many words lexically equal or similar in form but they are used differently in each language<sup>7</sup>, their meanings having diverged over time, due to the geographical separation of the two people groups. These words I call semi-congruous.

| <i>Temiar</i>       | <i>Semai</i>             |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| b'keed ‘sweat’      | b'keet ‘hot’             |
| cab ‘hug’           | cap ‘to hold’            |
| dalag ‘invite’      | dalax ‘to follow’        |
| toød ‘bake in fire’ | toød ‘to burn a swidden’ |

There are also hundreds of incongruous words, which come from different roots but are semantically equal, as with the following words.

| <i>Temiar</i> | <i>Semai</i> | <i>English</i> |
|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| babəəh        | k'raal       | ‘man’          |
| babɔɔk        | kərdoor      | ‘woman’        |
| gɔɔs          | suuy         | ‘to live’      |
| hup           | səŋjik       | ‘heart’        |
| j'waaŋ        | yæec         | ‘knife’        |

There are words for which Temiar has no native root but Semai does, and also words for which Semai has no native root but Temiar does. Some examples of these words are given below.

| <i>Temiar native root</i> | <i>Semai borrowed</i> | <i>English</i> |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| bəər                      | sayur=                | ‘vegetable’    |
| g'cek                     | bulan=                | ‘month’        |
| həjɛk                     | juga <sup>k</sup> =   | ‘also’         |
| hɔɔp                      | suka <sup>k</sup> =   | ‘happy’        |
| juwah                     | man=                  | ‘to play’      |
| pag                       | b'lah=                | ‘to cut open’  |
| tayød                     | ?aŋkit=               | ‘to lift’      |

| <i>Temiar borrowed</i> | <i>Semai native root</i> | <i>English</i> |
|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| bīŋaa <sup>k</sup> =   | s'nəm                    | ‘oil’          |
| der'yan=               | səmpa <sup>k</sup>       | ‘durian’       |

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how related these two languages are. Words lexically identical counted for 11%, while words with only a slight lexical variation, such as a final consonant change, accounted for a further 17%, giving a figure for words with close similarity of 28%.

<sup>7</sup> These amount to almost 12% of the words I collated, and, if included with the congruous figure above would give us 57% overall similarity.

|                     |                  |           |
|---------------------|------------------|-----------|
| garam <sup>=</sup>  | ?əmpoɔc          | 'salt'    |
| kayuh <sup>=</sup>  | maley            | 'manioc'  |
| padiy <sup>=</sup>  | baa <sup>k</sup> | 'rice'    |
| r'bus <sup>=</sup>  | gam              | 'to boil' |
| sayεex <sup>=</sup> | ho <sup>k</sup>  | 'to love' |
| talii <sup>k=</sup> | cooŋ             | 'rope'    |

Refer to the full lists of Temiar/Semai words in Appendix 1.

#### 1.4.2 Comparison of pronouns and spatialis

Personal pronouns show close similarity between the two lingual branches, with often only minimal morphological variation, except for a few that show major differences. Most other pronouns, as well as demonstratives, show very close alignment to the same root words also, as shown below.

*Morphologically similar pronouns and adverbs:*

| Pronoun            | Temiar                            | Semai                 | ACC of        | cə-                              | cε <sup>k</sup>     |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 2SG you            | hāā <sup>k</sup>                  | hee <sup>k</sup>      | NOM its       | yi-                              | ?i-                 |
| 1PL.INCL we        | ?εε <sup>k</sup>                  | hii <sup>k</sup>      | SPAT to       | ma                               | ma                  |
| 1PL.EXCL we        | kanii <sup>k</sup>                | jii <sup>k</sup>      | TEMP just now | tεε <sup>k</sup>                 | nεε <sup>k</sup>    |
| 1DU.INCL we two    | ?aar                              | haar                  | TEMP old      | manah                            | manah               |
| 1DU.EXCL we two    | yaar                              | jaar                  | TEMP new      | paay                             | paay                |
| 3pl they all       | ?om                               | ?ùn                   | TEMP not yet  | te <sup>k</sup> tii <sup>k</sup> | jatiik <sup>k</sup> |
| DEM here           | doh                               | dih                   | TEMP quick    | gíj                              | gεc                 |
| DEM this (in mind) | ?ano <sup>k</sup>                 | ?anuu <sup>k</sup>    | PREP outside  | bεex                             | bεεŋ                |
| DEM this here      | níín                              | nən                   | PREP under    | k'rōɔp                           | k'rōm               |
| DEM over there     | tuuy                              | tih                   | PREP beside   | ?ilεεŋ                           | ?enlaŋ              |
| DEM up there       | tih                               | tah                   | PREP near     | ?enyoɔn                          | ŋɔn                 |
| DEM down there     | reih                              | reih                  | PREP middle   | gagíd                            | gídgid              |
| REL what           | nilo <sup>k</sup>                 | m'lə <sup>k</sup>     | QUAL very     | gəəb                             | gayíip              |
| REL where          | lōo <sup>k</sup>                  | lōo <sup>k</sup>      | QUAL like     | mar                              | mar                 |
| INT what           | ?ilo <sup>k</sup>                 | jalə <sup>k</sup>     | AFF yes       | həə <sup>k</sup>                 | hə <sup>k</sup> əh  |
| INT how            | re <sup>k</sup> -lōo <sup>k</sup> | raha-lōo <sup>k</sup> | NEG refuse    | jε <sup>k</sup>                  | ŋεε <sup>k</sup>    |
| INT who            | cōo <sup>k</sup>                  | boo <sup>k</sup>      | NEG PART.     | to <sup>k</sup>                  | to <sup>k</sup>     |
| INT how many       | marɔp                             | m'riim                | CONJ so       | ka <sup>k</sup>                  | kít                 |

*Morphologically dissimilar pronouns and adverbs:*

|               |                      |                         |              |                                  |                    |
|---------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| Pronoun       | Temiar               | Semai                   | INT when     | bííl <sup>=</sup>                | numpu <sup>k</sup> |
| 1SG I         | yii <sup>k</sup>     | ?εŋ                     | INT how many | marɔp                            | magíd              |
| 2SG he/she't  | na-na <sup>k</sup>   | ?iləəy                  | SPAT at      | ?en                              | ku                 |
| 2PL you all   | ŋɔb                  | ?əŋkei <sup>k</sup>     | TEMP first   | nεŋnεŋ                           | canuu <sup>k</sup> |
| 2DU you two   | ka <sup>k</sup> naar | jōn duwaa <sup>k=</sup> | TEMP before  | hatɔp                            | h'ŋɔn              |
| 2DU those two | wənaar               | ?ubaay                  | TEMP after   | kaal                             | tagen              |
| DEM that      | na <sup>k</sup>      | ?εεŋ                    | TEMP not yet | te <sup>k</sup> tii <sup>k</sup> | masih <sup>=</sup> |
| REFLEX self   | rii <sup>k</sup>     | ləəy                    | TEMP already | hoj                              | la                 |

|                   |           |                                  |                |                 |                  |
|-------------------|-----------|----------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| TEMP all the time | lɛjgɛjgíj | rəŋroon                          | PREP following | ma-yək          | k'tniit          |
| PREP inside       | k'lɔoj    | katish                           | PREP far       | j'rùk           | ɳaa <sup>k</sup> |
| PREP middle       | gagíd     | na <sup>k</sup> nəe <sup>k</sup> | QUANT few      | mís             | gɛɛ <sup>k</sup> |
| PREP above        | balix     | suwiŋ                            | QUANT many     | jajih           | kəm              |
| PREP on           | paax      | k'míil                           | QUAL like      | g'rek           | maha             |
| PREP in front     | ma-soy    | ?əntuh                           | CONJ with      | bo <sup>k</sup> | ru <sup>k</sup>  |
| PREP behind       | ma-k'rək  | ku-c'loɔn                        | CONJ and       | da <sup>k</sup> | ka               |

### 1.4.3 Similarities of cliticisation

Many clitics in Temiar and Semai have similar morphology and usage, such as the indicative <sup>?</sup>a-, as well as na-/<sup>?</sup>an-, the prepositional ma- ‘to’ and the collective proclitic mən-. But some differ, such as <sup>?</sup>en- of Temiar versus p'- of Semai, ‘at’, and du- versus kən-, ‘reaching’, and nùm- versus ju-, ‘from’. Both languages use a similar nominative clitic, that is, yi- and <sup>?</sup>i-, but differ with the reflexive clitic, -riik versus -ləøy, and the emphatic, lah versus clitic -le<sup>k</sup>. Semai has a temporal clitic nu-, whereas Temiar reverts to the same indicative <sup>?</sup>a-, or uses re<sup>k</sup>, ‘like’ (although both also have temporal words that are non-cliticised). In Semai there are probably more clitics than in Temiar, owing to its apparent higher complexity in this area. Major uses of these clitics are shown below.

| Temiar                 | Semai                   | Meaning           |                                 |                       |                 |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| <i>Indicative</i>      |                         |                   | <sup>?</sup> a-təɛ <sup>k</sup> | nu-nɛɛ <sup>k</sup>   | ‘just now’      |
| na-doh                 | ?an-dih                 | ‘it here’         | neŋneŋ                          | nu-canuu <sup>k</sup> | ‘before’        |
| <i>Prepositional</i>   |                         |                   | pu-doh                          | nu- <sup>?</sup> ɛɛŋ  | ‘now’           |
| ?a-na <sup>k</sup>     | ?a-jih                  | ‘right there’     | re <sup>k</sup> tih             | nu-jijih              | ‘right now’     |
| ?a-na <sup>k</sup>     | p'- <sup>?</sup> ɛɛŋ    | ‘there’           | <i>Collective</i>               |                       |                 |
| ?a-niín                | ?a-nən                  | ‘just there’      | mən-paay                        | mən-pay               | ‘new things’    |
| ?a-no <sup>k</sup>     | ?a-nu <sup>k</sup>      | ‘this in mind’    | <i>Nominative</i>               |                       |                 |
| ?a-nuh                 | p'-jiih                 | ‘here’            | yi-mad=                         | ?i-mat=               | ‘its eye’       |
| du-tuuy                | kən-tih                 | ‘of over there’   | <i>Reflexive</i>                |                       |                 |
| ?en ?a-na <sup>k</sup> | ku p'- <sup>?</sup> ɛɛŋ | ‘at there’        | tiix-riik                       | təŋ-ləøy              | ‘by oneself’    |
| ma-doh                 | ma-dih                  | ‘here’            | <i>Emphatic</i>                 |                       |                 |
| ma-tuuy                | ma-tih                  | ‘up there’        | ciib lah=                       | ciip-le <sup>k</sup>  | ‘go then’       |
| m'ni-reih              | p'- <sup>?</sup> u-reih | ‘s.w. down there’ | <i>Disederative</i>             |                       |                 |
| nùm-reih               | ju-kən-reih             | ‘from downriver’  | mog s'log                       | gu-beet               | ‘want to sleep’ |
| <i>Temporal</i>        |                         |                   |                                 |                       |                 |
| ?a-kaal                | nu-tagən                | ‘afterwards’      |                                 |                       |                 |

### 1.4.4 Similarities of grammar

Similarities between Temiar and Semai grammar are indeed numerous. I list the main characteristics below.

- Both attach referral markers, which are abbreviated forms of pronouns, to the verb front so that the verb is linked to the pronoun of, or directly to, the subject. Thus in much of their speech, real pronouns are not always necessary (when the

subject is already known). In Semai, however, there is no specialised intentive pronoun referral marker, as there is with Temiar (examples, *yím-* 1SG.INT, *ham-* 2SG.INT or *?ém-* 1PL.INT) and the clitic -ha- is used, sandwiched between the referral marker and the verb (*'en ñ-ha-ciip* ‘I will go’).

- Both Temiar and Semai have a standardised method of creating the imperfect verb sense with affixation of a duplication of the root verb to the front of monosyllabic verbs or infixated to the consonant cluster of disyllabic verbs, and the causative with affixation of different morphemes (*ter-*, *ber-*, *kər-* and *pər*, or infix of [ər] with Temiar, versus *pər-*, *gər-* and *kər-* or infix of [ər] with Semai).
- Both again use the incidental verb form, replacing the infixated vowel with [a], but only Temiar allows this form to describe the interactive sense, where the subject is plural and the action is done collectively or all-together.
- Both allow nominalisation of verbs into nouns, by affixation (although our Northern Temiar affixes to the front, *neC-*, while Semai and Perak Temiar infix the verb with [n], CVC.nVC, as with *cəpniip*).
- Both create the imperfect causative (the [ər] or [ər] of the causative affix is converted to '-reC-).
- Both nominalise the imperfect causative (the '-reC- imperfect causative affix is converted to '-ren-).
- Both also use the prefix *b'-/bə-* or *bər-* to denote the progressive verb, when affixed to an imperfect form, or the possessive when affixed to nouns or adjectives.
- Both make use of phonosemantic expressions, but Semai makes use of the emphatic enclitic, *-lɛk*, whereas Temiar has none.

In Semai, adjectives do not receive infixation to first syllables, to become verbs or pluralised forms. Adjectives receive affixation of the first and last consonant, for example: *c'ləəŋ* ‘red’ → *cəŋc'ləəŋ* ‘reddish’, *s'laa<sup>k</sup>* ‘leaf’ → *səs'laa<sup>k</sup>* ‘green’. Disyllabic words in Temiar also follow this rule, without making internal changes, such as: *s'ləəd* ‘closing of eye’ → *səds'ləəd* ‘drowsy’.

There are also many non-lexical distinctions between Temiar and Semai, which are phonemic in nature as well many that are grammatical. For example, when forming nominalised nouns from verbs, the first syllable of the copied prefix or infix takes on the central [ə] vowel with Semai but with Temiar it is always taken by the front [ɛ] vowel. Temiar speech also carries much more nasal intonation than Semai.

## 1.5 Words borrowed from Malay and English

In the last hundred years or so many words have been borrowed from the outside world and added to the Temiar language, either incorporated fully or used as alternatives to native words, through convenience. Almost the entirety of this lexical group arises from Malay, due to the Malay language having been the main mode of communication

between outsiders and the Temiars for so long. While some of these Malay words are actually English in origin, only a few words (due to modern communications) have been borrowed directly from English. With words so commonly used, such as *kaak* ‘fish’ and *batu<sup>k</sup>* ‘rock’, I also wonder if they actually stem from the same Sanskrit roots as the Malay.

Probably the earliest contact the Lower B’roox Temiars had with Malay speakers was with traders down at the farthest upstream Malay kampungs, notably Bertam, and at the Chinese trading post of Gua Musang, before 1942. These were words for things important to the Temiars at that time, and likely things they needed, such as *b’sii<sup>k</sup>* ‘iron’, *t’magaad<sup>k</sup>* ‘brass’, *garam* ‘salt’, and *?akow* ‘tobacco’, the first two being needed for knives and fishing hooks. During the communist insurgency of the 1950s through to the 1970s, many more words would have been adopted from Malay by having contact with the Army, police and Department of Aborigines personnel, as well as with soldiers of the British Army.

During continued contact with traders, school teachers and government staff, even more words were adopted by the Temiars and became completely naturalized into the language. Many words, however, actually became alternative words for things Temiar had its own words, such as *p’jakid* ‘illness’, from the Malay *penyakit*, for which Temiar also has *jani<sup>k</sup>*, or *c’nee<sup>k</sup>*. Words were also adopted for convenience, such as *?ajkid* ‘to lift’, from the Malay *angkit*, for which Temiar has the perfectly usable and often preferred, *tayoord*.

While many Malay words fit into Temiar phonologically intact, such as *?ayam* ‘chicken’, or *padaj* ‘field’, most words undergo slight or moderate adaptation, in order to fit into Temiar phonological rules of speech. Word-final vowels undergo change of sound and, if they are open-ended, are closed by a consonant, as with *bukaa<sup>k</sup>* ‘open’ (from *buka*). Other word-final consonants undergo replacement, as with *s’dæb* ‘delicious’ (from *sedap*). See §2.4 on borrow words in phonology for a description of phonetic rules.

Refer to the Appendix of my Dictionary of Kelantan Temiar for a full list of borrow words.

# 2 Phonology

This chapter attempts to describe the phonological aspects of Temiar articulation. I have referenced the works of both Benjamin (New Grammar of Temiar Pt1, 2018) and Burenhult (A Grammar of Jehai, 2005) as sign posts in the realm of Aslian linguistics, comparing what they have found with the speech I find here at the Puyan River, in Western Kelantan. Benjamin's work is, of course, the most applicable to this description, as he has been there before me, looking at Temiar from many audio recordings he made in the 1960s. I note where I can confirm his observations or else find them unproven.

## 2.1 Vowels

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### 2.1.1 Phonemics

Temiar has a full range of vowel phonemes, consistent with other Aslian languages, and especially Semai. I record up to fifteen vowels, in four heights, most of which can be spoken short, long or nasalised. In the table below, I arrange these vowels by their closest IPA symbol, by height (the tongue position on the vertical axis of the mouth) and by depth (the tongue position on the lateral axis of the mouth).

|      | Front | Central | Back |
|------|-------|---------|------|
| High | i     | ʉ       | u    |
| Mid  | e     | ɔ       | o    |
| Low  | ɛ     | a       | ɔ    |

**Table 2.1 Vowel phonemes of Temiar**

I keep most of the IPA symbols in my orthography, except that I replace [í] for /i/, [í] for /e/, [ə] for /ɜ/, [ù] for /ʊ/, [a] for /æ/, and [ø] for /ø/. The sounds represented here are probably the median of the sounds actually heard in speech, as sounds are made in between some of them which are difficult to pin down with symbols. I keep from using the glyph [e] as to Temiars this most often represents \ə\.

It is somewhat of a challenge to bring phonetic symbols to the Temiar language as people who are at least semi-proficient in writing have never seen anything like them before. At the present time, the Temiars spell more plainly when they write notes or

message each other, without taking the trouble to differentiate between similar vowel sounds. Their phone-messaging language, the most frequent mode of writing, is understood by recognition of guessed-at words and not of individual accurate sounds. Even if they were to study the phonology here, it would still be difficult to actually type in the symbols and they would no doubt revert back to simplified messages again—and I do too, for sake of speed and ease—but they might be able to correct some of their worst errors and eliminate variations of the same words. For example, many Temiars in their messages seem confused between the use of word final [g] and [x] (/g/ and /k/). The symbols used here are not to be taken as the standard for the language but as an aid to learning it, although, their use may be a helpful step towards standardisation in the future.

The former work by Means (1998) failed to differentiate between some important vowel phonemes found in Temiar, as noted below, which would have lead to chronic pronunciation error if their work was held as a proper guide. The vowel sound /ɔ/ is very common in Temiar, especially long /ɔ:/, and hiding it with the same symbol for /o/ is not definitive to the language.

| <i>Sound</i> | <i>Temiar example</i> | <i>English example</i> |
|--------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| /i/ and /e/  | gíip and giís         | 'hit' and 'hear'       |
| /æ/ and /a/  | gas and gah           | 'gas' and 'garb'       |
| /o/ and /ɔ/  | doh and dɔɔ̄k         | 'dose' and 'door'      |
| /ʊ/ and /u/  | pùg and pux           | 'book' and 'boot'      |

Benjamin's orthography seems to omit certain phonemes also, including the differentiation of the phonemes noted above. He also fails to make a difference between the phonemes /ɔ/ and /ɒ/, which leads all who follow his orthography to record the /ɒ/ phoneme as [ɔ]. But consider the two semantically different words sɔɔ̄k 'to minister healing' and sɔɔ̄k 'to rot'—one sounds like 'sort' and the other like 'sock' (but without the released word-final consonants). In my own orthography, I distinguish the /ɒ/ phoneme with the symbol [o], mainly because I don't want non-linguists to be confused with two look-alike phonemes, o and a.

As shown in the examples below, every vowel sound can be pronounced short and long. The long sound is represented by the double of its symbol. Nasalisation is denoted by a bar over the symbol. My symbol for the vowel is given in the first column, followed by the closest equivalent IPA symbol in the second column.

### 2.1.2 Front vowels

|   |     |                                                                     |
|---|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| i | /i/ | sid 'transform', niim 'to ponder', g'rahīid 'scary'                 |
| ɪ | /e/ | dih 'this in mind', diix 'home', n̄iis 'bear teeth'                 |
| í | /ɪ/ | taríc 'louse', bíl 'when', m̄iñaāk 'oil', h̄iñs 'to grow hot'      |
| ɛ | /ɛ/ | wɛ̄k 'to go', gɛ̄ed 'to withhold', cēh 'to hatch', ?amēē̄k 'mother' |
| a | /æ/ | mad 'eye', taas 'to bite off', lāas 'to jump about'                 |

Short [i] is near /i/, as in beep: ?ileen 'side'. Long [ii] is higher and closer to /i/: liig 'swallow'.

Short and long [i] is somewhere between /i/ and /ɪ/: tih ‘up there’, giij ‘burn’.

Short [i] is near /i/ and unrounded, as in hit: hík ‘only’. Long [íí] is closer to /e:/: bíl ‘when’.

Short [ɛ] is near /ɛ/ and unrounded, as in bet: leg ‘tickle’. Long, it is slightly lower and almost twice the length: lœg ‘fruit variety’, but it often tends toward /e:/, as in t'meer/t'miir ‘Temiari’, p'hëëŋ/p'hëŋ ‘sharp’, weel/wiil ‘to wind’, heer/hìir ‘drag’, and with short, toward /i/, as in sempot/símpot ‘tree species’.

[ɛ] is also found deflected toward [i] in some words, thus making a diphthong, which I denote with [ei]: reih ‘downriver’, puliŋ ‘tree species’. The word reih cannot be reh; compare the short word peh ‘strike fire’.

Short [a] is usually /æ/, as in back: da<sup>k</sup> ‘so’, pada<sup>k</sup> ‘consume’, garas ‘to scrub’<sup>8</sup>. My long [aa] either stands for /æ:/: gaas ‘scabies’, b'saad ‘rough’, or the more central /a:/ (see below).

Before [c, j], [ɛ] and [a] can carry an i-offglide, sounding towards /ɛɪ/ or /aɪ/, which affects the entire vowel, not just its tail: rɛɛ'c ‘cut around’, laa'j ‘arrive’.

### 2.1.3 Central vowels

|   |     |                                                         |
|---|-----|---------------------------------------------------------|
| ø | /ø/ | bød ‘hot’, k'næah ‘name’, p'læñŋ ‘to open the eyes’     |
| ə | /ɜ/ | səg ‘to snag’, ləər ‘to stretch’, s'ləəd ‘drowsy’       |
| ù | /ɔ/ | pùg ‘to dig’, sùmboŋ ‘shrimp’, ?ayùn ‘a swing’          |
| a | /a/ | baax ‘beard’, tataa <sup>k</sup> ‘old man’              |
| ɑ | /ɑ/ | ?awen ‘bamboo’, laax ‘side’, hāā <sup>k</sup> ‘you 2SG’ |

Short [ø] is high, half-rounded and near /ø/, as in the Scottish pronunciation of ‘you’: k'læ<sup>k</sup> ‘fall’. Long, it is twice as long: pøøt ‘a flower species’. The sound could easily be mistaken for [ə] with many speakers. Reversely, [ə] may be mistaken for [ø]: məl/məl ‘normal’, p'læñŋ/p'læñŋ ‘open eyes’.

Short [ə] (which, in every case, represents the vowel /ɜ/) is mid-high, central and unrounded, as in her: pəd ‘to extinguish’. Long, it is twice the length: pəər ‘to fumble’. The real schwa, /a/, probably does not occur in Temiar, as when vowels are heard reduced, or with the prefix b'-, that is used to denote continuity, the sound is a shortened /ɜ/).

Short [ù] is mid-high, central and unrounded, on /ɔ/, as in book: jùx ‘foot’.

The [ə̄] phoneme, as in bud, is hardly found in Temiar, and is found only short, where it is central and unrounded, slightly toward /ə/.

Long [aa] can be low, central and slightly rounded, on /a:/, as in Bach, the composer: caa<sup>k</sup> ‘to eat’, tataa<sup>k</sup> ‘old man’, ?aab ‘wild feline’. At present I do not differentiate between the two phonemes, /æ/ and /a/, which would be quite an enormous task to keep up. Sometimes, it seems to be on /a:/, but this is most likely due to speakers’ accents, that can add roundness

8 Note that Benjamin, in his newsletter ‘On pronouncing and writing Orang Asli languages’ (1985:6) excludes this phoneme from Temiar but keeps it for Semai, a language mostly equivalent to Temiar!

to /a:/, as other people can produce a clear /a:/ with the same words: rayaa<sup>k</sup>/rayaa<sup>k</sup>.

Short [a] is low, central and rounded, on /a/, as in bar: gah ‘news’. Long, it is twice the length: māā<sup>k</sup> ‘return’, waār ‘turn’. Most commonly, it is found at word-final syllable, but it can also be heard at pre-final syllables: bali<sup>x</sup> ‘above’, para<sup>a</sup><sup>k</sup> ‘roast’.

### 2.1.4 Back vowels

|   |     |                                                                |
|---|-----|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| u | /u/ | guc ‘to burn’, suuj ‘to clean’, sūg ‘to shine’, hūūl ‘to gust’ |
| o | /o/ | do <sup>k</sup> ‘to run away’, sook ‘to wipe’, lōōd ‘to flood’ |
| ɔ | /ɔ/ | hōmāj ‘to sulk’, bōō <sup>k</sup> ‘female’, hōōb ‘night bee’   |
| ø | /ø/ | bot ‘breast’, loōt ‘blood’, hōōg ‘sad’, hōōd ‘desire’          |

Short [u] is high and back, near /u/. as in boot: pux ‘swell’. Long, it is twice the length and more rounded: buus ‘sugarcane’. Benjamin states (2018:14) that [uu] can be labialised when the word is stressed: guu<sup>wl</sup> ‘mortar’, hūū<sup>wl</sup> ‘blow’. I note that this is not very strong, as compared to Semai speech: cuu<sup>wl</sup> ‘smoke’.

Short [o] is mid-high, back and half-rounded, between /o/ and /ø/, as in boat, which is really a contraction of the full rounded sound, and shouldn’t be mistaken for real /ø/: tok ‘eat meat’, hom ‘to breathe’, yog ‘strength’. Long /oo/ can tend toward /u:/, in word-final syllables, lying in between /o:/ and /u:/. Whereas I keep the sound [u] or [uu] more definite, [oo] can move towards [uu] in some cases. For example, genhoon ‘water-carrier bamboo’, could be given as genhuu<sup>j</sup>, and ?oob ‘to brood’, as ?uub.

Short [ɔ] is mid-low, back and half-rounded, near /ɔ/, as in born: hōmāj ‘disappointed’. Long, it is more rounded: bōō<sup>k</sup> ‘female’, lōōg ‘to peel’. The long sound is by far the most commonly heard. There is no i-offglide with [ɔ], but there can be roundedness of the lips: ?ōō<sup>wj</sup> ‘to request’.

Short [ø] is low, back and rounded, near /ø/. as in bog: lōg ‘to wear’. Long [øø] can tend toward /ɔ:/, as in boōd ‘fragrant leaf’, jalooħ ‘who knows?’, or poōg ‘arm’, but not fully, as then words would be mistaken for others: bōōd ‘feeling disinclined’, jalōō<sup>k</sup> ‘casting net’ and poōg ‘to open’.

Before the palatals [c, j], [o] and [ø] can carry an i-offglide, sounding towards /oi/ or /øi/: boō<sup>wj</sup> ‘to lick’, soōc ‘perah nut’.

### 2.1.5 Nasality

Nasalisation of vowels is accomplished by resonating the nasal cavity during articulation and sounds something similar to speaking with a blocked nose. All vowel phonemes can receive nasalisation, except [ù, ə̄], for which I have not recorded any nasal tones. Nasal tones come naturally for the Temiars, and even a five year old can pronounce words with noticeable nasalisation. Vowels may carry nasality natively, of their own, and not caused by the surrounding consonants, or they may carry nasality that is imposed on them by the proximity of a nasal consonant (i.e. [m, n, ɳ, ɲ]). In the first case, the nasality is purely phonemic, whereas in the second case, the nasality is progressive. The table

below compares words with these two types of nasalisation.

|     | <i>Phonemic nasality</i>                                     | <i>Progressive nasality</i>                           |
|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| ā   | hāāw ‘to reduce’<br>k'āāj ‘wet’                              | ?ajāāw ‘cat’<br>ləlapāāw ‘chomping’                   |
| ā   | hāāk ‘you’                                                   | p'lapāār ‘concave’                                    |
| ā   | lēlwāāl ‘insistent’<br>s'kēād ‘laugh loudly’                 | l'mēās ‘weak’<br>p'lēāj ‘to open the eyes’            |
| ē   | ca?ēēk ‘house mouse’<br>kowēēs ‘offspring’<br>pulēēd ‘twist’ | ?amēēk ‘mother’<br>p'ñēd ‘to press’<br>sañēēd ‘child’ |
| ī   | g'rahīīd ‘teeth on edge’<br>l'kīīd ‘sticky’                  | bəñīīg ‘to snigger’<br>k'nyīīm ‘to smile’             |
| ī/ɨ | hīīs ‘to get angry’<br>palīīx ‘get squashed’                 | ŋħīīs ‘to bear the teeth’<br>wħħīīd ‘to spin’         |
| ō   | hōōb ‘to blow’<br>j'lōōd ‘to sink’                           | ħernōōh ‘to gather around’                            |
| ɔ̄  | hōōb ‘brown bumble bee’<br>sōōb ‘hoarse’                     | ŋħōōk ‘mother’<br>ħapħōōk ‘light’                     |
| ð   | ħðy ‘no’<br>ħððd ‘to desire’<br>kapððk ‘the cheek’           | mðy ‘other’<br>sen'ððy ‘person’<br>mððj ‘teeth’       |
| ū   | sūg ‘shine lamp’<br>balūūs ‘to take the mick’                | ?ənūh ‘heavy’<br>?ūūj ‘to smell’                      |
| ħ   | c'kħāāb ‘close the eyes’<br>pħāāl ‘to fan air’               | mħl ‘real’<br>mħħej ‘to suck’                         |

**Table 2.2 Phonemic and progressive nasality compared**

Phonemic nasalisation is only found on final syllables of words and it is usually much more noticeable. Progressive nasalinity, on the other hand, can be found on word-final and pre-final syllables and it may be given more lightly than with phonemic nasalinity. Nasality on short vowels is perhaps harder to discern: p'lāk ‘to squash’, b'lēk ‘to look up’, cōd ‘to chill’, cūk ‘to puncture’. There are words that lose comprehension without proper nasalisation applied to a vowel: compare, cōðk ‘make a pet’ with cōðk ‘who’, ?aab ‘tiger’ with ?āāb ‘stomach pangs’, or sāāb ‘to curse’ with saāb ‘bent’. I also keep hearing words that I hadn’t thought carried nasalinity being nasalised by certain speakers, like p'cīīk ‘soft’, tīīw ‘river’, or k'sēēd ‘wart’. When followed by the glottal stop, nasalised vowels often close toward the homorganic nasal of the glottal, the phoneme /ŋ/: cōŋk ‘to pierce’, k'lōŋk ‘gouge out’. Nasalised [ɛ] preceding [c, j] is noticed to glide into [n]: gugɛŋc ‘on and on’, ritɛŋj ‘fall from high up’.

Linguists tend not to write the nasal mark on vowels that gain nasality from nasal consonants, and only indicate nasality on phonemically (native) nasal vowels. In my work, however, I tend to mark nasality wherever I discern it on vowels.

### 2.1.6 Vowel length

Short vowels are sounded mostly fractionally shorter than a full vowel length, whereas long vowels are sounded from one and a half to two vowel lengths in duration, or even longer for unusual emphasis. Vowels of word-final syllables can be phonemically short or long, whereas of pre-final syllables, they are always short. The long vowel carries no special stress, as stress is still shared equally on all syllables of words with a long word-final vowel. The long vowel carries the true rounded sound, whereas the short vowel does not reach full roundedness, and could be described as being reduced from the true vowel sound, such as /u/ or /o/ sounding near to /ə/ in some words.

It can sometimes be difficult to determine whether a vowel sound is strictly doubled, as it could be, on occasion, spoken fast or else lengthened for emphasis. The word, b'lōōd 'to think', could be assumed short, as in b'lōd. Long vowels of verbs are apparently shortened when the verb is followed by an object: ?om-māāk ?om-caāk segnūg 'they went back and ate frogs', where caāk is normally caaāk. If the word vowel of caaāk had been its full length, then the end of the sentence would sound like, 'they ate, frogs' with the object as an afterthought. It is possible, also, that some noun headers with long vowels are pronounced more succinctly, such as taaāk 'old man', shortened to taāk, as in, Taāk Gendow. Monosyllabic verbs and adjectives that normally carry a short vowel can be pronounced long, when emphasis is needed, such as, jēāk v. 'to refuse' spoken jeeāk or yi-jeeāk 'I don't want', or weāk IMP. 'go' spoken weeāk.

### 2.1.7 Stress

Stress falls equally on all syllables, and even on syllables created by attached proclitics. Imperfective verbs, also, carry equal stress on all syllables, even though their pre-final syllable is created by reduplication of the base word. With this assertion, however, I contradict both Benjamin and Burenhult, so either they have trouble speaking Aslian languages or my ear can't detect syllable stress! But just look at some words, like sarag 'transplant', huwal 'come out', nehtuh 'speech', these words are only natural when equal stress is placed on both syllables, they cannot have stress on the final vowel only, simply because no one speaks that way. Even when a word receives sentence stress, it is noticeable that stress is given to each syllable (normally thinking of disyllabic words) and not only on the last: hoj na-wēāk wēāk! she's already gone!

Benjamin argues that stress falls strongly on word-final syllables (2018:4), but I do not find this so: seglog IMPF. 'sleeping' and paloāk 'log' carry equal stress on both syllables.

## 2.2 Consonants

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### 2.2.1 The consonant system

The consonant system of Temiar includes some 19 phonemes (or 20 including the glottal stop), which I have laid out by their closed IPA symbol in the table below. Of these symbols, I use all of them in my orthography, except that I exchange [j] for /j/, [y] for /j/, [x] for syllable coda /k/, [s] for /ɛ/, [r] for /ɾ/, and [?] or [k̚] for /ʔ/. I also denote /nj/ with [ɳ] (see §2.2.3 below). The stops [p, t, c, k] and fricatives [ɛ, h] are voiceless, meaning that the vocal folds do not vibrate as they are spoken.

|                 | Labial | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-----------------|--------|----------|---------|-------|---------|
| Voiceless stops | p      | t        | c       | k     | ?       |
| Voiced stops    | b      | d        | ɟ       | g     |         |
| Nasal           | m      | n        | ɳ       | ŋ     |         |
| Fricative       |        |          | ɛ       |       | h       |
| Lateral         |        | l        |         |       |         |
| Rhotic          |        | r r      |         |       |         |
| Approximant     | w      |          | j       |       |         |

Table 2.3 The consonant system of Temiar

| Consonant | Word-initial |                    | Word-final                |                          |                       |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Stop      | /p/          | pag ‘split’        | p’jed ‘painful’           | cep ‘bird’               | s’lap ‘to dive’       |
|           | /b/          | bæg ‘to tie’       | bakad ‘scar’              | kab ‘to bite’            | læb ‘to creep’        |
|           | /t/          | toød ‘to bake’     | tarøg ‘spear’             | lat ‘to wind’            | luut ‘to scoff’       |
|           | /d/          | dap ‘to spread’    | dalag ‘to invite’         | pad ‘to drum’            | sapoød ‘to wrap’      |
|           | /c/          | caal ‘to speak’    | c’læx ‘red’               | pøøc ‘to wait’           | b’híc ‘itchy’         |
|           | /j/          | jag ‘to tread on’  | j’huu <sup>k</sup> ‘tree’ | mej ‘well’               | suuj ‘to wash’        |
|           | /k/          | kaas ‘to scrape’   | k’roøp ‘under’            | paax ‘above’             | s’jex ‘straight’      |
|           | /g/          | goøs ‘to live’     | gatah ‘to hack’           | hoøg ‘to flow’           | layeg ‘night’         |
|           | /ʔ/          | ’aab ‘feline’      | ?iwoø ‘to feast’          | loø <sup>k</sup> ‘where’ | jakaak ‘jaw’          |
| Nasal     | /m/          | mad ‘eye’          | mamūh ‘to bathe’          | ɳam ‘animal’             | laam ‘rub on’         |
|           | /n/          | nøŋ ‘path’         | neeh ‘to see’             | cen ‘to want’            | l’mɔɔn ‘tame’         |
|           | /ɳ/          | ɳøŋ ‘to bite skin’ | ɳøøw ‘to poke’            | mðøŋ ‘teeth’             | s’maap ‘to ask’       |
|           | /ŋ/          | ɳääc ‘to chew’     | ɳøøm ‘sad’                | jœŋ ‘to pull’            | taroŋ ‘to contest’    |
| Fricative | /ɛ/          | siij ‘to sharpen’  | siløŋ ‘to sprain’         | toø ‘to pick’            | huus ‘to seep’        |
|           | /h/          | hiis ‘to swell’    | habog ‘ash’               | paah ‘bowl’              | ɳøh ‘to light a fire’ |

|         |     |                                      |                          |                    |
|---------|-----|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| Lateral | /l/ | liig ‘to swallow’ labox ‘fern shoot’ | sɒl ‘to plug’            | tabəl ‘black bee’  |
| Rhotic  | /r/ | rɒt ‘to catch’                       | rəŋəh ‘dirty’            | siir ‘to share’    |
|         | /r/ | -                                    | -                        | māndor ‘rafflesia’ |
| Approx. | /w/ | waa <sup>k</sup> ‘aunt’              | walah ‘all gone’         | sorr ‘cockroach’   |
|         | /j/ | yək ‘footprints’                     | yaa <sup>j</sup> ‘noise’ | ?amparr ‘cliff’    |
|         |     |                                      |                          |                    |
|         |     |                                      | taaw ‘to alight’         | kuyow ‘to journey’ |
|         |     |                                      | loy ‘to reach’           | s'laay ‘swidden’   |

**Table 2.4 Consonant phoneme usage in Temiar**

The word examples above show the use of consonants in word-initial and word-final positions. In the following five sections (§2.2.2–2.2.6), I give a detailed description of these consonant phonemes.

## 2.2.2 Stops

At syllable onset, stops are released and do not receive aspiration. At post syllable (coda) position, stops are usually unreleased, meaning that they are not given any further sound after the lips close or the tongue makes contact with the alveolar ridge or the palate<sup>9</sup>. Exceptions to this rule are to be made for palatals [c, j] and velars [g, x]. Word-finally, palatal [j] can be released, though only with certain words such as baa<sup>j</sup> ‘overflow’. It can also receive slight affrication at word-final position: me<sup>jz</sup>. Palatal [c] is normally released word-finally, and especially with isolated words, such as with a relaxed imperative, but not with a mid-sentence words, and a fractional pause can be created before its commencement: poɔ<sup>t</sup> c<sup>c</sup> ‘wait (a minute)’, pi<sup>t</sup> c<sup>c</sup> ‘to harpoon’.

The stops [g] and [x]<sup>10</sup>, at word-final position, can be given aspiration by speakers, but usually when the word is used in isolation or sentence-final. With [g] this does not occur with every word: pùg /pɔg<sup>h</sup>/ ‘dig’, but not with lug ‘laugh’. It really only occurs with mid-vowels: bəg, pùg, səg; not with high-vowels (jíig, leg) or low-vowels (lɔg, sag, ?ag). This is perhaps more notable with [x] and can be heard with any word, often with a slight delay before the onset of the consonant: baax /ba: 'k<sup>h</sup>/ ‘beard’.

Word-final /k/ is often difficult to discern (as noted by Benjamin, 2018:12) and especially with mid-sentence words: baax s'booh ‘bushy beard’. Its release does not seem to be impeded more by front-vowels than non-front vowels, as the consonant seems ‘lazy’ with any vowel: front, t'biix, balix, bəex, s'jex. k'laax, paax, versus non-front, b'rux, tuux, cox, cɔɔx, cox. The audibility of the velar seems to be dependent on the speaker, and likely the word’s position in the sentence. The use of the aspirated /k/ also varies from region to region, with speech further south in the B'tus River valley, from Pos Haw, Pos Balaar, and RPS B'tus, employing more /g/ sounds in its place.

Word-finally, both [j] and [c] tend to alter the sound of the preceding vowel, producing an i-offglide<sup>11</sup>, shifting the vocal sound toward the /i/ sound. The shift commonly occurs

9 The release of stops nasally, noted by Benjamin (2018:11), has not been found here (-tn̩, -pm̩, -jn̩, -gn̩).

10 The unusual [x] symbol, denoting syllable coda velar /k/ here, has been in use by Temiars (and also Semais) by their own preference, due to the fact that they pronounce ‘x’ of the alphabet as /ɛkh/ (with aspiration) and not /ɛks/.

11 This does not occur with [s], as Benjamin states it does (2018:12). With [n], I consider that the preceding vowel is diphthongised, equally as with the approximant [y].

with the long vowels [aa, εε, oo, οο], and also on the short vowels [ɛ, ο]. It is not detected with vowels [aa, ξΞ, ii, θθ, uu]. Certain words, however, that carry [aa] or [οο] syllable finally, do not seem to make any shift at all: bawaaj ‘macaque’, lempoɔj ‘plant sp.’. The audibility of the shift may vary between speakers and it is certainly less pronounced than the diphthong caused by the approximant [y] or the nasal [ŋ]. The list below attempts to demonstrate the variability of this effect. I denote these altered vowel sounds with [aa', εε', oo', οο']: genraa'c ‘fruit species’, yee'j ‘teeth on edge’, boo'j ‘lick bones’, moɔ'j ‘enter’, and also [ɛ', ο']: 'e'j ‘stomach’, so'c ‘perah nut’.

| <i>Word</i>             | <i>Final vowel sound</i> | <i>Vowel alteration</i> |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| b'rulaa'c ‘running off’ | /a:c/                    | toward /i/              |
| herhaa'j ‘to disappear’ | /a:ŋ/                    | toward /i/              |
| j'waaj ‘bush knife’     | /a:ʒ/                    | none                    |
| bawaaj ‘macaque’        | /a:ʒ/                    | none                    |
| gee'j ‘to burn’         | /ɛ:ŋ/                    | toward /i/              |
| me'j ‘well’             | /ɛŋ/ or /ɛ'j/            | toward /i/              |
| so'c ‘perah nut’        | /o:c/                    | toward /i/              |
| poɔ'c ‘to wait’         | /o:c/                    | toward /i/              |
| c'boɔ'j ‘glassy’        | /o:ŋ/                    | toward /i/              |
| moɔ'j ‘to enter’        | /o:ŋ/                    | toward /i/              |
| k'lɔɔj ‘inside’         | /o:ʒ/                    | none                    |

An i-offglide may also be found on pre-final syllables and often those that are made by reduplication of a root word with coda [j]: be'jsiij ‘irritable hairs’, ge'jtɔɔj ‘snapped’, ke'jwaa'j ‘scraping’, ke'jnric ‘growling’, te'jtaac ‘weaving’. I do not attempt to mark such phonemic affects on pre-final syllables in my work.

The glottal stop is made by truncating the airflow to the vowel with an open airway and with a rested tongue: lɔɔk, caa<sup>k</sup>, mād<sup>k</sup>, or it commences the vowel from a stopped airflow: ?aad, ?arap, ?idih, ?ɔɔs. Whether post long vowel or post short vowel, I find that it acts in the same way, to truncate the sound in the throat. In comparison, the unreleased [t] truncates the vowel sound while the tongue is close to the palate, as in p'rat, cet, ?abat. The glottal stop is never dropped from words, even in fast speech, meaning that words are never allowed to merge into one another: p'ra<sup>k</sup> ?ana<sup>k</sup> ‘leave that’.

This is a very important technique of speech for learners of Temiar to master. Malay speakers will have less trouble with this, and will find Temiar glottal stops familiar. For example, the word pox ‘hack’, has a final /k/ sound and is pronounced similarly to the English ‘pock’, whereas po<sup>k</sup> ‘dream’, has no final consonant sound and the vowel is ended abruptly before a ‘ck’ sound is reached.

Where a glottal stop is a coda consonant (it closes a syllable), I denote it by [k]: ce<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup> ‘eating’. This is to aid with reading because, in Malay, syllable-final ‘k’ makes a glottal stop (although Benjamin contests that it is the unreleased velar /k/ at play; 2012:29) and the Temiars are familiar with the use of the consonant in this way. At syllable onset, I denote a glottal stop by a raised glottal mark [?], as with, ?amaj ‘siamang’, ta?ɔŋ ‘wild boar’. Using the full glottal mark [?] would either go unrecognised by Temiars or else would cause confusion with a question mark!

### 2.2.3 Nasals

Nasal phonemes occur at any position. At word-final position they are sounded by the nasal cavity, without further aspiration. Of these phonemes, only [ŋ] readily affects the nasality of the surrounding vowels, and perhaps more so on the proceeding vowel: məŋŋi ‘teeth’, hajŋɔ̄k ‘light’, pəŋɛd ‘to press’, həŋniš ‘to blow the nose’, h’luŋɛɛw ‘fine’, while it may also be noticeable with [ŋ]: ŋāāc ‘to chew’, p’hɛɛŋ ‘sharp’. Then again, there are many vowels found adjacent to /ŋ/ that are absent of nasality, although this could be limited to a preceding [aa] vowel: ləŋbaaj ‘funny’, s’maap ‘ask’.

Other nasals are found to produce nasality on the proceeding vowel, giving us what may seem to be a consistent rule: māeh ‘nose’, mūh ‘bathe’. But then, there are many examples of words with non-nasalised vowels, so that any rule stating that all nasals produce progressive nasalisation is more difficult to accept—but perhaps the nasality is not always clearly discernible?: mad ‘eye’, moɔ̄s ‘gather’, niis ‘floor’, nuus ‘gums’, ɳɔb ‘you 2PL’, ɳaal ‘glare’. It is also possible that a nasal coda of a pre-final syllable can nasalise the syllable final vowel, if the syllable commences with the glottal stop: sən’ððy ‘people’.

I maintain /ŋ/ and /nj/ as distinct phonemes in my orthography, even though some linguists treat them as identical. The former comes in any position except word-initially. When between vowels, or coda of pre-final vowels, it is sounded with the mid-tongue against the palate, never with the tongue-tip: gānah ‘tree sp.’, pepoɔ̄c ‘waiting’. When it comes word-finally, the tongue-tip rests on the palate: ?ūŋj ‘to smell’. The other of these two, /nj/, which I mark with [ŋ], occurs at syllable onset and is articulated with the tongue-tip against the palate, as with /n/, moving off to make /j/: ɳāāg ‘mouth’, kūŋid ‘a tree sp.’. Apart from two borrow words, najaak ‘to trouble’ and ɳaqniīk ‘to sing’, the few words that appear to have [ŋ] word-initially more likely carry a reduced [ŋ]: ɳøh ‘to light a fire’, ɳøow ‘poke’. Benjamin makes no use of /nj/ (i.e. [ny]) and denotes all palatal nasals with [ŋ]. This approach leads to a particular problem however, in that all palatals are then sounded with the tongue-tip off the palate: compare hajŋɔ̄k ‘light’ or sapɛɛd ‘child’ (mid-tongue on the palate), with ?əŋūh ‘heavy’ or tīŋøow ‘look’ (tip of tongue on palate). As I see it, we have three phonetic variations of /ŋ/:

| Variation          | Sound in speech | Tongue position                       |
|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|
| [ŋ] (word-finally) | /j/ → /n/       | tongue-tip rests on palate            |
| [ŋ] (mid-word)     | /j/ → /ŋ/ → /j/ | mid-tongue on palate (as with /j/)    |
| [ŋ]                | /n/ → /j/       | tongue-tip begins on palate, releases |

One must note that the consonants [ny] will appear together when the [n] is coda to the preceding vowel, of words with closed syllabic form (CVCCVC): ?enyøɔ̄n ‘near’, ranyoŋ ‘a fish species’, as well as nominal verbs: bənyeɛɛr ‘a weaving’. Take another word, b’lanyøɔ̄w ‘talkative’: if we reduce the [ny] to a [ŋ], b’laŋøɔ̄w, we create an open pre-final syllable and thus alter the word phonemically.

As correctly stated by Benjamin (2018:12), nasals, when followed by mid-word [r], often have a voiced homorganic stop transition, like /n<sup>d</sup>r/ or /ŋ<sup>g</sup>r/: cen<sup>d</sup>roɔ̄s ‘nails’, jen<sup>d</sup>rùk ‘length’, ?aŋ<sup>g</sup>ræy ‘niring fruit’; but possibly not so for his noted /m<sup>b</sup>r/ or /ŋ<sup>b</sup>r/: cəmrap ‘sprouting’ not cəm<sup>b</sup>rap, and repríc ‘tear in teeth’, not rep<sup>b</sup>ríc. The ‘pre-stopping’ of nasal consonants has been noted with Jahai (Burenhult, 2005:25) and other Aslian languages, where the nasal is paused briefly before its commencement, in order to disconnect it from

the preceding vowel and thus not share its nasality. I have not detected this technique in Temiar speech.

There is some evidence of consonant progression when a nasal precedes the labial [b], especially of [n] toward [m]: <sup>2</sup>em-beex, <sup>2</sup>em-bíil.

#### 2.2.4 Fricatives

Fricative /s/, denoted here with [s], is alveolar, sounded dentally, and is not quite a full /s/ in that it is never lengthened in sound by the tongue remaining at the dental position, either at syllable onset or post. Speakers may be heard exchanging /s/ for /c/, when word-initial (see below), but this is likely a low frequency phenomenon. In child-talk, [s] becomes [h], sən<sup>2</sup>ððy → hən<sup>2</sup>ððy, while [l] becomes [y], s'løg → h'yøg.

|                             |                      |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| sadaam ‘tiger’              | → cadaam             |
| s <sup>2</sup> uux ‘rancid’ | → c <sup>2</sup> uux |
| s'lapad ‘flat’              | → c'lapad            |
| s'løg ‘sleep’               | → c'løg              |

Voiceless fricative /h/ is common at syllable-onset, where its aspiration is glottal with back vowels and more palatal with forward vowels. Compare: haas ‘smoky’ and hoø<sup>k</sup> ‘plate’, with hīs ‘swell’ and huuc ‘sip’. Its use at word-final position can give noticeable aspiration, as with ksh ‘lie down’, p<sup>2</sup>ih ‘raw smell’, soh ‘meat’, or it may be more unnoticed, as with kayuh ‘manioc’, paah ‘bowl’, k'nøuh ‘name’, siih ‘pound’, søeh ‘sweet potato’.

Benjamin states that, as all final syllables must be closed by a consonant, [h] comes to play even when it is not clearly discernable (2018:13): hoøh ‘follow’. Following this rule, however, will not allow us to differentiate aspirated from non-aspirated final vowels. He also states (2018:13), that when following [u, ə], [h] carries some bilabial friction, but I do not detect this with [u], or it is certainly not that strong if it is present: tuøh ‘speak’. It can be very audible with [ə]: r'løh /rløøh/ ‘impatient’, <sup>2</sup>əh /?3øh/ SUCC.PRON. 2SG. ‘it/him/her’.

#### 2.2.5 Laterals and rhotics

The voiced lateral phoneme /l/ is found at any position and its phonetic shape does not change: laas ‘jump’, loøt ‘blood’, <sup>2</sup>aal ‘curse’, palo<sup>k</sup> ‘log’. The voiced rhotic /r/ produces variation with words and also with different speakers, usually as a flap /ɾ/ and never as an approximant /ɹ/: roøt ‘catch’, riix ‘descend’, saar ‘follow’. It can be released as an alveolar trill, /r/, word-finally, as with, curr ‘to burn’, garr ‘to shake’, s'garr ‘blow-dart’, sorr ‘tiny cockroach’.

A word-final [r] is often sounded as /y/ by youngsters, and even the elderly:

|                  |         |
|------------------|---------|
| bøør ‘vegetable’ | → bøøy  |
| cøør ‘spicy’     | → cøøy  |
| b'ras ‘raw rice’ | → biyas |

## 2.2.6 Approximants

When the vowels [i, o, u] are followed by another vowel or are found word-finally, they are written with their natural approximant, [y] or [w], post-vowel. For example, *diyaay*, ‘suddenly’, not *diaay*; *suweh* ‘feeling uneasy’, not *sueh*; *howa<sup>k</sup>* ‘keep back’, not *hoa<sup>k</sup>*, *tow* ‘husband’, not *to*.

Approximants create diphthongs with vowels, so that non-rounded vowels [a, i, í, ə, ε, ɔ] become rounded when followed by labial [w] and vowels [a, ə, ε, o, ɔ, u] are altered toward /i/ when followed by palatal [y] or [j]: *?ayεεŋ* ‘crazy’, (/æ/ → /æ'/), *søy* ‘front’, (/ɒ/ → /ɒ'/). They do not have such affects on proceeding vowels: *wíix* ‘bent’, *yօo<sup>k</sup>* ‘chase out’. The diphthong [ɔi] is infrequently found before the stop [t], such as with *kalcoit* ‘to squash a louse’, or *cicoit* ‘a fish sp.’, while [ei] is found before [h], as with *reih* ‘downriver’. Other than these few occurrences, and the i-off-glide produced by palatals [c, j] (see §2.2.2, above), it is apparent that only approximants readily produce diphthongs, as shown in the list below (from high to low vowels).

| <i>Diphthong</i> | <i>Phonetic</i> | <i>Examples</i>                                       |
|------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| uy/uuy           | /uj/ /u:j/      | suy ‘remaining’, tuuy ‘over there’                    |
| uw               | /uw/            | cuwa <sup>k</sup> ‘dog’, guwɔɔ <sup>k</sup> ‘cave’    |
| uey              | /u:j/           | cuøy ‘to sprout’                                      |
| uew              | /u:w/           | ?arøøw ‘to wail’, s'pøøw ‘a tree sp.’                 |
| iiy              | /e:j/           | Kariiy ‘a deity’, puliiy ‘a tree sp.’                 |
| ey/eəy           | /ɛj/ /ɛ:ʒ/      | pəy ‘how then?’, həəy ‘to do’                         |
| ow/oow           | /ow/ /oo:w/     | low ‘to be audible’, kənwoow ‘to woo-hoo’             |
| εw/εεw           | /ɛw/ /ɛ:w/      | pudεew ‘crazy’, yεew ‘to stay awake’                  |
| εy/εεy           | /ɛj/ /ɛ:j/      | saley ‘to hang to dry’, luwεey ‘honey bees’           |
| ɔy/ɔɔy           | /ɔj/ /ɔ:w/      | loy ‘to reach’, sen?ɔɔy ‘person’                      |
| ɔw/ɔɔw           | /ɔw/ /ɔ:w/      | tow ‘husband’, ɳɔɔw ‘to poke’                         |
| ay/aay           | /aj/ /a:ʒ/      | hayal ‘to imagine’, k'maay ‘grub’, guwaap ‘lightning’ |
| aw/aaw           | /aɔ/ /aɔ:/      | gaw ‘boar’, b'laaw ‘blowpipe’                         |

Where a consonant cluster involves the approximants [w] or [y] as secondary consonant, the secondary consonant will be anticipated by a slight labial [u] or palatal [i] sound, depending on the approximant. In many cases, this affect causes a more definite vowel sound to be produced, particularly when the preceding consonants are [l] or [r], such as: *huwal* ‘to come out’, *suwax* ‘to get thin’, *biyeer* ‘to weave’, *liyaax* ‘a bamboo sp.’.

| <i>Secondary consonant [w]</i>       | <i>Secondary consonant [y]</i> |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| c"waay ‘to sprout’                   | bal'yex ‘a hornbill’           |
| jeh"wah ‘playing’                    | ber'yuuh ‘to chase out’        |
| jər"wah ‘to make play’               | bəl'yan ‘magic’                |
| kel"wa <sup>k</sup> ‘coughing up’    | dər'yan ‘durian’               |
| kel"weε <sup>k</sup> ‘a small fruit’ | ger'yεex ‘monitor lizard’      |
| ker"wo"c ‘a berry’                   | g'nər'yah ‘to shake’           |

|                                             |                              |
|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| s <sup>u</sup> wēh ‘uneasy’                 | gər'yeed ‘to make difficult’ |
| sel <sup>u</sup> wah ‘to faint’             | gar'yed ‘unripe’             |
| sēp <sup>u</sup> wēēn ‘sunbird species’     | ger'yuh ‘to scare people’    |
| bar <sup>u</sup> sey <sup>u</sup> w ‘tapir’ | kar'yed ‘stingy’             |
| hariiy <sup>u</sup> w ‘fan palm’            | sər'yap ‘to make ready’      |

### 2.2.7 The ‘epenthetic’

Consecutive consonants at the front of root words must always be separated by a short sound so that the initial consonant does not join up with the proceeding one. This sound is often referred to as the ‘epenthetic’, or a ‘semi-vowel’, and is noted to be close to the schwa. It has the ability to gain length and become a full vowel under certain conditions but it is not usually produced from a full vowel (the exception is with certain affixes which can be reduced, such as ma- to m'-, ter- to t'- or bə- to b'-). Benjamin states (2018:13) that the epenthetic is neither phonemic (it does not always derive from /ə/) and also that it may be difficult to discern, as with, b'laaw/blaaw, or s'lög/słög. However, when hearing these words carefully, the word-initial consonants are indeed separated. Some linguists leave out the epenthetic from their orthography, so that words like c'røög look like crøög, but this does not show that such consecutive consonants must be separated. It might even be produced by a word-initial glottal stop: ?ŋeed ‘tight’, ?niip ‘ripe’.

The ‘epenthetic’ may grow into a vowel when a word is given emphasis: na-səłög! ‘she's sleeping!', or by the influence of a proceeding approximant (stated already by Benjamin, 2018:13), which draws a vowel as the mouth shifts towards the rounded [w], or towards [y], by closeness of the tongue to the palate. Preceding [w], it often tends toward [o, u], and before [y, j] toward [ə, i], and even [ɛ], as shown below.

| Secondary consonant [w]         | Secondary consonant [y, j] |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| howa <sup>k</sup> ‘to prohibit’ | giyeg ‘to break off’       |
| huwal ‘to come out’             | hājñēes ‘to blow the nose’ |
| juwah ‘to play’                 | kayox ‘to listen’          |
| ruwaay ‘soul’                   | liyaax ‘bamboo sp.’        |
| suwax ‘to get thin’             | leyuus ‘sprawling’         |
| tuwaal ‘bird sp.’               | rəyeed ‘to wring’          |

### 2.2.8 Onset consonant clusters

There are restrictions limiting which consonants can occur together as initial and secondary consonants in dual consonant clusters, either word-initial, or as coda and onset of sequential syllables (which I do not cover here). The consonants of syllable-onset clusters cannot be the same (s's, m'm etc.), because it would be illogical for the ‘epenthetic’ sound to separate the same consonant from itself—perhaps the only exception is with [r], when in 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> position of a tri-consonant onset (see §2.3.2, below). Many consonant combinations do not occur in clusters (b'm, g'k, j'w, m's, s'c, t's) and the consonants [n, ɳ, ɲ, w, y] never occur as the initial consonant of a dual-consonant cluster.

The table below demonstrates which consonants can occur together as initial and

secondary consonants in clusters, the combinations being found from my dictionary word lists. The consonant forming the most clusters with other consonants is found to be [l], pairing with 16 out of 19 consonants, followed by [s] (15/19) and [b, c, k, p, r, t] (14/19). The least paired consonant is found to be [m] (3/19), followed by [h] (6/19). The most frequent secondary consonant is found to be [n] (12/13), followed by [r, l] (11/13), while the most infrequent is found to be [ŋ] (1/13), followed by [p] (4/13).

|                   |   | Secondary consonant |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |   |    | /19 |    |
|-------------------|---|---------------------|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|---|----|---|---|----|---|---|---|----|-----|----|
|                   |   |                     |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |   |    |     |    |
| Initial consonant | b | x                   |    | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x  | x | x  | x | x | x  | x | x | x | 14 |     |    |
|                   | c | x                   | x  |   | x | x | x |   | x | x | x  | x | x  | x | x | x  | x | x | x | 14 |     |    |
|                   | d | x                   | x  |   |   | x |   |   | x | x | x  | x |    | x | x | x  |   |   |   |    | 8   |    |
|                   | g |                     | x  | x | x |   | x |   |   | x | x  | x |    | x | x | x  | x | x | x | x  | 13  |    |
|                   | h |                     |    |   | x |   |   |   | x | x | x  |   |    | x |   |    | x |   | x |    | 6   |    |
|                   | j | x                   | x  |   |   |   | x |   | x |   |    | x |    |   | x |    | x | x |   |    | 10  |    |
|                   | k | x                   | x  | x | x |   | x | x |   | x | x  | x |    |   | x | x  | x | x | x |    | 14  |    |
|                   | l | x                   | x  | x |   | x | x | x | x |   | x  | x | x  | x | x | x  | x | x | x |    | 16  |    |
|                   | m |                     |    |   |   | x |   |   |   |   | x  | x |    |   |   |    |   |   |   |    | 3   |    |
|                   | p | x                   |    | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x  | x |    | x | x | x  | x | x | x |    | 14  |    |
|                   | r | x                   | x  |   | x | x |   |   | x | x | x  | x | x  | x | x |    | x | x | x | x  |     | 14 |
|                   | s | x                   | x  |   | x | x |   | x | x | x | x  | x | x  | x | x |    | x | x | x |    | 15  |    |
|                   | t | x                   | x  |   | x | x | x |   | x | x | x  | x | x  | x | x |    |   | x |   |    | 14  |    |
|                   |   | /13                 | 10 | 9 | 5 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 8 | 11 | 9 | 12 | 5 | 4 | 11 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 8  | 1   |    |

**Figure 2.1 Combinations of initial and secondary consonants allowed word-initially**

## 2.2.9 Geminate consonants

While Benjamin states that geminate consonants are not spoken as geminate but are reduced to a single consonant (2018:12), I find that they are very well pronounced: *ləllíl* ‘forming in hands’, *h'reŋŋat* ‘tight’, *hehhøħh* ‘following’ (not *hehøħh*).

## 2.2.10 Syllable closure

It has been stated by Benjamin that, common to all Aslian languages, all words must be commenced and terminated by a consonant (and thus words beginning with a vowel sound must be commenced by the glottal stop, a so-called consonant). This summary is true, and even when words apparently do not carry a final consonant, one must search for it logically, for example with *kayaak* ‘herbal plant’, *b'luuḥ* ‘to pounce’, *g'læħ* ‘to interfere’, *goħw* ‘to trick’, *puliyy* ‘tree sp.’.

The words, *kayaak* and *b'luuḥ* are easily identified as being ended with a consonant, even if its sound is very subtle, with the glottal truncating the vowel and the [h] giving noticeable aspiration. But with words such as *bel'iħ* ‘surprised’, and borrow words such as *gayæħ* ‘style’ there is no noticeable aspiration and it seems that they cannot be closed by [h]. The first of these words, however, is heard spoken *b'lħeħ'iħ*, in its ‘totality’ form,

with an internal [h], at the syllable coda of the reduplicated affix, proving that there must also be a word-final [h].

### 2.2.11 Coda replacement

Unreleased stops [p, t], or delayed voice stops [c, x], cannot be pronounced as pre-final syllable codas as they need time to be ended without release, which is not articulately possible when proceeded by a syllable onset. The said stops are subconsciously replaced by speakers for the underlying nasal, which are [m, n], or [ŋ, ɳ], respectively (as shown below), when they should become pre-final codas during the reduplication process of word inflection. This phonemic process can be observed with the imperfective, the imperfect causative, as well as the nominalised form (see §2.3.4.1/4/6). For example, the words, b'lap ‘bland’ or g'rax ‘tasty’ morph into bəmlap ‘totally bland’, and gənrax ‘so tasty’. They cannot be produced as beplap or gəxrax, as this would cause, of necessity, a pause between syllables, like, bep'lap or gəx'rax, effectively creating two words from one.

| <i>Word-final coda</i> | <i>Reduplicated coda replacement</i> | <i>Example</i>     |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|
| c                      | ŋ                                    | təptaa'c ‘weaving’ |
| p                      | m                                    | təmtap ‘planting’  |
| t                      | n                                    | rənroot ‘catching’ |
| x                      | ɳ                                    | cəŋcox ‘chopping’  |

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## 2.3 Phonotactics

In this section I describe the rules of word formation that must be observed when speaking or making analysis of Temiar, including the syllabic structure of words and the specific inflectional processes that can take place to derive new word forms with new semantics.

### 2.3.1 Terminology of word formation

In Temiar speech, short words called clitics are constantly appended to other words, to create the sense of subjectivity, objectivity, space and time, belonging, self-reflection and comparison, while verbs are inflected with affixes in order to create states of activity, without the need of so many individual words or auxiliary verbs (there is no verb ‘to be’ either). Therefore, in our analysis of Temiar word-formation, we must always identify the lexical words that are in use, that might have expanded with affixes, so that, with any lone word or given phrase, we can properly determine the semantics.

Lexical words, which are those that can be found as main entries in a dictionary, include both lexemes (or stems) and clitics. Lexemes are defined as synchronically minimal free forms which occur independently, including complex words derived from unknown or speculated simple roots which are no longer found. Root lexemes are morphologically simplex words, that are synchronically unanalysable, not being derived

from any simpler word forms. All lexemes can receive clitics, whereas only roots can derive other words, either from adaptation, the result of historical etymology, or by inflection, which involves morphological changes made by attaching different kinds of affixes (see §2.3.3). For examples of word adaptation, take *s'jaag* ‘noise’, *'eg'aag* ‘crow’, *b?'aag* ‘to rage of water’, which are all derived from *?aag* ‘to make an aah noise’. Some root words appear to have been lost, leaving only the morphologically complex words derived from them, such as: *terkiis* ‘to finish s.t.’. Such lexemes display ‘fossilised’ morphology and not readily derive further word forms or become more complex through affixation.

Base words are defined as those words which receive clitics, but they are not necessarily root words, as they may already have some degree of inflection. Prosodic words are those words in speech which have had clitics attached to them or have received inflection. Affixes take the form of prefixes and infixes, but never suffixes.

Clitics are invariably appended to the front of words, as proclitics, and are denoted so by hyphenation: *na-cen* (clitic *na-* 3SG) ‘he/she wants’, *nùm-tuuy* (clitic *nùm-* ‘from’) ‘from over there’. The only clitic (that I can think of) which attaches to the back of words, is the emphatic *-lah*, which, in any case, is a Malay borrow-word and perhaps should not be considered proper Temiar. It could be tempting to cliticise spatial or temporals, which can come sentence-final, or post nominally, but these actually stand alone: *te<sup>k</sup> doh* (*N. SPAT.*, land this) ‘this land’. Thus, without these words appending to the back of other words, there are no clitics in the post-pended position.

Clitics attach to words that are most often within a clause, and therefore they accommodate the word to the clause it is a part of. A clitic does not create other complex word forms, that is, cause word inflection, it only identifies clausal relationship of a word. Clitics are also lexical morphemes that are listed in a lexicon, as being available for attachment to words of different classes. They are ended either by an open vowel or by a voiced consonant. Benjamin states that clitics may be strung together up to four in number and appended onto a word (2018:7)<sup>12</sup>, but I can only produce a string of three: *cæ-ge<sup>k</sup>-ha-doh* (*ACC.-SIM.-2SG-SPAT.*) ‘if like you here’.

### 2.3.2 Syllables

All syllables consist of a nucleus made of a single vowel surrounded by an onset and a coda consonant, structured either CVC (monosyllabic) or CVC.CVC (disyllabic). A syllable can also have only an onset consonant and no coda, if it is proceeded by another syllable: CV.CVC (disyllabic). All word-final syllables words, whether of root words or prosodic words, words are closed by a consonant, which includes the glottal stop, [?].

Clitics can be open syllables, made of only a vowel and onset consonant, CV-, or they are closed with coda consonant, CVC- (notably, the pronoun marker in the intentive sense, with prespecified coda -m: CVm-), as seen in the table below.

Syllables at the front of words may carry a dual consonant onset, C'CVC, or C'CVC.CVC. A triple consonant onset can be made, but only with ideophones, C'C'CVC.CVC. The consonants of a multi-consonant onset are separated by a sound (basically a short schwa), denoted by ['], that is made by a consonant when it precedes

<sup>12</sup> His example was: *cæ-we-we-bar-naar* (2018:5), which is in some need of correction! The phrase should read: *cæ-we-we<sup>k</sup>* ‘should they go’, and it actually only produces two clitics joined to a verb (*ACC.-3DU-V.*). There is no need to append the adverb, *barnaar* ‘as two’, to the same string.

another consonant, and thus these consonants do not join in speech. The onset consonants may become enlarged into a syllable, by insertion of a predetermined vowel: *s'lɔg* → *salɔg*; or vowel plus a consonant that is predefined by the coda consonant of the word: *s'lɔg* → *segłog*. The infix new vowel is always prespecified and never randomised. Benjamin calls this a “non-phonemic epenthetic vowel of varying quality” (2018:4), but I do not identify this ‘consonant separator’ as any kind of vowel (as, being non-phonemic, it cannot stand by itself). Thus, I do not use terms such as ‘semi-disyllabic’ or ‘sesquisyllabic’ and I classify the structures CVC and C'CVC as both monosyllabic, and the structures CV.CVC, CVC.CVC and C'CVC.CVC as all disyllabic. (See my note about the ‘epenthetic’ in §2.2.6.)

| Proclitic type                 | Syllable structure                                        |                                     |                                              |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
|                                | CV-                                                       | CVC-                                | CVm- ( <i>intensive prm.</i> )               |
| <i>Locational</i>              | ?a- da- du- ?ɛn- ?ɛm-                                     | nùm- bɛɛx-                          |                                              |
| <i>Transitive</i>              | ma- m'                                                    |                                     |                                              |
| <i>Pronoun-referral marker</i> | ?a- ?ə- ?ɛ- ha- ka <sup>k</sup> - ki- na- rə- we- ya- yi- | ŋɔb- ?om-                           | ?am- ?ɛm- ham- kam- kím- nɔm- wɛm- yam- yím- |
| <i>Accusative</i>              | cə-                                                       |                                     |                                              |
| <i>Nominative</i>              | yi-                                                       |                                     |                                              |
| <i>Affirmative</i>             | ?o-                                                       |                                     |                                              |
| <i>Neg. imperative</i>         | ?a- jɛ <sup>k</sup> - ja <sup>k</sup> -                   |                                     |                                              |
| <i>Reflexive</i>               |                                                           | rii <sup>k</sup> -                  |                                              |
| <i>Comparative</i>             |                                                           | gɛ <sup>k</sup> - re <sup>k</sup> - |                                              |
| <i>Possessive</i>              |                                                           | bar-                                |                                              |
| <i>Numeric</i>                 |                                                           | pa- pi-                             |                                              |

Table 2.5 Syllable structure of clitics

The syllable structures of Temiar words fit into the following main patterns (and you thought Temiar phonetics was simple!):

| Structure           | Examples                                                                               |
|---------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>monosyllabic</b> |                                                                                        |
| CVC                 | cɛp ‘bird’, yad ‘to look’                                                              |
| C'CVC               | s'laa <sup>k</sup> ‘leaf’, p'jɛd ‘painful’                                             |
| C'C'CVC             | p'r'hɛg ‘sound of a crack’, s'r'rɔɔy ‘all quiet’                                       |
| <b>disyllabic</b>   |                                                                                        |
| CV.CVC              | ciburr ‘sap’, tugal ‘to plant with stick’                                              |
| C'CV.CVC            | g'nabag ‘singing’, b'lajaa <sup>k</sup> ‘wok’                                          |
| CVC.CVC             | reŋkaa <sup>k</sup> ‘door’, səgnūg ‘frog’                                              |
| CVC.C'CVC           | jɛdʒ'waad ‘tough’, jenj'líín ‘chewy’                                                   |
| CVC.C'C'CVC         | bɛ <sup>k</sup> b'r'lā <sup>k</sup> ‘shaking up and down’, gɛŋg'r'hùx ‘distant thumps’ |
| C'CVC.CVC           | k'rondii <sup>k</sup> ‘underneath’, b'reŋcaaŋ ‘striped’                                |

|             |                                                         |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| C'CVC.C'CVC | h'rudh'læd 'darting about', r'jun-r'naaj 'red-faced'    |
| C'CVC.CVC   | k'r'lamlam 'pitch black', b'r'gehguuh 's.t. collapsing' |

***trisyllabic***

|               |                                                           |
|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| CV.CV.CVC     | ləlapúis 'going in and out', rənahaa;j 'taking ages'      |
| CV.CVC.CVC    | gərgergùb 'all sat down', duwaryex 'waving'               |
| C'CV.CVC.CVC  | j'rahugheeg 'sprawled about', c'lapedpad 'all flat'       |
| CVC.C'C'CVC   | jɛdʒ'r'læd 'jumping up', bɛjb'r'laa;c 'leaping of a fire' |
| CVC.CV.CVC    | leylibuuy 'about to cry', səbkəyəb 'unmovable'            |
| CVC.C'CV.CVC  | kubc'makub 'covered up', səgs'riyaag 'disappearing'       |
| CVC.CVC.CVC   | jebjebgɔɔb 'completely empty', lemlímdam 'soaring'        |
| CVC.C'CVC.CVC | jɛdʒ'roŋhɛd 'frayed', kejk'lɛjwaa;j 'wriggling'           |

***tetrasyllabic***

|                     |                                    |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| CVC.CVC-CVC.CVC     | cumcam-rebrob 'walking on bamboo'  |
| C'CVC.CVC-C'CVC.CVC | b'raŋug-b'raŋiig 'smiling so much' |

The structure C'C, above, denotes a dual consonant syllable onset, word-initial or mid-word, and C'C'C, a tri-consonant syllable onset. Most words with lengthier structures are predominantly found to be descriptive adjectives and ideophones (describing the sounds or thought of actions). The only tetrasyllabic words that I found are actually duplicated disyllabic words, or conjoined disyllabic words. Imperfective morphemes of disyllabic verbs, as well as nominal verbs, will gain a consonant as first syllable coda, like so: CVC.CVC. Some nouns follow a CVC.CVC pattern, which do not appear to have derived from any verb, such as, senloox 'luck' and kenroob 'roof', sen'ðøy 'people'.

### 2.3.3 Verb inflection

Word inflection is the process by which simple base words become morphologically complex, producing change of sense. Thus, verbs of the imperfective sense, the uncontrolled sense, causative verbs, nouns nominalised from verbs, adjectives of the ‘totality’ sense, and expressive ideophones can all be formed from a simple root lexeme. No inflection is needed to put words in the past or future tenses, however. Inflection of monosyllabic words is carried out by appending affixes to the front of words, whereas with monosyllabic words having a di-consonant onset (*DCO*), inflection is carried out by infixation within the onset consonant cluster. With disyllabic words, inflection is made by infixation within the pre-final syllable, if allowed. Word inflection never alters the vowel sound of word-final syllables, but it can alter or replace the vowels of pre-final syllables, of root disyllabic words, or base words with an affixed syllable. The ‘epenthetic’ consonant voice can become a fully-voiced, prespecified vowel due to inflection.

- tuuh V. ‘to speak’ → təhtuuuh *IMPF.* ‘speaking’  
 s'lap V. ‘to dive’ → semlap *IMPF.* ‘diving’

The attaching of an affix, either concatenated to a base word (prefixed) or altering the existing pre-final syllable of a base word (infixed), creates a morphologically complex word form. Because complex morphemes are derived from simple roots in this way, these processes can be termed derivational morphology. Affixes are created and governed by

morphological constraints and are not purely identical for all words and are not found listed in a lexicon. Affixes are formed with phonemic material that can be both underspecified (copied or inferred from the base word's structure) and prespecified (independent from the base word's structure and known from grammatical rules). Clitics, on the other hand, are always wholly prespecified, their phonemic nature not reflecting the base word's structure. The underspecified affix inherits its consonantal material from the final CVC string of a word, taking either both consonants, or only the coda consonant. Onset consonants of the final CVC syllable string of the base are always copied to the affix as onset consonants, while codas are always copied as codas. In the case of monosyllabic words with a di-consonant onset (*DCO*) only the coda of the base is copied and it becomes the coda of the new penultimate syllable.

Non-syllabic affixes do not exist, as all affixes either modify or create a new syllable. Syllables created by affixation may be either full, as in CVC (e.g. *cəb-* of *cəbciib*), or open, as in CV (e.g. *ca-* of *caciib*). Types of affixation fall into two categories:

*Inner affixation*: the affix attaches to the left edge of the final syllable, or alters the penultimate syllable of the word, and takes the penultimate syllable as its domain.

*Outer affixation*: the affix attaches to the left edge of the base word (not necessarily the final syllable) and does not take phonemic material from the base word or result in morphologically complex forms. These are the continuous, *b'-*, the causative on a monosyllabic word, the causative *bər-/tər-/pər-*, and others.

As shown in Figure 1.1, in my introduction, and also in Figure 2.2, further down at §2.3.6, there are four routes of morphological word inflection that a root verb can take. The first two and the last routes, seen creating the imperfect and nominal forms, involve inner affixation, where new syllables are created by reduplication of the root structure. The third route, seen creating the causative form, involves outer affixation, where wholly prespecified material is affixed to the root word. Further down this third route, however, inner affixation is made again by taking the syllable-final coda consonant of the base word.

### 2.3.4 Stages of word inflection

#### 2.3.4.1 The imperfect verb form

In the first stage of inflection (the most common type), words receive morphological change to the left of the word-final syllable, by the creation of a new syllable to the front, in the case of monosyllabic words, or by the alteration of the penultimate syllable, in the case of disyllabic words. At this stage, words do not become longer than disyllabic, as with both monosyllabic words and monosyllabic words with di-consonant onset (*DCO*) a new syllable to the front creates a disyllabic word, and disyllabic words remain disyllabic. Words that can receive this type of inflection include verbs and adjectives, but not nouns.

With monosyllabic words, the affixation involves the reduplication of the CVC base word, taking the onset and coda consonants, while substituting the vowel of the reduplicated base for a prespecified phoneme, which is [ɛ] when forming the imperfective. Monosyllabic words with di-consonant onset (*DCO*) receive infixation of the final syllable coda consonant inside the consonant cluster, preceded by the same

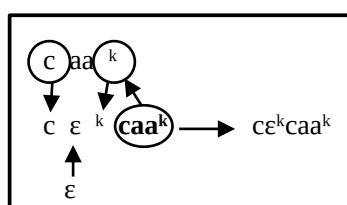
prespecified phoneme, [ɛ]. When a monosyllabic (*DCO*) verb's second and last consonant are equal, a glottal stop comes into play when creating the imperfective, so that the second consonant does not become doubled: k'leel 'to wander in one's thoughts' → kel<sup>ʔ</sup>eel.

Disyllabic words generally do not receive any infixation by reduplication process and can only derive causative or nominal forms. Certain words appear to be disyllabic and we find them acting as monosyllabic with di-consonant onset, such as juwah 'to play', receiving the infix of the reduplicated final coda: jeh<sup>wah</sup> 'playing'. However, these words are properly monosyllabic, with the second consonant being approximant and forcing a full vowel sound to precede it (see §2.2.7).

The new pre-final syllable of the imperfect verb is closed, and carries a short and front-sounding vowel, while the final syllable retains its native sound, which is often of double length. This gives the derived prosodic word a more rhythmic feeling. The prefix reflects the phonemic nature of the word it attaches to, and is in effect a succinct duplication of the root word (this is really only fully noticed in the imperfect form). Some refer to this as a prefixed copy of the root, but because the affix carries certain changes it is not a complete copy. It is a reduced duplicate of the root it affixes to and its purpose is to indicate the aspect of the verb. It can either indicate that the action is unfinished (the imperfect sense) or, in a slightly altered form, the action itself that is being done (the nominal form, see §2.3.4.4 below).

#### *The imperfective derived from a monosyllabic root*

|                              |                                                   |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| $C_1VC_2$                    | → $C_1\varepsilon C_2.C_1VC_2$                    |
| caa <sup>k</sup> v. 'to eat' | → ce <sup>k</sup> caa <sup>k</sup> IMPF. 'eating' |
| lug v. 'to laugh'            | → leglug IMPF. 'laughing'                         |

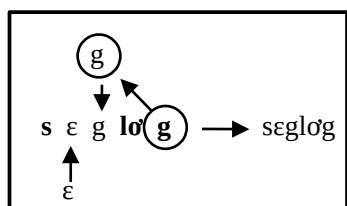


#### *Process of word inflection*

1. final syllable reduplicated to front
2. base onset to affix onset
3. base coda to affix coda
4. prespecified [ɛ] substitutes vowel of reduplicated syllable

#### *The imperfective derived from a monosyllabic root (DCO)*

|                      |                                |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| $C_1'C_2VC_3$        | → $C_1\varepsilon C_3.C_2VC_3$ |
| s'lög v. 'to sleep'  | → seglög IMPF. 'sleeping'      |
| b'lööd v. 'to think' | → bedlööd IMPF. 'thinking'     |



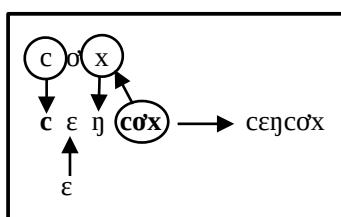
#### *Process of word inflection*

1. final syllable coda reduplicated
2. reduplicated coda infix to pre-final coda
3. prespecified vowel [ɛ] infix to new syllable

Occasionally, the coda consonant of the reduplicated syllable undergoes replacement, in order for the derived phoneme to be easily articulated. This occurs when the syllable-final coda is one of the unreleased stops [p, t], or delayed release stops [c, x], which cannot be reproduced before the last syllable's onset, without breaking the word in half (see §2.2.11). This process is fully productive and is demonstrated below.

#### *Derivation of the imperfective with coda replacement*

|                           |                                        |                                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| $C_1VC_2$                 | $\rightarrow C_1\varepsilon R.C_1VC_2$ | (R = replacement consonant)          |
| $C_1'C_2VC_3$             | $\rightarrow C_1\varepsilon R.C_2VC_3$ |                                      |
| tap v. 'to plant'         | $\rightarrow temtap IMPF.$             | 'planting' (not $\text{teptap}$ )    |
| sot v. 'to short circuit' | $\rightarrow sensot ADJ.$              | 'shorted' (not $\text{setsot}$ )     |
| poo'c v. 'to wait'        | $\rightarrow peñpoo'c IMPF.$           | 'waiting' (not $\text{pecpoo'c}$ )   |
| b'læx v. 'to remember'    | $\rightarrow beñlæx IMPF.$             | 'remembering' (not $\text{bexlæx}$ ) |



#### *Process of word inflection (coda replacement)*

1. final syllable reduplicated
2. final syllable onset to pre-final onset
3. final syllable coda to pre-final coda (underlying nasal)
4. prespecified vowel [ε] substitutes vowel of reduplicated syllable

More complex morphological forms of the imperfect sense can also be created, and these are generally productive of expressive adjectives and not of verbs or activities. The reduplication process takes either the di-consonant onset pair as its phonetic onset-coda material: s'dax 'small' → sed'sdax 'nothing big'; or else the word-initial and word-final consonants: h'laag 'ugly' → hegh'laag 'completely ugly'.

|               |                                              |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------|
| $C_1'C_2VC_3$ | $\rightarrow C_1\varepsilon C_2.C_1'C_2VC_3$ |
| $C_1'C_2VC_3$ | $\rightarrow C_1\varepsilon C_3.C_1'C_2VC_3$ |

The imperfect verb form allows one to test verbs to identify their true final syllable coda consonant, if, at times, it is difficult to discern. The verb gít 'fetch water' could be gíd, but its imperfect form becomes gengít, and not gedgíd, indicating coda replacement that is necessary when root coda is [t]. Likewise with cox 'cut', the imperfect is ceñcox, and not ce<sup>k</sup>co<sup>k</sup>, indicating coda replacement necessary with root coda [x].

#### *2.3.4.2 The uncontrolled and mutual*

The uncontrolled or mutual activity verb form is derived by a similar process of word inflection as is given above for the imperfect, except that the base word's final-syllable coda is not reduplicated to the pre-final syllable coda position. The phoneme [a], normally associated with 'middle voice' disyllabic verbs, is specified for the reduplicated pre-final syllable, so that the resulting phoneme carries the sense where the subject lacks full control of the action, and the action is partly done toward the subject.

|                     |                                                           |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| CVC                 | → Ca.CVC                                                  |
| gəəl v. ‘to sit’    | → gagəəl U. ‘sat down abruptly’, MUT. ‘sat down together’ |
| s'log v. ‘to sleep’ | → salog U. ‘fallen asleep’, MUT. ‘asleep together’        |

When the inflected word form’s final syllable onset is [y] or [ŋ], the inserted phoneme [a] is diphthongised and alters its sound toward [i]: yad ‘look’ → yayad, s’yej ‘steal’ → sayej, p’ŋēēd ‘press’ → pajēēd.

#### 2.3.4.3 *The continuous verb form*

The affix b'- attaches antepenultimately to disyllabic words, either of imperfective verb morphemes or of disyllabic roots, and even adjectives derived by reduplication of a monosyllabic base, to denote an activity currently in progress or a current condition. It never attaches to non-inflected monosyllabic words, that is, base words that have not undergone any morphological change.

|                                                 |                                                     |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| CεC.CVC                                         | → b'CεC.CVC                                         |
| cε <sup>k</sup> caa <sup>k</sup> IMPF. ‘eating’ | → b'cε <sup>k</sup> caa <sup>k</sup> CONT. ‘eating’ |

The continuous sense of the uncontrolled/mutual is derived by attaching the same affix b'- to these morphemes, and denotes ongoing sudden action, of a singular subject, or an activity in progress, done by all members of a group.

|                                |                                                    |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| Ca.CVC                         | → b'Ca.CVC                                         |
| salog U. ‘fallen sleep’        | → b'salog U. CONT. ‘fallen asleep and not waking’  |
| salog MUT. ‘sleeping together’ | → b'salog MUT. CONT. ‘currently sleeping together’ |

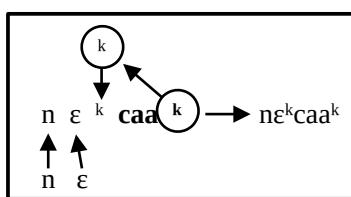
The affix b'- is also affixed to nouns and nominalised verbs to form adjectives, as with to<sup>k</sup> b'ne<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup> ‘without food’. Its full-vowel sound (ba-) is usually given when the proceeding consonant carries the epenthetic consonant sound ['], as with bə'h'nom ‘hot tempered’.

#### 2.3.4.4 *Nomilisation of verbs*

Inflectional processes on verbs and adjectives deriving nominal forms involve the addition of a nominaliser affix to the word front, which typically carries the predetermined phoneme [n]. With monosyllabic words the affix is syllabic and involves semi-duplication of the word-final CVC syllable of the base, taking only the coda consonant to affix coda. The onset consonant of the affix is filled by the wholly prespecified phoneme [n], while the vowel is filled, again, by the prespecified phoneme [ɛ]. With monosyllabic (DCO) words, this involves only the infix of a prespecified consonant into the initial consonant cluster, to become coda of a new pre-final syllable with a prespecified vowel, while the word-initial consonant is preserved in place. This infixed nominaliser consonant is normally found as [n] but can be any of [m, n, ŋ, ŋ], depending on the base word’s final syllable coda, just as with the imperfect verb form.

|                                |                                                    |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> | → neC <sub>2</sub> .C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> |
| caa <sup>k</sup> ‘to eat’      | → ne <sup>k</sup> caa <sup>k</sup> ‘food’          |

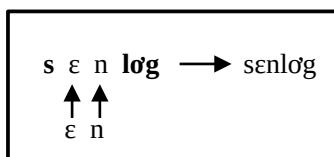
$C_1' C_2 V C_3$        $\rightarrow C_1 \epsilon n. C_2 V C_3$   
 s'lög 'to sleep'       $\rightarrow s\epsilon n lög$  'sleep'



#### *Process of word inflection for nomilsation*

##### *of monosyllabic words*

1. final syllable coda reduplicated
2. reduplicated coda to affix coda
3. nominaliser [n] to affix onset
4. prespecified [ε] to affix vowel



#### *Process of word inflection for nomilsation*

##### *of monosyllabic (DCO) words*

1. nominaliser [n] infixated to pre-final coda
2. prespecified [ε] infixated to new syllable

When monosyllabic words carry the unreleased stops [p, t], or delayed release stops [c, x], word-finally, the nominal affix undergoes coda replacement with the underlying nasal consonants—in exactly the same way as with the imperfect form (see 2.3.4.1).

|                        |                                                             |                             |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| $C_1 V C_2$            | $\rightarrow n \epsilon R. C_1 V C_2$                       | (R = replacement consonant) |
| $C_1' C_2 V C_3$       | $\rightarrow C_1 \epsilon R. C_2 V C_3$                     |                             |
| tap 'to plant'         | $\rightarrow n \epsilon m t a p$ 'a planting' (not neptap)  |                             |
| söt 'to short circuit' | $\rightarrow n \epsilon n s ö t$ 'a short' (not netsöt)     |                             |
| pöörc 'to wait'        | $\rightarrow n \epsilon n p ö ö r c$ 'a wait' (not ncpöörc) |                             |
| b'læx 'to remember'    | $\rightarrow b \epsilon n l æ x$ 'remembrance' (not benlæx) |                             |

Di-consonant onset words, as with the last word in the examples above, create a slight problem, in that the derived nominal form carrying the replacement nominaliser phoneme [m, n, ñ, þ], appears identical to the imperfective. For example, the nominal forms derived from k'ric 'growl', s'lap 'to dive', and b'læx 'remember', are equal to the imperfectives derived from the same, i.e. kəpric, səmlap and bənlæx. This means that the context must supply what is implied by the usage, or the imperfective takes on nominal meaning in thought. Words such as b'nəŋlæx would solve the problem, but they are not readily used, as far as I can tell. A couple of words appear to break this rule, taking the phoneme [n] instead of following coda replacement: kənløx 'tuber' from k'løx 'to produce', and len'aax 'evening', from l'aax 'to cool down'.

With disyllabic words, especially those whose pre-final syllable carries the vowel [a], the nominaliser phoneme [n] is infixated to the pre-final syllable, while leaving its vowel intact. Disyllabic words with word-initial glottal stop derive nominal morphemes by affixation of the nominaliser phoneme [n] to the front, proceeded by the phoneme [ə], as with ?iwoh 'to feast' → ?əniwoh 'a feast'. Nomilisation does not occur with imperfect or mutual activity verbs, that is, no forms such as s'neglog or s'nalog are made by the infixation of the nominaliser phoneme [n].

|                    |                                   |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| $C_1 V C_2 V C_3$  | $\rightarrow C_1 'n V C_2 V C_3$  |
| tarah ‘to hone’    | $\rightarrow t'narah ‘a honing’$  |
| $?V C_2 V C_3$     | $\rightarrow ?ən V C_2 V C_3$     |
| ?adíis ‘to wander’ | $\rightarrow ?ənadíis ‘a wander’$ |

With some words the nominaliser phoneme [n] can undergo replacement for [l], but this is usually due to the speaker’s preference and it is not a morphological rule:  $k'nəmbəək$  ‘the whole lot’ →  $k'ləmbəək$ .

#### 2.3.4.5 *The causative verb form*

Inflection producing the causative form employs no reduplicative process at all, but an affixation of wholly prespecified phonemic material, consisting of a consonant, usually [b, p t] or sometimes [g, k], proceeded by the phonemes [ɛ] and [r]. With monosyllabic words that have a di-consonant onset (*DCO*), the phonemes [ɛ] and [r] are infixes between initial and medial consonants, and where these words appear to be disyllabic, the vowel is replaced, leaving the initial consonant intact. This process is demonstrated below.

|                           |                                                 |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| $C_1 V C_2$               | $\rightarrow bər.C_1 V C_2 / ter.C_1 V C_2$     |
| caa <sup>k</sup> ‘to eat’ | $\rightarrow bərcaak ‘to feed’ (‘to make eat’)$ |
| me <sup>ɛ</sup> j ‘good’  | $\rightarrow tərmeɛj ‘to put right’$            |
| neəh ‘to see’             | $\rightarrow pərnəeəh ‘to show’$                |
| $C_1 'C_2 V C_3$          | $\rightarrow C_1 εr.C_2 V C_3$                  |
| s'lɔg ‘to sleep’          | $\rightarrow sərlɔg ‘to put to sleep’$          |
| juwah ‘to play’           | $\rightarrow jərwah ‘to make play’$             |

#### 2.3.4.6 *The imperfect causative*

Causative forms may look more complex when they themselves go through morphological change to make the imperfect, unfinished activity sense. The pre-final syllable of the causative, created with the phoneme [r] and the vowel [ɛ], loses its vowel, making the [r] become the secondary consonant within a word-initial consonant cluster (b'r, t'r etc.). The base word’s coda consonant is then infixated behind it, preceded by the prespecified phoneme [ɛ], to create a new syllable after the word-initial onset (b'reC, t'reC etc.).

|                                     |                                                    |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| $bər.C_1 V C_2 / ter.C_1 V C_2$     | $\rightarrow b'reC.C_1 V C_2 / t'reC.C_1 V C_2$    |
| bercaa <sup>k</sup> CAUS. ‘to feed’ | $\rightarrow b're^kcaak IMPF. CAUS. ‘feeding’$     |
| terlug CAUS. ‘to make laugh’        | $\rightarrow t'reglug IMPF. CAUS. ‘making laugh’$  |
| $C_1 εr.C_2 V C_3$                  | $\rightarrow C_1 'rεC_3.C_2 V C_3$                 |
| gerloɔd CAUS. ‘to make drool’       | $\rightarrow g'redloɔd IMPF. CAUS. ‘making drool’$ |

#### 2.3.4.7 *The imperfect causative in the uncontrolled mode*

The imperfect causative is used in the ‘middle voice’ mode to carry the sense of uncontrollably making something happen. The form is derived through a similar process to that of the imperfect causative, above. The causative affix is contracted to form the same onset cluster, but instead of infixing the base coda behind the initial cluster, the

phoneme [a] is infixed alone (*b'ra*, *t'ra* etc.). Many adjectives are seen to take on this phonetic structure, even when their base words are hard to find. The uncontrolled causative form stems from the causative directly and not from the imperfect causative, because the mind begins with the idea of causing something, not the idea of ongoing causative activity.

|                                                                                 |                                                                                     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ber.C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub></i> / <i>ter.C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub></i> | → <i>b'ra.C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub></i> / <i>t'ra.C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub></i> |
| <i>bersoɔj CAUS.</i> ‘to finish’                                                | → <i>b'rasoɔj U. CAUS.</i> ‘finishing off’                                          |
| <i>termej CAUS.</i> ‘to put right’                                              | → <i>t'rejmej IMPF. CAUS.</i> ‘putting right’                                       |
| <i>berloɔy CAUS.</i> ‘to scatter’                                               | → <i>b'raloɔy ADJ.</i> ‘scattered about’                                            |
| <i>C<sub>1</sub>ɛr.C<sub>2</sub>VC<sub>3</sub></i>                              | → <i>C<sub>1</sub>'ra.C<sub>2</sub>VC<sub>3</sub></i>                               |
| <i>gerloɔd CAUS.</i> ‘to make drool’                                            | → <i>g'raloɔd U. CAUS.</i> ‘making drool’                                           |

#### 2.3.4.8 The nominalised causative

The causative verb form may also become nominalised, to speak of the action that is happening. The morphological process is almost identical to that of the imperfect causative, where the causative affix is first reduced to a consonant cluster. The difference is that the nominaliser consonant [n, ɳ, m, ɲ] is inserted in place of the copied coda of the base, at pre-final coda position.

|                                     |                                                       |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ber.CVC</i> / <i>ter.CVC</i>     | → <i>b'rɛn.CVC</i> / <i>t'ren.CVC</i>                 |
| <i>bercaa<sup>k</sup></i> ‘to feed’ | → <i>b'rɛncaa<sup>k</sup></i> <i>N.</i> ‘the feeding’ |
| <i>termej</i> ‘to put right’        | → <i>t'renmej</i> <i>N.</i> ‘the repair’              |
| <i>Cer.CVC</i>                      | → <i>C'rɛn.CVC</i>                                    |
| <i>sərløg</i> ‘put to sleep’        | → <i>s'rɛnløg</i> <i>N.</i> ‘a wedding’               |
| <i>berlæəx</i> ‘remind’             | → <i>b'rɛŋlæəx</i> <i>N.</i> ‘the act of reminding’   |

The last example, above, gives the morphological form of a base word with word-final [x], which undergoes replacement of the reduplicated coda with the underlying nasal (see §2.2.11). The nominalised form is apparently identical to the imperfect causative made from the same base word. There seems to be no other alternative than both inflected forms having the same morphological structure, and this wouldn’t cause confusion as the nominal can often be used in the adjectival sense. If it became more clearly distinct, by infix of a clear nominaliser [n], as *b'nɛŋlæəx*, the form would show more distinct morphology, however, this derivation is not actually used.

#### 2.3.4.9 Total reduplication

Total reduplication of words, where an exact copy of the base is attached to the left of the base, is applied to verbs, to imply repetitive action, and nouns, to form diverse plurals.

|                                                         |
|---------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>caa<sup>k</sup>-caa<sup>k</sup></i> V.-V. ‘eat, eat’ |
| <i>bæər-bæər</i> N.-N. ‘vegetables’                     |

#### 2.3.5 Adjectival morphology

As with verbs, adjectives can receive affixation of the reduplicated root (if simple monosyllabic) to the front of the word, or infixation into the word-initial consonant

cluster, and this creates the totality sense. The two words below exemplify the kind of morphemes that can be derived from these bases.

|              |                                                                             |
|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| bud 'hot'    | → bedbud 'heated', babud 'gotten hot', nedbud 'heat', terbud 'heat up s.t.' |
| j'rùk 'long' | → jek'rùk 'a long kind', jarùk 'too long', jenrùk 'length'                  |

The uncontrolled form is made by the infix of the usual phoneme, [a]: caròk 'gotten hungry' from c'rok 'hungry'. Causatives are created from adjectives by attaching the causative affix:

|                       |                                    |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| sor'j ADJ. 'finished' | → bersor'j CAUS. 'to finish s.t.', |
| p'jed ADJ. 'painful'  | → perjed CAUS. 'to make hurt'      |

These also continue on their journey to become imperfect causatives, such as b'rejsor'j 'finishing', or p'rejjed 'making hurt', as well as nouns: b'rensor'j 'the finishing of s.t.', p'renjed 'act of hurting'. Disyllabic adjectives do not receive affixation, except to describe completion, such as with rayaa<sup>k</sup> 'large', that becomes re<sup>k</sup>yaak 'all large'. The causative sense can only be achieved with disyllabic words by preceding the adjective by a verb, such as ?uuy 'make': ?uuy rayaa<sup>k</sup> 'make it big'.

Monosyllabic (*DCO*) adjectives differ from verbs in their ability to derive new morphemes, and can receive a new syllable to the front, rather than an infix within the initial consonant cluster, creating a disyllabic word with a di-consonant middle (see below). Words classed as ideophones can become even more complex than pure imperfectives (see §2.3.2 Syllables and Appendix 3).

|                                                |                                                                                  |
|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| C <sub>1</sub> 'C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> | → C <sub>1</sub> εC <sub>3</sub> .C <sub>1</sub> 'C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> |
| h'laag ADJ. 'gormless'                         | → hegh'laag ADJ. 'totally gormless'                                              |
| s'yoog ADJ. 'a chill'                          | → segs'yoog ADJ. 'sending a chill'                                               |

When an adjective receives affixation of its first syllable, in its entirety, it is often to express an immeasurable sense, as shown below.

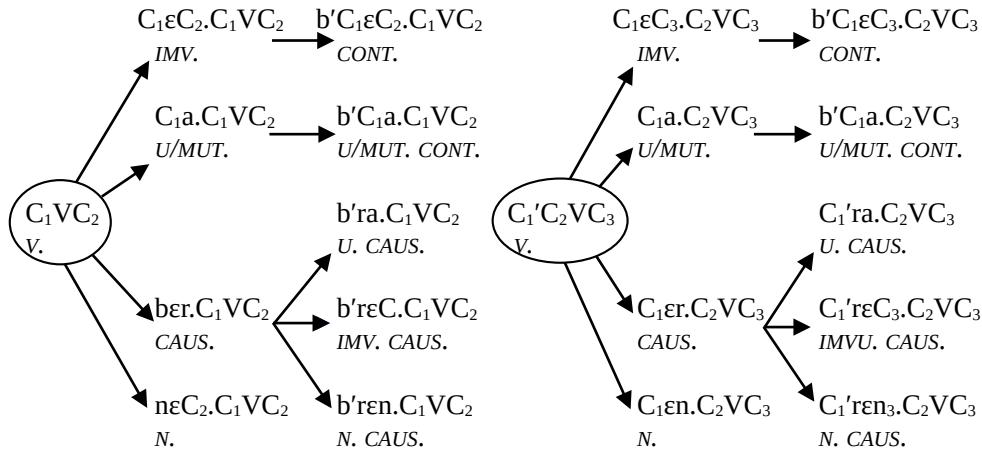
|                          |                                        |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| c'ñorón ADJ. 'bulky'     | → cεñc'ñorón ADJ. 'massive'            |
| sedsiid ADJ. 'possessed' | → sedsedsiid ADJ. 'terribly possessed' |

### 2.3.6 Morphological word forms

Now that we have described the mechanisms of each morphological process of word inflection, we are able to plot these processes with their resulting morpheme types diagrammatically. The diagram below (which can be compared with Figure 1.1, in §1.3.7) demonstrates the four morphological routes that monosyllabic roots can take. It does not attempt to include extended adjectival and ideophonic forms, which can become extremely complex. Further down, I give some example stem words and the morphological word forms that are derived from them.

The imperfective (*IMPF.*) and uncontrolled/mutual action (*U/MUT.*) forms of inflected verbs are further prepended with the affix b'- to denote continuity of action (regardless of tense): ?om-b'jawah 'they are playing together'. The morphemes marked with an \*, below, namely, of the uncontrolled causative inflection stage, would be difficult to use with these example verbs, or perhaps any verb, as the meaning would grow too obscure ('to

accidentally be feeding' or 'to accidentally be giving in marriage'!). Adjectives such as b'racuuy 'all mixed up', would more naturally be found in this form.



**Figure 2.2 Morphological structures made from root monosyllabic verbs**

Monosyllabic verb stem caa<sup>k</sup> 'to eat'

| CεC.CVC                          | Ca.CVC            | nεC.CVC                          | bεr.CVC             | b'reC.CVC                          | b'ra.CVC              | b'rən.CVC             |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| ce <sup>k</sup> caa <sup>k</sup> | caca <sup>k</sup> | nε <sup>k</sup> caa <sup>k</sup> | bεrcaa <sup>k</sup> | b're <sup>k</sup> caa <sup>k</sup> | b'raca <sup>k</sup> * | b'rəncaa <sup>k</sup> |
| IMPF.                            | U/MUT.            | N.                               | CAUS.               | IMPF. CAUS.                        | U.CAUS.               | N. CAUS.              |

Monosyllabic adjective stem mεj 'good'

| CεC.CVC                         | Ca.CVC            | nεC.CVC            | tεr.CVC            | t'reC.CVC            | t'ra.CVC              | t'rən.CVC            |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| mε <sup>j</sup> mε <sup>j</sup> | mamε <sup>j</sup> | nεjme <sup>j</sup> | terme <sup>j</sup> | t'rejme <sup>j</sup> | t'rame <sup>j</sup> * | t'rənme <sup>j</sup> |
| TOTAL.                          | U/MUT.            | N.                 | CAUS.              | IMPF. CAUS.          | U.CAUS.               | N. CAUS.             |

Monosyllabic (DCO) verb stem s'lög 'to sleep'

| CεC.CVC | Ca.CVC | nεC.CVC | Cεr.CVC | C'reC.CVC   | C'ra.CVC | C'rən.CVC |
|---------|--------|---------|---------|-------------|----------|-----------|
| sεglog  | salög  | senlog  | serlog  | s'reglög    | s'ralög* | s'rənlög  |
| IMPF.   | U/MUT. | N.      | CAUS.   | IMPF. CAUS. | U.CAUS.  | N. CAUS.  |

Most disyllabic verbs do not fit into the patterns shown above as they do not receive free inflection, resulting in a limited range of morphemes they can derive. For example, with tugal 'to plant with a stick', and sukad 'to dish out', only the nominalised forms,

*t'nugal* and *s'nukad*, are derived, there are no *t<sup>l</sup>gal* or *sudkad* imperfect forms. Some disyllabic verbs can derive causative morphemes, with no imperfect form possible: *lako<sup>k</sup>* ‘to come loose’ → *lerko<sup>k</sup>* ‘loosen’, *pulud* ‘explode’ → *perlud* ‘make explode’.

Words with a word-initial glottal stop, such as *?aga<sup>k</sup>* ‘to guess’, *?og<sup>o</sup>cd* ‘to beg’, *?idih* ‘to waste’, are disyllabic and are therefore restricted in the range of inflection they can undergo. The adjective *?amís* ‘small’ is a little different, in that it morphs into *mumís* ‘all small’, whereas *?aj<sup>o</sup>cx* ‘tiny’ can receive infixation, as with imperfect forms, to become *?e<sup>j</sup>jc<sup>o</sup>x* ‘all tiny’.

Verbs which appear disyllabic, with a medial approximant consonant, are actually monosyllabic verbs with di-consonant onset, as shown below.

|                              |                                                                                                               |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| howa <sup>k</sup> ‘prohibit’ | → h <sup>e</sup> kw <sup>a</sup> <sup>k</sup> , hawa <sup>k</sup> , herwa <sup>k</sup> , h'renwa <sup>k</sup> |
| juwah ‘to play’              | → jeh <sup>u</sup> wah, jawah, jerwah, j'rehwah, j'rənwah                                                     |
| kəyox ‘to listen’            | → kənyox, kayox, keryox, k'renyox, k'rənyox                                                                   |
| suwad ‘tie’                  | → sedwad, sawad, serwad, s'renwad                                                                             |

### 2.3.7 The nominaliser phoneme [n]

Nominalisation of verbs and adjectives follows strictly defined phonological rules. Monosyllabic words receive a reduplicated prefix, such as *n<sup>e</sup>caa<sup>k</sup>* ‘food’, from *caa<sup>k</sup>* ‘to eat’, but some also receive infixation of the nominaliser [n], without reducing the pre-final syllable, such as *canaa<sup>k</sup>* ‘a meal’. These latter words are described as objective nominals, as in the instrument used in relation to the verb (I describe them in §3.1.3).

In the case of infixation to monosyllabic verbs of di-consonant onset (*DCO*), the nominaliser [n] becomes the coda of a new pre-final syllable while the epenthetic between original onset cluster is necessarily filled by the phoneme [ɛ], as with *cənro<sup>k</sup>* ‘hunger’, from *c'ro<sup>k</sup>* ‘hungry’. The inserted prespecified phoneme gives the word two definite syllables, as the articulation of a di-consonant onset followed directly by a consonant is not possible (there are no forms such as *b'nraaw*, *p'ntaa<sup>k</sup>*, *s'nluuh* etc.).

With disyllabic words, the nominaliser [n] becomes the secondary consonant of a di-consonant onset and the new onset of the pre-final syllable, which is preserved, such as, *b'nalas* ‘an answer’, from *balas* ‘to answer’. Disyllabic verbs commencing with a glottal stop, have the epenthetic expanded to a more pronounced [ə], as with *?əniwōh* ‘a feast’.

#### Monosyllabic

|                                     |                                                                                    |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| caa <sup>k</sup> ‘to eat’           | → n <sup>e</sup> caa <sup>k</sup> ‘foodstuff’ / canaa <sup>k</sup> ‘prepared food’ |
| caal ‘to speak’                     | → nelcaal ‘words’ / c'naal ‘story’                                                 |
| ciib ‘to go’                        | → nəbcii <sup>b</sup> ‘journey’ (no use of c'niib)                                 |
| c'ro <sup>k</sup> ‘hungry’          | → cənro <sup>k</sup> ‘hunger’                                                      |
| s'luu <sup>b</sup> ‘shoot blowpipe’ | → sənluu <sup>b</sup> ‘blowpiping’                                                 |

#### Disyllabic

|                              |                                     |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ?idih ‘to waste’             | → ?ənidih ‘a waste’                 |
| balas ‘to answer’            | → b'nalas ‘an answer’               |
| caraa <sup>k</sup> ‘to talk’ | → c'naraa <sup>k</sup> ‘discussion’ |
| rayaa <sup>k</sup> ‘large’   | → r'naya <sup>k</sup> ‘largeness’   |

### 2.3.8 Causative affixes *bær-*, *pær-*, *ter-* etc.

The clitics *bær-*, *pær-*, *ter-* affix to the left edge of root monosyllabic words deriving the causative, as shown above, in §2.3.4.5. The relationship of these affixes to root words follows their onset consonant, as can be seen in the list below. It is evident that the proclitic *ter-* is the more prolific affix, being related to thrice the number of word-initial consonants than both *bær-* and *pær-* combined. It would seem likely that the affixes *bær-* and *pær-* are only used where *ter-* would be difficult to articulate. Some root words (particularly words with a [g] onset) are not limited to only one proclitic form, however (see §6.1.9).

| <i>Affix</i>     | <i>Onset consonant of root</i>                            |
|------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>bær-</i>      | c, g, s, t                                                |
| <i>pær-</i>      | g, n, y                                                   |
| <i>ter-/teŋ-</i> | b, d, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, ɳ, ɳ, p, r, s, w, <sup>2</sup> |

Note that the phoneme [ɛ] also reduces to [ə] in some cases, to give prefixes looking like *bær-* and *pær-* and *ter-*. The affix *ter-* can also be abbreviated by the speaker, becoming *ti-* or *t'-*, dropping the [r] phoneme completely: *tipēc* from *terpēc* ‘to falsify’, *t'go̠s* from *tergo̠s* ‘to provide food’, *t'ɔ̠b* from *terɔ̠b*, to heat water. The [r] of the affix also undergoes replacement, when the affix attaches to a word with final consonant [x], becoming [ŋ], as with: *teŋlex* ‘teach’, from *lex* ‘to know’ (not *terlex*, which could sound like *terle̠k*/*tile̠k* ‘to point’, or *teŋweex* ‘to steer’, from *weex* ‘to turn’ (not *terweex*, which sounds like *terwek* ‘to carry on’). When affixed to a word with consonant initial [r], there arises difficulty of speech, and the clitic’s [r] again undergoes replacement, this time with the coda of the root word: *tejruuj* ‘to get lost’, from *ruuj* ‘lost’ (not *terruuj*), and *tepríc* ‘make tear’, from *ríc* ‘to tear with teeth’ (not *terríc*). But there are probably very few instances of such necessary deviations from the rule. A class exists of words carrying the affix *pi-*, a reduced form of *pær-*. It is also possible, although quite rare, that the vowel of the causative affix can regress to the phoneme [ə], such as with *bərlēeh* ‘bright’ and *sərweh* ‘make uneasy’.

There are also many words that carry the affixes *bær-*, *pær-* and *ter-* but their roots do not seem to exist (refer to the word lists in §6.1.9). Further evidence is found of fossilised causative morphology with words carrying the affixes *ger-* and *ker-*, with only a handful of the latter derived from recognisable roots. These affixes are wholly unproductive, in that they cannot be attached to base words. Many other words carry what appear to be phonetic variations of the affix *ter-*, their onset consonants shifted from [t], in the form of *cær-*, *dær-*, *hær-*, *jær-*, *lær-*, *sær-*, with no known roots.

## 2.4 Phonology of Malay borrow words

The Malay language has had probably the strongest influence on Temiar, of non-Aslian languages, due to the close proximity of its speakers, who have interacted with Temiars for the last 100 years. Malay words are sometimes used in their original form, and many disyllabic words, typically those with penultimate syllable [a], fit right into Temiar phonological rules. Other words undergo transformation along specific rules, in

order to sound closer to native Temiar. Borrowed words from English, if they haven't taken on Malay pronunciation already, follow the same rules where they can: Wifi becomes waypay, and laptop, lemtōp. The table below attempts to put these rules into a brief summary, with examples.

| <i>Rule</i>                                                                                                                                                 | <i>Examples</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| Words with penultimate syllable -a- remain unchanged.                                                                                                       | garam 'salt', balas 'reply', sabun 'soap', kampunj 'village', ?ayam 'chicken'                                                                                                                                                             |  |
| Some disyllabic words become monosyllabic                                                                                                                   | tutup 'to close' → t'tup<br>cukur 'to shave' → c'ko'or                                                                                                                                                                                    |  |
| Half-vowels are written full in Malay, so the only change is removal.                                                                                       | senang 'easy' → s'naj<br>berat 'heavy' → b'rad 'serious'                                                                                                                                                                                  |  |
| Open final syllables are most often closed by a consonant. The examples ending -εew are probably slang.                                                     | batu 'stone' → batu <sup>k</sup><br>besi 'iron' → b'sii <sup>k</sup><br>susu 'milk' → susεew<br>dadah 'drugs' → dadεew                                                                                                                    |  |
| Vowel groups are done away with                                                                                                                             | semua 'all' → s'maa <sup>k</sup><br>serupa 'like' → s'paa <sup>k</sup><br>sahaja 'just' → sajaa <sup>k</sup> 'no reason'<br>buaya 'crocodile' → buhyaa <sup>k</sup>                                                                       |  |
| Diphthonged and consecutive vowels are given approximants [w] or [y].                                                                                       | balai 'hall' → baley<br>lain 'another' → layin<br>hijau 'green' → hijow (not hijaw)<br>lauk 'meat' → lawu <sup>k</sup><br>tahun 'year' → tawun<br>dua 'two' → duwaa <sup>k</sup><br>gua 'cave' → guwɔɔ <sup>k</sup><br>sia 'vain' → siyah |  |
| Word-initial vowel 'e' undergoes change to [ɛ].                                                                                                             | empat → ?ɛmpad<br>tempat → tempad                                                                                                                                                                                                         |  |
| Final syllable vowels undergo change, either taking the vowel sound as spoken, not written (-a spoken as [əə]), or as written, not spoken (-a read as [a])! | kaya 'rich' → kayɔɔ <sup>k</sup><br>bila 'when' → bilɔɔ <sup>k</sup><br>kereta 'car' → k'ritəəh<br>gaya 'style' → gayəəh<br>hala 'idol' → halaak 'power'<br>sama 'same' → samaa <sup>k</sup>                                              |  |
| Malay unvoiced velar stop is taken as the glottal stop, or transitioned to the voiced stop [g].                                                             | balak 'log' → balo <sup>k</sup><br>habuk 'ash' → habog                                                                                                                                                                                    |  |
| Final consonants undergo change. Following the rule, papan 'plank' should become papad, but it is still spoken                                              | -n: hujan 'rain' → hujat<br>tuhan 'god' → tohaat 'healer'<br>-ng: bilang 'to count' → bilax                                                                                                                                               |  |

|                                                                                                                        |                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| papan. Udang ‘shrimp’ does not undergo change either.                                                                  | -p: silap ‘mistake’<br>-s: kabus ‘mist’<br>-t: lipat ‘to fold’         | → silab<br>→ kabùt<br>→ lipad                                                                                                                      |
| Consonant clusters with ‘m’ and ‘b’ are reduced. Timbul ‘arise’ does not change.                                       | <u>tem</u> baga ‘bronze’<br><u>tem</u> bikai ‘water melon’             | → <u>təm</u> agaa <sup>k</sup><br>→ <u>təm</u> ikay                                                                                                |
| Word initial consonants ‘b’, ‘m’ and ‘n’ receive nasalisation when the following vowel is closed by a nasal consonant. | bunga ‘flower’<br>minyak ‘oil’<br>nangka ‘jack fruit’<br>naga ‘dragon’ | → <sup>m</sup> buŋāā <sup>k</sup><br>→ <sup>m</sup> bīŋaa <sup>k</sup><br>→ <sup>n</sup> daŋkaa <sup>k</sup><br>→ <sup>n</sup> daŋgaa <sup>k</sup> |
| The Malay ‘f’ changes to [p].                                                                                          | maaf ‘apologise’<br>faham ‘understand’<br>filem ‘film’                 | → ma?ap<br>→ pa?am<br>→ piləm                                                                                                                      |

**Table 2.6 Rules of adaptation of borrowed Malay words**

# 3 Nouns

In this chapter I give a description of nominal nouns, compounds and classifiers and their types of morphology, as well as nouns created from verbs, and nouns that undergo morphological change themselves. In Chapter 5, I give a description of personal pronouns and demonstratives, along with reflexive and interrogative pronouns.

## 3.1 Noun morphology

---

### 3.1.1 Root lexemes

Most nouns in Temiar are semantically well-defined, in that they do not stand for multiple meanings, but there are a few exceptions to this, as seen with the half dozen equivocal roots given in the list below. A dozen more root nouns can be used as semantically related verbs, some of which stand for bodily fluids, such as urine, vomit and milk.

| <i>Noun</i>         | <i>Nominal meaning</i>  | <i>Verbal meaning</i> |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| ?εj                 | ‘stomach’, ‘excrement’  | ‘to defecate’         |
| ?is                 | ‘day’, ‘sun’            |                       |
| ?oɔx/?oɔŋ           | ‘water’, ‘river’        | ‘to drink’            |
| bɔt                 | ‘breast’                | ‘suckle milk’         |
| b'díil <sup>=</sup> | ‘gun’                   | ‘to shoot a gun’      |
| cenrēex             | ‘wrist’                 | ‘wear a wrist band’   |
| jaloo <sup>k</sup>  | ‘throwing net’          | ‘to cast a net’       |
| ko <sup>k</sup>     | ‘vomit’                 | ‘to vomit’            |
| kuuy                | ‘head’, ‘speech’        |                       |
| k'noɔm              | ‘urine’                 | ‘to urinate’          |
| loɔt                | ‘blood’                 | ‘to bleed’            |
| mad <sup>=</sup>    | ‘eye’, ‘face’, ‘pip’    |                       |
| mæem                | ‘breast’                | ‘to suckle’           |
| sikad <sup>=</sup>  | ‘hair brush’            | ‘to brush hair’       |
| soɔp                | ‘nest’                  | ‘to make a nest’      |
| s'laa <sup>k</sup>  | ‘leaf’, ‘money’         |                       |
| s'tíl <sup>=</sup>  | ‘catapult’              | ‘to shoot stones’     |
| te <sup>k</sup>     | ‘soil’, ‘land’, ‘place’ |                       |

Lexeme forms of nouns (as opposed to nominal forms of verbs) are generally morphologically simplex, in that they are represented by monomorphemic roots and do not carry traces of morphological processes: bɔɔ<sup>k</sup> ‘plant’, t'rù<sup>k</sup> ‘trunk’, taba<sup>k</sup> ‘branch’,

jankaar ‘twigs’. Exceptions to this pattern are to be found within the classes of tree, plant and animal names, the members of which frequently exhibit fossilised morphology, notably in the form of reduplication or causative affixation (refer to the examples in the table below). These forms carry an adjectival function, often describing the appearance of the tree or bird etc., or the sounds that the animal makes (although discovering their etymology would take some serious hard work with some knowledgeable Temiar respondents!).

For example, the name belonging to a tree and vine species, cəŋcōox, appears to be a form of cōox, made by reduplication. The tree species of the name, k'nalax, looks as though the word kalax underwent nominalisation, by infix of the phoneme [n], whereas the species, tersaan, seems to have a causative prefix, attached to a word, saanj. The name rejnaaj would seem to be close to the adjective, r'ñaaj, meaning bright red. Longer words such as j'remseem (and others listed under Names B, below), look like nominalised forms of the causative, which would be jerseem in this case.

Some words, such as s'lemdam, have undergone consonant replacement (and such replacements made with Temiar names is normally for ease of speech), so that the nominaliser phoneme [n] substitutes for [l] (also see §2.3.3-D). Burenhult (2005:72), while stating an observation by Diffloth, suggests that the [l] phoneme of this last example could carry the sense of ‘erratic movement’, but I am not convinced this is true, since that it is found in many names of non-mobile species. More likely, his example word, k'lęjbaa:j ‘swarming juvenile millipedes’, is a more easily pronounceable form of k'nęjbaa:j, a nominalised form of an unknown imperfective word, kęjbaa:j (which may mean swarming). To have arrived from the word lejbaa:j, would be unlikely, as such a word, showing a lax sense, would not receive any other clitic to the front (see §2.3.5).

That so many nouns in Temiar are found containing evidence of morphology is no surprise, as there exists a host of concepts, creatures and plants that possess no root word to directly describe them and they thus take on the nominal form of verbs and adjectives instead. Names of body parts also show evidence of morphological progression from root words, such as cənroo:s ‘nails’ and kəlkəel ‘ankle’ (refer to list A1-3 in Appendix 2).

### 3.1.2 Middle voice nouns?

While Benjamin devotes much attention to the possibility of the middle voice found in nouns, created from their apparent behavioral patterns (2011:28–37; 2013:50–54), I remain somewhat skeptical of this assessment. The middle voice conveys the idea of a subject acting while at the same time being acted upon, and Benjamin proposes that the first consonant -a- in a word most often denotes this state of thought. For example the word halab, ‘to ride downhill or downriver’, the action may be said to be done by the subject or to be done on the subject, as the person on a bike or a raft would just need to let go and be taken by gravity without any effort at all on their part to move. While this theory looks good with verbs, I can't see how it can be proven to take part in noun creation, as then why would certain objects and animals have first syllable -a- while so many others do not? To me it seems more likely that this vowel is a common or preferred sound at first syllable position.

The following words may show fossilised morphology, creating ‘middle voice’ sense from reduplication of root words that are no longer in use.

|         |                         |         |                      |
|---------|-------------------------|---------|----------------------|
| babəəh  | 'man'                   | mameej  | 'migraine'           |
| babɔɔ̄k | 'woman'                 | mamōk  | 'wild banana'        |
| cacōk  | 'grand-child'           | raroh   | 'fruit tree (larah)' |
| jajaāk | 'senior woman'          | sasoh   | 'rubbish'            |
| mamaag  | 'chest pain'            | tataāk | 'senior man/         |
| mamāk  | 'poisonous caterpillar' |         |                      |

### 3.1.3 Nominalisation of verbs

Nouns are commonly derived from verbs by affixation of the nominaliser [n]. The process is fully productive and may be applied to any verb, including borrow words from Malay, as well as adjectives. Verbal nouns are used to speak of the object that is closely related to the verb, such as ne<sup>k</sup>caāk 'food' from the verb caāk 'eat', or else the action that is undergone while doing whatever is implied, such as nebciib 'traveling' from the verb ciib 'move'. Some also speak of the instrument used in relation to the verb, such as 'hammer' from the verb 'to pound'. Some may also speak of location, such as 'the cutting' (i.e. a new swidden) from the verb 'cut'. Syntactically, these nouns behave in exactly the same manner as ordinary nouns and become heads or modifying nouns in noun phrases (see 3.2.3, below).

The nominaliser affix takes the form of a prefix on monosyllabic verbs, or an infix to disyllabic and di-consonant onset verbs, as well as to causative morphemes. The prefix carries the copied coda consonant of the base verb, so that the resulting affix looks like neC-. The infix carries a nominator [n, m, ŋ], depending on the verb's terminal consonant, and looks like -en-, -em- or -ɛŋ- (see phonotactics §2.3.3 D, and verbs in §6, for a full description). Temiar is not alone in its use of the prefixed nominaliser, at least of northern Temiar, as neighbouring Jahai also employs such affixes in derivation of nouns from verbs (Burenhult, 2005:77). Temiar spoken to the south or on the Perak side of the central mountain range does not, however, and employs infixation to all word structures to derive nouns, as also does Semai.

| <i>Monosyllabic verb</i> | <i>Nominal form</i>                                        |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| caāk 'eat'              | ne <sup>k</sup> caāk 'food' (i.e. staples, supplies etc.) |
| tuh 'speak'              | nehtuh 'speech'                                            |

| <i>Monosyllabic di-consonant onset verb</i> |
|---------------------------------------------|
| s'lɔɔ̄g 'sleep'                             |

senlɔɔ̄g 'sleep'

| <i>Disyllabic verb</i> |
|------------------------|
| jaloōk 'cast a net'   |

j'naloōk 'casting a net'

| <i>Causative verb</i> |
|-----------------------|
| bercaāk 'feed'       |

b'rencaāk 'feeding'

There are a few monosyllabic words, however, that are made nouns by infix of -n-, rather than affixation to the front, but they are more the exception in Kelantan Temiar. Quite a number of these words carry word-initial consonant [c], as below:

|             |                                                         |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| caal 'tell' | c'naal 'tale'                                           |
| cet 'cook'  | c'nən 'cooked food' (the 'n' comes from the Perak word) |

|                      |                     |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| ceer ‘cut’           | c’neer ‘knife’      |
| cōos ‘braid’         | c’noos ‘bracelet’   |
| hom ‘breathe’        | h’nom ‘heart’       |
| kaldeb ‘secure door’ | k’landeb ‘door bar’ |

Verbs that contain the phoneme [a] preceding the nominator [n] most often denote objective nominals, as in the instrument that is used in association with the verb, although the nominals canaak ‘food’ and janf<sup>k</sup> ‘illness’ may be the exceptions here:

|                           |                                               |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| caa <sup>k</sup> ‘eat’    | canaa <sup>k</sup> ‘food’ (i.e. ready to eat) |
| cɔŋŋ ‘hammer’             | canuŋ ‘hammer’                                |
| gas ‘hook’                | ganas ‘hook pole’                             |
| jii <sup>k</sup> ‘be ill’ | janí <sup>k</sup> ‘illness’                   |
| kiij ‘grate’              | kanijj ‘grater stick’                         |
| pǣäl ‘fan’               | panǣäl ‘hand fan’                            |
| rog ‘mash’                | ranoŋ ‘mashing stick’                         |
| søl ‘plug’                | sanøl ‘plug’                                  |

### 3.1.4 Noun inflection

Some nouns can undergo infixation, to create verbs or adjectives, which often give the meaning of producing that thing which the noun describes. Some examples are given below:

| <i>Base noun</i>                | <i>Altered noun</i>                                        |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| bujād <sup>k</sup> ‘flower’     | bē <sup>k</sup> jād <sup>k</sup> V. ‘flower’               |
| jajaak <sup>k</sup> ‘old woman’ | jē <sup>k</sup> jaak <sup>k</sup> ADJ. ‘old aged [female]’ |
| kowēēs ‘child’                  | keswēēs V. ‘procreate’                                     |
| k'bēe <sup>k</sup> ‘fruit’      | kē <sup>k</sup> bēe <sup>k</sup> V. ‘bear fruit’           |
| tataak <sup>k</sup> ‘old man’   | te <sup>k</sup> taa <sup>k</sup> ADJ. ‘old aged [male]’    |

In the case of the last two examples, above, it might seem unsurprising that the adjective can be formed in this way, but other such examples of noun transformation are hard to find. There are some nouns that receive causative infixation to create adjectives, such as the following:

| <i>Base noun</i>               | <i>Adjectival form</i> |                                                  |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| caco <sup>k</sup> ‘grandchild’ | k'merco <sup>k</sup>   | ‘unit of grandparent and grandchild’             |
| dōt ‘great grandchild’         | k'merdōt               | ‘unit of great grandparent and great grandchild’ |
| kowēēs ‘child’                 | k'merwēēs              | ‘unit of parent and child’                       |
| k'moōm ‘kin group’             | k'mermōōm              | ‘unit of persons of same kin’                    |

It is possible that adjectives can be treated as nouns, but this is not an overall rule. The word <sup>2</sup>is ‘day’, becomes, <sup>2</sup>es<sup>3</sup>is ‘daytime’; b'híj ‘itchy’ becomes bejsíj ‘itchy plants’ (the adjectival form bejhíj is expected but it is not used). This needs further evidence to enable better analysis. Unitisation of nouns is barely evidenced in Temiar (compare Jahai and Semai, which both infix nouns with the phoneme [n]). For example, no constructs such as, ney g'nuul ‘a mortar-full’, ney k'nampuŋ ‘a whole village’ or ney j'nelmol ‘a whole mountain’ are found in Temiar speech. They would rather say, ney kampuŋ soŋ'i ‘a village

the-whole'.

### 3.1.5 Collective plural

Some nouns, specifically human titles, undergo pluralisation by infix of the reduplicated syllable-final coda consonant of the base, with the phoneme [ɛ], in similar fashion to pluralised adjectives:

| <i>Base noun</i>           | <i>Collective form</i>      |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| babəəh ‘man’               | bəhbəəh ‘men’               |
| babɔɔk ‘woman’             | bɛk'bɔɔk ‘women’            |
| jajaak ‘old woman’         | jɛk'jaaak ‘old women’       |
| m'nahleh ‘adolescent girl’ | m'nəhləh ‘adolescent girls’ |
| sajñēed ‘child’            | sedjñēed ‘children’         |
| tataaak ‘old man’          | tek'taaak ‘old men’         |

---

## 3.2 Compounds

### 3.2.1 Nominal compounds

A nominal compound is made when two often arbitrary nouns are combined, creating a new entity or idea. The left-hand noun is the header, and the second noun is the modifier, which always carries stress. There are many such constructs and if I could list them all here it would take up rather a large space.

| <i>Compound</i>                       | <i>Breakup</i>    | <i>Meaning</i>    |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| ?is g'ce <sup>k</sup>                 | day – moon        | ‘date’            |
| ?ɔɔs karuu <sup>k</sup>               | fire – bamboo     | ‘kindling’        |
| b'rəx tawùn                           | fruits – year     | ‘seasonal fruits’ |
| cəp jelmol                            | bird – mountain   | ‘montane bird’    |
| g'tah <sup>=</sup> cep                | gum – bird        | ‘gum tree’        |
| kəlkelj jùx                           | joint – foot      | ‘ankle’           |
| kowēēs babəəh                         | child – boy       | ‘son’             |
| kuuy cep                              | head – bird       | ‘bird call’       |
| mad <sup>=</sup> ?is                  | eye – day         | ‘the sun’         |
| ŋɔɔk waa <sup>k</sup>                 | mother – aunty    | ‘step-mother’     |
| pantar b'həj                          | shelf – far-place | ‘heaven’          |
| tapəar jùx                            | flat – foot       | ‘sole of foot’    |
| tapəar tiix                           | flat – hand       | ‘palm of hand’    |
| tataa <sup>k</sup> halaa <sup>=</sup> | old man – powers  | ‘soul medium’     |

### 3.2.2 Prepositional compounds

Prepositional compounds are made when the first of the two nouns of a compound is locative. I fail to find too many examples of these, but I list a few below. Of interest, certain names of body parts are frequently used as locative nouns, those being, kuuy ‘head’, keed ‘bottom’, jùx ‘foot’, dadaa<sup>k</sup> ‘front’. Other body part words are not used in the

same way: mad ‘eye’, is only used with nominal compounds; tiix ‘hand’ is not used at all in compounds; k'rək ‘back’ is used as a temporal, as well as a locative noun, as in k'rək na<sup>k</sup> ‘after that’, k'rək dīix ‘behind the house’. Other locative nouns include: bēex ‘outside’, k'lōoj ‘inside’, k'roōp ‘underside’, paax ‘upperside’, ?ileen ‘side of’, soy ‘front’, yək ‘rear’.

| <i>Compound</i>          | <i>Breakup</i>   | <i>Meaning</i>         |
|--------------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| bēex ?oōx                | outside – river  | ‘beside the river’     |
| dadaak jelmol            | front – mountain | ‘mountain-side’        |
| jūx jelmol               | foot – mountain  | ‘foot of the mountain’ |
| kēed palo <sup>k</sup>   | bottom – log     | ‘base of the log’      |
| kuuy ?oōs                | head – fire      | ‘over the fire’        |
| mulaa <sup>k=</sup> kēed | start – bottom   | ‘the beginning’        |
| soy tiix                 | end – hand       | ‘fingers’              |

### 3.3 Heads and modifiers

---

#### 3.3.1 Noun phrases

Nouns take part in noun phrases either as heads or as modifiers, and as the latter they generally represent the possessor of a head noun in the phrase. These compounds do not create any new concept, but the modifier is used to declare who the head noun belongs to.

| <i>Compound</i>                      | <i>Breakup</i>       | <i>Meaning</i>       |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| canaa <sup>k</sup> cuwa <sup>k</sup> | food – dog           | ‘the dog’s food’     |
| canteen j’huu <sup>k</sup>           | root – tree          | ‘tree roots’         |
| duwíd <sup>=</sup> sen?oōy           | money – person       | ‘someone’s money’    |
| kowēes ?ayam <sup>=</sup>            | child – hen          | ‘the hen’s chicks’   |
| lubaj <sup>=</sup> k'díig            | hole – rat           | ‘the rat’s hole’     |
| motooh <sup>=</sup> ?Ajeed           | motorbike – ?Ajeed   | ‘?Ajeed’s motorbike’ |
| nēlcaal tataa <sup>k</sup>           | talk – old man       | ‘old man’s talk’     |
| pēngōoh bēər                         | cooking – vegetables | ‘vegetable soup’     |
| sente <sup>k</sup> kaa <sup>k=</sup> | tail – fish          | ‘the fish’s tail’    |

#### 3.3.2 Name headers

Names of species, including birds, fish, frogs, edible ferns, fruit trees, flowers and plants are preceded by a class header (see list below), and to announce the names of most creatures without its header would seem unnatural to any Temiar. For example, bēər camēen ‘a wild edible plant’, cēp biraay ‘magpie-robin’, and dīix rendeed ‘house built with bamboo poles’. There are exceptions however, such as with insects and many mammals, which go by their direct name. Nearly all geographic locations carry a header before their name, such as jelmol Bērlēey ‘Bērlēey Mountain’, or ?oōx Píncorōj ‘Píncorōj River’ (these are given in the list further down). Vocational titles could be listed too, such as mēnt’rii<sup>k</sup> ‘minister’ or d’ribəəh ‘driver’, but I will not fill up the page with them here.

*Natural kinds*

|                          |                           |                               |                          |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| ?aab                     | 'felines (wild cats)'     | kayuh                         | 'manioc varieties'       |
| ?awen                    | 'bamboos'                 | kaa <sup>=</sup>              | 'fish'                   |
| ?ɔɔs                     | 'firewood types'          | kənroob                       | 'roofing palm varieties' |
| batu <sup>k=</sup>       | 'stones'                  | k'bəə <sup>k</sup>            | 'wild fruits'            |
| bəər                     | 'edible ferns/mushrooms'  | k'díig                        | 'rodents'                |
| boɔd / mēɛk <sup>k</sup> | 'fragrant plants'         | k'laax                        | 'birds of prey'          |
| bɔɔ <sup>k</sup>         | 'plants with trunk'       | k'maay                        | 'grubs, caterpillars'    |
| buŋaa <sup>k=</sup>      | 'flowers'                 | k'waay                        | 'yams'                   |
| bus                      | 'sugar cane varieties'    | m'nih <sup>=</sup>            | 'seeds'                  |
| b'laaw                   | 'blowpipe bamboos'        | padiy <sup>=</sup>            | 'rice varieties'         |
| b'rəx                    | 'edible fruits'           | p'lɔp                         | 'leeches'                |
| cəgcəog                  | 'civets'                  | səər                          | 'sweet potatoes'         |
| cəp                      | 'birds'                   | səgnūg                        | 'reptiles, frogs'        |
| c'kəər                   | 'plants with edible pith' | s'ke <sup>k</sup>             | 'pandanus'               |
| jagox <sup>=</sup>       | 'corn varieties'          | s'laa <sup>k</sup>            | 'plant leaves'           |
| jawa <sup>k</sup>        | 'millet varieties'        | s'muj                         | 'bees and wasps'         |
| jaay                     | 'bananas'                 | tajuu <sup>k</sup>            | 'snakes'                 |
| j'huu <sup>k</sup>       | 'trees, woods'            | talii <sup>k=</sup> / təŋtəex | 'rattans'                |

*Non-natural kinds*

|                        |                       |                        |                    |
|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| ?alat <sup>=</sup>     | 'tools'               | kapal <sup>=</sup>     | 'ships/aeroplanes' |
| ?ubad <sup>=</sup>     | 'medicines'           | kasud <sup>=</sup>     | 'shoes'            |
| bantuwan <sup>=</sup>  | 'subsidies/charities' | k'rāja <sup>?an=</sup> | 'governments'      |
| baraj <sup>=</sup>     | 'stuffs'              | k'ritəəh <sup>=</sup>  | 'cars'             |
| bət'rii <sup>k=</sup>  | 'batteries'           | lampuu <sup>k=</sup>   | 'lights'           |
| m'b̥ŋnaa <sup>k=</sup> | 'oil'                 | nəŋg'rii <sup>k=</sup> | 'states'           |
| butol <sup>=</sup>     | 'bottles'             | n'garaa <sup>k=</sup>  | 'countries'        |
| dii <sup>x</sup>       | 'homes'               | sən <sup>?oɔy</sup>    | 'peoples'          |
| duwíd <sup>=</sup>     | 'currencies'          | sudu <sup>k=</sup>     | 'spoons'           |
| hanset <sup>=</sup>    | 'phones'              | s'laay                 | 'swiddens'         |
| hoɔ <sup>k</sup>       | 'plates, bowls'       | te <sup>k</sup>        | 'land'             |
| j'waaj                 | 'bush knives'         | toŋ <sup>=</sup>       | 'tins, barrels'    |
| kampuŋ <sup>=</sup>    | 'villages'            |                        |                    |

**3.3.3 Classifiers**

Classifier nouns (or numeral coefficients) are used to put a count of objects into an order of kind. In English we would have these in phrases like, 'bottles of milk', 'a box of pencils' or 'a sack of potatoes'. However, with Temiar, the classifier does not need to stand with the noun, but it forms its own noun phrase, such as 'five persons' or 'twenty fruits', and often during discourse, to describe the quantity of what was found or caught, for example, or to answer the question, 'how many?' or 'how much?'

*Native Temiar classifiers*

|               |                              |           |                             |
|---------------|------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| ?awaat, baloh | 'bamboo poles'               | lewto:w   | 'adolescent males'          |
| ?is           | 'days'                       | luwaar    | 'roof areas'                |
| bəhbəəh       | 'males' (of people)          | m'nəhləh  | 'adolescent females'        |
| be'bɔɔ:k      | 'females' (of people)        | pær       | 'banana hands'              |
| bɔɔ:k         | 'trees, plants'              | rabuŋ     | 'roofs' (homes)             |
| b'nuntíl      | 'loops of new rattan'        | reŋroox   | 'long things'               |
| ceŋkod        | 'tied bundles'               | sedjñēed  | 'children'                  |
| go:th         | 'bamboo tubes'               | sembul    | 'bundles of cut roof palms' |
| guul          | 'poundings of grain'         | senma:k   | 'people'                    |
| g'ce:k        | 'months'                     | sente:k   | 'fishes'                    |
| g'maal        | 'handfuls of cut rice heads' | s'laak    | 'leaves'                    |
| je:kjaak      | 'old women'                  | s'rub     | 'big bags'                  |
| kənlox        | 'tubers'                     | tandan    | 'banana bunches'            |
| kíim          | 'villages'                   | te:ktaa:k | 'old men'                   |
| kowēēs        | 'children' (of s.o.)         | t'nom     | 'nights'                    |
| k'bəə:k       | 'fruits'                     | waar      | 'baskets', 'weaving'        |
| k'mo:m        | 'kin groups'                 |           |                             |

*Classifiers from Malay borrow-words*

|          |                     |           |                      |
|----------|---------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| ?ikor=   | 'animals'           | k'lamín=  | 'married couples'    |
| ?ucanj=  | 'sacks'             | k'píj=    | 'flat objects'       |
| bataŋ=   | 'bars'              | k'tul=    | 'pieces'             |
| batu:k=  | 'miles'             | laay=     | 'sarongs'            |
| bíjii:k= | 'small objects'     | mad =     | 'very small objects' |
| butol=   | 'oil'               | minít=    | 'minutes'            |
| buwah=   | 'cars, motorbikes'  | miŋguu:k= | 'weeks'              |
| cupo:k=  | 'measures of grain' | surad=    | 'pages'              |
| gílen=   | 'petrol'            | s'tix=    | 'packets'            |
| g'rem=   | 'kilograms'         | tawùn=    | 'years'              |
| jam=     | 'hours'             | tumpùg=   | 'bundles of fruit'   |
| kampíd=  | 'bags'              |           |                      |

**3.3.4 Collective nouns**

When a noun, or sometimes adjective, is affixed with the clitic men- 'all the things with', the noun becomes collective of plural things. For example, men-dɔɔ:k, which appears to be singular, due to the singular noun, stands for 'the group of people with father', whereas dɔɔ:k men-Sulih stands for 'father of all those with Sulih' (i.e. Sulih and her siblings). Sometimes this is combined with a repeated noun to produce the sense of 'including'. Other examples include the following:

|              |                             |
|--------------|-----------------------------|
| men-?abi:k   | 'all those with uncle'      |
| men-ŋɔ:k     | 'mother and those with her' |
| men-behbəəh  | 'the group of men'          |
| men-m'nəhləh | 'the group of older girls'  |
| men-?aleeg   | 'all the bags'              |
| men-bajuu:k= | 'all the clothes'           |

|                        |                      |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| mən-məjmej             | 'all the good ones'  |
| mən- <sup>?</sup> amís | 'all the small ones' |
| mən-mad-mad=           | 'including the eyes' |

### 3.4 Avoidance terms

---

In Temiar custom, mentioning names of animals or telling plainly what one is planning to do can cause misfortune or even ill fate for the one careless with his words. For example, mentioning animals to be trapped will bring on bad luck, while releasing the name of dangerous beasts from one's lips will no doubt cause an unnecessary encounter with one in the forest, or even at the home. When preparing for a trip or setting out, the intentions one has are never told openly as this would cause all the wanted animals to vanish and the hunting or fishing trip would be totally fruitless. Calling non-animal life the names of animals is a feared taboo that would cause diarrhea, while activities such as collection of bird gum and blow-dart poison and ritual practices such as dance gatherings and healing administration must also be talked of secretly.

The terms given in the list below are used on a daily basis by Temiars, in order to keep their thoughts and intentions known to others but unknown to the realm of the wild.

| Term                                   | Meaning          | Avoidance of                  |
|----------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>For animals and foods</i>           |                  |                               |
| bəər                                   | 'vegetables'     | rats, bats, fish              |
| benhed                                 | 'sweetness'      | meat                          |
| bøøh                                   | 'fruits'         | bananas, yams, sweet potatoes |
| cəg <sup>?</sup> apo'os                | 'rips zingibers' | sun bear                      |
| cəŋkeh                                 | 'scales'         | pangolin                      |
| cõðs                                   | ?                | birds                         |
| gantəŋ, k'dõõk, suluŋ                  |                  | rats                          |
| hõõk                                   | 'bowl'           | tortoise                      |
| jε <sup>k</sup> tuux                   | 'unafraid'       | tiger                         |
| k'díig                                 | 'rodent'         | small mammals                 |
| lawu <sup>k=</sup>                     | 'meat'           | game on the ground            |
| ludaad                                 | 'slithering'     | snake                         |
| mergəəh                                | ?                | beast                         |
| sadaam                                 | 'menace'         | tiger                         |
| segñug                                 | 'shining'        | frogs and reptiles            |
| tataa <sup>k</sup> rayaa <sup>k=</sup> | 'big old man'    | elephant                      |

### For taboos

|                      |              |                  |
|----------------------|--------------|------------------|
| ?is <sup>?</sup> oõm | 'their day'? | tomorrow         |
| ?omoõh               | 'hole'       | a spear trap     |
| ?ubad=               | 'pills'      | herbal medicines |
| bəər                 | 'vegetables' | bird gum         |
| c'bøøh               | 'juice'      | blood, when cut  |
| dəhdəəh              | 'wandering'  | hunting          |

|                         |                 |                      |
|-------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| həŋoɔd                  | 'night'         | nights in the forest |
| kendeg                  | 'bitterness'    | blow-dart poison     |
| mēē <sup>k</sup>        | 'ladies'        | fragrant leaves      |
| na-wōg                  | 'it's risen'    | a rainbow            |
| nemdəp                  | 'camping'       | hunting trip         |
| nerpaar                 | 'running'       | trapping             |
| p'yeew                  | 'bright'        | heaven               |
| semgiip                 | 'wiping'        | ritual healing       |
| s'níndul                | 'the gathering' | ritual dance         |
| te <sup>k</sup> kenroob | 'roof clay'     | wasp nest            |
| tenlaak <sup>k</sup>    | 'abstention'    | e.g. menstruation    |
| tesraas                 | 'hardened'      | moluccan ironwood    |

### 3.5 Numerals

---

The numeric system in Temiar follows the Malay system very closely, from where it is nearly completely derived. Temiar has only three numerals of its own, which are ney 'one', naar 'two' and ne<sup>k</sup> 'three'. When asking for items, or describing the number of items, a Temiar will prefer these words, as opposed to using the Malay (satu<sup>k</sup>, duwaa<sup>k</sup>, tigaa<sup>k</sup>). When counting, from one to whatever number, a Temiar may use the Malay for one, two and three, as opposed to ney, naar, ne<sup>k</sup>. A complete numeral set is given below, while example uses of numbers as adjectives and adverbs can be found in §7.2.2.

|                                       |            |                                                |                |
|---------------------------------------|------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| ney/satuu <sup>k</sup> =              | 'one'      | ?empad-b'las=                                  | 'fourteen'     |
| naar/duwaa <sup>k</sup> =             | 'two'      | limaa <sup>k</sup> -b'las=                     | 'fifteen'      |
| ne <sup>k</sup> /tigaa <sup>k</sup> = | 'three'    | ?enam-b'las=                                   | 'sixteen'      |
| ?empad/?əmpad=                        | 'four'     | tujooh-b'las=                                  | 'seventeen'    |
| limaa <sup>k</sup> =                  | 'five'     | lapan-b'las=                                   | 'eighteen'     |
| ?enam=                                | 'six'      | semilan-b'las=                                 | 'nineteen'     |
| tujooh=                               | 'seven'    | duwaa <sup>k</sup> -puloh=                     | 'twenty'       |
| lapan=                                | 'eight'    | duwaa <sup>k</sup> -puloh-satuu <sup>k</sup> = | 'twenty-one'   |
| semilan=                              | 'nine'     | tigaa <sup>k</sup> -puloh-satuu <sup>k</sup> = | 'thirty-one'   |
| s'puloh=                              | 'ten'      | s'ratus=                                       | 'one hundred'  |
| s'b'las=                              | 'eleven'   | s'ribuu <sup>k</sup> =                         | 'one thousand' |
| duwaa <sup>k</sup> -b'las=            | 'twelve'   | ney-jutaa <sup>k</sup> =                       | 'one million'  |
| tigaa <sup>k</sup> -b'las=            | 'thirteen' | jutaa <sup>k</sup> -melyen=                    | 'millions'     |

Slang words are sometimes employed for certain numerals, where the Malay final syllable 'uh' is replaced by [εel]:

|                            |          |             |              |
|----------------------------|----------|-------------|--------------|
| s'puleel=                  | 'ten'    | ney rateel= | 'a hundred'  |
| duwaa <sup>k</sup> pulεel= | 'twenty' | ney ribεel= | 'a thousand' |
| tigaa <sup>k</sup> pulεel= | 'thirty' |             |              |

# 4 Names

## 4.1 Toponyms (place names)

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### 4.1.1 Traditional naming of geological places

In a five-year long mapping project, from 2013-2018, the Temiar community at Pos Gooib plotted the positions of 1650 places up and down the Puyan River valley and all around on its perimeter. The valley covers a land area of 280km<sup>2</sup> and spans the main river, from its mouth at the Jenrol River, in the south, to its tributaries in the mountains, northward. The boundary runs along a 60km ring of some 140 mountain peaks and hills, most of which are over 1500m high, with lower elevations nearer the lower end of the Puyan. There are 300 other peaks within the valley, 300 rivers, and almost 240 former homesteads. Other locations included ridges, gullies, boulders, caves, valleys, waterfalls, river pools and mud bogs.

After completing the survey, I took the difficult task of investigating the origins of these names. In our first few discussions we passed over many names with no inferences made, as they had forgotten many of the stories, giving only the usual escape clause, “The old man was told the name in a dream.” However, many so-called names from dreams were discovered to have been derived otherwise, after more digging was made. The last meanings came out only on my fourth or fifth intensive dig at the history, after searching for people with better historical knowledge.

Of these place names, around 1000 can be considered primary names, or names given to locations from actual circumstances, with the other 600 or so being adopted from these primary names, for locations geographically related to them. Over half (58%) of these primary names were given to mountains, hills and rivers, which are certainly the most prominent features (there were 18 place types in all<sup>13</sup>).

Nearly every name recorded is of pure Temiar origin with just 19 names coming from Malay borrow words, and two more from English (from contact with the British Army in the 1950s) (2%). The names from non-Temiar words were perhaps given to avoid calling something by its real name, as there are always taboos associated with names. Taking a closer look at these borrow words, given in the following list, we can see that only around a third of them were used in place of a native Temiar word (marked by an \*), with the others being words fairly assimilated into Temiar.

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13 For the complete list of place names, see the Appendix of my book, *The Temiars of the Puyan River*, where I list the names according to category of name origin, and to my list on Figshare, which is ordered according to type of place (with possibly more names in the list).

| Name              | Borrow word   | Meaning        | Alt. Temiar            |
|-------------------|---------------|----------------|------------------------|
| Baraj             | barang        | stuff          | b'rampa <sup>k</sup> * |
| Bijeh             | biji          | tin traces     |                        |
| B'raboh           | bravo         | B-squadron     |                        |
| B'ras             | beras         | rice           |                        |
| Garam             | garam         | salt           |                        |
| Jarum             | jarum         | needle         | jarùp                  |
| Kalæh             | kalajeking    | scorpion       | majaay *               |
| Kambíj            | kambing       | goat           |                        |
| Kandaj            | kandang       | an enclosure   |                        |
| Lambar            | lambar        | to wave        | ŋaal *                 |
| Layan             | layan         | to serve       | jamuu <sup>k</sup>     |
| Pagar             | pagar         | fence          | kacær *                |
| Paku <sup>k</sup> | pucuk paku    | an edible fern |                        |
| Pancur            | pancur        | fountain       | tənloɔ̄r *             |
| Papan             | papan         | plank          |                        |
| Pulas             | pulas         | to twist       | pulɛ̄d *               |
| Sigaj             | machine gun   | aerial attack  |                        |
| S'liwaŋ           | sewang        | ritual dance   | nɛhpoōh *             |
| Tanjun            | tanjung       | a flower       | tanjɔ̄x                |
| Terbaŋ            | kapal terbang | aeroplane      |                        |
| T'magaɑ̄k         | tembaga       | bronze         | təmagaa <sup>k</sup>   |

Names from Temiar derivation can be real Temiar words, especially if from names of species, but they can also show some degree of alteration, again perhaps to avoid drawing attention from the soul-world to something that happened, such as an encounter with a dangerous beast or something considered taboo. For example, the name of a swidden, Menjoon, was derived from the action of a tiger dream guide in a dream, na-ciib penp'joon ‘it went along hopping’.

#### 4.1.2 Duplicate names

Some place names appear to be duplicates and this is because the names of some locations originate from the same common species, such as a tree, flower, plant or animal, or other coincidental circumstance. These duplicates account for 104 names in the list (and there are possibly more than this) which means that only around 900 names out of the 1600 in the survey, or 56%, are unique. The table below lists names in the Puyan Valley that occur multiple times, and how many times they occur, with the number of duplicates given in the first column.

|                      |                                                                                                                                                                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Trees (33)           | Cabøl 4, J'lax 5, J'ræg 3, Kabu <sup>k</sup> 4, Katœ <sup>k</sup> 2, Kulid 2, K'miñjan 3. Lalo <sup>k</sup> 4, Le <sup>k</sup> 4, Puliÿ 7, R'guul 4, So'c 2, T'læey 3 |
| Fruit trees (23)     | Bagan 2, Guwaaj 4, G'tah 4, Jadaar 2, Kabaax 2, Kurii <sup>k</sup> 2, K'jox 2, K'røx 5, Rambey 2, Rajsiil 2, S'poøy 2, Tagæes 4, Tajaar 2, Tampuy 2,                  |
| Bamboo varieties (7) | B'sií <sup>k</sup> 2, S'meey 5, S'woør 3                                                                                                                              |

|                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Plants (21)     | Bəltəp ‘roofing palm’ 2, Boəd ‘class of fragrant plant’ 2, Hariiw ‘large fan palm’ 2, Jarōw ‘pandanus’, Jawa <sup>k</sup> ‘millet’ 3, Kamaar ‘short palm’ 3, Kasay ‘incense’ 4, Kayaak ‘fragrant leaf’ 5, K’waar ‘fan palm’ 2, Labu <sup>k</sup> ‘squash gourd’ 2, Lagoh ‘a palm’ 3, Məɔŋ ‘cooking herb’ 2, Paku <sup>k</sup> ‘edible fern’ 2, S’ke <sup>k</sup> ‘pandanus’ 2 |
| Flowers (9)     | B’rawēēŋ 2, Gapeh 4, Sumbaah 3, Tanjuŋ 2, Tapix 3                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Animals (3)     | Bawaaj ‘pig-tailed macaque’ 2, Kapur ‘river snails’ 2, Tagooŋi ‘large black ants’ 2                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Environment (6) | C’rēem ‘rocky’ 3, L’baax ‘mud’ 2, Pantey ‘sand’ 2, Rapag ‘island’ 3                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Events (2)      | ?Eŋkuu <sup>k</sup> ‘thunder’ 2, Tarog ‘spear’ 2                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |

#### 4.1.3 Sample names

After digging up the history and etymology of all these names, I categorised them according to name origin, producing some 25 categories in four groups. Over half (55%) of names come under the first group, derived from species of trees and plants, while a tenth each came under the second group (13%), of animals and birds , and environmental conditions (11%), such as the shape of the land and the weather. Thus over three quarters (78%) of these place names were derived from nature. Trees made up the largest overall factor in naming, with 201 names derived of hardwood trees, 115 names from wild fruit trees, and another 52 from edible fruit trees, giving a total of 368 names, or a third of the total (36%). It is clear that trees have played a significant role in place naming, and likely because they are so prominent in Temiar resource-needs, not to mention that they stand so prominently in the forest.

The list below gives some examples of place names that were recorded, with a brief summary of each name origin. The header words used are: L’mog ‘former swidden’, Jelmol ‘mountain’, Taŋkol ‘hill’, Gerboŋ<sup>k</sup> ‘ridge’, ?Oox ‘river’, Teŋkoŋ ‘waterfall’.

|                               |                                           |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| ?Oox Beed                     | beed ‘a betel nut pouch’                  |
| ?Oox Bərtax                   | from bartə <sup>k</sup> ‘earthy’          |
| ?Oox B’la <sup>k</sup> əər    | b’la <sup>k</sup> əər ‘green’             |
| ?Oox B’redlleed               | b’redlleed ‘stripy’ (a snake)             |
| ?Oox B’reŋhoŋ                 | b’reŋhoŋ ‘full of holes’                  |
| ?Oox J’reiskaas               | j’reiskaas ‘a porcupine’                  |
| ?Oox K’nəedwɔɔd               | from cawɔɔd, to climb up                  |
| ?Oox Laŋiir                   | laŋiir ‘a wasp’                           |
| ?Oox Píŋcoŋi                  | from coŋi ‘to pound’ (snail shells)       |
| ?Oox Puyan                    | from belyan ‘mystic power’                |
| ?Oox Pueŋ                     | pueŋ ‘a species of flower’                |
| ?Oox Ratoħ                    | ratoħ ‘to shake’ (of a tiger with a body) |
| ?Oox S’raŋe <sup>k</sup>      | s’raŋe <sup>k</sup> ‘quiet’               |
| ?Oox Tampaal                  | tampaal ‘a tree species’                  |
| Gerboŋ <sup>k</sup> K’mīŋan   | k’mīŋan ‘the incense tree’                |
| Gerboŋ <sup>k</sup> P’ređhiid | p’ređhiid ‘cool breeze’                   |

|                            |                            |                                          |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| Gerbɔɔ <sup>k</sup>        | S'dùx                      | s'dùx ‘a herbal medicine’                |
| Jelmoł ?Ayaap              | ?a-yaap                    | ‘don’t cry’ (said a dog to an old woman) |
| Jelmoł Hūūlhil             | from hūūl                  | ‘to blow’                                |
| Jelmoł Líris               | líris                      | ‘name of a mountain soul’                |
| Jelmoł Närnyeb             | ñärñeb                     | ‘sudden dark sky’                        |
| Jelmoł Penreew             | penreew                    | ‘a bamboo species’                       |
| Jelmoł P'goy               | from k'hoj                 | ‘to yawn’ (the tiger in a dream)         |
| Jelmoł R'naked             | from r'n?angíd             | ‘rubbing together’ (of bamboo)           |
| Jelmoł Seglapoɔ̄g          | seglapoɔ̄g                 | ‘to drop all over the place’             |
| Jelmoł Sírij               | sírij                      | ‘a species of flower’                    |
| Jelmoł S'numpaag           | from s'numpaa <sup>k</sup> | ‘an oath’                                |
| Jelmoł S'puew              | s'puew                     | ‘a tree species’                         |
| L'mog Capeer               | capeer                     | ‘male macaque’ (avoidance term)          |
| L'mog Hoob                 | hoob                       | the sound a tiger made                   |
| L'mog K'liboo <sup>k</sup> | cep k'liboo <sup>k</sup>   | ‘a species of owl’                       |
| L'mog K'moɔ̄k              | from k'moɔ̄j               | ‘a medicinal plant’                      |
| L'mog Leŋraaŋ              | from leŋlaaŋ               | ‘turning of the earth’ (a catastrophe)   |
| L'mog Saŋyaal              | from saal                  | ‘a fruit tree used by hunters’           |
| L'mog S'lipɔɔh             | from nehpɔɔh               | ‘ritual dance’                           |
| Taŋkol Gejgiijwæed         | gejgiij caweed             | ‘burning of loin cloth’                  |
| Taŋkol Gejhaaj             | gejhaaj                    | ‘a tree species’                         |
| Taŋkol Legliig             | legliig                    | ‘consuming’ (a storm)                    |
| Taŋkol Remñoɔ̄m            | remñoɔ̄m                   | ‘gloominess’                             |
| Taŋkol Rewroow             | rewroow                    | ‘pulling down vines’                     |
| Taŋkol S'haweer            | from kaweer                | ‘to pace around’ (of a tiger at a kill)  |
| Taŋkol Tajaar              | tajaar                     | ‘a fruit tree used by hunters’           |
| Taŋkol T'menkaak           | from terkaak               | ‘to shout warning’ (of a tiger)          |
| Tεŋkoh Herwooj             | from wejwooj               | ‘pangolin’                               |
| Tεŋkoh Kawiib              | kawiib                     | ‘sun bear’ (fell down the waterfall)     |
| Tεŋkoh Lagol               | Taa <sup>k</sup> Lagol     | a mendriq who performed magic            |
| Tεŋkoh Ləruw               | Ləruw                      | name of the soul seen in a dream         |
| Tεŋkoh Puran               | puran                      | ‘lime pot’ (dropped there)               |
| Tεŋkoh S'nankaad           | s'nankaad                  | ‘making waves’                           |
| Tεŋkoh Tayaas              | tayaas                     | ‘otter’ (chewed through a fish trap)     |

## 4.2 Autonyms (personal names)

---

In Temiar culture, a person’s autonym is not normally used while that person is present as it would cause them to be startled if they heard their own name being called. Specific terms are used (see §4.3, below) to address people or refer to them while they are present, in order to avoid mentioning their name in front of them. Personal names are used to refer to people who are elsewhere or for making lists of people to do jobs, for official use, or for ancestral records. A person’s full name would have their father’s name appended (such as, ?Aloɔŋ ?Ampís) as there are no family names in Temiar. Autonyms are usually acquired during childhood and are given by one’s parents or another close relative.

#### 4.2.1 Names of children

According to custom, children are often called names after what they looked like or the first words they started saying when they were very small. This is their fratronym, and it can be anything from describing their plump cheeks, to the bulge of their tummy. When they grow up enough to carry any amount of responsibility, such as help clean the plates, or carry water, they will be called by the name given by their parents. This name is their autonym, or real name, also called their *k'nuuh beex* ‘forest name’. They normally also have a *k'nuuh gob* ‘official name’, which is used to register their birth (and is often chosen at random in order to please the Malay registration officers) and is later put on their identity card. Their home name is often made up from a combination of consonant-vowel-consonant with the prefix *?a-*, such as *?Adín* or *?Apon* (see the many examples in the lists below), so long as the name does not form a word with inappropriate meaning. But there are many other names chosen besides those made using this pattern, such as, Galon, K'lusah, Hélmih, Kudín.

That the Temiars construct names from any given combination of *?a-CVC* and that there are ten thousand such possible constructs (as proposed by Benjamin in his papers) seems to me somewhat far-fetched. Most Temiar names are derived from Temiar words and have traceable semantics, and are not purely randomised constructs. There are also many words that would be inappropriate to give people, even though there are some fairly rude names given to children (describing their genitals at birth, or big lips or flaring nose, for example), which means that a huge number of constructs become unusable.

In their deep-rooted tradition, the Temiars name boys after names of hills and fragrant plants and girls after names of flowers, for examples, *?Agaah Hemaay*, a boy’s name (after the name of a local hill), *?Agaah Maŋsii<sup>k</sup>*, a boy’s name (after the name of a medicinal cane), *Mee<sup>k</sup> Herkoy*, or *Mee<sup>k</sup> Sulih*, girls’ names (after the names of flowers). But in some cases children can be named directly after a mountain: *Líris*, *P'nanjow*, *S'raŋem*, *K'jaay*, or a flower: *Maŋle<sup>k</sup>*, *C'naap*, *Lujew*, *Rajoo<sup>k</sup>*.

First-, second- and last-born children can be, and perhaps are very likely to be, named with customary birth-order names, or fratronyms. It has been said by other researchers (Benjamin, Means) that birth-order names were quite established for Temiar children, through to the eighth-born even, but my father-in-law says otherwise, giving only customary birth-order names for the first, second and last born children. All those born in between can be named by a popular, descriptive Temiar name or by any other imaginative name. I now see that it is unrealistic to assume that there is a set order of names that the Temiars follow when naming their children, and especially as the order of the names seems to vary from one locality to another.

Children will not be given a particular name if another person in the same house, or even the same village, has that name already, because it will cause the possibility of conflict. If a child was called by its name and there was a relative of the same name in the house, they would be startled to hear their own name mentioned all the time. Thus, if the order of names was rigid, the parents might have to stay clear of all of them because if the correct birth-order name was already taken by someone else nearby they wouldn’t be able to select another of the names because they would jump out of order! But there are many persons who break the order and I’m sure that parents can choose any of these so-called birth-order names as they wish—except for the first, second and last names in the order, which are fairly well set. The name *?Anjan*, which was also given to me, is given to a person with a tall stature, not just anyone.

These set birth-order names are as follows:

| <i>Birth position</i> | <i>Names of males</i> | <i>Names of females</i> |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| first-born            | ?Aloɔŋ or ?Agooŋ      | ?Abɔɔk or Bɔɔk-loɔŋ     |
| second-born           | ?Adi <sup>k</sup>     | ?Aboɔŋ                  |
| last-born             | ?Aluɔj                | ?Asuh                   |

Children born in between the second and last born may be named from any of the popular names given in § 4.2.2, below, if those names are suitable for them, that is, the name correspond with their appearance or character.

#### 4.2.2 Popular names

In Temiar tradition, certain autonyms are not only popular but are considered standard in the child naming process, together with the birth-order names given to first and last born children (see the list above). These autonyms were noted by other researchers as birth-order names, yet I have found that they can be given in any order, between the second and last born, and usually they are given a child according to it's physical characteristics. These names are listed below.

| <i>Females</i>                                                                             | <i>Males</i>                                                                                                                                                    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ?Abaaj, ?Akoy, ?Aləh, ?Amɛ <sup>k</sup> , ?Amoɔ <sup>k</sup> , ?Anda <sup>k</sup> , ?Atih, | ?Abaaj, ?Abus, ?Agaad, ?Ando <sup>k</sup> , ?Apet, ?Asoɔd, ?Alaŋ (Laŋ), ?Anjaŋ (Jaŋ), ?Aŋah, ?Itam, ?Udah, ?Usɔp, Busuh, Panda <sup>k</sup> , P'di <sup>k</sup> |

In addition to the above customary and popular names, there are many other personal names of Temiars that begin with the phoneme [a]. The lists below were made from the names of people living in the present day at Pos Gɔɔb, plus some from former times.

| <i>Females</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <i>Males</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ?Abəɛg, ?Adɛɛŋ, ?Adix, ?Adom, ?Adum, ?Ahaah, ?Ahɛj, ?Ahɔŋj, ?Ajem, ?Akɛɛŋ, ?Alís, ?Amah, ?Amih, ?Amoɔ <sup>k</sup> , ?Amoɔj, ?Ambay, ?Ampíj, ?Anum, ?Ande <sup>k</sup> , ?Aŋɔɔm, ?Apaaj, ?Apen, ?Apɔn, ?Apɔŋ, ?Araaj, ?Areŋ, ?Arín, ?Asah, ?Asih, ?Asεy, ?Asoɔd, ?Ateew, ?Atɔɔk, ?Ato <sup>k</sup> , ?Atɔs, ?Ayan, ?Ayɔd, ?Ayɔm, ?Ayɔŋ, ?Ayɔs, ?Ayup | ?Acaay, ?Aday, ?Adɛɛd, ?Adəm, ?Adíd, ?Adím, ?Adul, ?Agəɛs, ?Ahaj, ?Ahíj, ?Ahɔg, ?Ahɔŋj, ?Ajil, ?Ajíím, ?Ajɔn, ?Akəl, ?Akus, ?Alis, ?Alít, ?Alíx, ?Alus, ?Aman, ?Amɔn, ?Amoɔs, ?Ampaŋ, ?Ampís, ?Amrih, ?Anel, ?Anít, ?Ajet, ?Aŋeɛd, ?Apaah, ?Apín, ?Apoo <sup>k</sup> , ?Apɔŋ, ?Apùd, ?Anɔw, ?Are <sup>k</sup> , ?Areɛŋ, ?Ari <sup>k</sup> , ?Aríp, ?Arís, ?Aroł, ?Arɔm, ?Asam, ?Asan, ?Ason, ?Atay, ?Ataan, ?Ataad, ?Atəm, ?Atih, ?Atín, ?Aton, ?Atūud, ?Ayaas |

#### 4.2.3 Nicknames

It is common practice for names to be given people because of their appearance or character and they are called by these instead of their autonyms. Very often, we find that a

descriptive word has been abbreviated, with the first consonant or syllable removed and the word begun with the vowel [a], such as *lepbaj* ‘cheerful character’ that turns into the name *?abaaj*, or *bejlæj* ‘prominent forehead’, that becomes the name *?alæj*, or *lesluus* ‘hairless’, that becomes *?aluus*. This practice is not limited to people’s names alone, but it is used to name many everyday items, such as those given in the following list:

|                          |                      |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| cēēk ‘dog’               | → ?acēēk             |
| haab ‘to defacate’       | → ?ahaab ‘wild boar’ |
| j’waaj ‘bush knife       | → ?awaaj             |
| katun ‘teddy’            | → ?atun              |
| mēēk ‘mother’            | → ?amēēk             |
| nasi <sup>k</sup> ‘rice’ | → ?asi <sup>k</sup>  |

The list below shows some examples of nicknames given to people, with their semantic origins.

#### *Of appearance*

|                          |                                                                      |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ?Ahaj, ?Ayōm             | ‘bamboo rat’                                                         |
| ?Amanj                   | ‘siamang’                                                            |
| ?Andēk                   | ‘dark-skinned’                                                       |
| ?Anjanj                  | ‘tall’                                                               |
| ?Areg                    | ‘skinny’ (due to eating <i>te<sup>k</sup>ruu<sup>k</sup></i> fruits) |
| ?Areenj, ?Adēenj, ?Araaj | ‘squirrel’                                                           |
| ?Asojn                   | ‘short’                                                              |
| ?Asorōd                  | ‘thin’                                                               |
| Jaa <sup>k</sup> B’rəx   | ‘fruit tree’                                                         |
| J’kuus                   | ‘porcupine’                                                          |
| Taa <sup>k</sup> ?Aluus  | ‘going bald on top’                                                  |
| Taa <sup>k</sup> ?Apoōs  | ‘ragged shorts’ (like zingiber leaves)                               |
| Taa <sup>k</sup> Jambaj  | ‘long-bearded’                                                       |
| Taa <sup>k</sup> Lagool  | ‘bumpy-headed’ (bald)                                                |

#### *Of character*

|        |          |
|--------|----------|
| ?Abaaj | ‘funny’  |
| ?Abus  | ‘gentle’ |
| ?Ahog  | ‘sad’    |

As well as these real-name-looking nicknames, people may also be called with expressive adjective terms, which can be both respectful or disrespectful, such as:

|                                  |                                    |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| dəŋd’wəŋ                         | ‘small’                            |
| kabōm                            | ‘round-cheeked’                    |
| lədluwəed                        | ‘very far’ (someone well-traveled) |
| reyr’wəey                        | ‘lanky’                            |
| rəduwəad                         | ‘thin of waist’                    |
| tihaj (Jaa <sup>k</sup> Tihaj)   | ‘flare-nostriled’                  |
| tungay (Taa <sup>k</sup> Tungay) | ‘big man’                          |

Traditionally, some names are taboo. For example, the Temiars never name a child

sey'sloy, which denotes 'magic power', as if then the child should come into contact with a person possessing real powers, they might cast spells against him, out of fear that he might challenge them.

Mortality, especially of close relatives such as parents or children, has a profound impact on a person's status and what they should be called by others. Such 'mortonyms' are given below.

|                        |                          |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| ?areg                  | 'lost father or mother'  |
| ?amo'j                 | 'woman whose child died' |
| cenrey, mandel, ?awaas | 'all children died'      |
| manaj                  | 'had no children'        |

## 4.3 Terms of address

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### 4.3.1 The customary basis for addressing persons

In Temiar culture, one does not use a person's real name, that is, the name they were given by their parents or close relatives when they were young (both autonym and fratronym), when addressing them to their person. It has been suggested by others that this precaution is taken out of fear that their r'waay, or soul, will be caught away, causing them to become sick or to sleep an endless sleep. But it is actually out of respect to that person, as using their autonym constantly could feel insulting. After one has married, especially, one is called by new titles and thus still hearing one's autonym feels quite disrespectful. To ask a person's name is permitted however.

Instead of using personal names to address someone, designations are given to persons according to any of the following criteria:

| Criteria                                 | Examples                                                    |
|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. their relation to oneself             | ?apa <sup>k</sup> 'dad', ?ataa <sup>k</sup> 'father-in-law' |
| 2. their sex and relative age to oneself | ?aleh 'young girl', jaja <sup>k</sup> 'old woman'           |
| 3. their marital or child-bearing status | bolleh 'first child female'                                 |
| 4. their nickname                        | ?Abaaj 'funny'                                              |
| 5. whether they have deceased            | menhhee <sup>j</sup> 'the deceased'                         |

The table given in §4.3.3, lists the titles and terms of address of persons according to categories 1-3 above. Terms of address for in-laws (starred in the table below) are listed in more detail in the next table, in §4.3.4. Those of category 3 are also given in more detail further down, in §4.3.5. Finally, categories 4 and 5 are described in §4.2.3 (above) and §4.3.6.

### 4.3.2 Describing relationship

When describing how one is related to another person, the Temiars do not simply say, "he is my uncle", they say, "I uncle to him" or, "I elder sibling to her". They give the proper kin term by which they call that relative as if it were a verb: yiik kooc m'-nana<sup>k</sup> 'I uncle-older-than-parent to him'. The term kooc 'uncle' here has not become a verb, but it

remains a definite noun, as it carries no pronoun referral marker, that all verbs must carry. Properly, they would use the verb, *koow* ‘call’ before the noun, but it is usually dropped when the full pronoun is used. Inversely, it must be used when the pronoun is dropped and only the referral marker is used, as per the examples below.

|                                                                              |                                            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| <i>yii<sup>k</sup></i> ( <i>yi-koow</i> ) <i>kooc m'-nana<sup>k</sup></i>    | ‘I (call) uncle-older-than-parent to him’  |
| <i>nana<sup>k</sup></i> ( <i>na-koow</i> ) <i>m'nəəy m'-nana<sup>k</sup></i> | ‘she (calls) brother-in-law to him’        |
| <i>na-koow waak m'-nana<sup>k</sup></i>                                      | ‘he calls aunt-younger-than-parent to her’ |

Sometimes a person may consider for himself or herself how they should relate or call someone, if the relationship is perhaps distant or is complicated, due to remarriage and having previous relationship terms between them that may have been shifted. Take the following phrase, for example:

*na-koow b'lō<sup>k</sup> m'-nana<sup>k</sup>* ‘he/she calls him his/her father-in-law’

The above was said perhaps because someone married the foster child of the one they now call father-in-law, when really he is an uncle! Or another example:

*na-koow ma-hāā<sup>k</sup> mənsaaw* ‘he calls you his son-in-law/daughter-in-law’

This would mean that this man respects the relation, considering that perhaps the younger person is not the spouse of his own child, but of a relative’s child.

Another mode of description is made with the possessive clitic *bar-*. By using this mode a syntactic structure is produced similar to what we use in English: *nana<sup>k</sup> barwaa<sup>k</sup> m'nana<sup>k</sup>* ‘she is his aunty’, or, to be more clear, *jaa<sup>k</sup> Tabōh barwaa<sup>k</sup> m'nana<sup>k</sup>* ‘*jaa<sup>k</sup> Tabōh* is his aunty’. A number of adjectives, some of which show causative morphology, are used to describe the relationship persons have with each other, as shown in the examples below.

| <i>Term</i>                               | <i>Literal meaning</i>  | <i>Implied meaning</i>                 |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| <i>k'mersaaw</i>                          | adopted?                | a parent-in-law and child-in-law law   |
| <i>ney b're<sup>k</sup>no<sup>k</sup></i> | one gang of kids        | a family                               |
| <i>ney k'merwēēs</i>                      | one producing offspring | family unit of one parent with a child |
| <i>ney k'mermōōm</i>                      | one motherhood          | of one ancestral lineage               |
| <i>ney tali<sup>k</sup></i>               | one cord                | from the same mother                   |
| <i>laŋkah loox</i>                        | a step over a log       | distant relatives                      |
| <i>laŋkah j'rū<sup>k</sup></i>            | a long stride           | unrelated                              |
| <i>sakeey-b'rēey</i>                      | spread out kindred      | close relatives                        |

And some examples of these in use:

|                                               |                                |
|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>ney k'merwēēs wəh</i>                      | those two are parent-and-child |
| <i>?om-ney b're<sup>k</sup>no<sup>k</sup></i> | they are a family              |

### 4.3.3 Kin terms

In Temiar culture, it is deemed disrespectful to call someone by their real name (or autonym) and thus referral terms play a vital role in social interactions. The table below

gives a full list of the terms in use with the Temiars today, with those in the first column being used to refer to people when speaking to others and those in the second column being used to address those people. Other, more generic, terms are used when outside of a person's presence which either follow the noun, as in *b'lōk babōčk* 'mother-in-law', or they can follow the term of address, as in *?ayaak* 'grandmother'. Terms used for in-laws (denoted by \* in the table) are more complex, especially cross-sex, and these are listed in full further down, in §6.3.

| <i>Term of reference</i>                | <i>Term of address</i>              | <i>Description</i>                                                              |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ?abaar                                  | ?abaar                              | newly married man or woman (previously married, already with children)          |
| ?abeeey                                 | ?abeeey                             | newly married man or woman (first time)                                         |
| ?agaah                                  | ?agaah                              | boy                                                                             |
| ?agaad                                  | ?agaad                              | baby boy                                                                        |
| ?agooh                                  | ?agooh                              | young man                                                                       |
| ?alēh                                   | ?aboony<br>?alēh                    | baby girl or very young girl<br>young girl or a younger woman                   |
| ?amēēk<br>ŋjōčk, bōčk                   | ?amēēk<br>?ajŋōčk, ?ambōčk          | mother<br>when senior                                                           |
| ?apa <sup>k</sup><br>bəəh, dōčk         | ?apa <sup>k</sup><br>?abəəh, ?adōčk | father<br>when senior                                                           |
| ?ataak <sup>k</sup>                     | ?ataak <sup>k</sup>                 | grandfather, or close male relatives of one's grandfather                       |
| ?ayaak <sup>k</sup>                     | ?ayaak <sup>k</sup>                 | grandmother, or close female relatives of one's grandmother                     |
| ?ayo <sup>k</sup>                       | ?ayo <sup>k</sup>                   | step mother                                                                     |
| babōčk baleh<br>jaak <sup>k</sup> baleh | baleh                               | a woman who's first child is a girl;<br>when senior                             |
| babōčk litōw<br>jaak <sup>k</sup> litōw | litōw                               | a woman who's first child is a boy;<br>when senior                              |
| bəəc                                    | ?abəəc                              | great great grandparent                                                         |
| bəəc                                    | ?abəəc, ?agaah, ?alēh               | great great grand-child                                                         |
| biseet*                                 | ?asēet                              | the parent of one's son-in-law or daughter-in-law                               |
| bii <sup>k</sup>                        | ?abiik, ?abəəh, ?apu <sup>k</sup>   | uncle, a younger brother of one's parent                                        |
| b'lōk babəəh*                           | ?ataak <sup>k</sup>                 | father-in-law, or his close male relatives (not addressed by a daughter-in-law) |
| b'lōk babōčk*                           | ?amēēk                              | mother-in-law, or her close female relatives (not addressed by a son-in-law)    |
| caco <sup>k</sup>                       | ?aco <sup>k</sup> , ?agaah, ?alēh   | grandchild                                                                      |
| dōot                                    | ?adōot                              | great grandparent                                                               |

|                                              |                                                                       |                                                                                                   |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| dōōt                                         | ?adoōt, ?agaah, ?alēh                                                 | great grand-child                                                                                 |
| jajaak <sup>k</sup>                          | ?ajaa <sup>k</sup>                                                    | an old woman                                                                                      |
| kowāās                                       | ?agooh / ?alēh                                                        | son (older) / daughter (older)                                                                    |
| kowēēs                                       | ?agaah / ?alēh                                                        | son (young) / daughter (young)                                                                    |
| kōōc                                         | ?akōōc                                                                | uncle, an older brother of one's parent                                                           |
| kuman/caco <sup>k</sup>                      | ?agaah<br>?alēh                                                       | nephew of older sibling/of younger sibling<br>niece of older sibling/of younger sibling           |
| k'lōōk <sup>k</sup><br>(kawaa <sup>k</sup> ) | ?atēay, yaah / ?akōōc<br>?ajēē <sup>k</sup> / ?amoō <sup>k</sup>      | older brother: by brothers / a younger sister<br>older sister: by sisters / a younger brother     |
| k'nuuj <sup>*</sup>                          | ?u-nyōb                                                               | an older brother of one's wife, an older sister of one's husband                                  |
| k'rēx                                        | k'rēx                                                                 | great great great grandparent<br>great great great grand-child                                    |
| litōw (babēēh<br>litōw)                      | ?agooh<br>?agaah                                                      | adolescent boy<br>adolescent boy (by seniors)                                                     |
| mēnsaaw <sup>*</sup>                         | k'ān                                                                  | son-in-law or daughter-in-law                                                                     |
| mēnsaaw <sup>*</sup>                         | k'ān                                                                  | husband of a man's younger sister<br>wife of a woman's younger brother                            |
| moō <sup>k</sup>                             | ?amoō <sup>k</sup>                                                    | aunt, an older sister of one's parent                                                             |
| m'naleh (babōō <sup>k</sup><br>m'naleh)      | ?abōō <sup>k</sup> , ?alēh<br>?amēē <sup>k</sup><br>kulē <sup>k</sup> | adolescent girl<br>adolescent girl (by seniors)<br>adolescent girl (by old women)                 |
| m'naay <sup>*</sup>                          | ?anaay                                                                | between brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law<br>(not older sibling of spouse)                        |
| m'nēēy <sup>*</sup>                          | ?anēēy                                                                | sister-in-law called by males or brother-in-law called by females                                 |
| m'noō <sup>**</sup>                          | ?amoō <sup>k</sup>                                                    | an older sister of one's husband                                                                  |
| pē <sup>k</sup><br>(kawaa <sup>k</sup> )     | ?agaah, ?agooh<br>yaah<br>?alēh / ?ajēē <sup>k</sup>                  | younger brother<br>between brothers when older<br>younger sister: by older brother / older sister |
| tataa <sup>k</sup>                           | taa <sup>k</sup>                                                      | old man                                                                                           |
| waa <sup>k</sup>                             | ?awaa <sup>k</sup>                                                    | aunt, a younger sister of one's parent                                                            |
| yah baleh<br>taa <sup>k</sup> baleh          | baleh                                                                 | a man who's first child is a girl<br>when senior                                                  |
| yah litōw<br>taa <sup>k</sup> litōw          | litōw                                                                 | a man who's first child is a boy<br>when senior                                                   |

**Table 4.1 Referral titles and terms of address**

A person will most often use a term of reference that is applicable to the one they are speaking to, rather than the term that is applicable to him/herself, and this is especially so when speaking to children. For example, a man may ask, "Where is your waa<sup>k</sup> (aunt)?",

even though that person is his m'naey (sister-in-law). A person may refer to someone else with the term applicable to him/herself if speaking to an older person, like, “Where is ?anaay (brother-in-law)?” when that person is not the brother-in-law of the one addressed. The term of address is also used as a title before a name: ?Abii<sup>k</sup> Sulih ‘uncle-younger Sulih [name of first child]’, Koṛc Rapih ‘uncle-older Rapih’.

#### 4.3.4 Titles and terms of address for in-laws

Affinal terminology is certainly a complex area of Temiar, and I admit that even after living with the Temiars in a situation where I must use these kin terms correctly, for over eight years now, I still make some grave mistakes. But to speak carelessly to family members and in-laws is actually deemed an act of tulah, along with other acts of disrespect, such as cursing or stealing from a relative, a sin that will lead to a soon accident or a fall for the wrong-doer.

The terms marked with a (\*) in the table above are affinal terms and they vary depending on whether the in-law relationship is same or cross-sex. Cross-sex parent/child in-laws do not directly address each other as this would show great disrespect. Otherwise, a son-in-law refers to his father-in-law as ?om-?ataak when in his presence, or as men-bæħ b'lō<sup>k</sup> yiħ when he is not around. A daughter-in-law refers to her mother-in-law as ?om-?amēēk when in her presence, or as men-bċċ<sup>k</sup> b'lō<sup>k</sup> yiħ when she is not around. These terms are set out methodically in the table below.

| In-law relation                                                  | Open Title<br>(when mentioned out of their presence) | Closed Title<br>(when mentioned in their presence or with family members)        | Term of address                 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <b>By a son-in-law</b>                                           |                                                      |                                                                                  |                                 |
| b'lō <sup>k</sup> babæħh <i>father-in-law</i>                    | men-bæħ b'lō <sup>k</sup> yiħ                        | ?om-?ataak / ?om-yε <sup>k</sup> nəə <sup>k</sup>                                | ?ataak                          |
| b'lō <sup>k</sup> babċċ <sup>k</sup> <i>mother-in-law</i>        | men-bċċ <sup>k</sup> b'lō <sup>k</sup> yiħ           | ?om-re <sup>k</sup> yaa <sup>k</sup> / ?om-ŋanəə <sup>k</sup>                    | (none)                          |
| <b>By a daughter-in-law</b>                                      |                                                      |                                                                                  |                                 |
| b'lō <sup>k</sup> babæħh <i>father-in-law</i>                    | men-bæħ b'lō <sup>k</sup> yiħ                        | ?om-re <sup>k</sup> yaa <sup>k</sup> / ?om-yε <sup>k</sup> nəə <sup>k</sup>      | (none)                          |
| b'lō <sup>k</sup> babċċ <sup>k</sup> <i>mother-in-law</i>        | men-bċċ <sup>k</sup> b'lō <sup>k</sup> yiħ           | ?om-?amēēk / ?om-ŋanəə <sup>k</sup>                                              | ?amēēk,<br>?a <sup>k</sup> ɛɛj* |
| <b>By a father-in-law</b>                                        |                                                      |                                                                                  |                                 |
| mensaaw babæħh <i>son-in-law</i>                                 | mensaaw babæħh yiħ                                   | mensaaw yi-doh /<br>gε <sup>k</sup> we-niūn / gε <sup>k</sup> we-na <sup>k</sup> | k' <sup>k</sup> an              |
| <i>mentioning son-in-law to one's daughter</i>                   |                                                      | we-babæħh                                                                        |                                 |
| mensaaw babċċ <sup>k</sup> <i>daughter-in-law</i>                | mensaaw babċċ <sup>k</sup> yiħ                       | ?om-?egjəg                                                                       | (none)                          |
| <i>mentioning daughter-in-law to one's son</i>                   |                                                      | ?om-babċċ <sup>k</sup>                                                           |                                 |
| <i>mentioning daughter-in-law to one's grandchild</i>            |                                                      | ?om-bċċ <sup>k</sup> / ?om-re <sup>k</sup> yaa <sup>k</sup>                      |                                 |
| <i>mentioning son-in-law to one's grandchild</i>                 |                                                      | we-rayaa <sup>k</sup>                                                            |                                 |
| <i>sisters / older sister of daughter-in-law to a grandchild</i> |                                                      | ?om-waa <sup>k</sup> / ?om-m'ncċ <sup>k</sup>                                    | (none)                          |

|                                                         |                                             |                                                             |                                |                 |
|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>sisters of daughter-in-law to one's grandchild</i>   |                                             | ?om-waa <sup>k</sup> / ?om-moo <sup>k</sup>                 | (none)                         |                 |
| <i>sisters of daughter-in-law to one's grandchild</i>   |                                             | ?om-waa <sup>k</sup> / ?om-moo <sup>k</sup>                 | (none)                         |                 |
| <b>By a mother-in-law</b>                               |                                             |                                                             |                                |                 |
| mensaaw baboo <sup>k</sup> <i>daughter-in-law</i>       | mensaaw baboo <sup>k</sup> yii <sup>k</sup> | ge <sup>k</sup> we-?aləh / ?om-?aləh                        | ?aləh                          |                 |
| <i>mentioning daughter-in-law to one's son</i>          |                                             |                                                             |                                |                 |
| mensaaw babəəh <i>son-in-law</i>                        | mensaaw babəəh yii <sup>k</sup>             | ?om-?egjəg                                                  | (none)                         |                 |
| <i>mentioning son-in-law to one's daughter</i>          |                                             |                                                             |                                |                 |
| mensaaw babəəh <i>to one's grandchild</i>               |                                             | ?om-bəəh / ?om-re <sup>k</sup> ya <sup>a</sup> <sup>k</sup> |                                |                 |
| <i>mentioning daughter-in-law to one's grandchild</i>   |                                             |                                                             |                                |                 |
| brothers of son-in-law/ older brother                   |                                             | ?om-?egjəg / ?om-boo <sup>b</sup> *                         | (none)                         |                 |
| mentioning brothers of son-in-law to one's grandchild   |                                             | ?om-bii <sup>k</sup> / ?om-koo <sup>c</sup>                 |                                |                 |
| <b>By a brother-in-law</b>                              |                                             |                                                             |                                |                 |
| mensaaw younger sister's husband                        | mensaaw                                     | mensaaw                                                     | k'?                            | an              |
| k'nuuj older brother of wife                            | k'nuuj                                      | we-k'nuuj                                                   | ?u-                            | ŋo <sup>b</sup> |
| m'naay younger brothers of wife, older sister's husband | m'naay                                      | m'naay                                                      | ?anaay                         |                 |
| m'nəəy sisters of wife                                  | m'nəəy                                      | m'nəəy                                                      | ?anəəy                         |                 |
| <b>By a sister-in-law</b>                               |                                             |                                                             |                                |                 |
| mensaaw younger brother's wife                          | mensaaw                                     | mensaaw                                                     | ?aləh                          |                 |
| m'no <sup>c</sup> older sister of husband               | m'no <sup>c</sup> <sup>k</sup>              | we-m'no <sup>c</sup> <sup>k</sup>                           | ?amo <sup>a</sup> <sup>k</sup> |                 |
| m'naay older sister's husband, older brother's wife     | m'naay                                      | m'naay                                                      | ?anaay                         |                 |
| m'naay brothers of husband                              | m'nəəy                                      | m'nəəy                                                      | ?anaay,<br>?atuy*              |                 |
| m'naay younger sisters of husband                       | m'naay                                      | m'naay                                                      | ?anaay,<br>?a <sup>a</sup> oy* |                 |

\* Old language, probably not in use these days.

**Table 4.2 Terms of referral and terms of address used by in-laws**

In Temiar culture, parents-in-law and child-in-law of the opposite sex do not address each other directly, but must give anything or request whatever they need to know or obtain through others nearby, such as other family members. It would be very offensive for a son-in-law to directly speak to his mother-in-law or for him to sit close to her, make gestures to her, block her path or follow her anywhere. A mother-in-law would also be very shy of speaking to her son-in-law, although she is likely to ease this taboo when she reaches old age. A parent-in-law speaking of their child-in-law will refer to them as ?om-baləh or ?om-litəw after they have produced a first grandchild to them (whether a grand-

daughter or a grand-son respectfully). Also, when a son-in-law or daughter-in-law is speaking to their parent-in-law of the same sex, they must not use *hāāk* ‘you’ 2*du*, but *ŋob* ‘you’ 2*pl*, which gives higher respect.

Between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, generally, males and young females are all called *m’naay* and addressed *?anaay*. Females who have reached adolescent age are called *m’nəəy*, and are addressed *?anəəy*, by males, and they reciprocate this by referring to their male in-laws as *m’nəəy*, and calling them *?anəəy* also. They are never addressed *?agaah* ‘boy’ or *?aleh* ‘girl’, as other young children are, or *?atəəy* ‘friend between males’, *yaah* ‘an equal between men’ or *?ajəək* ‘between sisters’.

Older siblings of one’s spouse are given more respectful terms, however. A man addresses his wife’s older brother, his *k’nuuj*, with *?u-ŋob*, and uses *ŋob* instead of *hāāk*. A woman addresses her husband’s older sister, her *m’nōōk*, as *?amoōk*, and uses *ŋob* instead of *hāāk*.

#### 4.3.5 Terms for married persons

As soon as persons marry, they are then called and addressed according to their marital or child-bearing status, with the following titles applying to both male and female:

|                                  |                                        |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| <i>?abeey</i>                    | ‘just married’ (for the first time)    |
| <i>?abaar</i>                    | ‘just married’ (already with children) |
| <i>kayċċod</i> or <i>?akooōk</i> | ‘expecting a child’                    |
| <i>baleh</i>                     | ‘parent whose first child is a girl’   |
| <i>litōw</i>                     | ‘parent whose first child is a boy’    |
| <i>balaax</i>                    | ‘divorced and single’                  |
| <i>balu<sup>k</sup></i>          | ‘widowed’                              |

After producing their first offspring, the parent is then named by the autonym of the child, in the following pattern:

|                                       |                                                   |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| <i>baleh-[child’s name]</i>           | ‘parent of girl [name]’ e.g. <i>baleh-sulih</i>   |
| <i>litōw-[child’s name]</i>           | ‘parent of boy [name]’ e.g. <i>litōw-?adíit</i>   |
| <i>[child’s name]-ŋōō<sup>k</sup></i> | ‘[name]-mother’ e.g. <i>sulih-ŋōō<sup>k</sup></i> |
| <i>[child’s name]-dōō<sup>k</sup></i> | ‘[name]-father’ e.g. <i>sulih-dōō<sup>k</sup></i> |

Parents are often only mentioned as *baleh* or *litōw*, without the name of their first child, and especially if it is easily recognisable who it is that they are speaking of (for example, there is only one mother of a daughter in the community or they are present at the time of the conversation). Parents may also be called by their first child’s name alone, which can sometimes be confusing, but then, their child is probably not called by his/her own real name (instead *?agaah*, *?aleh*, a pet name, or a married name) so the confusion would not be created when people know the family.

In true Temiar tradition, married persons will address their spouse with the above terms, such as *?abeey*, if newly wedded, *kayċċod* when expecting a child and *litōw* or *baleh* after having produced a child. They do not use terms that equal ‘darling’ such as the Malay *sayang*.

#### 4.3.6 Necronyms (terms for the deceased)

Deceased persons are no longer mentioned by their real name (except for historical records), but are called by names that signify where they were buried, or what they did in life. Recently deceased may be called, ‘the passing of [somewhere]’, such as, meŋheeŋ Kajaax-reih ‘the passing of Kajaax [swidden] down there’, or meŋheeŋ tankol-tuuy ‘the passing [buried] on the hill over there’.

Tok<sup>k</sup> halaa<sup>k</sup> (soul mediums) or respectable old persons may be referred to directly by their burial place, such as the hill where they were laid to rest, or even by the name of their guníg dream guide, or sometimes they are still remembered by a characteristic of their life or by the circumstances of their death.

|                              |                                            |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| P'ŋhulu <sup>k</sup> Həlwəəd | a name given by the British administration |
| Taa <sup>k</sup> Bagan       | laid to rest on Bagan hill                 |
| Jaa <sup>k</sup> Cakob       | died in a tree at Cakob                    |
| Taa <sup>k</sup> Jaan        | the name of his butterfly guníg            |
| Taa <sup>k</sup> P'naŋow     | named after a tiger guníg                  |
| Taa <sup>k</sup> Ranal       | laid to rest on Ranal hill                 |
| Taa <sup>k</sup> Soiđ        | died on Soiđ mountain                      |
| Taa <sup>k</sup> Tukaj       | an iron smith                              |

# 5 Pronouns

## 5.1 Personal Pronouns

### 5.1.1 Classification

Personal pronouns in Temiar show distinction between first, second and third person, as well as between singular, dual and plural persons, and number some eleven in total (excluding honorific pronouns, which make another seven or so). Of these, eight are used inclusively and three exclusively, toward the addressed. No distinction is made in relation to persons of different age or status to the speaker; a person can be younger, older or very respected and still addressed with *hāāk* ‘you’. Honorific pronouns are used instead of normal pronouns, however, to address in-laws, to ensure that these persons are given due respect. There are certain terms used above the pronoun level, such as *?ataak* ‘grandfather’, but there are no unique pronouns used to show either familiarity or respect<sup>14</sup>.

A pronoun may stand alone, for example, to answer a ‘who’ question (*na-na<sup>k</sup>* ‘she/he’), or to ask a question (‘her/him?’), with no auxiliary verb necessary to accompany it (but more usually, a temporal is affixed: *na-na<sup>k</sup> ?a-tēē<sup>k</sup>?* ‘him just now?’). They can be used post-verbally, when the phrase is imperative: *wē<sup>k</sup>, hāāk* ‘go, you’. They may also be combined with the demonstrative, to describe position and proximity: *yii<sup>k</sup> doh* ‘I here’, or *hāāk na<sup>k</sup>* ‘you there’. Personal pronouns in the second person are frequently used as terms of address, as in *ma-hāāk* ‘for you’, *ma-loō<sup>k</sup> ηōb?* ‘where are you all going?’.

The table below shows the personal pronouns in use with Temiars in Kelantan, and specifically of the region north-west of Kuala Betis. The numerals 1, 2 and 3 denote first, second and third person respectively.

| Pers. | <i>Singular</i>          | <i>Dual</i>                |              | <i>Plural</i>             |                          |
|-------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
|       |                          | <i>Incl.</i>               | <i>Excl.</i> | <i>Incl.</i>              | <i>Excl.</i>             |
| 1     | <i>yii<sup>k</sup></i>   | <i>?aar</i>                | <i>yaar</i>  | <i>?εε<sup>k</sup></i>    | <i>kanii<sup>k</sup></i> |
|       |                          | <i>ka<sup>k</sup>-naar</i> |              | <i>ηōb</i>                |                          |
| 2     | <i>hāāk</i>              |                            |              |                           |                          |
| 3     | <i>na-na<sup>k</sup></i> | <i>wē-naar</i>             |              | <i>?om-na<sup>k</sup></i> |                          |

**Table 5.1 Personal pronouns in Temiar**

<sup>14</sup> Compare familiarity pronouns of Jahai: *mi<sup>k</sup>* ‘you (intimate)’ and *pay* ‘you (distant)’, and age consideration pronouns of Semai: *hee<sup>k</sup>* ‘you (younger)’ and *jun* ‘you (older)’.

Third person singular pronouns, such as na-na<sup>k</sup>, or na-doh, do not differentiate between gender, which is known only through the context. In Means dictionary it was listed as na-na<sup>k</sup> bəəh ‘he’ and na-na<sup>k</sup> bɔɔ<sup>k</sup> ‘she’, using the male and female adjectives, but this is erroneous as these forms are never used in speech.

### 5.1.2 Honorific pronouns

Inter-relational dialogue between in-laws requires special, or honorific, pronouns to be used that respect the affinal relationships established through marriage. These pronouns produce much complexity as can be seen in the table below. The pronouns in the second person, k'<sup>?</sup>an and ɳɔb, are used when talking to same-sex affines (parent-in-law or child-in-law and their close relatives) parent-to-child and child-to-parent, respectively. Pronouns in the third person differ in use according to sex, so that we-na<sup>k</sup> is used by a parent-in-law when talking about a same-sex child-in-law, and <sup>?</sup>om-<sup>?</sup>egjəg for a cross-sex child-in-law. The pronouns <sup>?</sup>om-<sup>?</sup>ataa<sup>k</sup> and <sup>?</sup>om-<sup>?</sup>amēē<sup>k</sup> are used when talking about a parent-in-law of same-sex, by a son-in-law or a daughter-in-law, respectively. The last pronoun, <sup>?</sup>om-re<sup>k</sup>yaa<sup>k</sup> is used when talking about a parent-in-law of different sex. Note that the term of address (see §4.3.4) usually differs to the pronoun, with k'<sup>?</sup>an being the exception, which is used both to address a child-in-law and as their pronoun.

| <i>Pers.</i> | <i>Sex</i> | <i>Parent-to-child</i>              | <i>Child-to-parent</i>                                                                            |
|--------------|------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2            | =          | k' <sup>?</sup> an                  | ɳɔb                                                                                               |
| 3            |            | we-na <sup>k</sup>                  | <sup>?</sup> om- <sup>?</sup> ataa <sup>k</sup> / <sup>?</sup> om- <sup>?</sup> amēē <sup>k</sup> |
|              | ≠          | <sup>?</sup> om- <sup>?</sup> egjəg | <sup>?</sup> om-re <sup>k</sup> yaa <sup>k</sup>                                                  |

**Table 5.2 Temiar honorific personal pronouns**

Parent-to-child terms k'<sup>?</sup>an and we-na<sup>k</sup> are used to address (only with same-sex relationship) or refer to the spouse of one’s child (a mənsaaw), as well as the spouse of one’s younger sibling (also a mənsaaw), and always take the dual form.

Child-to-parent terms ɳɔb and <sup>?</sup>om-TITLE (shaded pronouns above) address or refer to the parent of one’s spouse (b'lō<sup>k</sup>), as well as the same-sex elder sibling of one’s spouse (k'nuup), and take the plural form. (See §4.3.3 for more description of affinal kin terms.)

### 5.1.3 Personal pronoun allomorphs

Personal pronouns also occur in succinctified forms, which are allomorphs of the full pronoun. These forms are used either as markers affixed to words, to refer back to the pronoun (most often the subject of the verb or adjective), or else as the open-articulated, free-standing allomorph, which occurs post objectively and enables stress to be redirected from the subject. The table below gives a complete list of personal pronouns with their succinct forms or allomorphs.

| Full Pronoun                                                                      | Succinct Pronoun                        |                                       |                                          | Description             |                                  |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
|                                                                                   | Simple Proclitic                        | Intensive Proclitic                   | Open Articulated                         |                         |                                  |
| <b>Singular</b>                                                                   |                                         |                                       |                                          |                         |                                  |
| yih <sup>k</sup><br>hāā <sup>k</sup><br>na-na <sup>k</sup> <sup>2</sup>           | yi- <sup>1</sup><br>ha-<br>na-          | yim-<br>ham-<br>nam-/rə- <sup>3</sup> | yih<br>hah<br>?əh                        | I<br>you<br>he/she/it   | 1SG<br>2SG<br>3SG                |
| <b>Dual</b>                                                                       |                                         |                                       |                                          |                         |                                  |
| ?aar<br>yaar<br>ka <sup>k</sup> -naar<br>we-naar                                  | ?a-<br>ya-<br>ka <sup>k</sup> -<br>we-  | ?am-<br>yam-<br>kam-<br>wem-          | ?ah<br>yah<br>ka <sup>k</sup> nah<br>wəh | we<br>we<br>you<br>they | 1DU.INC<br>1DU.EXC<br>2DU<br>3DU |
| <b>Plural</b>                                                                     |                                         |                                       |                                          |                         |                                  |
| ?ee <sup>k</sup><br>kanii <sup>k</sup><br>ŋøb<br>?om-na <sup>k</sup> <sup>2</sup> | ?e-<br>ki-<br>ŋøb- <sup>4</sup><br>?om- | ?em-<br>kim-<br>ŋom-<br>mu-/mə-       | ?eh<br>kanih<br><sup>4</sup><br>?om      | we<br>we<br>you<br>they | 1PL.INC<br>1PL.EXC<br>2PL<br>3PL |

Table 5.3 Personal pronouns in full and succinct modes

Notes relating to numbers 1-4 in the above table.

1. The 1SG pronoun-marker may be heard shortened to just ?i- with some speakers, and in the southern region of Kelantan this may well be the norm.
2. Different root spatialis can be suffixed to the 3SG and 3PL pronoun prefixes, depending on the position of the referred in relation to the referrer, such as na-doh ‘he/she/it here’, ?om-doh ‘they here’ (see 6.2 below).
3. The pronoun marker rə- is used in place of na-, with the relative pronoun coo<sup>k</sup> ‘who’, when in the intensive mode (‘who will..?’), in the sense where someone is still unknown.
4. The succinct and aspirated forms of ŋøb do not exist, and possibly because they would conflict with the words, ŋøð<sup>k</sup> ‘mother’ and ŋøh ‘to light a fire’.

The table below lists honorific pronouns in their full and succinct forms. The 2SG pronoun, k'ān, takes on the succinct forms normally associated with the 2DU pronoun, ka<sup>k</sup>-naar ‘you two’; the 3SG pronoun, we-na<sup>k</sup>, takes on the succinct forms normally associated with the 3DU pronoun, we-naar ‘those two’. The third person singular pronouns (marked, ?om-TITLE) is further discussed in §5.1.3.

| Full Pronoun       | Succinct Pronoun  |                     |             | Description            |
|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------|------------------------|
|                    | Simple Proclitic  | Intensive Proclitic | Open Artic. |                        |
| k'ən               | ka <sup>k</sup> - | kam-                | kah         | you 2SG Pa-Ch          |
| ŋəb                | ŋəb-              | ŋom-                | -           | you 2SG Ch-Pa          |
| wə-na <sup>k</sup> | wə-               | wəm-                | wəh         | he/she 3SG Pa-Ch       |
| ?om-TITLE          | ?om-              | mu-/mə-             | ?om         | he/she 3SG Pa-Ch/Ch-Pa |

**Table 5.4 Honorific personal pronouns in full and succinct modes**

### 5.1.4 Classification of personal pronoun allomorphs

Personal pronoun allomorphs can be classified into two main types, according to their lexical form and syntactic usage.

#### 5.1.4.1 Clitic pronouns

Succinct clitic pronouns (given in the second and third columns in the two tables above) are generally known as the pronoun/subject referral marker, and are often found pre-verbal, although it is not only verbs that they attach to. They can be prefixed to a wide range of words, including verbs and adjectives, as well as spatial and temporal roots, but never to nouns. Primarily, they are heard attached to the former two classes, where they are used to associate the subject with an action or a state of being. See §5.1.4 for a description of proclitic pronoun forms.

| Pronoun          | Simple proclitic          | Intensive proclitic      |
|------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| yii <sup>k</sup> | → yi-                     | → yím-                   |
| 1SG              | PRM. PRES./PAST/CONT.     | PRM. INTENT-PROX.        |
|                  | yi-cən 'I want'           | yím-ciib 'I will go'     |
|                  | yi-bɔɔd 'I'm disinclined' | yím-məj 'I will be well' |

The simple proclitic referral marker is used with the present, past, imperfect (ongoing or frequent action) and continuous (presently ongoing action) tenses. The intensive proclitic referral marker, is used of intentional (will) or approximate (would/should) tenses, and always carries the inserted coda consonant [m]. Of these forms, I will discuss their affixation to demonstratives in §6.2, below, while their use with verbs I will discuss later, in §6, and with adjectives, in §7.

Nearly any adjective word can be cliticised by a referral marker if needed.

|                        |                 |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| na-b'keed              | 'he's sweating' |
| ha-l'məəs              | 'you are tired' |
| ?om-b'hii <sup>k</sup> | 'they are full' |

More complex usage of the proclitic form is found when attached to a spatial or temporal, creating the prepositional phrase. In this case it indicates either the place-time

relationship of the referred subject, such as, (yi-doh ‘I here’, or the ownership of an object together with place or time, such as, diix yi-tuuy ‘my house over there’. Refer to §5.1.4 and §5.2.4 for further description.

#### 5.1.4.2 Open articulated pronouns

The open-articulated or aspirated pronoun form (given in the fourth column in the two tables above) is used to redirect attention from the subject it refers to. This is primarily to give attention to the object, or else to a secondary subject. Generally speaking, the full pronoun is only needed when introducing the subject, when it hasn’t yet been mentioned or implied, or when emphasising what or who the subject is.

|                  |   |             |
|------------------|---|-------------|
| yii <sup>k</sup> | → | yih         |
| 1SG              |   | OPEN-ARTIC. |

The open-articulated form is not affixed to words but it stands alone at sentence end. It is used post-object, to demonstrate possession, but also post-verbally, to confirm subjectivity without stressing the subject it refers to. For example, compare the following two sentences, one with the open articulated pronoun and one with a full pronoun, and note that the stressed word is underlined in each case.

|                                         |                     |
|-----------------------------------------|---------------------|
| dɔɔ <sup>k</sup> <u>yii<sup>k</sup></u> | ‘ <u>my</u> father’ |
| ‘father 1SG’                            |                     |
| dɔɔ <sup>k</sup> yih                    | ‘my <u>father</u> ’ |
| ‘father 1SG OPEN-ARTIC.’                |                     |

In the first example, above, the word yii<sup>k</sup> carries stress and thus clarifies the pronoun (‘my’, as opposed to ‘your’ or ‘his/her’ etc.) as to possession of the noun. In the second example, above, the articulated pronoun receives no stress and thus it makes no clarification of the pronoun (whose father it is) but rather stress shifts to the noun and the noun is clarified (father, as opposed to mother, sister etc.). As well as its use following a noun clause, it is also heard following a clause created with the pronoun referral marker and a demonstrative, verb or adjective, to confirm the identity of the subject, often when the full pronoun has not been used, as shown below.

|                            |                     |
|----------------------------|---------------------|
| hoj yi-we <sup>k</sup> yih | ‘I’m off I (am)’    |
| cæəs hah!                  | ‘serves you right!’ |
| na-caal ?əh                | ‘he said he’        |

If we replaced the open articulated pronoun in these examples with full pronouns then we would create stress on the subject being referred to, which in all these cases would be unnecessary, unless the subject needed ascertaining: ha-we<sup>k</sup> cæ-hää<sup>k</sup>? ‘are you going?’ (Note that this last example also needed the accusative clitic cæ- affixed to the pronoun—see below).

#### 5.1.5 Morphology of pronoun allomorphs

Typically, succinct pronoun allomorphs consist of the same initial consonant (or glottal

stop) of the full pronoun, a shortened but similar-sounding vowel and either lack of final consonant (with present and past tense markers: *yi-* 1SG PRM) or a replaced final consonant (by [m], as with the intentive verb mode: *yím-* 1SG INT., or [h], as with the open-articulated form: *yih* 1SG OPEN-ARTIC.). The shortened vowel sound can vary in its phonetic shape, or else remain fixed. With both 1SG and 1PL(EXCL.) pronouns, *yii<sup>k</sup>* and *kanii<sup>k</sup>*, the vowel sound shifts from high to low: *yi-/ki-*, *yím-/kím-*, *yih/kanih*. With 1DU(INCL./EXCL.) and 2SG/2DU pronouns, *?aar/yaar* and *hāā<sup>k</sup>/ka<sup>k</sup>naar*, only the intentive forms shift in sound, to a front vowel, while seeing reduction in nasality: *?am-/yam-* and *ham-/kam-*, while their articulated forms only show reduction in vowel length: *?ah/yah* and *hah/ka<sup>k</sup>nah*. All other allomorph sounds stay fixed, with the exception of 3PL *?om-na<sup>k</sup>* which reverses: *?om-* to *mə-*, and possibly 2PL *ŋob* which can relax to *ŋəm-*.

Most pronouns see their word-final consonant dropped, before they can cliticise to any word (this is so with *yii<sup>k</sup>*, *hāā<sup>k</sup>*, *?ee<sup>k</sup>*, *?aar* and *yaar*), or even two consonants dropped (*kanii<sup>k</sup>*) to reduce it to a single open syllable. With those pronouns made from a proclitic attached to the numeral *naar* ‘two’ (*ka<sup>k</sup>-naar*, *we-naar*) or the spatial *na<sup>k</sup>* ‘that’ (*na-na<sup>k</sup>*, *?om-na<sup>k</sup>*) the proclitic half simply detaches and attaches to new words (see the table in §5.1.3). Thus, with the latter of these, you have the clitics *na-* and *?om-* attaching to roots such as *doh* ‘this’, *nín* ‘this indicated’, *na<sup>k</sup>* ‘that’, *tuuy* ‘that there’, *tih* ‘up there’, *reih* ‘down there’, or even *tee<sup>k</sup>* ‘just now’ or *kaal* ‘afterwards’, forming pronouns such as, *na-doh* ‘it/him/her this’, *?om-tuuy* ‘them over there’. These pronouns made from clitics have no proper form and must always be attached to a root spatial or temporal root. The second person plural, *ŋob*, is the only pronoun to remain intact without dropping its word final consonant when attaching to words.

### 5.1.6 Phrases with pronouns

The table below gives some basic examples of phrases constructed with full pronouns compared with phrases which drop the full pronoun and use only the proclitic pronoun, or pronoun referral marker. The first four examples show phrases in the simple tense while the next four show phrases in the intentive.

| <i>Full pronoun</i>                        |                            | <i>Proclitic pronoun only</i> |                       |
|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Present/past/simple</i>                 |                            |                               |                       |
| <i>yii<sup>k</sup> yi-lex</i>              | ‘I, I know’                | <i>yi-lex</i>                 | ‘I know’              |
| <i>hāā<sup>k</sup> ha-caa<sup>k</sup>?</i> | ‘you, do you eat?’         | <i>ha-cen?</i>                | ‘do you want?’        |
| <i>ŋob ŋob-jε<sup>k</sup></i>              | ‘you all, you don’t want’  | <i>ŋob-jε<sup>k</sup>?</i>    | ‘you all don’t want?’ |
| <i>kanii<sup>k</sup> ki-cen</i>            | ‘we, we want’              | <i>ki-ciib</i>                | ‘we went’             |
| <i>Intentive</i>                           |                            |                               |                       |
| <i>yii<sup>k</sup> yím-wε<sup>k</sup></i>  | ‘I, I will go’             | <i>yím-s’maaj</i>             | ‘I will ask’          |
| <i>hāā<sup>k</sup> ham-gəəl</i>            | ‘you, you will stay’       | <i>ham-poəc</i>               | ‘you’ll wait!’        |
| <i>kanii<sup>k</sup> kím-poəc</i>          | ‘we, we will wait’         | <i>nam-?oŋ</i>                | ‘he’s coming up’      |
| <i>yaar yam-pacoh</i>                      | ‘us two, we will go first’ | <i>mə-høy</i>                 | ‘they’ll have none’   |

Table 5.5 Simple pronoun phrases

It should be easy to see that using the full pronoun leads to a direct stress placed on the subject, as if the subject of the conversation had changed and needed introduction. The phrases that drop the full pronoun are used when the subject has already been addressed, if only sometimes in the mind of the speaker.

### 5.1.7 Collective Pronouns

Certain pronouns are formed that may appear to be singular at first glance, but in fact they stand for a plural subject. For example, the pronoun *we-naar* ‘those two’ *3DU*, can be modified to contain the name of one of the two persons it stands for: *we-<sup>2</sup>Asuh* ‘those two <sup>2</sup>Asuh’ (and the other). This pronoun form is still dual, although it directs attention to only one person. Almost any plural pronoun can combine with a singular name in the same fashion, but the third person dual is perhaps the most commonly used. With the first person dual, only the exclusive mode can be used, not the inclusive, as one would not call their own name or the other’s name while addressing that other person. With the first person plural inclusive it can work, because one can mention a person’s name other than the one addressed (see example below). I am not sure how well it can work with the second person dual, *ŋob*, or the third person plural, <sup>2</sup>om-.

*we-naar* *3DU*

*we-<sup>2</sup>Asuh* those two went up, those two <sup>2</sup>Asuh (and the other)

*yaar* *1DU.EXC*

*ya-kօօc* *yam-wɛ<sup>k</sup>* us two uncle-older-than-parent, we will go

*ya-taa'c* *yam-litօw* us two will weave, us two mother-with-son

<sup>2</sup>*ɛɛ<sup>k</sup>* *1PL.INC*

*bíl* <sup>2</sup>*ɛɛ<sup>k</sup>-<sup>2</sup>Aŋɛed* that time when we (with) <sup>2</sup>Aŋɛed

<sup>2</sup>*om* *3PL.EXC*

<sup>2</sup>*om-k'lɔɔ<sup>k</sup>* *yih* my elder siblings

Uncountable nouns, such as the rain, water, electric current, pain, and others, are often referred to by the third person plural: <sup>2</sup>*om-təəh* ‘they rain’, <sup>2</sup>*om-pəd* ‘they cut off’, <sup>2</sup>*om-t'rօօ<sup>c</sup>* ‘they throb’.

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## 5.2 Demonstratives

### 5.2.1 Root spatial and temporals

Temiar demonstratives are based a group of single-syllable, root spatial and temporal words that make a vital component of everyday speech, being heard in almost every other phrase that is spoken. They are used alone to present or declare the availability, proximity or visibility (even in thought) of an object previously mentioned, in relation to the speaker (never in relation to the addressee), to say, ‘here (with me)’ or ‘just there (from my

perspective)’ or ‘there out of (my) sight’. They are placed proceeding nouns and personal pronouns, to indicate position of the object or person in relation to the speaker, such as, *dixx tuuy* ‘the house over there’. They are also combined with the pronoun referral marker to create the demonstrative pronoun, such as, *yi-doh* ‘I here’, or with proclitic prepositions to form spatial adverbs, such as, *ma-reih* ‘down there’. These root spatial and temporal words are described in the table below.

|                       |                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>doh</i>            | <i>this</i>                 | Implies being at hand to the referrer, and depending on the size or portability of the object: a small object in the hand of the referrer, or a large object (person/tree/road etc.) present nearby (not in the hand); in terms of thought or speech, s.t. presently thought of, or being spoken of. The variant word <i>dih</i> ‘here’ is also used, but only of things in thought.<br><br><b>kampunj doh</b> ‘this village’, <b>?is doh</b> ‘today’, <b>?adih</b> ‘this is it’ |
| <i>níin</i>           | <i>that indicated</i>       | Implies being nearby, indicated by the referrer, by pointing or just looking at it (pointing in the mind). Also refers to something of the past.<br><br><b>?aad níin</b> ‘the pole just there’, <b>ciib ma-níin</b> ‘go just there’, <b>manah ?aníin</b> ‘a long time ago’                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>na<sup>k</sup></i> | <i>that</i>                 | Implies being not at hand to the referrer, and depending on the size or portability of the object: a small object not at hand to the referrer, or in the hand of the referent, or a large object (person/tree/road etc.) not present; in terms of thought or speech, s.t. thought of or spoken of previously.<br><br><b>babcc<sup>k</sup> na<sup>k</sup></b> ‘that woman’, <b>ma-na<sup>k</sup></b> ‘to there’, <b>na-na<sup>k</sup></b> ‘it/he/her’                             |
| <i>tuuy</i>           | <i>over there</i>           | Implies being in another place, out of reach to the referrer but can be in sight, and in a specified location, some distance away, at another house, another village, another state or country.<br><br><b>te<sup>k</sup> tuuy</b> ‘the land over there’, <b>ma-tuuy</b> ‘over there’                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>tih</i>            | <i>up there upriver</i>     | Implies being further up from the referrer, such as up the path, up a tree, hill or mountain, up in the sky; also up the river valley, such as villages or people, or upstream when finding direction.<br><br><b>sen?ooy tih</b> ‘the people upriver’, <b>ma-tih</b> ‘up there’                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>reih</i>           | <i>down there downriver</i> | Implies being further down from the referrer, such as down the path, down from a tree, hill or mountain, under the ground; also down the river valley, such as villages or people, down in the lowlands, or downstream when finding direction.<br><br><b>bóox reih</b> ‘the river mouth downriver’, <b>ma-reih</b> ‘down there’                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>soy</i>            | <i>front</i>                | Implies being up front, leading the way, such as people on a path,                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

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|                 |           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-----------------|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                 |           | the first letter of a word, the tip of a knife or rod; in terms of time, the month or year ahead.                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                 |           | <b>ciib ma-soy</b> ‘go in front’, <b>soy</b> ?aad ‘tip of a pole’                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| yə <sup>k</sup> | behind    | Implies being somewhere behind, where one has passed earlier, coming up behind, such as people on a path, the last letter of a word; in terms of time, an event coming after the present.<br><br><b>ma-yə<sup>k</sup></b> ‘behind’, <b>nùm-yə<sup>k</sup></b> ‘afterwards’ |
| tə <sup>k</sup> | just now  | Implies something said or mentioned, or that happened recently, in the last few minutes, or earlier in the day; time in the very recent past.<br><br><b>nùm-tə<sup>k</sup></b> ‘from just now’, <b>na-tə<sup>k</sup></b> ‘it just now’                                     |
| to <sup>p</sup> | ago       | Implies something that happened in the past; the day, month or year before, or long ago; a time in the past.<br><br><b>?om-to<sup>p</sup></b> ‘they long ago’, <b>hato<sup>p</sup></b> ‘in the past’, <b>?is hato<sup>p</sup></b> ‘yesterday’                              |
| kaal            | afterward | Implies something that will/should happen later on; the day, night, morning afterward; a time in the near future.<br><br><b>kaal ham-wə<sup>k</sup></b> ‘you’ll go afterward’, <b>?is yakaal</b> ‘tomorrow’                                                                |

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**Table 5.6 Description of demonstrative roots**

The use of spatial and temporals in their root forms can be divided into four areas, as detailed below. For further description of their usage as spatial adverbs, refer to §7.2.9.

### 5.2.2 The stand-alone root spatial/temporal

Spatial and temporal roots can stand alone when they are used to declare the time-space of the object, without the need to mention the object, as demonstrated by the examples below. The bare spatial cannot stand as a pronoun, it must be cliticised with a succinct pronoun marker, such as na- or ?om- etc.: ha-cen na-doh? ‘do you want this?’

|                                        |                             |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| doh, ko <sup>d</sup>                   | ‘here, take it’             |
| dih, ha-caal                           | ‘this, you said’            |
| níin, na-wad                           | ‘just there, he passed’     |
| na <sup>k</sup> , t'had                | ‘that, (it's) right’        |
| tuuy, na-po'oč                         | ‘over there, she's waiting’ |
| tih, ma-rabonj                         | ‘up there, on the roof’     |
| reih, ma-B'tus                         | ‘downriver, at B'tus’       |
| tə <sup>k</sup> , ha-caal              | ‘just now you said’         |
| hato <sup>p</sup> , ki-wə <sup>k</sup> | ‘some time ago, we went’    |

### 5.2.3 Spatial and temporal noun phrases

In noun phrases, the demonstrative takes post-nominal position and describes the noun's space-time location. It also does not cliticise to the noun, in my opinion, which can be seen in the examples below.

|                         |                                  |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ?is doh                 | 'today' (this day)               |
| ?agaah níín             | 'the boy just there' (indicated) |
| noŋ na <sup>k</sup>     | 'that path'                      |
| díix tuuy               | 'the house over there'           |
| taŋkol tih              | 'the hill up there'              |
| ?oɔx reih               | 'the river down there'           |
| sen?ððy tæ <sup>k</sup> | 'the people just now'            |
| layeg kaal              | 'later tonight'                  |

### 5.2.4 Prepositional pronouns

Pronoun markers affix to spatial roots to enable description of subject or object without using full pronouns. Each construct can be used either as a prepositional (succinct) pronoun, where the spatial links to the space-time of the subject: yi-doh 'I here';, or a prepositional clause, where the spatial links to the space-time of the object: díix yi-doh 'my house here'. I further describe these two modes in §5.2.4.2 and §5.2.4.3, below. The grid below shows the possible constructs of pronoun markers made with major spatial roots. Those that are shaded would seem somewhat difficult to use as prepositional pronouns (saying 'I over there' would be a little illogical).

|         | <i>doh</i>           | <i>na<sup>k</sup></i>            | <i>níín</i>           | <i>tuuy</i>           | <i>tih</i>           | <i>reih</i>           |
|---------|----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1SG     | yi-doh               | yi-na <sup>k</sup>               | yi-níín               | yi-tuuy               | yi-tih               | yi-reih               |
| 2SG     | ha-doh               | ha-na <sup>k</sup>               | ha-níín               | ha-tuuy               | ha-tih               | ha-reih               |
| 3SG     | ?ə-doh               | ?ə-na <sup>k</sup>               | ?ə-níín               | ?ə-tuuy               | ?ə-tih               | ?ə-reih               |
| 1DU.INC | ?ɑ-doh               | ?ɑ-na <sup>k</sup>               | ?ɑ-níín               | ?ɑ-tuuy               | ?ɑ-tih               | ?ɑ-reih               |
| 1DU.EXC | ya-doh               | ya-na <sup>k</sup>               | ya-níín               | ya-tuuy               | ya-tih               | ya-reih               |
| 2DU     | ka <sup>k</sup> -doh | ka <sup>k</sup> -na <sup>k</sup> | ka <sup>k</sup> -níín | ka <sup>k</sup> -tuuy | ka <sup>k</sup> -tih | ka <sup>k</sup> -reih |
| 3DU     | wε-doh               | wε-na <sup>k</sup>               | wε-níín               | wε-tuuy               | wε-tih               | wε-reih               |
| 1PL.INC | ?ε-doh               | ?ε-na <sup>k</sup>               | ?ε-níín               | ?ε-tuuy               | ?ε-tih               | ?ε-reih               |
| 1PL.EXC | ki-doh               | ki-na <sup>k</sup>               | ki-níín               | ki-tuuy               | ki-tih               | ki-reih               |
| 2PL     | ŋøb-doh              | ŋøb-na <sup>k</sup>              | ŋøb-níín              | ŋøb-tuuy              | ŋøb-tih              | ŋøb-reih              |
| 3PL     | ?om-doh              | ?om-na <sup>k</sup>              | ?om-níín              | ?om-tuuy              | ?om-tih              | ?om-reih              |

Table 5.7 Prepositional pronouns formed with root spatial

#### 5.2.4.1 Notes on cliticised pronouns 3SG, 3PL, 3DU

Analysis of the third person singular pronoun proves rather interesting because of its two clitic forms, na- and <sup>?</sup>ə-, that give rise to forms such as na-doh and <sup>?</sup>ə-doh, na-na<sup>k</sup> and <sup>?</sup>ə-na<sup>k</sup>. The referral marker na- is attached to the demonstrative when making the prepositional pronoun, as with na-doh ‘it here’ or na-níín ‘it just there’ etc. (and note that the 3SG and 3PL pronouns are in fact prepositional pronouns themselves). When making the prepositional clause, the clitic <sup>?</sup>ə- is attached instead of na-, which is reduced from the articulated pronoun <sup>?</sup>əh: k'<sup>b</sup>aə<sup>k</sup> <sup>?</sup>ə-doh ‘this fruit here’. The first construct is subject focused while the second is locational, as seen in the examples below.

|                                                   |                            |
|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <sup>?</sup> oog m'-na-na <sup>k</sup>            | ‘give it to him/her’       |
| <sup>?</sup> oog <sup>?</sup> ə-na <sup>k</sup>   | ‘give it that’             |
| jajaa <sup>k</sup> <sup>?</sup> ə-na <sup>k</sup> | ‘the grandmother her that’ |

With the third person plural, the prepositional forms (<sup>?</sup>om-doh, <sup>?</sup>om-na<sup>k</sup> etc.), made with spatial roots seem identical to forms of the full pronoun, which itself is constructed with the proclitic <sup>?</sup>om- attached to a spatial root. And without a reduced proclitic in use with spatials for the prepositional, the meaning of phrases might seem unclear, for example: diix <sup>?</sup>om-na<sup>k</sup>—‘their house’ or ‘their house that’? Or diix <sup>?</sup>om-reih—‘their house them-down-there’ or ‘their house down there’? Probably it can be taken either way, but it would seem easier to infer the prepositional pronoun, where the spatial links to the pronoun, rather than the prepositional object clause, where the spatial links to the noun.

The set of pronouns formed by cliticising we- to spatials are typically only used by a parent-in-law when referring to his/her son- or daughter-in-law. The forms we-na<sup>k</sup> ‘him/her that’ and we-níín ‘him/her indicated’ commonly refer to the spouse of a person’s son or daughter. The full pronoun we-naar must be used with dual persons, such as, we-naar-na<sup>k</sup> ‘those two that’. The proclitic we- as the pronoun referral marker, is not limited to reference of son- or daughter-in-law, however, and may be prefixed to verbs where the subject is dual.

#### 5.2.4.2 Prepositional pronoun clause

The succinct pronoun referral marker is used to indicate the subject of the verb, adjective or imperative and the spatial word indicates the space-time of the subject, for example:

|                        |                                     |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| hōj <u>yi-doh</u>      | ‘I <u>here</u> am off’              |
| bud <u>ha-níín</u>     | ‘ <u>you</u> ’re hot <u>there</u> ’ |
| na-cen <u>?ə-tuuuy</u> | ‘he/she <u>over there</u> wants it’ |

The forms in the first-person in the above table that are shaded out would seem illogical to use for the prepositional pronoun, as it would be difficult to say, “I there” or “we up there”, stating oneself to be in a different location than one is! But perhaps they could be used in a more unusual way, like looking at pictures and talking of the past.

#### 5.2.4.3 Prepositional object clause

The succinct pronoun referral marker is used to indicate possession of the object, and

the spatial word indicates the space-time of the object, for example:

|                                       |                                     |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>diix</i> <u>?om-tuuy</u>           | 'their house <u>over there</u> '    |
| <i>dɔɔk</i> <u>ha-na<sup>k</sup></u>  | 'your father <u>there</u> '         |
| <i>noŋ</i> <u>ka<sup>k</sup>-reih</u> | 'you two's path <u>down there</u> ' |

Prepositions can be attached to the succinct pronoun marker also, as with, <sup>2</sup>om-balix 'them above'. Other commonly used words include soy 'front', ya<sup>k</sup> 'behind', gagid 'in the middle', as well as temporal roots such as tee<sup>k</sup> 'just now', hatop (not -top) 'before'. And quantitatives also: mo<sup>k</sup> 'have', høy 'not have', sooj 'finished', tektii<sup>k</sup> 'still', jajih 'many', mis 'few', gehnih 'the rest', wəl 'again', həje<sup>k</sup> 'also'.

### 5.3 Possessive Pronouns

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Attaching the clitic cə- to the left edge of a personal pronoun creates the possessive sense. I will first describe the grammatical use of this clitic before showing how it creates the possessive pronoun.

#### 5.3.1 The accusative clitic cə-

The accusative clitic cə- (often pronounced more subtly as c'-, or even ci-) is used to suggest (really, accuse) a state of being or an opinion of thought in regard to the subject, such as with these examples: na<sup>k</sup> cə-hāā<sup>k</sup> 'that's in regard to you', cə-mad ?ə-doh 'concerning these pips here'. It also creates the conditional, 'if', or 'now that': cə-ha-cen 'if you want', cə-ha-lex 'now that you know'. More examples of its usage are given below.

|                                                                           |                                                |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| cə-mo <sup>k</sup>                                                        | 'if there is'                                  |
| cə-høy                                                                    | 'if there isn't'                               |
| cə-bar-noŋ                                                                | 'if there is a way'                            |
| høy cə-re <sup>k</sup> -na <sup>k</sup>                                   | 'no in that case'                              |
| høy cə-yii <sup>k</sup>                                                   | 'not of me'                                    |
| na <sup>k</sup> cə-hāā <sup>k</sup>                                       | 'that's your opinion'                          |
| cə-ge <sup>k</sup> hāā <sup>k</sup>                                       | 'like with you'                                |
| cə-ha-b'keed                                                              | 'if you are sweating'                          |
| na <sup>k</sup> cə-yi-bcođ                                                | 'that's if I am disinclined'                   |
| yii <sup>k</sup> cə-yii <sup>k</sup> hāā <sup>k</sup> cə-hāā <sup>k</sup> | 'I will keep to mine, you will keep to yours!' |

When the phrase is used regarding a past event it becomes a past conditional, like, 'if it had been', or, 'if it had done something', although it can still be accusative, 'because it was', or, 'because it did something'.

|                                          |                                |
|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| cə-ha-wε <sup>k</sup> na <sup>k</sup>    | 'if you had gone that time'    |
| cə-ha-wε <sup>k</sup> ?atεe <sup>k</sup> | 'if you had gone just now'     |
| cə-ha-høy                                | 'because you were not (there)' |

### 5.3.2 The accusative forming the possessive

The possessive pronoun is formed when the accusative clitic cə- is affixed to a pronoun. It designates the owner of the things that are mentioned: doh cə-yii<sup>k</sup> ‘this is mine’, na<sup>k</sup> cə-hāā<sup>k</sup> ‘that is yours’. Although a full translation would be ‘regarding’ or ‘belonging to’ rather than ‘mine’ and ‘yours’ etc. This is actually semantically identical with the above, where the subject is accused of having a certain condition or opinion. But here, the subject is allocated possession. Below is a list of each possessive pronoun that can be constructed with the full personal pronoun.

|                                     |                          |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| cə-yii <sup>k</sup>                 | ‘mine’                   |
| cə- <sup>?</sup> aar                | ‘ours’ (we two, not you) |
| cə-yaar                             | ‘ours’ (we two)          |
| cə- <sup>?</sup> ee <sup>k</sup>    | ‘ours’ (more than two)   |
| cə-kanij <sup>k</sup>               | ‘ours’ (not you)         |
| cə-hāā <sup>k</sup>                 | ‘yours’                  |
| cə-ka <sup>k</sup> -naar            | ‘yours’ (you two)        |
| cə- <sup>?</sup> ob                 | ‘yours’ (more than two)  |
| cə-na-na <sup>k</sup>               | ‘its/his/hers’           |
| cə-wε-naar                          | ‘theirs’ (them two)      |
| cə- <sup>?</sup> om-na <sup>k</sup> | ‘theirs’ (more than two) |

---

## 5.4 Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive pronoun, to say, ‘itself’, is created by combining the root word rii<sup>k</sup> with a personal pronoun. The nominative clause, to say, ‘its so-and-so’, is constructed by attaching the clitic yi- to object words. I describe these grammatical parts of speech in §5.4.1 and §5.4.2, below.

### 5.4.1 The reflexive rii<sup>k</sup>

The reflexive root rii<sup>k</sup> implies ‘self’, or ‘the actual one in question’. It commonly occurs anti-adjectively, to state, ‘itself carries that quality’, or adverbially, to state, ‘itself did something’, as shown by the examples below.

|                                                 |                             |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| rii <sup>k</sup> <sup>?</sup> ajōo <sup>k</sup> | ‘the small one’             |
| na-wε <sup>k</sup> rii <sup>k</sup>             | ‘she went herself’          |
| na-kuwad rii <sup>k</sup>                       | ‘he is strong (by) himself’ |

This root is also found to undergo morphological change, involving reduplication of the base, and consonant replacement of the reduplicated syllable onset (of [d] for [r]), to produce the adverb: rii<sup>k</sup> → de<sup>k</sup>rii<sup>k</sup> (not re<sup>k</sup>rii<sup>k</sup>) ‘by oneself’. It is also cliticised by the nominative proclitic yi- to identify something belonging to a situation (see §5.4.2 below).

The reflexive pronoun is formed when the reflexive root rii<sup>k</sup> adjuncts to the personal pronoun (I don’t consider it to affix), either in its articulated succinct form (rii<sup>k</sup> yih ‘myself’), or else in its prepositional form (rii<sup>k</sup> yi-doh ‘myself here’). The former is used adverbially, as in, “I went myself”, while the latter is used to identify the referred as the

subject of the conversation, as in, ‘now for myself...’ It is used largely to describe the fact that actions, thoughts, and opinions are initiated by the person or thing in question with no other agency required to accomplish that action or thought. It can denote that the object is there ‘in person’, or has done something in person. It is not used to say phrases like, ‘be careful of yourself’, where the bare pronoun would be adequate: *jagaa<sup>k</sup>*, *hāh!* ‘be careful, you!’ A complete list of reflexive pronouns is given below.

| <i>Adverbial</i>                         | <i>Prepositional</i>                                 | <i>Referred person</i> |                               |
|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>rii<sup>k</sup> yih</i>               | <i>rii<sup>k</sup> yi-doh</i>                        | <i>1SG</i>             | ‘myself’                      |
| <i>rii<sup>k</sup> ?ah</i>               | <i>rii<sup>k</sup> ?a-doh</i>                        | <i>1DU.INC</i>         | ‘ourselves’ (we two)          |
| <i>rii<sup>k</sup> yah</i>               | <i>rii<sup>k</sup> ya-doh</i>                        | <i>1DU.EXC</i>         | ‘ourselves’ (us two, not you) |
| <i>rii<sup>k</sup> ?eh</i>               | <i>rii<sup>k</sup> ?e-doh</i>                        | <i>1PL.INC</i>         | ‘ourselves’ (more than two)   |
| <i>rii<sup>k</sup> kanih</i>             | <i>rii<sup>k</sup> ki-doh</i>                        | <i>1PL.EXC</i>         | ‘ourselves’ (not you)         |
| <i>rii<sup>k</sup> hāh</i>               | <i>rii<sup>k</sup> hā-na<sup>k</sup></i>             | <i>2SG</i>             | ‘yourself’                    |
| <i>rii<sup>k</sup> ka<sup>k</sup>nah</i> | <i>rii<sup>k</sup> ka<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup></i> | <i>2DU</i>             | ‘yourselves’ (you two)        |
| <i>rii<sup>k</sup> ηob</i>               | <i>rii<sup>k</sup> ηob-na<sup>k</sup></i>            | <i>2PL</i>             | ‘yourselves’ (more than two)  |
| <i>rii<sup>k</sup> ?əh</i>               | <i>rii<sup>k</sup> ?ə-na<sup>k</sup></i>             | <i>3SG</i>             | ‘himself/herself/itself’      |
| <i>rii<sup>k</sup> weh</i>               | <i>rii<sup>k</sup> we-na<sup>k</sup></i>             | <i>3DU</i>             | ‘themselves’ (them two)       |
| <i>rii<sup>k</sup> ?om</i>               | <i>rii<sup>k</sup> ?om-na<sup>k</sup></i>            | <i>3PL</i>             | ‘themselves’ (more than two)  |

The reflexive pronouns *rii<sup>k</sup> ka<sup>k</sup>nah* and *rii<sup>k</sup> ηob* are also used in the second person singular, between in-laws, while *rii<sup>k</sup> weh* and *rii<sup>k</sup> ?om* are used in the third person singular, when referring to in-laws (see Table 5.4, in §5.1.3). The examples below show some reflexive pronouns in use.

|                                              |                             |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>rii<sup>k</sup> yih, yi-t?el</i>          | ‘I made it myself’          |
| <i>ha-lex rii<sup>k</sup> hāh?</i>           | ‘do you know by yourself?’  |
| <i>rii<sup>k</sup> ?əh na-wε<sup>k</sup></i> | ‘she went herself’          |
| <i>ma-rii<sup>k</sup> ?əh?</i>               | ‘to him/her in person?’     |
| <i>jo<sup>k</sup> rii<sup>k</sup> ?a-doh</i> | ‘come on, us two ourselves’ |

#### 5.4.2 The nominative clause

The nominative clause is constructed with the clitic *yi-*, which carries much the same meaning as the English ‘its’, and also ‘his’ and ‘her’ if a person is referred to (whether or not the pronoun is supplied). The sense is given to identify something that belongs to something or the person or thing of the situation or topic mentioned. It is also used to clarify which thing is being inferred, differentiating between possible persons or things, as seen in the last two examples below. The prepositional 3SG pronoun, *?ə-doh* or *?ə-na<sup>k</sup>*, receives roundedness to its front clitic, as *?o-doh* or *?o-na<sup>k</sup>*, when used to denote affirmation.

|                              |                                  |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>yi-?anuu<sup>k</sup></i>  | ‘the thing’ (in thought)         |
| <i>yi-na-doh</i>             | ‘this one’ (he/she/it) mentioned |
| <i>yi-na-na<sup>k</sup></i>  | ‘that one’ (he/she/it) mentioned |
| <i>yi-seŋkoo<sup>k</sup></i> | ‘its skin’                       |

|                                                     |                                                    |
|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| yi-diix                                             | 'its house'                                        |
| na <sup>k</sup> yi-keis?                            | 'is that the case?'                                |
| yi-hāā <sup>k</sup> doh                             | 'the you here'                                     |
| yi-? <sup>a</sup> -nak                              | 'he/she/it that one' (already mentioned)           |
| yi-? <sup>o</sup> -na <sup>k</sup>                  | 'he/she/it that one' (mentioned and just affirmed) |
| yi-? <sup>o</sup> -doh                              | 'this one' (mentioned and just affirmed)           |
| yi-pōō <sup>k</sup> ? <sup>a</sup> -na <sup>k</sup> | 'his there's mother' (not father etc.)             |
| yi-dōō <sup>k</sup> na-k'bəs?                       | 'the father it was who died?'                      |

The clitic <sup>o</sup>-, seen above, creates the affirmative sense (see §8.1.9) and could be a modified prepositional pronoun (?<sup>a</sup>-doh → <sup>o</sup>-doh), although there is not much evidence for this. The proclitic yi- can also be attached to the reflexive root rii<sup>k</sup>, to denote 'the one in question', as with: na-doh yi-rii<sup>k</sup> 'this is the one himself/herself', <sup>o</sup>-doh yi-rii<sup>k</sup> 'this is the one himself/herself with certain', or yi-rii<sup>k</sup> da-tēē<sup>k</sup> 'the one of just now'.

## 5.5 Relative and interrogative pronouns

---

### 5.5.1 Root word analysis

The two classes of relative and interrogative pronouns contain at least 22 lexemes (or 27 including those which are used in both classes), all of which are derived from only six root words (as seen in the table below). Perhaps the most productive of these root words are lo<sup>k</sup> and lōō<sup>k</sup>, 'what' and 'where'. Phonemically, they appear very similar, and it is quite possible that they stem from the same ancient root, their major difference being their vowel length, with lōō<sup>k</sup> always long and lo<sup>k</sup> always succinct. Their meanings also deviate, with lo<sup>k</sup> (most often ?ilo<sup>k</sup>) identificational, while lōō<sup>k</sup> is locative or selective. The former lo<sup>k</sup> is rarely used alone in its root form, it usually becomes disyllabic, by affixation of a clitic, in order to balance the short final vowel: ?i-lo<sup>k</sup>, ni-lo<sup>k</sup>. It can occur in its root form together with an affirmative pronoun: lo<sup>k</sup> <sup>o</sup>-doh 'this is the one'. There are also the words halo<sup>k</sup> 'never mind' and le<sup>k</sup>lo<sup>k</sup> 'probably'.

The pronoun cōō<sup>k</sup> 'who' is not used in the relative sense (as is stated in Means' dictionary), but only as the interrogative. To say, for example, he/she who has, the reflexive is used: rii<sup>k</sup> na-mo<sup>k</sup> 'the one he/she has', or else the Malay borrow word yan is interjected instead: yan lejlex 'which knowing'. It is used doubled in the relative sense, however: cōō<sup>k</sup>-cōō<sup>k</sup> 'whoever'.

Most of these roots bare close similarity with roots of the cousin language of Semai, with cōō<sup>k</sup> equivalent to boo<sup>k</sup>, ?ilo<sup>k</sup> to jalə<sup>k</sup>, rop to rim (m'rim) and lōō<sup>k</sup> without phonemic difference in either language. The Temiar bíl 'when', is a Malay borrow word whereas Semai has the native nu-?əmpuu<sup>k</sup>.

### 5.5.2 Relative and interrogative pronoun forms

The table below shows every available form of relative and interrogative pronoun that I have encountered so far. One word I omitted is pəy, which stands for 'how' but it isn't really a pronoun.

| <i>Root</i>       | <i>Relative pronoun</i>                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                         | <i>Interrogative pronoun</i>                                                                            |                                                             |
|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| bíil <sup>=</sup> | bíil <sup>=</sup><br>ma-bilɔɔ <sup>k=</sup>                                                                                                                                                        | 'when'<br>'whenever'                                                    | bíil <sup>=</sup><br>ma-bíil <sup>=</sup>                                                               | 'when'<br>'when'                                            |
| cōo <sup>k</sup>  | cōo <sup>k</sup> -cōo <sup>k</sup><br>to <sup>k</sup> ka <sup>k</sup> cōo <sup>k</sup>                                                                                                             | 'whoever'<br>'nobody'                                                   | cōo <sup>k</sup>                                                                                        | 'who', 'whose'                                              |
| kasa <sup>k</sup> |                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                         | kasa <sup>k</sup><br>?así <sup>k</sup>                                                                  | 'why' (should..)<br>'why' (do you..)                        |
| lo <sup>k</sup>   | lo <sup>k</sup><br>yilo <sup>k</sup><br>nilo <sup>k</sup><br>?ilo <sup>k</sup> -?ilo <sup>k</sup><br>to <sup>k</sup> bar-?ilo <sup>k</sup><br>to <sup>k</sup> bar-lo <sup>k</sup> -lo <sup>k</sup> | 'what'<br>'what'<br>'something'<br>'anything'<br>'nothing'<br>'nothing' | ?ilo <sup>k</sup>                                                                                       | 'what'                                                      |
| lōo <sup>k</sup>  | ?en-lōo <sup>k</sup><br>ma-lōo <sup>k</sup><br>m'na-lōo <sup>k</sup><br>lōo <sup>k</sup> -lōo <sup>k</sup><br>re <sup>k</sup> -lōo <sup>k</sup> /ge <sup>k</sup> -lōo <sup>k</sup>                 | 'where at'<br>'where to'<br>'wherever'<br>'whichever'<br>'how'          | ?en-lōo <sup>k</sup><br>ma-lōo <sup>k</sup><br>na-lōo <sup>k</sup><br>re <sup>k</sup> -lōo <sup>k</sup> | 'where at'<br>'where to'<br>'which'<br>'how', 'in what way' |
| rōp               | ma-rōp                                                                                                                                                                                             | 'some'                                                                  | ma-rōp                                                                                                  | 'how much', 'how many'                                      |

**Table 5.8 Relative and interrogative pronouns and their roots**

### 5.5.3 Relative and interrogative pronoun usage

In the table below I give some simple phrases that demonstrate the relative and interrogative modes of these words. The interrogative phrases are indented.

|                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                   |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| bíil <sup>=</sup> | bíil <sup>=</sup> na-na <sup>k</sup> hatōp<br>bíil <sup>=</sup> na <sup>k</sup><br>bíil <sup>=</sup> ham-wε <sup>k?</sup><br>ma-bíil <sup>=</sup> ham-lex?<br>?em-bíil <sup>=</sup> na-laa <sup>j</sup><br>ma-bilɔɔ <sup>k=</sup> | when it/he/she that time<br>when that (happened)<br>when are you going?<br>when will you ever learn?<br>when he comes<br>whenever |
| cōo <sup>k</sup>  | cōo <sup>k</sup> -cōo <sup>k</sup> boleh<br>to <sup>k</sup> ka <sup>k</sup> cōo <sup>k</sup> na-caal<br>cōo <sup>k</sup> cen?<br>cōo <sup>k</sup> baraŋ?<br>cōo <sup>k</sup> re-wε <sup>k?</sup>                                  | anyone can<br>nobody said<br>who wants?<br>whose stuff?<br>who will go?                                                           |
| kasa <sup>k</sup> | kasa <sup>k</sup> ?em-pōoč?                                                                                                                                                                                                       | why are we waiting?                                                                                                               |

|                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                   | ?así <sup>k</sup> ha-yaap?                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | why do you only cry?                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| lo <sup>k</sup>   | lo <sup>k</sup> ?o-na <sup>k</sup><br>ka <sup>k</sup> lo <sup>k</sup><br>yilo <sup>k</sup> na-cen<br>?ilo <sup>k</sup> ha-cen?<br>?ilo <sup>k</sup> bajii <sup>k</sup> ?<br>bo <sup>k</sup> ?ilo <sup>k</sup> ?<br>ko'od nilo <sup>k</sup><br>?oog ?ilo <sup>k</sup> -?ilo <sup>k</sup><br>hoy to <sup>k</sup> bar?ilo <sup>k</sup><br>to <sup>k</sup> barlo <sup>k</sup> -lo <sup>k</sup>                                                         | that's the one<br>so what<br>what he/she wants<br>what do you want?<br>what sort? (what's up?)<br>and what?<br>take something<br>give anything<br>no, it's nothing<br>there's nothing                                    |
| lo'o <sup>k</sup> | lo'o <sup>k</sup> yi-rii <sup>k</sup> ?<br>ham-neeh ?en-lo'o <sup>k</sup><br>?en-lo'o <sup>k</sup> na-doo'l<br>hoj ma-lo'o <sup>k</sup> podox<br>ma-lo'o <sup>k</sup> ham-wε <sup>k</sup> ?<br>m'na-lo'o <sup>k</sup> na-?adiis<br>lo'o <sup>k</sup> -lo'o <sup>k</sup> ha-cen<br>na-lo'o <sup>k</sup> ney<br>?em-neeh re <sup>k</sup> -lo'o <sup>k</sup><br>re <sup>k</sup> -lo'o <sup>k</sup> doh?<br>ge <sup>k</sup> -lo'o <sup>k</sup> na-hæay | which one is it?<br>go see where<br>where did he put?<br>already where by now<br>where are you going?<br>wherever he's wandered<br>whichever you like<br>which one?<br>we will see how<br>how is this?<br>how she did it |
| rop               | mo <sup>k</sup> ma-rop<br>ma-rop sen?ððy?                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | there's a few<br>how many people?                                                                                                                                                                                        |

**Table 5.9 Relative and interrogative pronoun usage**

With the pronoun *re<sup>k</sup>-lo'o<sup>k</sup>*, above, the clitic *re<sup>k</sup>* is derived from the word *g're<sup>k</sup>* ‘like’, which is also sometimes shortened to *ge<sup>k</sup>*, and thus *ge<sup>k</sup>* also finds its way onto words as a proclitic: *ge<sup>k</sup>-lo'o<sup>k</sup>*. The relative pronoun *na-lo'o<sup>k</sup>* ‘which’, bears similar morphology to a prepositional pronoun (see §5.2.4), and may be joined with the reflexive root *rii<sup>k</sup>*: *rii<sup>k</sup> na-lo'o<sup>k</sup>* ‘herself/himself which (we know)’.

See also §8.1.4 & §8.3.4 for interrogative forms.

# 6 Verbs

In this chapter I describe the nature of verbs in their root (lexeme) forms followed by complex forms derived by morphological processes (described in §2.3.4) which stand for distinct temporal and spatial aspect.

## 6.1 Verbal morphology

---

### 6.1.1 Root lexemes

As with nouns, most verbs in Temiar are semantically well-defined, in that they do not stand for multiple meanings, and roots that appear equivocal usually have a traceable semantic route between branches: s'lög 'to sleep/marry', pօօc 'to wait/watch', caa<sup>k</sup> 'to eat/catch fire', cən 'to want/need', dօøl 'to put/keep'.

Lexeme forms of verbs are generally morphologically simplex, in that they are represented by monomorphemic roots and do not carry traces of morphological processes, such as: ciib 'to go', gəøl 'to sit', wøg, 'to rise', tuh 'to speak', neeh 'to see', lex 'to know', s'mօøŋ 'to hear', b'lօød 'to think'. However, numerous exceptions to this pattern display fossilised morphology, either in the form of reduplication of the root or of affixation, resembling structurally imperfective and causative forms (described in §2.3.4.1, 2.3.4.5 and 2.3.8). Such morphologically complex lexemes have no identifiable synchronic roots and represent a wide range of semantic domains (refer to the lists in Appendix 2). As with Jehai (Burenhult, 2005:92), a handful of verbs are found derived from nominal roots by process of affixation or reduplication, as shown in the examples below.

|                    |                                        |
|--------------------|----------------------------------------|
| cօøk 'pet'         | → bercօøk 'keep a pet'                 |
| goøh 'bamboo tube' | → p'goøh 'to cook'                     |
| kowēēs 'child'     | → keswēēs 'procreating'                |
| k'bæøk 'fruit'     | → ke <sup>k</sup> bæøk 'to bear fruit' |

Also, there is a small set of nouns which stand for fluids related to human/animal bodies (as noted in §3.1.1), that can act as verbs in their lexeme form: ?ɛj 'excrement/defecate', k'nօøm 'urine/urinate', ko<sup>k</sup> 'vomit/to vomit', lօøt 'blood/to bleed' and ?օøx/?օøŋ 'water/to drink'.

The lexeme form of a verb is semantically rather neutral and non-specific with regard to temporal location (tense) and internal constituency (activity state). Thus, for example, verbs may be used in their root form to denote situations that are past and bounded (in time or event), or present, bounded (or unbounded), and also in an ongoing sense. They may also be used to denote future actions, if those actions are predictable. Verbs are also used in their root forms as imperatives. The examples below demonstrate how the verb

*wɛ<sup>k</sup>* ‘to go’ can be used.

| Tense              | Examples                                              |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| Past               | ki-wɛ <sup>k</sup> ?is hatɔp<br>‘we went yesterday’   |
| Present-unbounded  | yi-wɛ <sup>k</sup> lejgíjgíj<br>‘I go often’          |
| Present-bounded    | ?ɛ-wɛ <sup>k</sup> pudoh<br>‘we can go now’           |
| Present-continuous | na-wɛ <sup>k</sup> ma-doh<br>‘she’s coming here’      |
| Future             | na-wɛ <sup>k</sup> ?akaal<br>‘it will go in a moment’ |
| Imperative         | wɛ <sup>k</sup> !<br>‘go!’                            |

The lexeme form of a verb is never used alone as a citation form, that is, when citing the verb used for a particular action. Instead, the verb is given with the first person plural marker attached: ?ɛ-cox ‘we cut’, ?ɛ-cen ‘we like’. However, when the action is not associated with a first person subject, the third person singular marker is attached to the verb: na-təəh ‘it rains’, na-hæex ‘it flies’. The *1pl* marker is also used when giving correction to someone, especially to children: ?ɛ-?oog p’laaat ‘we give it slowly’.

A large number of verbs can be classified as being stative, in that they act adjectivally, describing condition, and might easily be taken themselves as adjectives. However, they are properly treated as verbs due to the fact that they are not used in the noun phrase (e.g. ‘a big cat’). Some examples of these are given below.

|        |                |           |                   |
|--------|----------------|-----------|-------------------|
| b'keed | ‘to sweat’     | yi-b'keed | ‘I’m sweating’    |
| gaheel | ‘to get tired’ | ha-gaheel | ‘you are tired’   |
| ruuj   | ‘to get lost’  | na-ruuj   | ‘it will be lost’ |

To use the above words as adjectives, the imperfective verb form would need to be created, by reduplication process (see §2.3.4.1), giving the sense of completeness (note that verbs like gaheel cannot undergo reduplication), as shown below:

|               |                |
|---------------|----------------|
| ?is bedkeed   | ‘a sweaty day’ |
| baraj rejruuj | ‘lost things’  |

Many verbs are noticeable for carrying the phoneme [a] at pre-final syllable position: baloh ‘argue’, gatah ‘hack’, halab ‘ride down’, kapññ<sup>k</sup> ‘flirt’, sa?ɔɔd ‘answer’. These verbs exemplify what Benjamin calls the ‘middle voice’, a sense which denotes an action carried out by a subject while it is simultaneously performed toward the subject (see §3.1.2). The sense may seem hard to envisage with many verbs, but nonetheless, these verbs still carry ‘middle voice’ morphology.

### 6.1.2 Temporal aspect

Dynamic verbs (as opposed to stative verbs) denote situations involving some form of change or activity and their morphemes include punctual verbs, denoting instantaneous situations, and durative verbs, denoting situations that span across a period of time. Both kinds of morphemes refer to the temporal aspect of an action, which is otherwise known as *Aktionsart*. Still other verb morphemes express characteristics that are non-temporal and more inherent to the spatial or participant constituency of a situation. Temiar exhibits a good set of affixes and proclitics that are attached productively to verbs in order to

create new aspect. The table below demonstrates the morphemes derived from verbs by affixation and the following sections describe the grammatical categories that are produced by each morphological process.

| <i>Verb morpheme</i>       |                                    |                           |                   |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Temporal aspect</i>     | <i>Monosyllabic</i>                | <i>Monosyllabic (DCO)</i> | <i>Disyllabic</i> |
| <i>imperfective</i>        | cɛ <sup>k</sup> caa <sup>k</sup>   | segłog                    | -                 |
| <i>continuous</i>          | b'cɛ <sup>k</sup> caa <sup>k</sup> | b'seglög                  | b'gulap           |
| <i>uncontrolled/mutual</i> | caca <sup>k</sup>                  | salög                     | -                 |
| <i>u/mutual continuous</i> | b'caca <sup>k</sup>                | b'salög                   | -                 |
| <i>lax</i>                 | le <sup>k</sup> caa <sup>k</sup>   | -                         | -                 |
| <i>repetitive</i>          | caa <sup>k</sup> -caa <sup>k</sup> | s'lög-s'lög               | -                 |
| <i>Non-temporal aspect</i> |                                    |                           |                   |
| <i>causative</i>           | bərcaa <sup>k</sup>                | serlog                    | -                 |
| <i>nominalisation</i>      | nɛ <sup>k</sup> caa <sup>k</sup>   | sənlog                    | g'nulap           |

**Table 6.1 Verbal derivation and aspect in Temiar**

Of note, those verbs which already exhibit morphological complexity in the form of reduplication, as described in §6.1.1, do not undergo any inflectional processes, since they cannot return to their non-existent root form. Thus, derivational morphemes, such as the continuous or uncontrolled sense, are not produced by them.

### 6.1.3 Imperfective

Most monosyllabic verbs (including those with di-consonant onset) derive imperfective morphemes by means of reduplication of the base (see §2.3.4.1). Some verbs, however, do not readily produce imperfectives, or, at least, their imperfective forms do not seem to be used. Most disyllabic verbs have no imperfective form, and this would seem to be because many of these are ‘middle voice’ verbs which cannot adopt a durative temporal aspect, but there are verbs such as hínjil ‘limp’ and rentuu<sup>k</sup> ‘collide’ with no ‘middle voice’ sense that also do not. It may, therefore, be the word length that discourages any derivation. Those disyllabic verbs that do derive imperfectives are, in reality, monosyllabic verbs phonetically: huwal is treated as h'wal, juwah as j'wah, juwal as j'wal etc. The examples below show how the morpheme is produced from the lexeme verb.

caa<sup>k</sup> ‘to eat’ → cɛ<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup> ‘to be eating’

?am-cɛ<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup> ?akaal ‘us two will eat soon’

s'lög ‘to sleep’ → segłog ‘to be sleeping’

yi-seglög ?atę<sup>k</sup> ‘I was asleep just now’

huwal ‘to come out’ → h̥elwal ‘to be coming out’  
 na-helwal ma-k’dey ‘he’s going out to town’

The imperfective is used to describe a situation as prevailing for a period of time, whether presently, past or future, of an action that is ongoing and unfinished, and is intentionally being undertaken. It can often carry hints of the continuous but it differs in its temporal aspect, which implies activity that will take time, as opposed to the continuous which looks at an exact point in time. Sometimes the imperfective is preferred over the lexeme form for most situations: se<sup>k</sup>lōo<sup>k</sup> ‘to be lying’ is used rather consistently, over s’lōo<sup>k</sup> ‘to lie’. It would be like saying, ‘he’s lying with his words’, versus ‘he lies’. At other times the uncontrolled verb form is preferred over the imperfective, even when the action is quite intentional, perhaps as a means to tease (see below). These morphemes can take the continuous sense by means of attaching the affix b'- (see §6.1.4, below) but otherwise, they do not feed any further derivation that would produce new morphemes (note that the uncontrolled or mutual sense is derived from the lexeme form, not the imperfective).

Many verbs show evidence of fossilised morphology, the processes of which are not reversible as the roots are no longer in use. Because of this, these verbs that resemble imperfect forms are not used explicitly in the imperfective sense, but rather in the perfective sense. Perhaps this is because they are not mentally being derived from a simple root that would be in the perfective. Furthermore, the phonemic parts of what appears to be the reduplicated affix to the word front do not always follow phonotactic rules precisely. This is most noticeable with ‘affix’ onset consonants, which may be replaced for more suitable phonemes. For example, the verbs dəŋdex ‘to hold onto’ or kemkuup ‘to bend over’ follow the rules of reduplication very well, but cedwɔɔd ‘to prowl’ or merhiir ‘to be confident’ do not, having different onset consonants to their apparent ‘root’ onsets. Onset consonant replacement creates groups of words with particular pre-final syllables, such as ges-, peg-, ren-, seg-, or teg-, which may be even more noticeable when comparing fossilised adjectives (refer to list B1 in Appendix 2).

#### 6.1.4 Continuous

Verbs take on the continuous sense by means of attachment of the affix b'- to the left edge of monosyllabic verbs in their imperfective form and to disyllabic verbs in their lexeme form:

caa<sup>k</sup> ‘to eat’ → b’cə<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup> ‘eating’  
 ki-b’cə<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup> bíl ha-kōow ‘we were eating when you called’

s’lōo<sup>k</sup> ‘to lie’ → b’sə<sup>k</sup>lōo<sup>k</sup> ‘lying’  
 ha-b’sə<sup>k</sup>lōo<sup>k</sup> yi-lex! ‘you are lying, I know!’

kabəəd ‘to ride’ → b’kabəəd ‘riding’  
 ?om-b’kabəəd honte<sup>k</sup> ‘they are riding haphazardly’

The continuous denotes an action that is currently progressing at the point in time when the subject is observed, as opposed to the imperfective, which speaks of frequent action over time. Continuous morphemes do not feed further derivation. Many adjectives

can also be put into a continuous sense, by attaching the phoneme b'- (sometimes bə-), to denote the present state of a subject: bəh'lənpux ‘being very fat’. This is not surprising, seeing that many adjectives are derived from stative verbs in the first place.

### 6.1.5 Uncontrolled

Morphemes of the uncontrolled sense are created by process of reduplication of the base, but omitting the base coda in the reduplication, while infixing the morpheme [a] to the new front syllable, as Ca.CVC (see §2.3.4.2). The phonemic structure then takes the form associated with ‘middle voice’ verbs and the sense is of an unwitting action, and done somewhat toward the subject, rather than under full control or consciousness of the subject. As far as I can tell, the sense may infringe on the imperfective only in the aspect of being unfinished, but not in the aspect of frequently occurring. With activities such as falling asleep, or sitting down abruptly, the sense of unwitting action can be seen quite clearly, but with other actions, such as eating or talking too much, the sense is not necessarily incidental, but is perhaps used to poke fun at a person or situation, suggesting clumsiness.

These morphemes can take the continuous sense by means of attaching the affix b'- to the left edge of the word, and this sense would denote the continued state or condition caused by uncontrolled action, such as being fast asleep, or being sat down and not able to get up.

|                        |                                                                         |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| caa <sup>k</sup> ‘eat’ | → cacaak ‘to eat all of a sudden’                                       |
| caal ‘to talk’         | → cacaal ‘to talk all of a sudden’, b'cacaal ‘talking without stopping’ |
| gæəl ‘to sit’          | → gagæəl ‘to sit all of a sudden’                                       |
| s'lɔ̄g ‘to sleep’      | → salɔ̄g ‘fallen asleep’, b'salɔ̄g ‘sleeping all of a sudden’           |

There are some verbs that show possible frozen ‘middle voice’ morphology, in that they appear to carry an affix made of the root onset and the prespecified vowel [a], such as gagoh ‘to visit’ and tatiik ‘to snore’ (refer to list B2 in Appendix 2).

### 6.1.6 Mutual

Morphemes of the mutual activity are homophonic with morphemes of the uncontrolled sense, in that they carry the exact same affix morphology of Ca.CVC. The sense still carries the ‘middle voice’ but differs due to the plurality of subject in the verb phrase. Instead of the action being unwitting and rather much done toward the subject, the activity or state is undertaken or experienced by the members of a group, mutually, at the same time. The sense also carries a ‘middle voice’ aspect, in that each member of the group does not have full control of the other members of the group who are involved in the same activity. Thus the activity is in some sense being done toward the individual members, as with the singular subject mode. It is not equal to the reciprocal mode, however, discussed by Burenhult (2005:104), where an activity is carried out by all participants of a group towards the others. The distributive sense is not found in Temiar either, that being, expressing an action or state which is distributed over multiple locations or with multiple participants acted upon (Burenhult, 2005:102).

Examples of verb forms stating mutual activity:

|                               |                               |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| caciib ‘all going together’   | salog ‘all sleeping together’ |
| tatap ‘out planting together’ | hawal ‘all coming together’   |
| papooc ‘all waiting together’ | balik ‘all buying together’   |

The verb form can imply activity in the present, past or that is intended in the future:

|                                     |                                         |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| ?om-jawah hi <sup>k</sup>           | ‘they are always playing together’      |
| hatop ki-jawah ma-?o <sup>k</sup> x | ‘we used to play together at the river’ |
| kood bolah, ?em-jawah               | ‘get the ball, let’s play together’     |

As with the uncontrolled sense, the mutual also takes on the continuous sense, and again by affixation of b'-'. Mutual continuous morphemes do not feed further derivation.

|                                 |                                                |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| caa <sup>k</sup> ‘to eat’       | → b'cacaak ‘all eating’                        |
| ?om-b'cacaak ma-baley           | ‘they are all eating together in the hall’     |
| s'luuuh ‘to blow-pipe’          | → saluuuh ‘all blow-piping’                    |
| ?om-saluuh ma-tih               | ‘they are blow-piping up there’                |
| tuux ‘to fear’                  | → b'tatuux ‘all afraid’                        |
| ?om-certax reŋkaak ?om-b'tatuux | ‘they closed their doors they were all afraid’ |

The verb do<sup>k</sup> ‘to run off’ is an interesting example to look at. The imperfective, de<sup>k</sup>do<sup>k</sup> ‘running off’, can imply both singular or plural subjects, and constant or frequent events during a particular time frame—for example, during a time of danger. The morpheme, dado<sup>k</sup> ‘to run off suddenly’, when the subject is singular, implies sudden and unexpected action, for example, the moment a bear appeared in the forest. When the subject is plural, the sense implies an action done by the group, they all ran off at the same time. The continuous morpheme b'dado<sup>k</sup>, implies the moment of the activity happening, ‘running off’.

### 6.1.7 Laxity

Morphemes that carry the sense of laxity describe having little control against an action recurring or a condition from continuing. It is not equal to the iterative sense, that denotes an action that is carried out repeatedly and purposefully. These morphemes are created by the process of reduplication of monosyllabic roots, in a similar process to imperfectives, with the prespecified phoneme [l] as the onset consonant of the prefix (lɛC.CVC). Stative verbs are also treated in this way, producing some near adjectival morphemes, such as ledþæd ‘overheating’. I have not found disyllabic verbs undergoing the same process, which would make these words tri-syllabic and slightly awkward to use. Occasionally, the morpheme is made by attaching the affix la- or ləla- to the root, in accordance with the treatment of many adjectives, which are also given the sense of laxity by a similar process (described in §7.1.5). These morphemes do not feed further derivation, that is, they are not given mutual or continuous sense and neither are they nominalised. Some examples displaying laxity are given below.

|                      |                                                  |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| lagiij               | 'burning up', from giij 'to burn'                |
| leb <sup>?</sup> ib  | 'to swell', from <sup>?</sup> ib 'to rise'       |
| led <sup>?</sup> aād | 'desperate', from <sup>?</sup> aād 'to bulge'    |
| led <sup>?</sup> iid | 'anxious', from <sup>?</sup> iid 'to worry'      |
| lelapəd              | 'turning off constantly', from pəd 'to conk out' |
| lelayaaap            | 'crying uncontrollably', from yaap 'to cry'      |
| leŋhæp               | 'over excited', from hæp 'eager'                 |
| lerhaar              | 'to creep closer', from haar 'sound of creeping' |
| lerkuur              | 'to quiver', from kuur 'sound of a quiver'       |
| leywoøy              | 'curling', from woøy 'to curl'                   |

There are also many lexeme words showing apparent morphology of the laxity sense that are derived from unknown root words (refer to list B3 and C6 in Appendix 2). Most of these words are adjectival and are not used as typical verbs in the noun phrase, such as those in the examples below. A few, however, are used as direct verbs.

- |                               |                           |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| lerdiir! yi- <sup>?</sup> e'j | 'blubbery, was his gut'   |
| led <sup>?</sup> aād yi-doh   | 'I'm desperate here!'     |
| legcaag <sup>?</sup> om-caal  | 'they chatter so noisily' |

### 6.1.8 Repetitive

Practically any verb can be given the sense of repetition, the repeating of a completed action, by means of total reduplication of the verb—most commonly in its lexeme form. The verb can be strung together two to three times, as seen below:

- |                                                                             |                                                      |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| caa <sup>k</sup> -caa <sup>k</sup>                                          | 'eat, eat'                                           |
| ?om- <sup>?</sup> oj bo <sup>k</sup> ?om-caa <sup>k</sup> -caa <sup>k</sup> | 'they come in and eat, eat'                          |
| ciib-ciib-ciib                                                              | 'walk, walk, walk'                                   |
| ciib-ciib-ciib, bo <sup>k</sup> we-loy                                      | 'they walked, walked, walked and they reached there' |

Verbs can also be repeated in the imperfective form (ce<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup>-ce<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup> 'eating, eating'), but due to the implied meaning of ongoing and ongoing, this usage is less common.

### 6.1.9 Causative

The causative sense on a verb denotes the causing of an object to carry out an action or to enter a new state of being. Integral to the derivation of verbs to the causative is the introduction of the phoneme [r] toward the coda position of the pre-final syllable. This happens either with the affixation of the clitics ber-/per-/ter- to the front of monosyllabic roots or by infix of [er-] to the front of di-consonant initial roots and some disyllabic words (see §2.3.4.5). Causative proclitics can be said to have no semantic variation in particular, and their attachment to words is determined phonotactically, following the onset consonant of the root (see §2.3.8). Contrary to this rule, some root words do accept different proclitics, however, which would suggest some level of semantic distinction between the attached proclitics. The word gah 'news' can be *pergah* 'to praise', or *terigah* 'to spread news', and *sor'j* 'finished' can be *tersor'j* 'to finish s.t.', as well as *bersor'j* 'to

help s.t. finish'. In both cases, the labial-commencing proclitics ber- and per- tend to infer helping an object to do something, whereas ter- infers the subject directly performing the action. Some examples of causative derivation and usage are given below.

| <i>Causative</i>                      | <i>Meaning</i>                    | <i>Root word</i>            |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| bercaa <sup>k</sup>                   | 'to feed a child'                 | caa <sup>k</sup> 'to eat'   |
| berso'o'j                             | 'to finish'                       | so'o'j 'finished'           |
| bertaaw                               | 'to set down'                     | taaw 'to get down'          |
| pergah                                | 'to praise'                       | gah 'news'                  |
| peryad                                | 'to direct'                       | yad 'to look'               |
| ter <sup>2</sup> o'o'j                | 'give a drink'                    | ?o'o'j 'to drink'           |
| terbuu <sup>k</sup>                   | 'to find'                         | buu <sup>k</sup> 'to meet'  |
| tergah                                | 'to spread news'                  | gah 'news'                  |
| terhøy                                | 'to make none'                    | høy 'none'                  |
| terkäl                                | 'to knock over'                   | käl 'to fall over'          |
| terloy                                | 'to make reach'                   | loy 'to reach'              |
| termo'o'j                             | 'to put in'                       | mo'o'j 'to go in'           |
| terpæə <sup>k</sup>                   | 'to make touch'                   | pæə <sup>k</sup> 'to touch' |
| terwæəl                               | 'to make forget'                  | wæəl 'to forget'            |
| taaw 'to alight'                      | → bertaaw 'to unload'             |                             |
| ham-berthaaw baran yii <sup>k</sup>   | 'unload my stuff (please)'        |                             |
| so'o'j 'finished'                     | → berso'o'j/terso'o'j 'to finish' |                             |
| na-berso'o'j limaa <sup>k</sup> go'oh | 'he finished five bamboo tubes'   |                             |

There are also many verbs that appear to carry a causative prefix but their root words do not seem to exist. Many words also carry a causative prefix showing vowel regression, from [ɛ] to [ə], or ['], which looks like Cər- or C'-, and some carry affix coda replacement, notably of [l] for [r] (telhùg, telwah), which is possible with fossilised words (refer to lists B4-5 in Appendix 2). There are even more of these words when we consider imperfect causatives, many of which are adjectival or even names of plants. Of note, there is a word bergi<sup>k</sup>, synchronous with the word berciib 'to drag on', the root of which is not found, but it most probably originates from the Malay pergi 'to go'.

Some lexical words appear to be fossilised forms of words carrying the affixes ger- and ker-, for example: gerdax 'to put in effort', kerlax 'to obstruct'. Generally, the roots of such causative inflection are not found in today's language and I doubt they ever existed, except perhaps in thought. A few words with the affix ker- exist which perhaps have more obvious roots that they are derived from, as shown below. The affix ker- might be found altered to käl- in some cases (refer to list B6 in Appendix 2).

| <i>Causative</i>         | <i>Meaning</i>     | <i>Possible root</i>     |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| ker <sup>2</sup> o'o'j * | 'to soak in water' | ?o'o'j 'water'           |
| kermāəh *                | 'to make a smell'  | māəh 'nose'              |
| kersēəb *                | 'to squint'        | sēəb 'to sting the eyes' |
| kerwaax *                | 'to build a frame' | waax 'waist'             |
| ker'yool *               | 'to erupt'         | yool 'to shake'          |

A few verbs are found showing fossilised imperfect causative morphology, though not

many, such as *g'remhūm* ‘eager’ or *k'reljl* ‘busy’ (refer to list B8 in Appendix 2). Words showing fossilised ‘middle voice’ causative morphology tend to be adjectival (see §7.1.6).

A class of verbs exists that carry the affix *pi-* which I suspect is derived from the causative *per-*, and has morphed into the said form in keeping with this semantic class. These words denote causing something to make an articulation (even one’s own nose!), such as causing someone to say ‘yes’. Other words exist having [pi] as their onset syllable which are not part of this class, such as *pitam* ‘black out’, *pita<sup>k</sup>* ‘clan’ and thus [pi] at onset is not always derived from a clitic.

|                          |                                             |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <i>pi<sup>?</sup>ūūs</i> | ‘to sniff out at a bad smell’               |
| <i>pidih</i>             | ‘to call a dog’                             |
| <i>pidiib</i>            | ‘to hush a child’                           |
| <i>pihəə<sup>k</sup></i> | ‘to say yes’ (affirm during a tale telling) |
| <i>pihōy</i>             | ‘to say none’ i.e. ‘relax’ ?                |

Furthermore, the same form noted with the causative prefix (*Cer-*) can be found at the front of many Temiar words, commenced by almost every other available consonant that is not involved with a pure causative affix, including [c, d, j, l, m, s], but not [n, r, w, y, p] (refer to list B7 in Appendix 2). These forms are often not pure causatives, in that they are not affixed to known roots which they derive morphemes, but most appear attached to fossilised morphemes, forming new lexemes. Some may be attached to recognised roots also, but there are not many (note the underlined final syllables of words in list): *cerbær* ‘create leaves’ comes from *cer-* and *bær* ‘vegetable’; *mərpə<sup>k</sup>* ‘siblings’ (listed under nouns), comes from *mər-* and *pə<sup>k</sup>* ‘younger sibling’. These underspecified forms are possibly derived from proper causative affixes, meaning that *cer-* and *ser-*, especially, but also *der-* and *jer-*, could well be derived from the affix *ter-*. Replacement of their onset consonant, from [t], was perhaps made to alter the sound of the word, to become more pleasing to the ear. The majority of these words are found to be verbs, with fewer found adjectives (refer to §7.1.6), with even fewer found as nouns.

Causative morphemes feed further derivation in the form of imperfect causative (§2.3.4.6), uncontrolled causative (§2.3.4.7), and nominalised causative (§2.3.4.8). The table below demonstrates how causatives feed further morphological derivation.

| <i>Derivational morpheme</i>  | Verb 1: <i>caa<sup>k</sup></i> ‘to eat’                   | Verb 2: <i>s'lōg</i> ‘to marry’                     |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| <i>causative</i>              | <i>bərcaa<sup>k</sup></i> ‘to feed’                       | <i>sərlōg</i> ‘to marry off’                        |
| <i>imperfect causative</i>    | <i>b'rə<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup></i> ‘to be feeding’    | <i>s'rəglōg</i> ‘to be marrying off’                |
| <i>uncontrolled causative</i> | <i>b'raca<sup>k</sup></i> ‘to be feeding all of a sudden’ | <i>s'rəlōg</i> ‘to be marrying off all of a sudden’ |
| <i>nominal causative</i>      | <i>b'rəncaa<sup>k</sup></i> ‘action of feeding’           | <i>s'rənlōg</i> ‘action of marrying off’            |

**Table 6.2 Morphological derivation of causatives**

As already noted, in §2.3.6, the example verbs above are not typically found in the

uncontrolled causative sense, as their meaning would seem rather obscure. Stative verbs, such as b'kēed ‘to sweat’ or adjectives such as s'ʔeeg ‘stinking’, would be more commonly found in this derivational form: b'rakeed ‘making a sweat’, s'raʔeeg ‘making a stink’.

Imperfect causatives and uncontrolled, or ‘middle voice’, imperfect causatives, as described in Phonotactics (§2.3.4.6), are derived by infix of the base word’s coda to create a reduplicated pre-final syllable, with the causative phoneme [r] as its onset, as C'reC.CVC, or by infix of the ‘middle voice’ phoneme [a], as C'ra.CVC. The sense is of unfinished or frequent action causing an object to do something, such as b're<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup> ‘feeding’ (causing to eat).

caa<sup>k</sup> ‘to eat’ → b̥ercaa<sup>k</sup> ‘to feed’ → b're<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup> ‘to be feeding’

marōp ?acē<sup>k</sup> yi-b're<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup> ‘how many dogs do (have to) I feed?’

sōo<sup>j</sup> ‘finished’ → t̥ersōo<sup>j</sup> ‘to finish’ → t'rejsōo<sup>j</sup> ‘to be finishing’

na-t'reijsōo<sup>j</sup> canaa<sup>k</sup> ?ee<sup>k</sup> ‘he’s finishing off our food’

Many words appear to carry fossilised causative morphology of this type, with no known roots, most of which are found to be adjectival or adverbial (refer to list C2 in Appendix 2). There are practically no verbs found carrying evidence of imperfect causative morphology, except for a handful carrying the structure C'ri.CVC or C'ra.CVC, such as b'rambaa<sup>k</sup> ‘to take anything’, s'rapaa<sup>k</sup> ‘to look for s.t.’, or s'ripaax ‘to rebound’ (refer to list B8 in Appendix 2).

### 6.1.10 Nominalisation

The nominal sense, or the act of doing something, can be derived from root lexemes and from causatives. The nominal is typified by the addition of the phoneme [n] to the base word, either as onset consonant of a reduplicated pre-final syllable, to monosyllabic roots, or as an infix to di-onset and disyllabic roots (§2.3.4.4), as well as to causative derivations (§2.3.4.8). The nominal morpheme may receive affixation of the phoneme b'- to express a continuous aspect, as in having an object or an experience, which is then used adjectivally (see §7.2.1).

suuj ‘to wash’ → nejsuuj ‘a wash’ → b'n̥ejsuuj ‘having been washed’

hōo<sup>k</sup> b'n̥ejsuuj ?om-na<sup>k</sup> ‘those are washed plates’

The nominal morpheme is very often combined with the negative participle to<sup>k</sup>, thus giving the sense of not having an object or an experience. This structure is found with all kinds of nominals and is really adjectival in nature, as shown below.

caa<sup>k</sup> ‘to eat’ → n̥e<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup> ‘food’ → b'n̥e<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup> ‘having food’

to<sup>k</sup> b'n̥e<sup>k</sup>caa<sup>k</sup> ‘there’s no food’

s'lōg ‘to sleep’ → s'enlōg ‘sleep’ → b's'enlōg ‘having sleep’

cəbciib to<sup>k</sup> b's'enlōg ‘traveling without any sleep’

pergah ‘to praise’ → p'rēngah ‘praise’ → b'p'rēngah ‘having praise’

hāā<sup>k</sup> to<sup>k</sup> b'p'rēngah ‘you have no praise’

Below I give some more examples of nouns derived by nominalisation of verbs and adjectives, firstly of monosyllabic roots, by reduplication process, and secondly, of disconsonant onset roots, causative morphemes and disyllabic roots, by infixation of [n].

| <i>Derived noun</i>              |                     | <i>Root word</i>              |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| ne <sup>k</sup> caa <sup>k</sup> | 'food'              | caa <sup>k</sup> 'to eat'     |
| nebcii <sup>b</sup>              | 'travel'            | ciib 'to go'                  |
| negpūg                           | 'a dig'             | pūg 'to dig'                  |
| nehsiih                          | 'pounding'          | siih 'to pound'               |
| nemtap                           | 'a planting'        | tap 'to plant'                |
| neŋpo <sup>x</sup>               | 'a hack'            | po <sup>x</sup> 'to hack'     |
| nejtaac                          | 'weaving'           | taac 'to weave'               |
| <br>                             |                     |                               |
| cenro <sup>k</sup>               | 'hunger'            | c'ro <sup>k</sup> 'hungry'    |
| senlōg                           | 'sleep'             | s'lōg 'to sleep'              |
| b'rencaa <sup>k</sup>            | 'act of feeding'    | bercaa <sup>k</sup> 'to feed' |
| p'renluuy                        | 'act of joking'     | perluuy 'to joke'             |
| t'rense <sup>k</sup>             | 'act of letting go' | tersek 'to let go'            |
| b'nalas                          | 'a whisper'         | balas 'to reply'              |
| h'nalab                          | 'a journey by raft' | halab 'to raft'               |

## 6.2 Verbal modality

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### 6.2.1 Tense

As there is no inflection in the verb to indicate the tense, the relation to time is expressed generally by the context or a time indicating adverb. Temporal adverbs, such as, hoj 'already', ?akaal 'afterwards', tii<sup>k</sup> 'not yet' are frequently used as adjuncts to the verb phrase to indicate when the activity took place or will take place. Direct reference to time is made with hatop 'in the past' and yakaal 'in the future', as is seen below.

|                                                   |                        |
|---------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| hoj na-tuh                                        | he already said        |
| hoj yi-nēeh                                       | I've seen              |
| ?om-lōy ?is <u>hatop</u>                          | they arrived yesterday |
| kanii <sup>k</sup> ki-w <sup>k</sup> <u>hatop</u> | we went some time ago  |
| na-kəl ?akaal                                     | it will fall over      |
| ?ε-nēeh <u>yakaal</u>                             | we'll soon see         |

Notice that, in the last two examples above, I didn't use intentive referral markers (nam- or ?em-), as the future tense can be made with the simple referral marker. Future tense does not require help from the intentive marker, which can also be used for the past and present tense (see the description of Irealis below). The intentive is used only when the action is intended or wanted—which means that if we said, nam-kəl ?akaal, we imply that we want the object to fall over, and perhaps we made a cut in a tree in order for it to fall over. Intentional action can also be implied through use of the past tense, in effect saying, I'm already going-to-do-something, as in the following examples:

|                                               |                                 |
|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| hōj yi-wε <sup>k</sup> wε <sup>k</sup> yi-doh | I'm (already) going I am        |
| hōj yi-mamūh doh                              | I'm (already) going for my bath |

### 6.2.2 Irrealis

Irrealis may be defined as the expression of action or situations which are not yet a reality. Actions are described by the mode as being intended to happen, or would have happened but, for some reason or other, did not. In Temiar, the key element to this mode is the phoneme [m] and its domain is the succinct pronoun referral marker, where it affixes as coda. It is never affixed directly to verbs, causing inflection. The vowel of the intentive referral marker, also regresses from a front to back sounding vowel: yi- 1SG allomorph → yím- 1SG intentive allomorph (refer to the table of personal pronoun allomorphs, in §5.1.3).

The irrealis mode in Temiar does not create the future tense in the same way as the English word ‘will,’ as there are other ways to express what will happen in the future besides using the intentional marker (see §6.2.1 above). It carries the sense of something being intended or desired, either in a future or a past moment. Typical phrases using the intentive might be heard such as the following:

|                                                        |                          |
|--------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| yii <sup>k</sup> <u>yím</u> -wε <sup>k</sup> ma-tuuuy  | ‘I’m going there’        |
| ?oog m'-nana <sup>k</sup> <u>nam</u> -caa <sup>k</sup> | ‘give him so he can eat’ |

There are four modes of irrealis that can be made using the intentive referral marker, which are as follows:

1. Intentional – something is intended to happen but has not happened yet.

|                              |                                   |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| yím-muuuj k'bəə <sup>k</sup> | ‘I’m going to suck some fruits’   |
| ham-wε <sup>k</sup> ?        | ‘are you going?’                  |
| p'rā <sup>k</sup> nam-s'lōg  | ‘let him sleep’                   |
| mə-yap nōŋ                   | ‘they are going to mend the road’ |
| ?em-pōrōc                    | ‘let’s wait’                      |

2. Imperative – someone is instructed to do something and the action is already seen as something going to happen, because the person instructing has it in mind that it must be done. It conveys the instructing person’s viewpoint and emotions.

|                                              |                              |
|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| ham-p'rā <sup>k</sup> cə-nana <sup>k</sup> ! | ‘you will leave that alone!’ |
| ŋōm-gəəl s'ŋε <sup>k</sup> !                 | ‘you’ll all be quiet!’       |
| ham-wε <sup>k</sup> ma-mōy!                  | ‘you’ll go away!’            |

3. Counter-factual – something is said that will happen but it hasn’t yet happened and it still might not. The saying is based on previous experiences.

|           |                                                              |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| nam-kab   | ‘it will bite’ (i.e. when a dog is growling)                 |
| nam-təəh  | ‘it’s going to rain’ (i.e. when the sky is dark with clouds) |
| nam-sōrōd | ‘it will dry up’ (because the sun is shining)                |

4. Proximate or avertive – something is or was on the verge of happening but it didn’t happen, it was prevented or it was missed.

|                                        |                                              |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| hoj yím-k'luk <sup>k</sup>             | 'I was about to fall (it was so precarious)' |
| nam-ciib tapii <sup>k</sup> na-tenhaat | 'he was going to go but he's ill'            |
| yím-roöt tapii <sup>k</sup> na-heex    | 'I was about to catch it but it flew off'    |

The intentional can be used with imperfective or uncontrolled verb forms also, and in any of the modes above except for (2), as it is not possible in this sense to command someone to do something in an ongoing manner.

|                                      |                             |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| p'ra <sup>k</sup> nam-cebciib        | 'let it go about'           |
| nam-ce <sup>k</sup> caa <sup>k</sup> | 'he'll eat it up'           |
| nam-tatæh                            | 'it's going to pour down'   |
| hoj yím-dado <sup>k</sup>            | 'I was going to run for it' |

Conversely, the negative clause with the intentive denotes intending that something will not happen, but putting that into present aspect.

|                         |                                      |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| to <sup>k</sup> ?em-lex | =we won't know → 'we don't know'     |
| to <sup>k</sup> nam-gæl | =she won't sit → 'she isn't sitting' |

### 6.2.3 Disederative

The desiderative lexeme mög expresses the desire of the subject to perform an action. It does not affix to the verb but is placed always to its left. It may also receive affixation of a subject referral marker, and if so, the verb stands without a subject marker, as seen in the examples below. It should be noted that mög is never used as a true verb, as compared with cen 'to want', as in, yi-cen yi-wε<sup>k</sup> 'I want to go'. The word mög carries sense of 'I feel desire'.

|                          |                 |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| mög yi-k'nōōm            | 'I need to pee' |
| mög yím-caa <sup>k</sup> | 'I want to eat' |
| yi-mög wε <sup>k</sup>   | 'I want to go'  |

### 6.2.3 Volition

Verbs that denote action that is intended and premeditated, such as eating, going, speaking, are carried out by the volition. Those that denote action that happens without intention or premeditation, such as falling, exploding, dying, are carried out without the volition, and are termed here involitive (*INV.*).

# 7 Adjectives & Adverbs

Adjectival and adverbial words make up an indispensable component of Temiar speech, describing many aspects of every day life, including appearance, condition, quantity, quality, space and time. In this chapter, I describe their morphological states, their word classes and usage. I realise that my description may be lacking in many areas, as I have had practically no guidance while making this analysis (Burenhult ascertains that his study language of Jehai contains no adjectives but only verbs!), but I do hope to cover as many areas as I can.

## 7.1 Morphological states

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### 7.1.1 Root lexemes

As with nouns and verbs, adjectives in Temiar are semantically well-defined and do not stand for multiple meanings. Lexeme forms are generally morphologically simplex, in that they are represented by monomorphemic roots and do not carry traces of morphological processes. Some examples are: *bud* ‘hot’, *mej* ‘good’, *?amis* ‘small’, *rayaa<sup>k</sup>* ‘large’, *paay* ‘new’, *manah* ‘old’, *b’saad* ‘rough’, *s’lij* ‘smooth’. Still, a large number of words display evidence of fossilised morphological processes, and are derived from roots that are no longer in use or are unknown. Phonemically, adjectival and adverbial roots appear identical to verbs and even undergo morphological changes along the same routes of morphology already described. Their difference lies syntactically, as they are never actions and nor are they related to time or aspect, but they describe condition or the attitude of an action.

Many adjectival words are found carrying the ‘middle voice’ sense, typified by the phoneme [a] as their pre-final syllable. These are used to denote a condition that is either imposed upon the subject or appearing ‘all of a sudden’. Such words include: *bapo<sup>k</sup>* ‘big’, *galag* ‘greedy’, *ragam* ‘disorderly’, and *hapa<sup>k</sup>* ‘destitute’. More words are found with possible frozen morphology of the ‘middle voice’ sense (see §7.1.4 below).

Adjective morphemes are derived from both root verbs and root adjectives and they resemble some of the morphological stages already well described, including imperfective, ‘middle voice’ and imperfect causative forms. These morphological forms are described in the next six sections, §7.1.2 - §7.1.7.

### 7.1.2 Imperfective

Imperfective derivatives of adjectival roots describe an object being in a condition or having reached a certain state. These morphemes are used in noun phrases to describe either the noun or else the noun’s state. Take for example the root lexemes, *bud* ‘hot’,

k?<sup>2</sup>ōōm ‘warm’ and s'jū<sup>k</sup> ‘cold’ which would be used to describe feeling temperature. To describe the condition of a noun, they are put in the imperfective sense: ?is bedbæd ‘a hot day’, ?oōx kēm?<sup>2</sup>ōōm ‘warm water’, ?oōx se<sup>k</sup>jū<sup>k</sup> ‘cold water’. But when they tell us what kind of noun it is, they are left in their root lexeme form: sen?<sup>2</sup>ōōy biyoog ‘white man’, diix rayaa<sup>k</sup> ‘the main house’ (as opposed to the use of imperative forms: cuwa<sup>k</sup> begyoog ‘a white dog’, diix re<sup>k</sup>yaa<sup>k</sup> ‘a large house’). Involitive or passive verbs become adjectival when put in the imperfect sense: b'gah ‘to break’ → behgæh ‘broken’. Some of these imperfect derivatives are given below, with borrow words marked with <sup>=</sup>.

|                                 |                                    |                                  |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ?ac <sup>2</sup> ōd             | → cedc <sup>2</sup> od             | ‘being the same’                 |
| ?amís                           | → mumís                            | ‘being small’                    |
| ?apet                           | → pupet                            | ‘being short’                    |
| bapo <sup>k</sup>               | → be <sup>k</sup> po <sup>k</sup>  | ‘being huge’                     |
| c'kùb <sup>=</sup>              | → cebkùb                           | ‘being enough’                   |
| had <sup>=</sup>                | → hedhad                           | ‘being enough’                   |
| høy                             | → heyhøy                           | ‘nothing at all’                 |
| ləbih <sup>=</sup>              | → lehbih                           | ‘excess’ → yi-ləmbih ‘the total’ |
| me <sup>k</sup> j               | → mame <sup>k</sup> j              | ‘being good’                     |
| møy                             | → meymøy                           | ‘being different’                |
| padii <sup>k</sup>              | → pe <sup>k</sup> dii <sup>k</sup> | ‘being half full’                |
| rayaa <sup>k</sup> <sup>=</sup> | → re <sup>k</sup> yaa <sup>k</sup> | ‘being large’                    |
| s'paa <sup>k</sup> <sup>=</sup> | → se <sup>k</sup> paa <sup>k</sup> | ‘being the same’                 |
| t'biix                          | → teŋbiix                          | ‘being full’                     |

They are doubled to describe all objects together, the whole or the majority.

|                                                                    |                     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| ?amís-?amís                                                        | ‘a little amount’   |
| be <sup>k</sup> po <sup>k</sup> -be <sup>k</sup> po <sup>k</sup>   | ‘all totally huge’  |
| rayaa <sup>k</sup> -rayaa <sup>k</sup>                             | ‘a large amount’    |
| re <sup>k</sup> yaa <sup>k</sup> -re <sup>k</sup> yaa <sup>k</sup> | ‘all totally large’ |
| t'yap-t'yap                                                        | ‘every single one’  |

A large number of words show evidence of fossilised imperfective morphology, and because their roots are not found, cannot undergo any further derivation, with words such as, cəhcūūh ‘drowsy’, ḡewŋjaaw ‘stupid’ (refer also to list C1 in Appendix 2). But many of these words appear to break the rules of morphology, particularly with affix coda replacement, so that they do not immediately resemble proper imperfectives. Take for example, bel?<sup>2</sup>aa<sup>c</sup> ‘disinterested’, where the reduplicated affix coda would properly carry [n] and not [l] (i.e. beŋ?<sup>2</sup>aa<sup>c</sup>), or geŋwεŋ ‘no stopping’ which should carry [ŋ] and not [n] at affix coda (i.e. geŋwεŋ). This kind of rule deviation in lexemes carrying fossilised morphology is probably caused by the sense of feeling that the initial syllable brings due to its particular sound and shape (see notes under §6.1.3). Hence the bel- affix, which corresponds with other words that begin with bel-, denoting feelings. A good number of words are found that look to be nominalised, with the affix coda taking [n], but this is not necessarily due to a nominalisation process, as with: cenheer ‘constantly’, menyex ‘clear’.

As previously noted, in §2.3.5, adjectives do not always follow the same process as verbs to derive imperfectives, that is, they are not limited to infixing the reduplicated coda into the initial consonant cluster, like with s'líj → sejlíj ‘slippery’ (finished). They can

instead derive morphemes by receiving an affix to the front of the word, that consists of the base onset and coda (or even the base onset and medial), leaving the initial consonant cluster intact: s'líj → sejs'líj 'slippery' (shiny).

Many adjectival words carry fossilised morphology along these lines, whereby a new front syllable is affixed to the base, for example: kenk'dón 'standing up', pənp'jən 'bouncy', ceybaruu 'scattering', səglapoo 'dropped all over'. A large number of words are found to be derived from unknown disyllabic roots also, which is very interesting because known disyllabic lexemes do not derive imperfective adjectives during speech. (Refer to lists C2-3 in Appendix 2, and the lists of ideophones in Appendix 3.)

### 7.1.3 Continuous

Imperfective morphemes, as well as 'middle voice' adjectives, are put in the continuous sense by affixation of the phoneme [b], and are thus used to describe the on-going condition of a subject. This process is identical to that found with verbs (see §6.1.4). For example, menhaar 'kind' could be used to describe an action of giving food, but the continuous form, as in sen'ððy b'menhaar 'a generous person', would be used to describe the characteristic of a person's actions all the time. One would say la?as 'bad' when eating a bad fruit, but b'la?as when describing something that is on-going, such as the road condition or a bad person. The qualitative ge?nak 'like that' can become b'ge?nak 'being like that', while the pronoun re?lo?o 'how' can become to? b're?lo?o 'not very good' when put in the continuous sense.

Certain words are found with fossilised affix b'-, which still denote continuity, even if their root lexemes are not used alone, such as b'goríx 'heaps' or b'jeŋreeŋ 'red-faced' (refer to list C4 in Appendix 2). Words commenced by [b'lá], such as b'lá?ær 'green', are not from continuous derivation but rather 'middle voice' causative morphology (refer to list C13 in Appendix 2 for more examples). In this case the causative phoneme [r] has been replaced with [l], in such a process as per this example: ?ær → ber?ær → b'ra?ær → b'lá?ær.

### 7.1.4 Sudden or 'middle voice'

Adjectival roots take on the sudden, reciprocal sense in the same phonotactic process that verbs take, by reduplication of only the onset consonant to the front of the base, with the infix of the 'middle voice' phoneme [a]: buð 'hot', me?j 'well' and j'rùk 'long' become babuð, mame?j and jarùk. The form carries the sense of either unwittingly possessing a condition, or of plurality, where multiple objects all carry the same condition. Some adjectives are found with possible frozen middle voice morphology, such as: gagíd 'middle' or ja?i?h 'many', which are not consciously created from simpler root words (i.e. gíd or ji?h) (refer to list C5 in Appendix 2 for more examples).

### 7.1.5 Laxity

The sense of laxity, described as having little control against a condition occurring or continuing, is derived by reduplication of the root and replacement of the affix onset with the phoneme [l], in much the same way as with verbs. The affix created is normally le- or la-, but often extends to lala- or lela-, and especially with words derived from

onomatopoeia or sounds. The form is easily differentiated from the imperfect verb form of verbs with first consonant [l], such as legliig, lesloos. The words below are derived mostly from known roots, except for those marked as unknown (refer to list C6 in Appendix 2 for many more examples).

| <i>Root</i>     |                      | <i>Lax morpheme</i>             |                          |
|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| ?ccj            | 'to request'         | lej?ccj                         | 'requesting constantly'  |
| ?oor            | ?(t'huur) 'hot'      | ler?oor                         | 'sweating hot'           |
| baap            | ?('abaap) 'cheerful' | lejbaap                         | 'funny'                  |
| bud             | 'hot'                | ledbud                          | 'hopelessly hot'         |
| dæl             | 'dumb'               | leldæl                          | 'being stupid'           |
| diir            | 'sound of blubber'   | lerdiir                         | 'blubbery'               |
| gíj             | 'fast'               | lejgíjgíj                       | 'all the time'           |
| giij            | 'to burn'            | lagiij                          | 'burning up'             |
| lo <sup>k</sup> | 'what'               | le <sup>k</sup> lo <sup>k</sup> | 'probably'               |
| pæd             | 'to die'             | lelapæd                         | 'turning off constantly' |
| pux             | 'to swell'           | lejpux                          | 'swollen'                |
| to <sup>w</sup> | 'husband'            | lewto <sup>w</sup>              | 'adolescent male'        |

The words in the following list are derived from unused roots, which are often sounds.

|                                           |                      |                     |                |
|-------------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| ləlabug                                   | 'lazy'               | ləlasaaw            | 'too noisy'    |
| ləlagoth                                  | 'tapping'            | ləlaya <sup>j</sup> | 'seeing stars' |
| ləlahē <sup>k</sup> , ləlakē <sup>k</sup> | 'giggling'           | ləlayēēn            | 'whining'      |
| ləlaped                                   | 'rustling of leaves' | ləlapnāāw           | 'chomping'     |

Many adjectives also carry ha- as onset syllable and this may well be a fossilised clitic. The clitic creates words with a hopeless or helpless disposition, such as halebgoo<sup>b</sup> 'oversized' or halenjupux 'bulging' (refer to list C7 in Appendix 2 for more examples).

### 7.1.6 Causative

When adjectival roots take a causative affix they derive causative verbs (see §6.1.9), as such affixes always denote an action. When these in turn become imperfect causatives they are technically still verbs, but seem to be used adjectivally or adverbially: s'rejlííj 'making slippery', t'reyhöy 'making none'. This is perhaps even more obvious when the continuous mode is used, as shown with the examples below.

| <i>Root adj.</i>                   | <i>Causative</i>                              | <i>Imperfective caus.</i>                      | <i>Continuous</i>                               |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| s'ñ'aag<br>'noisy'                 | → sərnjaag<br>'to make a noise'               | → s'regñaag<br>'making noise'                  | → b's'regñaag<br>'being noisy'                  |
| g'liik <sup>=</sup><br>'repulsive' | → gerliik <sup>=</sup><br>'to make repulsive' | → g'rækliik <sup>=</sup><br>'making repulsive' | → b'g'rækliik <sup>=</sup><br>'being repulsive' |

Imperfect causative forms are often used following a verb, as seen with the below examples, whereas the continuous form is used alone:

- ?om-ciib s'regñaag      'they are going noisily'  
na-?uuy g'rækliik<sup>=</sup>      'he's doing s.t. repulsively'

There are also many adjectival words that appear to carry a causative prefix, while their root words do not seem to exist, such as bercēh ‘fine’, or ker<sup>7</sup>uc ‘short’. Even more words show evidence of imperfect causative morphology, such as, b'rebkēeb ‘not happening’, and still others show evidence of ‘middle voice’ causative morphology, such as, c'ralex ‘mean-looking’. Other words show a type of frozen morphology where the ‘middle voice’ phoneme [a] has been replaced with either [i] or [u], such as, b'rituuy ‘making a cloud’ or b'rulaa'c ‘racing off’. Still more words show evidence of fossilised morphology with replacement of the causative phoneme [r] for [l], such as, b'lā<sup>2</sup>əər ‘green’, s'labax ‘fat’, and t'lebhūb ‘unbearable’. (Refer to lists C8-13 in Appendix 2).

### 7.1.7 Possessive

When a noun is prepended by the clitic bar-, the possessive sense is made. It is argued that the clitic bar- creates a verb, as in ‘having something’, but technically, bar- does not stand alone like the verb mo<sup>k</sup> ‘to have’ and its attachment to the noun creates an adjectival participant to the phrase. Therefore I treat these constructs adjectivally, as in ‘being with something’. The clitic tends not to be used with questions, in that you don’t normally hear things like, hāā<sup>k</sup> bar-duwíd? ‘are you with money?’ Instead, the verb is used, mo<sup>k</sup> duwíd cə-hāā<sup>k</sup>? ‘do you have money?’ The clitic is used to denote having possession of an object, or even a characteristic or ability, as shown in the examples below.

|                                                        |                                    |
|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| bar-j'waaj                                             | ‘possessing a parang’              |
| bar-leh/bar-tow                                        | ‘married’ (with wife/with husband) |
| bar-siin=                                              | ‘possessing money’                 |
| bar-yog                                                | ‘strong’                           |
| to <sup>k</sup> bar- <sup>2</sup> adad=                | ‘without customs’                  |
| to <sup>k</sup> bar- <sup>2</sup> ilo <sup>k</sup>     | ‘without anything’                 |
| to <sup>k</sup> bar-mad=                               | ‘not seeing’                       |
| to <sup>k</sup> bar-ηōō <sup>k</sup> -dōō <sup>k</sup> | ‘without parents’                  |

The clitic b-, familiar to the continuous, above, is also attached to nouns and usually to express the non-existence of something, rather than its possession, such as: to<sup>k</sup> b'canaa<sup>k</sup> ‘without food’, or to<sup>k</sup> b'hukom ‘without morals’. This clitic is also readily used with nominal verbs, to create a negative adjectival sense: to<sup>k</sup> b'negbəg ‘not tied’, to<sup>k</sup> b'nəhmūh ‘not bathed’.

### 7.1.8 Nominals

In my word lists I find a fair number of adjectival lexemes that show evidence of fossilised nominal morphology, indicating derivation from imperfect and causative verbs, as well as some from ‘middle voice’ verbs (refer to list C14 in Appendix 2). The lexemes carry the nominaliser phoneme [n] or [m], as with: g'meryeeb ‘all standing about’, k'nejraa'i ‘stubborn’. Such adjectival forms do not seem to be producible from known causative verbs, although I will keep looking for them.

## 7.2 Adjectival and adverbial classes

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### 7.2.1 Descriptives

Normally, adjectives follow the noun, as with *dix rayaa<sup>k</sup>* ‘a big house’. But they can precede the noun when the nominative clause is used, as with: *?amís yi-kuuy* ‘its head is small’, or, similarly, when the reflexive clause is used: *h'laaq yi-rii<sup>k</sup>* ‘himself is ugly’, or else when the accusative proclitic is attached to the noun: *høy cə-hää<sup>k</sup>* ‘none for you’.

When applied to a personal pronoun the referral marker must be present, even if the pronoun falls out of the sentence.

|                               |                         |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>yi-mεj</i>                 | ‘I’m fine’              |
| <i>ha-kuwad<sup>=</sup></i>   | ‘you are strong’        |
| <i>na-bɔɔd</i>                | ‘she’s uninterested’    |
| <i>?om-lawaah<sup>=</sup></i> | ‘they are good looking’ |

Numbers, when used to state the total of something, are considered adjectival and they follow the noun, as with: *kowēes s'puloh* ‘ten children’. Verbs and adjectives that are nominalised may also be used adjectivally, as with: *sen?ooy nedbɔɔd* ‘a person of indifference’ (from *bɔɔd* ‘indifferent’). Some words do not exist in Temiar as adjectives, and verbs take their place, such as *goos* ‘to live’, that is used as *tiik goos* ‘alive’ and *k'bəs* ‘to die’ that is used as *høj k'bəs* ‘dead’.

### 7.2.2 Quantitatives

The most commonly used descriptives of quantity would include the words *?amís*, *rayaa<sup>k</sup>*, *jajiih*, *?ibuu<sup>k</sup>*, *sooj* and *had*, although none of the words given in the list below can be considered rarely used. The first two words, *?amís* and *rayaa<sup>k</sup>*, are also used of object size, of course. The word *had* ‘enough’ is used definitively of a quantity (will it be sufficient for the purpose?) whereas the word *?adii<sup>k</sup>* (succinct form of the borrow word *jadii<sup>k</sup>*, also used as ‘that’s enough’) is used when a certain amount has been reached, such as an activity. The words *hat* and *lampow* are not used quantitatively of things, but of behaviour, talk or attitude.

|                                      |                       |                                      |                 |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>?adii<sup>k</sup><sup>=</sup></i> | ‘enough’ (of that)    | <i>kembəə<sup>k</sup></i>            | ‘all’           |
| <i>?amís</i>                         | ‘a little’, ‘some’    | <i>kosonj<sup>=</sup></i>            | ‘empty’         |
| <i>?ensəx</i>                        | ‘half of’             | <i>lampow<sup>=</sup></i>            | ‘too much’      |
| <i>?ibuu<sup>k</sup><sup>=</sup></i> | ‘much’, ‘many’        | <i>ləbih<sup>=</sup></i>             | ‘more’          |
| <i>?ənibuu<sup>k</sup></i>           | ‘the whole lot’       | <i>na-loy</i>                        | ‘it reaches’    |
| <i>b'tiruu</i>                       | ‘plenty’              | <i>to<sup>k</sup> leyloy</i>         | ‘doesn’t reach’ |
| <i>gehnih / ?engiih</i>              | ‘the rest’            | <i>nasih</i>                         | ‘enough’        |
| <i>guwoōh</i>                        | ‘nothing at all’      | <i>padii<sup>k</sup></i>             | ‘half full’     |
| <i>had<sup>=</sup></i>               | ‘enough’ (sufficient) | <i>pogwolwol</i>                     | ‘overflowing’   |
| <i>hat</i>                           | ‘very much’           | <i>rayaa<sup>k</sup><sup>=</sup></i> | ‘much’          |
| <i>ləbih<sup>=</sup> hat</i>         | ‘too much’            | <i>sa<sup>k</sup></i>                | ‘none’          |
| <i>hempinj</i>                       | ‘nearly’              | <i>soo<sup>j</sup></i>               | ‘the whole lot’ |
| <i>jadii<sup>k</sup><sup>=</sup></i> | ‘enough’              | <i>s'maaq<sup>=</sup></i>            | ‘all’           |
| <i>jajiih</i>                        | ‘much’, ‘many’        | <i>t'yap<sup>=</sup></i>             | ‘every’         |

The numerals ney ‘one’, naar ‘two’ and ne<sup>k</sup> ‘three’ (see §3.5) are used adjectivally to numerate quantity, as the examples below show.

|                        |              |             |                |
|------------------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|
| ney senma <sup>k</sup> | ‘one person’ | ney pun hōy | ‘not even one’ |
| ney ?ikor <sup>=</sup> | ‘one tail’   | naar wēh    | ‘two of them’  |
| tiik <sup>k</sup> ney  | ‘still one’  | naar-naar   | ‘both’         |

The verb, mo<sup>k</sup> ‘to have’, is used existentially, to denote ‘there is’, and it is usually followed directly by a noun, or a quantitative, if it is not used to answer a question: mo<sup>k</sup> sen<sup>?</sup>ōōy ‘got someone’, mo<sup>k</sup> ?amís ‘got a little’. The negative hōy, primarily used to answer ‘no’, can also be used existentially, to denote ‘none’, for example, when looking for something and finding nothing. It is usually followed by a statement, such as, to<sup>k</sup> bar<sup>?</sup>ilo<sup>k</sup> ‘there is nothing’. Another verb, suy ‘to remain’, is joined with a numeral to infer how many of something is left over: suy tigaak<sup>k</sup> ‘three remain’. The word, had ‘enough’, listed above, has other uses, such as to say, ‘it’s typical’. More examples of this word are given below.

|                                                                        |                                     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| had <sup>=</sup> ney                                                   | ‘only one’                          |
| had <sup>=</sup> ?ə-na <sup>k</sup>                                    | ‘exactly’ (only that)               |
| had <sup>=</sup> ?ayah re <sup>k</sup> -na <sup>k</sup>                | ‘just its nature like that’         |
| had <sup>=</sup> lo <sup>k</sup> ?o-na <sup>k</sup> hík                | ‘exactly that one only’             |
| had <sup>=</sup> cə-rii <sup>k</sup> re <sup>k</sup> -na <sup>k</sup>  | ‘it’s typical of her/him like that’ |
| had <sup>=</sup> nùm-rii <sup>k</sup> re <sup>k</sup> -na <sup>k</sup> | ‘it’s typical of her/him like that’ |
| had <sup>=</sup> bedbɔɔd cə-rii <sup>k</sup> ?əh                       | ‘only lazy with him/her’            |

The quantitative ‘only’ is denoted by a collection of words, one being hík, as mentioned above. Others include hadih ‘only’ and ka<sup>k</sup>dih ‘actually’, haja<sup>k</sup> ‘just has to’, and ?asah ‘always like that’.

|                                                    |                           |
|----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| na <sup>k</sup> hík                                | ‘only that’               |
| hāā <sup>k</sup> hík                               | ‘only you’                |
| ney hík                                            | ‘only one’                |
| ney ?is ?ə-hík                                     | ‘only one day’            |
| tiik <sup>k</sup> -doh hík                         | ‘just this one’           |
| hadih ne <sup>k</sup>                              | ‘only three’              |
| ka <sup>k</sup> dih ney                            | ‘actually only one’       |
| haja <sup>k</sup> re <sup>k</sup> -na <sup>k</sup> | ‘always like that’        |
| had <sup>=</sup> haja <sup>k</sup>                 | ‘just for the sake of it’ |
| ?asah nam-yaap                                     | ‘always crying’           |

Adjectives are put with a quantifier to express the scale of the description. The word gæeb ‘very’ is by far the most commonly used, but the borrow word sajat ‘very’ is sometimes heard as well. The word hey, that seems to be used only with ?amís (as far as I know), could be derived from hík ‘only’, a word which is commonly used with nouns, pronouns and verbs. The quantifier words are underlined in the examples below.

|                                |                                 |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| ?ajcc <sup>k</sup> <u>gæeb</u> | ‘very small’, ‘a minute amount’ |
| rayaa <sup>k</sup> <u>gæeb</u> | ‘very large’                    |

|                    |               |
|--------------------|---------------|
| hōy gæəb           | 'none at all' |
| bud <u>sajat</u> = | 'very hot'    |
| ?amís <u>hey</u>   | 'very little' |
| ?amís <u>tod</u>   | 'very small'  |

Description of 'right' and 'wrong' is made with only four words, including t'ncɔk 'fitting', which is often used to say if someone is allergic to something, t'had 'correct', the borrow word b'tol 'right' and sɛɛk 'wrong'. When these words are used in the negative sense, they normally take the complete morpheme made by reduplication, as seen below.

|                                      |                                                |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| b'tol=                               | 'right'                                        |
| sɛɛk                                 | 'wrong'                                        |
| t'had                                | 'correct'                                      |
| t'ncɔk                               | 'fitting'                                      |
| to <sup>k</sup> bɛltol=              | 'not right' e.g. of attitudes                  |
| to <sup>k</sup> se <sup>k</sup> sɛɛk | 'not wrong' e.g. what s.o. predicted           |
| to <sup>k</sup> te <sup>k</sup> ncɔk | 'not fitting' e.g. unsuitable for s.o. or s.t. |
| to <sup>k</sup> tedhad               | 'not correct' e.g. s.o.'s behaviour            |

Adverbs denoting 'truly', 'seriously', 'properly', 'with intention', are made with a few more borrow words, including b'tol, again, with only k'mān being a native Temiar word. Of these, only bəpi<sup>k</sup>dah is used in the negative sense, as seen below.

|                        |                  |                                        |                 |
|------------------------|------------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------|
| j'las=                 | 'completely'     | b'tol-b'tol=                           | 'properly'      |
| patùd=                 | 'really'         | k'mān-k'mān                            | 'seriously'     |
| b'pi <sup>k</sup> dah= | 'with intention' | to <sup>k</sup> b'pi <sup>k</sup> dah= | 'without cause' |

Although action and speed is often described adequately with verbs alone, such as gol 'to run off', ranjēj 'to sprint', jəx 'to fly off', hegreqēg 'to be stuck with', pugor 'to carry on', temroox 'to take ages', some adverbs are used to expand on the verb, such as those given below.

|                    |                |                        |                    |
|--------------------|----------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| b'rulaa'c          | 'fast'         | pedcēēd                | 'sparingly'        |
| cēdhēēd, c'rahēēd  | 'slowly'       | pimís, p'rageɛk        | 'little by little' |
| cēnwōōn, gēnwōōn   | 'slowly'       | replaa'c               | 'fast'             |
| honte <sup>k</sup> | 'without care' | s'kalii <sup>k</sup> = | 'at once'          |
| j'laguar           | 'foolishly'    | s'lumaan               | 'no hurry'         |
| kuwad=             | 'fast'         | s'rənyan               | 'moving fast'      |
| k'rawad=           | 'rushing'      |                        |                    |

The numerals ney, naar and ne<sup>k</sup> are also used adverbially, to numerate the frequency of an activity. They are attached to the root noh 'time' and clitics bə- or bar- 'with', and pi- or pa- 'as'. The forms in use are listed below.

|                      |                 |                    |                  |
|----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| ney-gus              | 'all in one go' | bə-naar / bar-naar | 'as two'         |
| ney-noh              | 'once'          | piney              | 'one by one'     |
| naar-noh             | 'twice'         | pandaar            | 'two by two'     |
| ne <sup>k</sup> -noh | 'thrice'        | pane <sup>k</sup>  | 'three by three' |

Other adverbs are used to numerate the subjects involved in activities, to state whether

they are alone, together, or as a group etc, as shown below.

|                                  |                |             |                     |
|----------------------------------|----------------|-------------|---------------------|
| də <sup>k</sup> rīi <sup>k</sup> | 'alone'        | pileεŋ      | 'a side at a time'  |
| kembəə <sup>k</sup>              | 'all together' | pimōy-pimōy | 'one after another' |
| masíj=                           | 'individually' | piney-piney | 'one at a time'     |
| pamōy                            | 'separately'   | ramεεy=     | 'as a group'        |

### 7.2.3 Comparatives

In Temiar, adjectives do not carry inflection to produce superlatives and usually something is said to be much or not much, large or not large etc. It is possible, however, to say 'a little more' or 'a little less' of something, using the quantitative root míš 'less', as with míš-m'nuu<sup>k</sup> 'a little larger', or even gε<sup>k</sup> 'a little', as with rayaa<sup>k</sup> gε<sup>k</sup>, with the same meaning. There is no native word in Temiar that denotes 'more', and often the Malay borrow word ləbih is used in this regard, and occasionally even the word lagii<sup>k</sup>.

In many circumstances, a verb is employed to describe an increase or decrease, such as h'rεex 'to abate' (of a flood) or harəəj 'to abate' (of the rain). With sickness, one can say, hoj míš 'it's less', or hoj høy 'it's gone', or na-tabəəh 'it's increased'. With an object one can say, hoj ?amís 'it's got small/less', or hoj rayaa<sup>k</sup> 'it's got large'. To say 'this one is the largest' one only needs to say 'this one is large'. However, the borrow word palín is sometimes used to denote 'the most' or 'the largest' etc., as shown below. The word bo<sup>k</sup>, usually seen as the conjunctive 'and', is used proceeding from a pronoun implying 'then', for example, na<sup>k</sup> bo<sup>k</sup> mεj 'that then is good' would mean 'that is the best'.

|                                      |                             |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| na-doh ?amís                         | 'this one is small'         |
| na-na <sup>k</sup> gε <sup>k</sup>   | 'that's a little (more)'    |
| bolih= gε <sup>k</sup>               | 'can a little' (not so bad) |
| na-na <sup>k</sup> ləbih=            | 'that's more'               |
| palín= rayaa <sup>k</sup> =          | 'the largest'               |
| lagii <sup>k</sup> = r'bah=          | 'more difficult'            |
| na <sup>k</sup> bo <sup>k</sup> míš  | 'that's less'               |
| na <sup>k</sup> bo <sup>k</sup> dan= | 'that's suitable'           |

There is no relative marker in Temiar, to say 'which', that attaches to words. Sometimes the Malay yan is used: yan manah 'the old one'. Otherwise, the reflexive rii<sup>k</sup> is employed (see §5.4.1): rii<sup>k</sup> rayaa<sup>k</sup> 'the one large', or simply the 2SG marker na-, as with: na-rayaa<sup>k</sup> 'the large one'.

To imply contrast of one thing with another, two prepositions are used. Firstly, the root nùm 'from' is attached to a noun or pronoun and it carries the meaning of 'with [subject] in comparison'. Secondly, the borrow word padah 'toward' is also in use to denote 'compared to', as in the examples below. The use of these contrasting prepositions is very similar to the accusative proclitic cə-, described in §5.3.1, which implies 'concerning' and could be used to contrast a subject that carries difference to another.

|                          |                                                     |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| nùm-hāā <sup>k</sup> míš | 'with you (in comparison), (there's) not (so) much' |
| nùm-na <sup>k</sup> mεj  | 'with that (in comparison), it's better'            |
| padah= ηəb høy!          | 'compared to you lot with nothing!'                 |

### 7.2.4 Qualitatives

Qualitatives are used to describe how close something is to something else, in size, in shape, in effectiveness, in method, or any other quality. The most common way of making such comparison is with the word *g'rek* ‘like’, which can be abbreviated to either *gek* or *re<sup>k</sup>*, and then conjoined with a demonstrative: *gek-doh* ‘like this’, *re<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup>* ‘like that’. The form *gek* is used to denote similarity or likeness, while *re<sup>k</sup>* is used more of how something is done. Another way is to use the accusative proclitic *cə-*, which also attaches to demonstratives (or even to *re<sup>k</sup>-doh*, *re<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup>* etc.) and implies ‘of some sort’: *cə-doh* ‘of this sort’, *cə-re<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup>* ‘of that way’. Certain Malay borrow words are found in use, such as *sama<sup>k</sup>* ‘same’ and *s'paa<sup>k</sup>* ‘similar’, even when they have their equivalents in Temiar (*?acood* and *g're<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup>* in this case), whereas *bezəəh* ‘different’ is hardly used, in favour of *mōy*.

|                                                                                                          |                                                    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| <i>?acood</i>                                                                                            | ‘same’                                             |
| <i>bakah</i>                                                                                             | ‘same as’                                          |
| <i>bakah doh</i>                                                                                         | ‘same as this’                                     |
| <i>bakah níin</i>                                                                                        | ‘same as that just there’                          |
| <i>bakah lo<sup>k</sup> / bakah loo<sup>k</sup></i>                                                      | ‘same as what?’ / ‘same as which?’                 |
| <i>be<sup>k</sup>bō<sup>k</sup></i>                                                                      | ‘the wrong one’, ‘contrary’                        |
| <i>cana<sup>k</sup> (cə-?ana<sup>k</sup>)</i>                                                            | ‘of that sort’                                     |
| <i>cə-doh</i>                                                                                            | ‘of this sort’                                     |
| <i>cə-na<sup>k</sup>-níin</i>                                                                            | ‘just that just here’                              |
| <i>gíd-doh / gíd-na<sup>k</sup> / gíd-tuuuy</i>                                                          | ‘this much’ / ‘that much’ / ‘that much over there’ |
| <i>gíd-doh ma-na<sup>k</sup></i>                                                                         | ‘like from here to there’                          |
| <i>g're<sup>k</sup>-doh / re<sup>k</sup>-doh</i>                                                         | ‘like this, this way’                              |
| <i>re<sup>k</sup>-doh-dih</i>                                                                            | ‘like this it is’                                  |
| <i>g're<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup> / ge<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup> / re<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup></i>   | ‘like that, that way’                              |
| <i>re<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup> le<sup>k</sup>lo<sup>k</sup></i>                                        | ‘maybe like that’                                  |
| <i>cə-ge<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup> / cə-re<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup></i>                               | ‘of that way’, ‘if like that’                      |
| <i>to<sup>k</sup> b'ge<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup></i>                                                    | ‘not like that’                                    |
| <i>g're<sup>k</sup>-níin / ge<sup>k</sup>-níin / re<sup>k</sup>-níin</i>                                 | ‘like that just there’                             |
| <i>b're<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup> b're<sup>k</sup>-níin</i>                                             | ‘like that like this here’                         |
| <i>ma-g're<sup>k</sup>-tih</i>                                                                           | ‘similar to that up there’                         |
| <i>ma-re<sup>k</sup>-tuuuy</i>                                                                           | ‘similar to that there’                            |
| <i>ge<sup>k</sup>-loo<sup>k</sup></i>                                                                    | ‘like which?’                                      |
| <i>to<sup>k</sup> b're<sup>k</sup>-loo<sup>k</sup> / to<sup>k</sup> b'ge<sup>k</sup>-loo<sup>k</sup></i> | ‘not very good’                                    |
| <i>jər-na<sup>k</sup></i>                                                                                | ‘just like that’                                   |
| <i>mōy</i>                                                                                               | ‘other’, ‘different’                               |
| <i>na-ney</i>                                                                                            | ‘another one’                                      |
| <i>ney huruf=</i>                                                                                        | ‘the same kind’                                    |
| <i>rop / rop-na<sup>k</sup></i>                                                                          | ‘as many’, ‘as much’ / ‘as much as that’           |
| <i>sama<sup>k</sup>= həjə<sup>k</sup></i>                                                                | ‘the same as well’                                 |
| <i>sama<sup>k</sup>= rare<sup>k</sup></i>                                                                | ‘just the same’                                    |
| <i>s'paa<sup>k</sup></i>                                                                                 | ‘similar’                                          |

Another comparative is made with the proclitic *mar-* which implies ‘of a certain size’. In some situations the clitic does not attach to the following word, as seen below.

|                                       |                                      |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| mar-doh                               | 'similar to this' (in size)          |
| mar-na <sup>k</sup>                   | 'similar to that' (in size)          |
| mar ?em-caa <sup>k?</sup>             | 'how will it be enough to eat?'      |
| mar nam-loy?                          | 'how will it reach?'                 |
| mar re <sup>k</sup> -na <sup>k?</sup> | 'how will it be adequate like that?' |
| cə-mar-na <sup>k</sup>                | 'if only that much'                  |
| yii <sup>k</sup> mar hāā <sup>k</sup> | 'when I was your age'                |

The word bajii<sup>k</sup> is commonly used in 'what' questions and denotes 'kind' or 'thing', as demonstrated below.

|                                                      |                               |
|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| ?ilo <sup>k</sup> bajii <sup>k?</sup>                | 'what's up?'                  |
| ?ilo <sup>k</sup> men-bajii <sup>k?</sup>            | 'what ever is this?'          |
| ?ilo <sup>k</sup> ... bajii <sup>k?</sup>            | 'whatever ...[noun] is this?' |
| ?ilo <sup>k</sup> kuuy bajii <sup>k?</sup>           | 'whatever voice is this?'     |
| mo <sup>k</sup> ?ilo <sup>k</sup> bajii <sup>k</sup> | 'got something'               |

The comparative hejε<sup>k</sup>/həjε<sup>k</sup> and free morpheme pun, a borrow word, are used post noun, verb or adjective to denote the meaning of 'too' or 'as well'. When negation is used, pun is combined with the proclitic la-, a form of the emphatic lah (described in §8.1.8).

|                                      |                     |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| na-na <sup>k</sup> həjε <sup>k</sup> | 'her as well'       |
| yi-cen həjε <sup>k</sup>             | 'I want (some) too' |
| j'rūk həjε <sup>k</sup>              | 'it's far as well'  |
| hāā <sup>k</sup> pun=!               | 'you too!'          |
| ha-lex pun=!                         | 'you know too!'     |
| hōy la-pun=                          | 'it's not either'   |

Other adverbs are attached to the end of phrases, to qualify how true or not the statement is to the situation. Of the words given in the list below, ?ə-sa<sup>k</sup>dih and hame<sup>k</sup>dih are formed from the spatial rood dih 'this': mo<sup>y</sup> ?ə-sa<sup>k</sup>dih 'it's another actually', hoj na-wε<sup>k</sup> hame<sup>k</sup>dih! 'he's coming for real!'.

|                            |                       |                                 |                   |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| bolih= jadii <sup>k=</sup> | 'perhaps'             | hame <sup>k</sup> dih           | 'for real'        |
| ?ə-sa <sup>k</sup> dih     | 'as a matter of fact' | le <sup>k</sup> lo <sup>k</sup> | 'possibly'        |
| g'haroook                  | 'it's rumoured'       | ta <sup>k=</sup> salah=         | 'if not mistaken' |

## 7.2.5 Conjunctive adverbs

Some qualitative adverbs are used to append a phrase onto a statement or to an idea that has already been given, in order to further establish the facts or to elaborate with more detail. These could be termed conjunctive adverbs, although a phrase preceding the adverb is usually absent. They most often denote the meaning of 'actually', 'supposedly', 'probably', 'as if', 'luckily' etc. The word k'mo<sup>o</sup>h can be followed by a phrase: k'mo<sup>o</sup>h na-cen 'actually she wants', but it can also be followed by the verbs to have or to not have or a spatial word.

|                   |               |                      |              |
|-------------------|---------------|----------------------|--------------|
| ?acu <sup>k</sup> | 'even though' | janjii <sup>k=</sup> | 'so long as' |
| ?atas=            | 'depends on'  | k'da <sup>k</sup>    | 'as if'      |

|                                             |                         |                                           |                |
|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------|
| k'mo'oh                                     | 'actually'              | sabíd                                     | 'that's why'   |
| k'mo'oh mo <sup>k</sup>                     | 'actually have'         | səŋgo'o <sup>k</sup>                      | 'luckily not'  |
| k'mo'oh hoy                                 | 'actually no'           | supaya <sup>k=</sup>                      | 'so that'      |
| k'mo'oh ?o-doh                              | 'actually this one'     | s'b'naar <sup>=</sup>                     | 'actually'     |
| k'mo'oh lo <sup>k</sup> -?o-na <sup>k</sup> | 'it was really him/her' | s'daŋ <sup>=</sup> /s'daŋkan <sup>=</sup> | 'even though'  |
| lagii <sup>k=</sup> -pun <sup>=</sup>       | 'moreover'              | s'makín <sup>=</sup>                      | 'increasingly' |
| nasib <sup>=</sup>                          | 'good thing'            | s'menikut <sup>=</sup>                    | 'accordingly'  |
| padahal <sup>=</sup>                        | 'in actual fact'        | t'pulan <sup>=</sup>                      | 'up to'        |

### 7.2.6 Temporal adverbs

These adverbs generally answer the question of when something happened or is going to happen. The most common temporal roots used to make adverbs include tōp 'in the past' and tēe<sup>k</sup> 'just now', to describe the past, and kaal 'afterwards', to describe future events. The demonstrative níin 'just there' is used to describe a period in the past. The roots neŋ and jenman (from unused root j'man?) are used to describe the beginning of a time frame or activity. There are at least two ways to imply 'now', which include using pudoh, to imply that something should be done now, or re<sup>k</sup>-tih, used to state something going on now. The noun yə<sup>k</sup> 'tracks' is used to denote the prints left by something or someone, hence being behind them in time: ma-yə<sup>k</sup> hādā<sup>k</sup> 'after you (went)'. The word k'rə<sup>k</sup> 'back' denotes the time behind or after an event and is used in narratives. The borrow word l'pas 'after', is used more with giving instructions, as well as narratives. The word paay 'new' is used to denote 'just now' or 'very recently' (in very similar fashion to the Malay baru 'new'). A list of these words with their forms are given below.

#### Past

|                                                                                |                                          |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| hatōp                                                                          | 'some days before', 'formerly'           |
| nùm-tōp                                                                        | 'since before'                           |
| nùm-hatōp                                                                      | 'since a certain time'                   |
| paay hatōp                                                                     | 'recently'                               |
| neŋneŋ hatōp                                                                   | 'a long while ago'                       |
| jenman hatōp                                                                   | 'ages ago'                               |
| s'lama <sup>k</sup> doh-tōp                                                    | 'ever since before'                      |
| k'rə <sup>k</sup> ?ə-na <sup>k</sup>                                           | 'after that'                             |
| k'rə <sup>k</sup> nùm-na <sup>k</sup>                                          | 'later than that'                        |
| nùm-k'rə <sup>k</sup> ...                                                      | 'after ...' (s.t. or s.o.)               |
| ma-k'rə <sup>k</sup> -yə <sup>k</sup>                                          | 'long afterwards'                        |
| manah ?a-níin                                                                  | 'a long time ago', 'in the old days'     |
| neŋneŋ ?a-níin                                                                 | 'a long time ago'                        |
| s'menja <sup>k=</sup>                                                          | 'ever since'                             |
| tēe <sup>k</sup> / ?a-tēe <sup>k</sup>                                         | 'earlier' / 'just now'                   |
| tii <sup>k</sup> -doh ?a-tēe <sup>k</sup> / tii <sup>k</sup> -tēe <sup>k</sup> | 'just a minute ago'                      |
| paay doh datee <sup>k</sup>                                                    | 'just this minute'                       |
| jenman ?a-tēe <sup>k</sup>                                                     | 'right early on'                         |
| nùm-tēe <sup>k</sup>                                                           | 'since just now'                         |
| ... da-tēe <sup>k</sup>                                                        | 'of just now' (preceded by noun/pronoun) |
| yə <sup>k</sup> hādā <sup>k</sup> , yə <sup>k</sup> ?ə-na <sup>k</sup>         | 'after you', 'after it'                  |
| ma-yə <sup>k</sup> ...                                                         | 'after ...' (something happened)         |

|        |            |
|--------|------------|
| yɔŋyeh | 'ages ago' |
|--------|------------|

Present

|                      |                           |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| pudoh                | 'at present', 'right now' |
| re <sup>k</sup> -tih | 'now', 'at this time'     |

Future

|                          |                              |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| kaal / ?a-kaal / ma-kaal | 'later', 'afterward'         |
| ?a-kaal                  | 'it afterward'               |
| yakaal                   | 'the afterwards' (yi-?akaal) |
| kaal yəb                 | 'going on until dark'        |
| ma-soy                   | 'in the future'              |
| ?en-soy                  | 'up ahead'                   |
| ma-yək ma-yək            | 'always later'               |

Other adverbs describe the chronology of events, or their position in time relative to other events. The Malay borrow word *mulaa<sup>k</sup>* 'beginning', a noun, undergoes inflection to derive the temporal *mənləa<sup>k</sup>* 'at first', and it also joins with locative nouns, such as *kəed* 'base', and *soy* 'front', to create new temporals. The native Temiar word used to denote 'first' is *nəŋ*, and it is always found cliticised, either with the duplicated whole, as *nəŋnəŋ*, or with the prepositional *?a-*, as in *?a-nəŋ*. The former is used when the subject is described: *na-na<sup>k</sup> nəŋnəŋ* 'he/she first', while the second form is used more when the activity is described: *caa<sup>k</sup> ?a-nəŋ* 'eat first', *yi-wə<sup>k</sup> ?a-nəŋ* 'I went first'. Interestingly, the English words 'first' and 'last' seem to have found use in Temiar, as *pəs* and *las*.

|                            |                     |                 |            |
|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------|
| menlaa <sup>k</sup> =      | 'at first'          | nəŋnəŋ          | 'firstly'  |
| menlaa <sup>k</sup> = pəs= | 'the first'         | ?a-nəŋ / ma-nəŋ | 'first'    |
| mulaa <sup>k</sup> = ?əh   | 'the start'         | ?ə-nəŋ          | 'it first' |
| mulaa <sup>k</sup> = kəed  | 'the beginning'     | seysoy las=     | 'the last' |
| mulaa <sup>k</sup> = soy   | 'the first of s.t.' |                 |            |

To describe duration of time the verb *loy* 'to reach' is frequently employed, a word also used verbally to denote reaching a point or destination: *hoj ?e-loy* 'we have arrived'. The joining of the verbs *yəb* 'to darken' and *yah* 'to shine' form the temporal *yəb-yah* 'all day long'.

|                          |                  |                          |                    |
|--------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| loy bíil=                | 'until when?'    | to <sup>k</sup> loy jam= | 'didn't take long' |
| loy bilɔɔ <sup>k</sup> = | 'until whenever' | loy yah                  | 'until morning'    |
| loy biíl-bííl=           | 'forever'        | loy yəb                  | 'until evening'    |
| loy ?is-doh              | 'until today'    | yəb-yah                  | 'all day long'     |
| na-loy jam=              | 'it's time'      | na-r'yəb na-r'yah        | 'days on end'      |

Other adverbs of duration describe how quickly or slowly an activity is undertaken.

|                        |                                |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| diyaay                 | 'quickly', 'promptly'          |
| gage <sup>k</sup>      | 'in a moment'                  |
| gíj                    | 'in a short time', 'hurriedly' |
| k'nyaq, gεjgíj         | 'quickly'                      |
| lamad=                 | 'a long time'                  |
| to <sup>k</sup> lamad= | 'soon'                         |

|                                                     |                                |
|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>to<sup>k</sup> l̥edmad<sup>=</sup></i>           | ‘not for long’                 |
| <i>liwat<sup>=</sup> / liiw</i>                     | ‘late’                         |
| <i>to<sup>k</sup> liiw / lo<sup>k</sup> liiw</i>    | ‘not long’                     |
| <i>lulōw / ?ulōw</i>                                | ‘straight away’                |
| <i>lulōw-lulōw / ?ulōw-?ulōw</i>                    | ‘immediately’                  |
| <i>pantas</i>                                       | ‘quickly’                      |
| <i>pu<sup>k</sup>nak</i>                            | ‘quick’                        |
| <i>p’lahaat<sup>=</sup> / p’lenheen<sup>=</sup></i> | ‘slowly’                       |
| <i>s’jex</i>                                        | ‘straight away’                |
| <i>s’k’jap<sup>=</sup> / k’jap<sup>=</sup></i>      | ‘in a moment’ / ‘for a moment’ |
| <i>s’lama<sup>k</sup>-doh hatōp</i>                 | ‘ever since the past’          |
| <i>tibaa<sup>k</sup>-tibaa<sup>k</sup></i>          | ‘suddenly’                     |

Frequency adverbs, such as these below, are used to describe how often or how many times something takes place.

|                                                                  |                 |                             |           |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <i>b’kalii<sup>k</sup>-kalii<sup>k</sup></i>                     | ‘over and over’ | <i>lucow</i>                | ‘always’  |
| <i>hoj b’kalii<sup>k</sup></i>                                   | ‘so many times’ | <i>ney-nojh</i>             | ‘once’    |
| <i>jaran<sup>=</sup></i>                                         | ‘seldom’        | <i>pernah<sup>=</sup></i>   | ‘ever’    |
| <i>kadaŋ<sup>=</sup> / kalii<sup>k</sup></i>                     | ‘sometimes’     | <i>s’lanjun<sup>=</sup></i> | ‘always’  |
| <i>laŋson<sup>=</sup></i>                                        | ‘never’         | <i>s’laris</i>              | ‘forever’ |
| <i>lejgejgij<sup>j</sup> / hari<sup>k</sup>-hari<sup>k</sup></i> | ‘all the time’  | <i>wel</i>                  | ‘again’   |

The word *hoj* denotes the relational tense, implying ‘already done’ or, sometimes, ‘ever been done’. Whereas, on the other hand, the word *tiik/tæk’tiik* ‘still’ implies an activity not yet undertaken, or that something still remains. To imply ‘after’ or ‘when done’, the word *sooj* ‘finished’ is employed instead of *hoj*: *sooj ha-caa<sup>k</sup> ha...* ‘after you’ve eaten you can...’.

|                                                 |                         |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>hoj ha-wε<sup>k</sup>?</i>                   | ‘have you been?’        |
| <i>hoj yi-caa<sup>k</sup></i>                   | ‘I already ate’         |
| <i>te<sup>k</sup>tiik</i>                       | ‘not yet’               |
| <i>tiik mo<sup>k</sup>?</i>                     | ‘still any?’            |
| <i>te<sup>k</sup>tiik mo<sup>k</sup></i>        | ‘there still is’        |
| <i>tiik, to<sup>k</sup> yi-t’<sup>?</sup>el</i> | ‘I haven’t done it yet’ |

When these words are combined with irrealis pronoun markers, they imply that an action is about to take place, or else needs to take place.

|                         |                         |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>hoj nam-pulud</i>    | ‘its about to explode!’ |
| <i>tiik yim-bedloɔd</i> | ‘I still need to think’ |

### 7.2.7 Times of day

Most nouns representing times of day are paired with the demonstratives *doh* ‘this’, *kaal* ‘afterward’, *tih* ‘now’ or *tee<sup>k</sup>* ‘recently’ to form temporal adverbs, as shown below.

| <i>Noun</i> |              | <i>Temporal</i>            |                          |
|-------------|--------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| ?es?is      | 'day-time'   | ?es?is kaal                | 'later on today'         |
| layeg       | 'night-time' | layeg tih                  | 'tonight'                |
|             |              | layeg doh-kaal             | 'later tonight'          |
|             |              | layeg tee <sup>k</sup>     | 'last night'             |
|             |              | layeg doh-tee <sup>k</sup> | 'last night'             |
| len?aab     | 'afternoon'  | len?aab kaal               | 'this afternoon'         |
| yehyah      | 'morning'    | yehyah tee <sup>k</sup>    | 'this morning just gone' |
|             |              | yehyah tih                 | 'this morning'           |

There are other temporal words that do not pair with demonstratives. The word p'dii<sup>k</sup> comes from padii<sup>k</sup> 'half' and forms 'midday' when joined with ?is 'day'. The words yah and yəb are verbs that describe the appearance and disappearance of light.

|                         |                 |                                   |              |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| kilaay                  | 'early morning' | na-y <u>ə</u> b, hoj y <u>ə</u> b | 'dusk'       |
| p'dii <sup>k</sup> -?is | 'midday'        | tiik cup / tiik coog              | 'still dark' |
| na-yah, hoj yah         | 'dawn'          |                                   |              |

Nouns denoting 'day', 'week', 'month' and 'year' are also conjoined to temporals to create references to time. The word ?is 'day' can be cliticised by the prepositional affix ?en- 'at', to form ?en-?is 'on its day' or 'sometimes'.

|                               |                            |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| ?is doh                       | 'today'                    |
| ?is doh ?a-kaal               | 'later today'              |
| ?is hatop                     | 'yesterday'                |
| m'ney ?is hatop               | 'the day before yesterday' |
| ?is ?ootm                     | 'tomorrow' (av.term)       |
| ?is mayah                     | 'the day after tomorrow'   |
| ?is mayah-m'niyah             | 'the day after that'       |
| ?is na <sup>k</sup>           | 'that day'                 |
| ?is yakaal                    | 'tomorrow'                 |
| g'ce <sup>k</sup> doh         | 'this month'               |
| g'ce <sup>k</sup> hatop       | 'last month'               |
| miŋguuk <sup>=</sup> doh-kaal | 'this week'                |
| miŋguuk <sup>=</sup> hatop    | 'last week'                |
| tawun <sup>=</sup> doh        | 'this year'                |
| tawun <sup>=</sup> hatop      | 'last year'                |
| tawun <sup>=</sup> ma-soy     | 'next year'                |
| naar tawun <sup>=</sup> hatop | 'two years ago'            |

### 7.2.8 Telling the time

Temiar invariably only mention the current hour that has passed and even if the time is 4:55 they will say the time is currently four O'clock. There is no Temiar word for time itself, so they often use the word lamad 'long time' (from Melayu, lama 'old').

marop yi-jam=?      'what's the time?'

|                           |                                  |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| marōp jam= ?ə-tih?        | 'what's the time now?'           |
| hoj ?empad ma-jam=        | 'it's already four on the clock' |
| jam= re <sup>k</sup> -tih | 'at this time'                   |
| marōp lamad=?             | 'how long?'                      |
| hoj lamad=                | 'it's been a long time'          |

### 7.2.9 Prepositions

Prepositions of space and time are formed when spatial or temporal roots (described in §5.2.1) are combined with a prepositional proclitic. The primary proclitic ?a-, a non-used word in itself, denoting 'at', along with the proclitic ?en-, also denoting 'at', or 'in', is used adjectively in the noun phrase to describe the location of a noun. The clitic ma- is used in its place when the transitional state of a noun is to be described, adverbially, or to indicate that something has reached a location. The clitics da- and du-, both denote belonging and sometimes possession, in regard to activity, and very likely being derived from the spatials na<sup>k</sup> and doh. The clitic nùm- 'from' is attached to spatials to denote originating from a place or particular direction. It can also attach to nouns and pronouns, to denote the origin of an object: nùm-yi<sup>k</sup> ma-hād<sup>k</sup> 'from me to you'.

| at                  | at (trans.)        | at'n                   | of                  | from                 | root meaning      |
|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| ?a-nuh              | ma-doh             | ?en-?a-nuh             | -                   | nùm-doh              | 'here'            |
| ?a-níín             | ma-níín            | ?en-?a-níín            | -                   | nùm-níín             | 'just there'      |
| ?a-na <sup>k</sup>  | ma-na <sup>k</sup> | ?en-?a-na <sup>k</sup> | -                   | nùm-na <sup>k</sup>  | 'there'           |
| ?a-tuuy             | ma-tuuy            | ?en-tuuy               | da-/du-tuuy         | nùm-tuuy             | 'over there'      |
| ?a-tih              | ma-tih             | ?en-tih                | da-/du-tih          | nùm-tih              | 'up there'        |
| ?a-reih             | ma-reih            | ?en-reih               | da-/du-reih         | nùm-reih             | 'down there'      |
| ?a-tēe <sup>k</sup> | -                  | -                      | da-tēe <sup>k</sup> | nùm-tēe <sup>k</sup> | 'a time just now' |
| hatōp               | -                  | -                      | -                   | nùm-tōp              | 'a time before'   |

Note that the demonstrative doh is replaced with nuh when affixing ?a-, as seen above, and that tōp becomes hatōp, not ?a-tōp. Another word, ?ano<sup>k</sup>, that I suspect is a variation of ?anuh made with a truncated vowel, denotes something in mind: ?ano<sup>k</sup> hād<sup>k</sup> 'this thing (in thought) of yours'.

Prepositions can be made from prepositional pronouns of the second person singular (see §5.2.4), such as na-tuuy 'it over there', by affixation of ma- (reduced to m'- when preceding na-), ?en- or nùm-, but would need to have a subject/object located at the place inferred or in mind to make sense. Occasionally, constructs such as na-tuuy tuuy 'it-over-there over there' or na-doh doh 'it-here here' are heard. Furthermore, the spatials reih 'there downstream', tih 'there upstream' and tuuy 'over there' also receive attachment of modifier clitics, ni- and ?ɔr-, denoting the way or the direction implied by the spatial root. The words ni-reih, ni-tih, ?ɔr-reih, ?ɔr-tih, ?ɔr-tuuy are derived, and these in turn receive the clitics ?en- and ma-, producing more spatial or transitive prepositions. It's possible that they also receive the affix du- producing, for example, dɔr-reih.

|             |            |             |                               |
|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| ?en-na-tuuy | m'-na-tuuy | nùm-na-tuuy | 'at/from that place there'    |
| ?en-na-tih  | m'-na-tih  | nùm-na-tih  | 'at/from that place up there' |

|             |             |             |                                 |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| ?en-na-reih | m'-na-reih  | nùm-na-reih | 'at/from that place down there' |
| ?en-ni-reih | m'-ni-reih  |             | 'on the way down there'         |
| ?en-ni-tih  | m'-ni-tih   |             | 'on the way up there'           |
|             | ma-?ɔr-reih |             | 'in the direction downstream'   |
|             | ma-?ɔr-tih  |             | 'in the direction upstream'     |
|             | ma-?ɔr-tuuy |             | 'in the direction over there'   |

Prepositions derived with *da-* are fairly unspecific to location and denote 'somewhere'. The succinct pronoun marker ?ə- is cliticised to these, to create prepositional pronouns, as shown below. When a preposition is repeated, notably those made with ?en- or du-, it gives the sense of being or continuing further in that direction. In another mode, two prepositions can be paired to state 'this way and that'.

|                           |                                        |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| wɛ <sup>k</sup> da-tuuy   | 'go somewhere over there'              |
| wɛ <sup>k</sup> da-reih   | 'go somewhere down there'              |
| ma-du-reih                | 'to the place down there'              |
| ?ə-da-tih                 | 'it up there'                          |
| ?en-reih ?en-reih         | 'lower and lower'                      |
| ?en-tih ?en-tih           | 'higher and higher'                    |
| du-reih du-reih           | 'down and down'                        |
| du-tih du-tih             | 'up and up'                            |
| du-tuuy du-tuuy           | 'everywhere' (there and there)         |
| ma-tuuy ma-doh            | 'here and there' (there and here)      |
| ma-tih ma-reih            | 'up there and down there'              |
| ma-yə <sup>k</sup> ma-soy | 'back and forth' (behind and in front) |

Still another prepositional form is created using the intentive marker rə-, which denotes a lack of specificity as to the location, rə-na<sup>k</sup> 'somewhere there', rə-tuuy 'somewhere over there', rə-reih 'somewhere down there', rə-tih 'somewhere up there'.

The clitics ?en- and ma- are also found attached to locational nouns such as *balix* 'above', or *beex* 'outside', as shown below. There are possibly many other words that I haven't included here (such as *baroh* 'lowlands' and 'river sources').

|                             |                          |                     |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| ?en-                        | ma-                      |                     |
| ?en-balix                   | ma-balix                 | 'above'             |
| -                           | ma-balix-tih             | 'high above'        |
| ?em-beex                    | ma-beex                  | 'outside'           |
| ?en-gagíd                   | ma-gagíd                 | 'midway'            |
| ?en-k'løoj                  | ma-k'løoj                | 'inside'            |
| ?en-k'røop                  | ma-k'røop                | 'under'             |
| ?en-paax                    | ma-paax                  | 'over'              |
| ?en-dada <sup>k</sup> p'hut | ma-p'hut                 | 'nowhere'           |
| ?en-pulow                   | ma-pulow                 | 'in mid-air'        |
| ?en-soy                     | ma-soy                   | 'in front'          |
| ?en-te <sup>k</sup>         | ma-te <sup>k</sup>       | 'on the ground'     |
| ?en-te <sup>k</sup> -reih   | ma-te <sup>k</sup> -reih | 'bottom'            |
| -                           | ma-təp                   | 'to the right side' |

- ma-yə<sup>k</sup> ‘behind’
- ma-yəl ‘to the left side’

When the proclitic *ma-* is used with proper nouns, it acts either as the preposition ‘at’ or the transitive ‘to’. With personal pronouns, *ma-* carries extended meaning, either transitive of an object to the thing referred, directional of a verb acted toward the referred, or declaring attachment toward something, such as of the topic of a discussion, or the decision to be made. When followed by phoneme [n] the reduced allomorph *m'*- is used instead of *ma-*, as with *m'-na-na<sup>k</sup>* ‘to him/her’.

|                                           |                                  |
|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ?oog ma-yii <sup>k</sup>                  | ‘give it to me’                  |
| ham-tilə <sup>k</sup> ma-yii <sup>k</sup> | ‘show me’                        |
| po'o'c ma-?o'o'x                          | ‘wait at the river’              |
| māā <sup>k</sup> ma-dii <sup>x</sup>      | ‘go back to the house’ (go home) |
| ma-hāā <sup>k</sup>                       | ‘it’s up to you’                 |
| ma-hāā <sup>k</sup> ?om-caal              | ‘about you they spoke’           |

Other prepositions include root adjectives, such as *j'rū<sup>k</sup>* ‘far’, and also words showing fossilised morphology, such as *?ilεεŋ*, probably from *yi-leeŋ*, and *lantiiw*, from *laaj* ‘side’ and *tiw* ‘river’.

|                                                   |                                            |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| ?enyօօn                                           | ‘nearby’, ‘close by’                       |
| ?ilεεŋ                                            | ‘on the side’                              |
| ?ilεεŋ-?ilεεŋ                                     | ‘all around’                               |
| b'hoj                                             | ‘out of reach’                             |
| haba <sup>k</sup> -doh                            | ‘this side’                                |
| haba <sup>k</sup> -tuuy, ba <sup>k</sup> -?a-tuuy | ‘that side’                                |
| j'rū <sup>k</sup>                                 | ‘far’                                      |
| lantiiw / lantiiw-tuuy                            | ‘on the other side’ (e.g. a river or road) |
| sama <sup>k</sup> = gagid                         | ‘right in the middle’                      |
| sama <sup>k</sup> = soy                           | ‘head on’                                  |

### 7.2.10 Colours

Adjectives describing colours are given in the list below. The colours blue and green are hardly distinguished, except for the colour of deep sky. To distinguish a dark shade from a light shade, the colour is sometimes followed by ‘black’ or ‘white’: *c'ləx rəŋah* ‘dark red’, or else is said to be darker or lighter: *rəŋah mis* ‘more black’, *biyoog mis* ‘more white’. As with all adjectival roots, colours also take on the imperfective form when they follow a noun: *bawaj begyoog* ‘garlic’ (white onion).

|                               |                     |                         |                   |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| biyeeq, biyoog                | ‘white’             | b'lahəər                | ‘yellow’ (banana) |
| b'kooh                        | ‘whitish’           | b'lateeg, g'waaj, rəŋah | ‘black’           |
| b'kueb                        | ‘grey’              | c'ləx, r'ŋaaj           | ‘red’             |
| b'la?əər, hijow=              | ‘green’             | kokow=                  | ‘brown’           |
| b'la?əəm                      | ‘pale green’        | p'cuul                  | ‘bright white’    |
| b'la?ug, biruu <sup>k</sup> = | ‘deep blue’         | p'nyah                  | ‘dark red’        |
| b'lacaaj                      | ‘translucent’       | p'rahawo <sup>k</sup>   | ‘orange’          |
| b'ladeer                      | ‘yellow’ (turmeric) | ramas loot              | ‘scarlet red’     |

Most colour words can receive affixation of the base onset-coda to make the sense of totality or of something that is largely that colour, especially for objects that are far off and unrecognisable. They describe ‘something all white’ or ‘a reddish thing’.

|          |               |          |               |
|----------|---------------|----------|---------------|
| biyoog   | → begbiyoog   | b'ladeer | → berb'ladeer |
| b'kooh   | → behb'kooh   | r'jaajn  | → reŋr'jaajn  |
| b'laʔəər | → berb'laʔəər |          |               |

### 7.3 Ideophones

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Ideophonic words, or words that carry an idea in their sound, also known as phonosemantic words, are used to express sound, action, appearance and feeling. They add colourful imagery to conversation, often exaggerating the situation or even adding insult, where a straight forward verb and noun phrase would show less involvement. They can be used in much the same way as a comparative phrase in English, such as, “like a hurricane”, and contain feeling and energy, creating exclamation of thought, injected whenever an activity deserves critical commentary.

While many ideophones that describe sounds are easily noticed as being onomatopoeic, many other words, including those that describe feelings and appearance, picture an imaginary sound, or the Temiar-designated sound, of that thought. Some ideophones are real root verbs, such as *rəb* ‘to arrive at once’, and many more are morphemes derived from verbs and adjectives, such as *rebrarəb* ‘everyone arriving’. Many others are purely onomatopoeic and not verbs, but are still treated in the same way, their morphology following the rules of imperfective and imperfect-causative morpheme derivation. A simple ideophonic word would carry the sound or thought of a single instance of an action, such as *k'təg*, ‘to drip’. It would then progress into the imperfect mode to conjure the thought of constant activity, such as *k'regtəg*, ‘dripping’.

Many verbs could be considered having a degree of onomatopoeia, as, phonetically, they sound something like the action implied. For example, *cəh* ‘peck’, *cap* ‘put into’, *cərr* ‘dart or dive’, *kab* ‘bite’, *b'luuh* ‘pounce’, *pag* ‘chop open’. I only consider those words that are used as exclamations to be ideophonic, however, and not those used in verb phrases. My list of around 900 ideophonic words (see Appendix 3), may contain only around twenty percent of the ideophones used by the Temiars.

#### 7.3.1 Classification of ideophones

There are three main classes to be noted: the first being onomatopoeic, the second, imaginary onomatopoeic, and the third, repetition (rhythmic) words. These classes are briefly described below, with examples, while the full lists of recorded words can be found in Appendix 3.

##### *Class 1 ideophones: onomatopoeic*

A good half of ideophonic words fit into this class, representing the sound made by an action. They are either used in their base form, as of a single sound being made, or they are built upon to show totality or ongoing action. The ideophonic word is underlined in

the examples below.

|                                                   |                                 |
|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <u>b'r<u>ru</u>ux</u> , na-sat <u>əə</u> h        | 'b'r <u>ru</u> x, it collapsed' |
| <u>luud</u> , na-paag                             | 'luud, she slapped him'         |
| <u>tas!</u> na-g'toj                              | 'tas! it snapped'               |
| <u>r<u>ub</u></u> , ?om-laa <u>i</u> j            | 'r <u>ub</u> , they arrived'    |
| na-gii <u>j</u> , <u>b<u>ənb</u>r'laa<u>c</u></u> | 'it burned, leaping up'         |
| na-pox, <u>p'rh<u>ig</u></u>                      | 'he chopped, to the bone'       |
| na-kab, <u>g'r<u>utuj</u></u>                     | 'it bit, tearing'               |
| na-ciib, <u>c'rahud-hud</u>                       | 'on he went, on and on'         |

### *Class 2 ideophones: imaginary*

This type of ideophone is usually made from extended adjectives or adverbs, which often carry causative infixes, for example:

|                                           |                           |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| ?om-hoo <u>oh</u> , b's' <u>regyoog</u>   | 'they followed, noisily'  |
| <u>cegkaloo<u>og</u>!</u>                 | 'going in all directions' |
| na-yad <u>cebc'nee<u>eb</u></u>           | 'he looked staring long'  |
| <u>g<u>elg'yuu</u>l ma-ber<u>həə</u>r</u> | 'shaking in the bushes'   |

### *Class 3 ideophones: repetition*

These are made by the repetition of verbs or adjectives, often in the unintentional imperfect sense, and are used to convey insult, or one's opinion of things that might seem flagrant or profound. The repetition is given in front of the real word, with the last syllable of this repeated word being altered to another sound. The result is a rhythm, of two words of two or three syllables each, with their last syllables contrasting each other, for example, one being rounded and high with the other open and low in sound.

|                                   |                                          |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| r'n <u>ju</u> n-r'ja <u>a</u> j   | 'looking red-faced' (angry)              |
| t'rapud-t'rap <u>ii</u> j         | 'going about so ugly!'                   |
| j'raw <u>əd</u> -j'r <u>aw</u> ad | 'stuck to the floor' (unwilling to help) |

---

## 7.4 Expressives

Temiar expressives are often exclamatory and are used to convey agreement, surprise, pain, excitement, or profanity. They can be made with single words or with commonly used phrases, as described below.

### 7.4.1 True expressives

Simple expressives are single words that are either without meaning normally, or are used in a new sense, such as ?aŋɔk! 'oh mother!' (from ɳɔk 'mother'), which is used to convey shock or horror, or cəgcūg! 'useless!' (literally, 'gunky'), which is used to show disgust. Some adverbs already mentioned above are used alone to express reaction, such as ?a-dih 'that's so', ?ə-sakdih 'that's why', kakdih 'actually' and naak 'that's it'. The quantitatives guwooh and habis 'finished', lampow 'too much' and b'rebkeeb 'not ever' are often heard as well. The list below gives some of the most frequently heard words in

this category.

|                        |                     |                                  |                       |
|------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| ?aduuuh <sup>=</sup> ! | 'ouch!'             | kəyox                            | 'hear that!'          |
| ?aŋ̪ɔ̄k!               | 'oh mother!'        | ma <sup>k</sup> lum <sup>=</sup> | 'you should know'     |
| barəh                  | 'too bad'           | neeh!                            | 'see!' (you did s.t.) |
| b'lagak!               | 'foolish!'          | pəsdəs                           | 'can't be bothered'   |
| cəəs!                  | 'serves you right!' | sajaa <sup>k</sup> <sup>=</sup>  | 'just saying it'      |
| cəgcùg                 | 'useless!'          | tare <sup>k</sup>                | 'just try!'           |
| hōy!                   | 'stop it!'          | yaah!                            | 'hey man!'            |
| jalooħ                 | 'who knows?'        | ?o-yaah                          | 'by the way'          |
|                        |                     | najnāā <sup>k</sup> <sup>=</sup> | 'what trouble!'       |

Profanities are mostly used when pronouncing some terrible ill fate on someone or something, by calling them, for example, sarɔ̄k 'rotting corpse', and usually because they have done something annoying like steal food or fruits, or trampled the crops, in the case of the elephant. While they can sound rather exclamatory but are often light-hearted and are used to make fun of situations or, at least, to let off frustration in a verbal, non-violent manner. They will also pronounce fate on themselves if they fall into a bad situation or have bad luck while hunting in the forest: ɳataa<sup>k</sup> cə-?ee<sup>k</sup>! 'we are finished!' Those that I know of are listed below.

|                      |                         |                                |                         |
|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| berlah!              | 'you'll be split open!' | pantax!                        | 'get wasted!'           |
| lanta <sup>k</sup>   | 'who cares!'            | sarɔ̄ <sup>k</sup> !           | 'rotten corpse!'        |
| nam-hempug!          | 'he/she/it will rot!'   | sarɔ̄ <sup>k</sup> ... [name]! | 'rotten corpse of ...!' |
| ɳataa <sup>k</sup> ! | 'be damned!'            | sarɔ̄ <sup>k</sup> kalij!      | 'rotten dick!'          |

#### 7.4.2 Expressive phrases

Many phrases are used by Temiars to express affirmation, surprise, opinion, quantity or exclamation. These phrases show little variation, if any, and can be picked up from the daily conversations. I list as many of these phrases as I know of below.

Words like həə<sup>k</sup> 'yes' and na<sup>k</sup> 'that' are used affirmatively, as with, ?əh-həə<sup>k</sup> dih 'oh yes, that's it' or na<sup>k</sup> bo<sup>k</sup> dan 'that's about right'. In response to situations, words such as ?ət, a verb meaning to come out, and da<sup>k</sup>, are used to mean 'then', such as with, ?ət ma-na<sup>k</sup> 'and then there', or da<sup>k</sup> hōy 'so no'. The word ka<sup>k</sup> is used to imply 'as if', as with, ka<sup>k</sup> ?əm-leŋlex 'as if we knew', while the negative to<sup>k</sup> is used to negate a quality, as with, to<sup>k</sup> ?e-gəo's 'deplorable!'. Qualitative words are used to describe the quality of things, such as, had ?ə-na<sup>k</sup> 'that exactly', but also the word roo<sup>k</sup> 'to say' is used to express what one thought something should have been, such as with, roo<sup>k</sup> ka<sup>k</sup> ni-lo<sup>k</sup> 'thought it might have been'. Exclamatory phrases tend to be sudden and succinct and are often extended from expressive words, such as, ?aŋ̪ɔ̄k yii<sup>k</sup>! 'oh my mother!' The negative word hōy is commonly used to express distaste, as with, na-?ee<sup>k</sup>, hōy! 'its persisting, no!' or yi-roo<sup>k</sup>, hōy! 'I said, no!' .

##### Affirmative

|                                            |                                 |
|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| ?əh-həə <sup>k</sup> dih                   | 'oh yes, that's it'             |
| ?ilo <sup>k</sup> nam-?ət?                 | 'why not?' (what can go wrong?) |
| bo <sup>k</sup> ?e-roo <sup>k</sup> ?ə-lah | 'we certainly think so'         |

|                                                    |                         |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| la-pun                                             | 'it is as well'         |
| na <sup>k</sup> bo <sup>k</sup> b'tol <sup>=</sup> | 'that's the proper way' |
| na <sup>k</sup> bo <sup>k</sup> dan <sup>=</sup>   | 'that's about right'    |
| na <sup>k</sup> bo <sup>k</sup> me <sup>j</sup>    | 'that's better'         |
| na <sup>k</sup> bo <sup>k</sup> tipēc              | 'that's a fake'         |
| na <sup>k</sup> ?ə-na <sup>k</sup>                 | 'that's that'           |
| t'had la-pun <sup>=</sup>                          | 'it's right too'        |

*Disappointment*

|                                                    |                                      |
|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ?eg <sup>?</sup> oɔg b'salah <sup>=</sup>          | 'asking for rebuke'                  |
| ?enyօðn bilɔɔ <sup>k=</sup>                        | 'is it near when... (s.t. happens)?' |
| ?ət ma-na <sup>k</sup>                             | 'and then there'                     |
| ?ət na-jε <sup>k</sup>                             | 'and then don't want'                |
| da <sup>k</sup> hōy                                | 'so no'                              |
| heyhōy cə-re <sup>k</sup> -na <sup>k</sup>         | 'nothing in that case' (that sucks)  |
| hoj bə <sup>k</sup> bo <sup>k</sup>                | 'that's out of line'                 |
| mən-kasa <sup>k</sup> ? / m'-kasa <sup>k</sup> ?   | 'for what?'                          |
| to <sup>k</sup> b'pi <sup>k</sup> dah <sup>=</sup> | 'for no reason'                      |

*Response*

|                                                                |                                                |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| ?ilo <sup>k</sup> wel?                                         | 'what else?' (what do you expect?)             |
| bíl <sup>=</sup> nam-hōy?                                      | 'there's bound to be'                          |
| haja <sup>k=</sup> ?ε-gesgoɔs!                                 | 'we have to live with it!'                     |
| had haja <sup>k=</sup> !                                       | 'just has to!'                                 |
| jaloɔh ma-hāā <sup>k</sup>                                     | 'it's up to you'                               |
| ka <sup>k</sup> mən-re <sup>k</sup> loɔ <sup>k</sup>           | 'how on earth' / 'can't imagine how'           |
| ka <sup>k</sup> yam-leŋlex                                     | 'as if we knew'                                |
| koɔd p'das                                                     | 'don't bother (with it)'                       |
| ma-loo <sup>k</sup> mo <sup>k</sup> !                          | 'how can there be!'                            |
| na <sup>k</sup> bo <sup>k</sup> ha-gahmaa <sup>k</sup>         | 'there you feel it' (you had it coming)        |
| na <sup>k</sup> cə-yi-bɔɔd                                     | 'I can't stand that'                           |
| na <sup>k</sup> ney noŋ                                        | 'that's one way'                               |
| na <sup>k</sup> wel                                            | 'that as well'                                 |
| nam-terhōg                                                     | 'how sad!'                                     |
| s'naj-s'naj <sup>=</sup>                                       | 'so easily!' (what do you think you're doing?) |
| te <sup>k</sup> ruu <sup>k</sup> na- <sup>?</sup> oɔj ma-g'lōh | 'anger arises into the throat'                 |
| to <sup>k</sup> ?acii <sup>k</sup>                             | 'don't do bad' (to me)                         |
| to <sup>k</sup> ?ayah                                          | 'no way', 'it can't be'                        |
| to <sup>k</sup> ?ε-goɔs                                        | 'deplorable!' (we don't live)                  |
| to <sup>k</sup> ?ε-lex                                         | 'who knows?' (we don't know)                   |
| to <sup>k</sup> ham-lex                                        | 'you can't know!'                              |
| to <sup>k</sup> kisah <sup>=</sup>                             | 'don't bother'                                 |
| to <sup>k</sup> na-? <sup>ət</sup>                             | 'it can't happen'                              |
| to <sup>k</sup> se <sup>k</sup> sεε <sup>k</sup>               | 'just as predicted'                            |
| to <sup>k</sup> yi-tuh                                         | 'I can't say' (it's so bad)                    |
| tugas hāā <sup>k</sup> !                                       | 'that's your doing'                            |
| yih <sup>k</sup> to <sup>k</sup> mad <sup>=</sup>              | 'I've no respect'                              |

*Qualitative*

|                                                         |                                                 |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| had ?ə-na <sup>k</sup>                                  | ‘that exactly’                                  |
| had hukom <sup>=</sup>                                  | ‘just has to’ (obstinate)                       |
| had to <sup>k</sup> bolih <sup>=</sup>                  | ‘(he/she) just can’t’                           |
| jam <sup>=</sup> tii <sup>k</sup> j'rù <sup>k</sup>     | ‘still got time’                                |
| ka <sup>k</sup> na-gewgoow!                             | ‘as if she was tricking!’ (that’s way to much)  |
| ka <sup>k</sup> na-kuraŋ <sup>=</sup>                   | ‘can it be less?’ (actually very much)          |
| na-roo <sup>k</sup> ka <sup>k</sup> kuraŋ <sup>=</sup>  | ‘to think [it’s] not much’ (it is so much)      |
| re <sup>k</sup> -na <sup>k</sup> ?ə-sa <sup>k</sup> dih | ‘like that that’s why’                          |
| roo <sup>k</sup> ge <sup>k</sup> na-høy                 | ‘thought it wasn’t’                             |
| roo <sup>k</sup> ka <sup>k</sup> ni-lo <sup>k</sup>     | ‘thought it might be s.t.’ (but it’s only that) |
| roo <sup>k</sup> na <sup>k</sup> nam-...                | ‘looks as if it will ...’                       |
| s'maanj jenrù <sup>k</sup>                              | ‘asking too much’                               |
| to <sup>k</sup> b'gunaa <sup>k</sup> <sup>=</sup>       | ‘no use!’                                       |

*Exclamative*

|                                         |                       |
|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| ?aŋjɔ̃k yih <sup>k</sup> !              | ‘oh my mother!’       |
| ?aŋuu <sup>k</sup> yih <sup>k</sup> !   | ‘oh my uncle!’        |
| haram <sup>=</sup> b'tol <sup>=</sup> ! | ‘despicable!’         |
| na-?eeen, hoy!                          | ‘its persisting, no!’ |
| ya <sup>k</sup> -?ahay!                 | ‘what the?’           |
| yah ?alah!                              | ‘oh heck!’            |
| yi-roo <sup>k</sup> , hoy!              | ‘I said, no!’         |

# 8 Syntax

This chapter outlines the syntactic characteristics of Temiar speech. It is written following the layout of Burenhult's chapter on syntax in his Grammar of Jahai, which as stated therein (2005:127), is brief and tentative of the subject. This analysis will therefore likely be even more tentative, but I write it as one who speaks Temiar on a daily basis, not as one who needs to sift through transcripts to find analysable language data. I did not attempt to decipher his sections on arguments and valency (his §5.2 and §5.3)§ as they seemed overly repetitive of the first section, and therefore I do hope that my analysis manages to touch on these, even though it is bound to lack adequate detail.

## 8.1 Clause and phrase structure

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This first section is concerned with analysis of syntactic constituents, investigating statements (common clauses), questions, relative clauses, noun phrases and prepositional phrases.

### 8.1.1 Common clauses

The essential element of the common clause is the verb, whether dynamic or stative, or the adjective (note that adjectives are considered stative verbs in Burenhult's decoding of Jahai). This element is preceded by an obligatory subject marker (that I call the pronoun referral marker, *PRM*, SEE §5.1.3 & §5.1.4), which is represented by the succinct allomorph of the subject pronoun (see §5.1.3.). The marker is always cliticised to the verb, it cannot stand freely, as it serves no other purpose than to refer the verb to the subject. The full pronoun is required only when introducing the subject or when differentiating one subject from another. The verb or adjective with its referral marker constitutes the core of the clause, and the minimal that can make grammatical sense. This core is shown in the examples below. It is improper in Temiar to make a verbal clause without the referral marker: *wɛ<sup>k</sup> na-na<sup>k</sup>* is incorrect, it must be *na-wɛ<sup>k</sup> na-na<sup>k</sup>* 'he/she went'. Only imperatives can be made with the lone verb (see §8.1.7).

|                        |                              |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| ham-gæəl               | 'you will stay'              |
| ?om-b'saløg            | 'they are sleeping'          |
| ?om-gahæəl             | 'they are tired'             |
| na-k'lu <sup>k</sup>   | 'she fell'                   |
| ŋɔ'b-c'rø <sup>k</sup> | 'you all are hungry'         |
| wɛ-mo <sup>k</sup>     | 'they two are here'          |
| yi-bɔɔd                | 'I'm disinclined'            |
| yím-næəh               | 'I'll see' / 'I want to see' |

When the clause includes the full pronoun of the subject it normally precedes the verb: *yii<sup>k</sup> yi-caa<sup>k</sup>* ‘I eat’, or *yii<sup>k</sup> yim-caa<sup>k</sup>* ‘I will eat’. In some cases the pronoun can follow the verb: *yi-je<sup>k</sup> ca-yii<sup>k</sup>* ‘I don’t want, regarding me’. When a noun phrase is given the noun most often follows the verb, and if the subject is already known, the noun carries the nominative proclitic *yi-*, which more or less stands for ‘the’. A difference is made if this proclitic is omitted—compare, for example: *na-kab yi-<sup>2</sup>aab* ‘the tiger bit’, *na-kab <sup>2</sup>aab* ‘a tiger bit’. A noun can precede the verb with its referral marker, however, if the noun is somehow qualified, for example, by a spatial or temporal demonstrative, as shown below.

- |                                                         |                                    |
|---------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>na-wε<sup>k</sup> yi-pəŋhulu<sup>=</sup></i>         | ‘the headman went’                 |
| <i>?apa<sup>k</sup> <u>atεε<sup>k</sup></u> na-laaj</i> | ‘father arrived <u>just now</u> ’  |
| <i>jajaa<sup>-tuuy</sup> na-po'o<sup>c</sup></i>        | ‘the old woman <u>there</u> waits’ |

If the noun precedes the verb without any qualification, as if it were a personal pronoun, it is to put stress on the identity of the subject. When the verb carries the unrealis, or intentive, marker, then the noun precedes the verb in the same way, for subject identification, as shown below.

- |                                    |                        |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>?ayaak na-cen</i>               | ‘grandmother wants’    |
| <i>sapnēed nam-caa<sup>k</sup></i> | ‘(the) child will eat’ |

When an object noun is given it is invariably placed to the left of the verb: *cuwa<sup>k</sup> na-coh tajuu<sup>k</sup>* ‘a snake struck the dog’. Such permuted constructions often sound confusing to the non-native speaker, as they appear to be back to front, with the last phrase sounding like the dog struck at the snake! Further examples are given below.

- |                                                            |                                             |
|------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <i>?ahaab na-b'díl<sup>=</sup></i>                         | ‘he shot a <u>pig</u> ’                     |
| <i>pə<sup>k</sup> coɔ<sup>k</sup> yi-k'lɔɔ<sup>k</sup></i> | ‘the older hit the <u>younger sibling</u> ’ |

Third arguments also precede the verb, while the object of the clause is nearly dropped from the sentence, as if that piece of information should be known. In the below statement, the object *j'waaj* ‘bush knife’ could be comfortably left out, and it most certainly would be if the question was, ‘where is the bush knife’.

- |                                                                                          |                                                    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ma-<sup>2</sup>apa<sup>k</sup> yi-<sup>2</sup>oog j'waaj <u>?atεε<sup>k</sup></u></i> | ‘I gave the bush knife <u>to father just now</u> ’ |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|

Adjuncts, those elements of the clause which are not arguments of the verb, are usually placed following the verb, but when they are to be stressed, they are placed preceding it, as shown below.

- |                                          |                                      |
|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>?ahaab ki-kus <u>?is hatɔp</u></i>    | ‘we roasted a pig <u>yesterday</u> ’ |
| <i>?is hatɔp yi-wε<sup>k</sup></i>       | ‘I went <u>yesterday</u> ’           |
| <i>?om-wε<sup>k</sup> <u>ma-reih</u></i> | ‘they went <u>down-river</u> ’       |
| <i>ma-reih <u>?om-wε<sup>k</sup></u></i> | ‘they went <u>down-river</u> ’       |

Detached phrases are considered those which are separated from the clause by a pause created due to the omission of any conjunctive element. If the subject of the detached phrase has not been mentioned it takes on the nominative or accusative proclitic, in order to highlight what the clause is describing. Otherwise, if the subject is given as added information on the preceding clause it does not take any proclitic. Some examples are

given below.

|                                                                     |                                                     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| <u>yi-babəəh na<sup>k</sup></u> , na-dado <sup>k</sup> ma-reih      | 'the boy (that one), he ran off down there'         |
| <u>cə-tabəəx</u> , ?om-s'lög ?en-?awen                              | 'of langurs, they sleep in the bamboo'              |
| bapo <sup>k</sup> gəəb, <u>yi-kaa<sup>k</sup> ?atεε<sup>k</sup></u> | 'it was huge, <u>the fish just now</u> '            |
| na-s'luuh k'díig, <u>k'díig k'rēdlaad</u>                           | 'he blowpiped a squirrel, <u>a giant squirrel</u> ' |
| yi-roöt səgnūg, <u>naar-wəh</u>                                     | 'I caught frogs, <u>two of them</u> '               |

Subordination at clause level is made by placing two clauses in series, separated by a conjunctive such as bo<sup>k</sup> 'and', or da<sup>k</sup> 'then', or preceded by a temporal such as bíl 'when', k'rə<sup>k</sup> 'after', or conjunctive kalow 'if'.

|                                                        |                                 |
|--------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| na-caa <sup>k</sup> da <sup>k</sup> na-s'lög           | 'she ate then she slept'        |
| ?ε-caa <sup>k</sup> bo <sup>k</sup> ?ε-wε <sup>k</sup> | 'we eat then we go'             |
| bíl ?ε-loy ?em-caa <sup>k</sup>                        | 'when we get there we will eat' |
| k'rə <sup>k</sup> ha-laa'j na-taaw                     | 'after you arrived she left'    |
| k'rə <sup>k</sup> hāā <sup>k</sup> yi-wε <sup>k</sup>  | 'after you (were here) I went'  |
| kalow mo <sup>k</sup> yi-cən                           | 'if there is any I want (some)' |

### 8.1.2 Relative clauses

Relativised elements are placed to the right of noun phrases, and without any relative-marking proclitic (compare Jahai which has k-, Burenhult 2005:138), or even a word denoting 'which', as there is with Semai (the word an: maay an boor 'good people'). The Malay yan 'which' may sometimes be borrowed but it is not all that necessary. Instead the relative phrase follows the subject as a common clause or an adjective. The word na<sup>k</sup> 'that' is also placed to the extreme right of the clause to help the sense, as shown below.

|                                           |                                                |
|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| s'laay yi-tap hatōp na <sup>k</sup>       | 'the swidden I planted some time ago that one' |
| tataa <sup>k</sup> pudeew na <sup>k</sup> | 'the silly old man that one'                   |

However, in many cases the subject is omitted when it is already known (to save the speaker from unnecessary exertion!) and in its place the reflexive, rii<sup>k</sup> 'the one', is inserted. When the clause is adjectival, rii<sup>k</sup> is followed directly by na<sup>k</sup>, as shown below.

|                                                            |                                         |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| rii <sup>k</sup> na-dado <sup>k</sup> ?aab na <sup>k</sup> | 'the one who ran from a tiger that one' |
| rii <sup>k</sup> na <sup>k</sup> t'biix                    | 'the one that is full'                  |

### 8.1.3 Noun phrases

The noun phrase consists typically of a referent in the form of a head noun (or nominal compound) and possible modifiers of that noun. Such modifiers include quantifiers (including numerals), postnominal possessors, spatial and temporal demonstratives, demonstrative pronouns, adjectives and relative clauses (including verbal modifiers), which most often follow the head noun. Some examples are given below, with the header modifier underlined.

|                                                 |                         |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| kaa <sup>k</sup> <u>tigaa<sup>k</sup> ?ikor</u> | ' <u>three</u> fishes'  |
| j'waaj <u>yii<sup>k</sup></u>                   | ' <u>my</u> bush knife' |

|                                                |                                   |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| diix <u>tuuy</u>                               | 'the house <u>over there</u> '    |
| ?ɔɔs <u>ateɛk</u>                              | 'the fire <u>just now</u> '       |
| diix <u>ha-na<sup>k</sup></u>                  | ' <u>your</u> house <u>that</u> ' |
| diix <u>paay na<sup>k</sup></u>                | 'the new house that one'          |
| cuwa <sup>k</sup> <u>na-kab na<sup>k</sup></u> | 'the dog <u>that bit</u> '        |

It is not uncommon, however, to hear the modifier, and especially when adjectival, coming in pronominal position. The noun phrase constructed this way becomes a modifier phrase of another noun, such as, tataa<sup>k</sup> rayaa<sup>k</sup> keed 'the big butted old man' (describing the elephant) or sen?ððy j'rù<sup>k</sup> hɔɔx 'a tall person'. But the second modified noun may left out of the phrase and only the modifier phrase given, such as, s?eeg ηāāg 'a stinky mouth'.

Other modifiers occurring prenominally are usually associated with classifier nouns (see §3.3.3), as with numerals, or the collective noun (see §3.3.4), as with pronouns. It is the difference between duwaa<sup>k</sup> sen?ððy 'two person', which is obviously incorrect, and duwaa<sup>k</sup> senma<sup>k</sup> 'two persons'. But not all nouns have a classifier derivative and therefore the root is often placed with the quantifier, as with duwaa<sup>k</sup> g'ce<sup>k</sup> 'two months'. The examples below show this usage of nominal derivatives.

|                                                     |                |
|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| tigaa <sup>k</sup> kenlo̥x                          | 'three roots'  |
| limaa <sup>k</sup> senma <sup>k</sup>               | 'five persons' |
| kanii <sup>k</sup> be <sup>k</sup> bɔɔ <sup>k</sup> | 'we females'   |
| ŋɔb behbae̥h                                        | 'you males'    |

Question word modifiers are also placed prenominally in the noun phrase. The subject noun may also be replaced with a pronoun or a generic noun, such as the word bajii<sup>k</sup> 'thing', as shown below.

|                                      |                  |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| cɔo <sup>k</sup> kowēēs?             | 'whose child?'   |
| cɔo <sup>k</sup> na-na <sup>k</sup>  | 'who is that?'   |
| lɔo <sup>k</sup> ney?                | 'which one?'     |
| marɔp ?is?                           | 'how many days?' |
| ?ilo <sup>k</sup> bajii <sup>k</sup> | 'what thing?'    |

Nominalised verbs act in exactly the same way as lexeme nouns and are placed at the head of the noun phrase. They may also act as modifiers of the head, as shown below in the third example.

|                                     |                         |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| canaa <sup>k</sup> hāā <sup>k</sup> | 'your food'             |
| g'nabag me̥j                        | 'good singing'          |
| diix nelgəəl                        | 'a house (for) staying' |

The spatial demonstratives doh 'this' and na<sup>k</sup> 'that' are very commonly found at the end of noun phrases. They are not possessive modifiers of any sort (as Burenhult speculates they could be, with Jehai, 2005:142), but they are used to associate the noun with a previously mentioned subject (as with na<sup>k</sup>) or something in thought or in close proximity to the referrer (as with doh).

### 8.1.4 Prepositional phrases

Prepositional proclitics attach to nouns to form prepositional phrases, which are then used as oblique arguments, such as: na-dado<sup>k</sup> ma-diix ‘he ran off to the house’, or as adjuncts: na-dado<sup>k</sup> ?atee<sup>k</sup> ma-diix ‘he ran off just now to the house’. Examples of prepositional phrases are given below. Note that the proclitic ma- is used both for ‘to’ and ‘in’.

|            |                 |
|------------|-----------------|
| ma-beex    | ‘in the forest’ |
| ?em-beex   | ‘outside’       |
| ?en-k'lōoj | ‘inside’        |
| ?en-diix   | ‘at home’       |
| nùm-k'dey= | ‘from town’     |

When a verb is acted toward an object (transitive) the object noun or pronoun is cliticised with ma-, ‘to’. When the proceeding word is commenced by [n], and carries more than one syllable, such as na-na<sup>k</sup>, na-doh, na-ney, ni-tuuy, the clitic reduces to m'-. In some cases this rule is comparable to English usage, such as saying, ‘give to you’, but in other cases it is not. For example, they literally say in Temiar, ‘I saw to you’.

|                                          |                             |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| neeh ma-balix                            | ‘look above’                |
| na-keprōojn ma-k'bəə <sup>k</sup>        | ‘it was chewing on a fruit’ |
| yi-neeh ma-hāā <sup>k</sup>              | ‘I saw you’                 |
| na-tuh ma-hāā <sup>k</sup>               | ‘she said to you’           |
| ?oog m'-nana <sup>k</sup>                | ‘give him some’             |
| jag ma-niis                              | ‘tread on the floor’        |
| s'mōoj m'-newgoow                        | ‘listen to the fibbing’     |
| ha-dado <sup>k</sup> ma-yih <sup>k</sup> | ‘you abandoned me’          |

### 8.1.5 Questions

No special proclitics are necessary to make verbs interrogative (as Burenhult states they are with Jahai, 2005:136), but a moderate tonal uplift is given on the entire phrase. This means that simple questions resemble the core of common clauses.

|                                         |                           |
|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| ha-wε <sup>k</sup> ?                    | ‘are you going?’          |
| hoj ha-wε <sup>k</sup> ?                | ‘have you gone?’          |
| na-wε <sup>k</sup> ?atee <sup>k</sup> ? | ‘did she go just now?’    |
| ham-caa <sup>k</sup> ?                  | ‘will you eat?’           |
| mo <sup>k</sup> sen?ōōy?                | ‘is there someone there?’ |

With what? which? who? where? questions, the ‘WH’ word is normally put clause-initially, as shown in the examples below. The question word does not negate the need for marking the verb with the referral marker. The subject can precede the question word when the answer regarding something else is already known, to denote, ‘and this one, how?’

|                                       |                          |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| ?ilo <sup>k</sup> ha-cen?             | ‘what do you want?’      |
| cōo <sup>k</sup> na-na <sup>k</sup> ? | ‘who is that?’           |
| na-lōo <sup>k</sup> ha-cen?           | ‘which one do you want?’ |

|                                                         |                        |
|---------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| ma-loo <sup>k</sup> ha-wε <sup>k</sup> ?                | ‘where are you going?’ |
| bíl ham-wε <sup>k</sup> ?                               | ‘when are you going?’  |
| kasa <sup>k</sup> ha-tuh?                               | ‘why did you say?’     |
| ma-hāā <sup>k</sup> re <sup>k</sup> -loo <sup>k</sup> ? | ‘how is it with you?’  |
| ma-hāā <sup>k</sup> marōp?                              | ‘how many with you?’   |
| re <sup>k</sup> -loo <sup>k</sup> ha-?uuy?              | ‘how did you do it?’   |

Questions can also be asked using only a verb or adjective, to ask if an activity has happened or might happen, or when questioning about the quality or quantity of things. The verb, together with a referral marker, or adjective precedes the noun, pronoun or preposition and is given a rising tone, while the remainder of the phrase is lowered in tone. If you made the mistake of giving the adjective before the subject when trying to make a statement you might be surprised to receive an answer of hōy, ‘no’. As a statement you would say, na-na<sup>k</sup> me<sup>j</sup> ‘that’s good’, or na-na<sup>k</sup> la<sup>j</sup> ‘that’s bad’.

|                                         |                         |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| na-b <sup>j</sup> aag yi-?oox?          | ‘is the river flooded?’ |
| ha-wε <sup>k</sup> cə-hāā <sup>k</sup>  | ‘are you going?’        |
| me <sup>j</sup> cə-na-na <sup>k</sup> ? | ‘is it good?’           |
| mo <sup>k</sup> ma-tuuy?                | ‘got any over there?’   |
| c'kùb ma-hāā <sup>k</sup> ?             | ‘enough with you?’      |

The word ka<sup>k</sup> ‘whether’, or ‘then’, is often used to compose questions, some of which are used as expressions (see §7.4.2, §7.4.6), as shown by the examples below.

|                                                                        |                                      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ka <sup>k</sup> lo <sup>k</sup>                                        | ‘whether there is?’                  |
| ka <sup>k</sup> men-loo <sup>k</sup>                                   | ‘is there which?’                    |
| ka <sup>k</sup> men-coo <sup>k</sup>                                   | ‘then who will ever?’                |
| ka <sup>k</sup> men-biloo <sup>k</sup> =                               | ‘then when will ever?’               |
| ka <sup>k</sup> səe <sup>k</sup>                                       | ‘so it’s wrong?’                     |
| ka <sup>k</sup> maar                                                   | ‘whether it’s adequate?’             |
| ?ilo <sup>k</sup> ?em-caa <sup>k</sup> ka <sup>k</sup> ?is doh ?akaal? | ‘what will we eat then later today?’ |
| ha-b'lōođ ka <sup>k</sup> ?en-loo <sup>k</sup> wel?                    | ‘you think there will be another?’   |

### 8.1.6 Interrogative forms

Most interrogative forms in Temiar are made with the standard WH question words (as seen in the previous part, §8.1.3). However, some of these words, notable ?ilo<sup>k</sup> ‘what’, can deviate from the typical usage, to ask, ‘for what reason?’, and also there are some adjectives and temporals that can be used to make questions. For example, the verb mo<sup>k</sup> ‘have’, is used to ask ‘have you done? or ‘have you been?’ etc. when it is known that the action was intended to take place. The words hōj ‘already’ and tii<sup>k</sup> ‘yet’ of the relational tense (see §7.2.5) can also be used to ask if something has been done or not. The words ka<sup>k</sup> ‘whether’ and tah ‘not sure’ (see §8.1.10) are also frequently used to put questioning tone across. The main forms are listed below under each question word.

*What?*

|                              |                |
|------------------------------|----------------|
| ?ilo <sup>k</sup> cə-na-doh? | ‘what’s this?’ |
| ?ilo <sup>k</sup> wel?       | ‘what else?’   |

|                                                  |                             |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ?ilo <sup>k</sup> ham-hæy?                       | ‘what are you going to do?’ |
| ?ilo <sup>k</sup> bajii <sup>k</sup> ?           | ‘what’s up?’                |
| lo <sup>k</sup> -dih? / na-lo <sup>k</sup> -dih? | ‘what is this you mention?’ |

*Which?*

|                                              |                                 |
|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| lo <sup>k</sup> ney ha-cen?                  | ‘which one do you like?’        |
| men ?ilo <sup>k</sup> ham-caa <sup>k</sup> ? | ‘what kind do you want to eat?’ |

*Who?*

|                                                  |                              |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| cōo <sup>k</sup> na-tuh?                         | ‘who said?’                  |
| cōo <sup>k</sup> tehtuh?                         | ‘who was talking?’           |
| cōo <sup>k</sup> yi-rii <sup>k</sup> ?           | ‘who’s the one (who did..)?’ |
| cōo <sup>k</sup> kowēēs doh?                     | ‘whose child is this?’       |
| cōo <sup>k</sup> rə-ciib ma-tih?                 | ‘who went up river?’         |
| cōo <sup>k</sup> rə-tuloi̯ ma-yii <sup>k</sup> ? | ‘who will help me?’          |
| cōo <sup>k</sup> na-?ɔɔr?                        | ‘who told you to (do it)?’   |

*Where?*

|                                                              |                                   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| ma-loo <sup>k</sup> ?om-wε <sup>k</sup> ?                    | ‘where did they go?’              |
| ?en-loo <sup>k</sup> na-gæl?                                 | ‘where about is he?’              |
| ka <sup>k</sup> men ma-loo <sup>k</sup> na-wε <sup>k</sup> ? | ‘where ever could she have gone?’ |

*When?*

|                             |                        |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| bíl = ham-wε <sup>k</sup> ? | ‘when are yo going?’   |
| tiik marop ?is?             | ‘still how many days?’ |

*How?*

|                                             |                               |
|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| rε <sup>k</sup> -loo <sup>k</sup> ham-t'εl? | ‘how are you going to do it?’ |
| rε <sup>k</sup> -loo <sup>k</sup> ?anuh?    | ‘how’s this happened?’        |
| ka <sup>k</sup> k'mān ha-cen?               | ‘so is it true you want?’     |
| da <sup>k</sup> pəy?                        | ‘so how?’                     |

*Why?*

|                                                                |                                            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| ?asi <sup>k</sup> ha-yaap hí <sup>k</sup> ?                    | why do you always cry?’                    |
| ?ilo <sup>k</sup> bo <sup>k</sup> ha-je <sup>k</sup> ?         | why don’t you want?’                       |
| ?ilo <sup>k</sup> ba-ha-ciip?                                  | why did you go?’                           |
| kasa <sup>k</sup> ?em-po'o <sup>k</sup> m'-nana <sup>k</sup> ? | why should we wait for him?’               |
| kasa <sup>k</sup> to <sup>k</sup> ha-lex?                      | why don’t you know?’                       |
| sakid yím-toloj ma-hāā <sup>k</sup> ?                          | ‘why should I help you?’ (and be bothered) |

*Is there / are there?*

|                                     |                        |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| na-mo <sup>k</sup> ?                | ‘is there?’            |
| na-höy?                             | ‘is there none?’       |
| mo <sup>k</sup> nilo <sup>k</sup> ? | ‘is there anything?’   |
| tiik mo <sup>k</sup> ?              | ‘is there still any?’  |
| hoj höy?                            | ‘has it already gone?’ |

*Did you?*

|                                                         |                         |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| ha-s'morəŋ ?a-tɛɛ <sup>k</sup> ?                        | did you hear just now?" |
| mo <sup>k</sup> ha-nɛɛh?                                | can you see?"           |
| mo <sup>k</sup> ha-wɛ <sup>k</sup> ma-na <sup>k</sup> ? | did you go there?"      |
| mo <sup>k</sup> na-caal ma-hāā <sup>k</sup> ?           | did she talk to you?"   |

*Have you?*

|                                             |                       |
|---------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| hoj ha-caa <sup>k</sup> ?                   | have you eaten?"      |
| hoj ha-wɛ <sup>k</sup> ma-na <sup>k</sup> ? | have you been there?" |

### 8.1.7 Imperatives

An instruction or suggestion to someone can be expressed with a verb alone, such as ciib ‘move!’. That’s not to say that the pronoun can’t be stated along with the action: hāā<sup>k</sup>, we<sup>k</sup> ‘you, go’. Multiple imperatives may be strung together, one after the other: ciib! jo! mamūh! ‘go! move! take a bath!’. The verb may be followed by a preposition or temporal (as shown in the examples below) or the accusative may be used, to identify the one who should act upon the command. Greater emphasis is placed on the command when the verb is combined with the irrealis, or inventive, pronoun marker, to state, for example, ‘you will do something’. Stating what one intends to do can also be enough to imply that the referred person should act in order for that intention to be fulfilled. Prepositions also can be used to direct an activity, such as to give an object to the speaker or where to put something. When speaking to another, and especially to a child, the first person dual marker is attached to the verb, as ?a-[verb] to imply, ‘us two will...(do something)’.

|                                     |                              |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| ciib ma-soy                         | ‘go in front’                |
| ciib neŋ-neŋ                        | ‘go first’                   |
| kɔ̄d cə-hāā <sup>k</sup>            | ‘you take it’                |
| ham-pօo <sup>c</sup>                | ‘you’ll wait’ (please wait!) |
| yim-nɛɛh                            | ‘I will see’ (show me)       |
| ma-doh                              | ‘(give it) here’             |
| ma-na <sup>k</sup>                  | ‘(put it) there’             |
| jo <sup>k</sup> ?a-caa <sup>k</sup> | ‘let’s eat’ (us two)         |

More assertiveness can be placed on a command by preceding it with the pronoun phrase yi-roo<sup>k</sup> ‘I say’, such as, yi-roo<sup>k</sup>, dɔ̄l ?a-neŋ ‘I say, put it down first’, which actually becomes a corrective order. Adverbs are also used imperatively, as with those that demand someone to hurry, such as, pantas! or k’nyaq!, or those that tell someone to be more careful, such as, p’laheen! ‘slowly’.

To assert prohibition, the word p’ra<sup>k</sup> ‘leave it’ is commonly used. It can be stated alone, as an exclamation, or with the pronoun ?a-na<sup>k</sup> ‘that’. When it is combined with the intentive, again, stronger emphasis is added: ham-p’ra<sup>k</sup>!. It can also follow the pronoun phrase, as described above: yi-roo<sup>k</sup>, p’ra<sup>k</sup>! ‘I say, leave it!’. Note that the phrase is also used as an expression, as yi-roo<sup>k</sup>, hoj! ‘I said, no!’. The quantitative ?adii<sup>k</sup>, denoting ‘enough’, is often used to imply ‘stop’ or when a quantity is sufficient or some activity

has reached an unbearable level. A lengthened form of the emphatic *lah* is also used to quiet down upset children.

|                                      |                                      |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| p'ra <sup>k</sup> !                  | 'leave it!'                          |
| p'ra <sup>k</sup> ?a-na <sup>k</sup> | 'leave that'                         |
| ham-p'ra <sup>k</sup> !              | 'you'll leave it' (please leave it!) |
| ?adii <sup>k</sup>                   | 'that's enough'                      |
| laah                                 | 'that will do'                       |

The proclitic <sup>?</sup>a-, which has already been seen with the formation nicknames (§4.2.3) and prepositions (§7.2.9), shows its versatility again when it finds use as a negative marker on verbs. Perhaps the simplest expression of prohibition is made in this way, implying don't do this or that. To add weight to the prohibition the verb *je<sup>k</sup>* 'refuse' (which can also be *ja<sup>k</sup>*) can be placed in front of the verb already prefixed by <sup>?</sup>a-, as seen below.

|                                                     |                          |
|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| ?a-wε <sup>k</sup> ma-tuuy                          | 'don't go over there'    |
| ?a-ko'od na-na <sup>k</sup>                         | 'don't take that'        |
| jε <sup>k</sup> ?a-wε <sup>k</sup> !                | 'refuse, don't go!'      |
| ja <sup>k</sup> ?a-re <sup>k</sup> -na <sup>k</sup> | 'don't do it like that!' |

A more gentle prohibition is implied by the word <sup>?</sup>a-wed (the root word *wed* seems not to be in use), meaning 'let it be' or 'leave it'. It is placed either following a verb, to help the suggestion stand, by saying, 'go ahead' or 'do it first', or it occurs alone in an extended form.

|              |                     |
|--------------|---------------------|
| pօօc ?a-wed  | 'wait a minute'     |
| do'ol ?a-wed | 'put it down first' |
| ?a-wedih     | 'hang on'           |

Another, very common, form of prohibition is made with the word <sup>?</sup>ago<sup>k</sup> 'don't' (the root *go<sup>k</sup>* is not found in use), which precedes the verb. The word is used to assert prevention, regarding something going on or an action that is likely about to happen.

|                                   |               |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| ?ago <sup>k</sup> yaap            | 'don't cry'   |
| ?ago <sup>k</sup> we <sup>k</sup> | 'don't go'    |
| ?ago <sup>k</sup> ko'od           | 'don't take'  |
| ?ago <sup>k</sup> lug             | 'don't laugh' |

### 8.1.8 Emphatic

The emphatic form in Temiar borrows directly from the Malay emphatic, *lah*, and is used in much the same way, post sentence, to express agreement: *høy lah* 'none then'. It is also found cliticised with the succinct pronoun markers <sup>?</sup>a- and *ha-* (the latter possibly being reduced from the succinct 2SG *ha-*) and in this form it denotes the inevitability of action or circumstance. Thus, <sup>?</sup>a-lah is used to express something that happened, or will most likely happen, by a third party and outside of the speaker's control. The other form, *halah*, is used in a similar sense, to express something that was or inevitably will be done by the referred, also outside of the speaker's ability to prevent it. Both emphatics are

placed at sentence end. The uncliticised form is also joined with the adverb *ka<sup>k</sup>dih* ‘actually’ (see §7.4.1), to form an expression, as shown below.

|                                 |                         |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>na<sup>k</sup> ?ə-lah</i>    | ‘that’s done it!'       |
| <i>?adii<sup>k</sup> ?ə-lah</i> | ‘that will do then'     |
| <i>nə-wε<sup>k</sup> ?ə-lah</i> | ‘she went then'         |
| <i>ham-?oog halah</i>           | ‘you will give it then' |
| <i>lah ka<sup>k</sup>dih</i>    | ‘it is indeed'          |

### 8.1.9 Affirmatives

The simplest expression of agreement in Temiar is made with the word *həə<sup>k</sup>*. This word, similar to “yes” in English, is often followed by certain words that help carry more of the speaker’s thought about the subject being mentioned.

|                                                      |                     |
|------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>həə<sup>k</sup> rε<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup></i> | ‘yes, like that’    |
| <i>həə<sup>k</sup> ?ə-sa<sup>k</sup>dih</i>          | ‘yes, that’s why’   |
| <i>həə<sup>k</sup> mo<sup>k</sup></i>                | ‘yes, there is’     |
| <i>həə<sup>k</sup> t’had</i>                         | ‘yes, that’s right’ |

*Həə<sup>k</sup>* may also be appended to a statement in order to ask for confirmation. The speaker uses *həə<sup>k</sup>* in this manner hoping that the statement is true.

|                                                    |                           |
|----------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>na-?oog ma-hāā<sup>k</sup> həə<sup>k</sup>?</i> | ‘he gave it to you, yes?’ |
| <i>ha-lex həə<sup>k</sup>?</i>                     | ‘you know, yes?’          |

The demonstrative dih, a form or doh ‘this’, is used to denote that something, that was just thought of or mentioned by another, is correct. The word *ka<sup>k</sup>dih* ‘then it is so’ is used when something happens, and denotes ‘whenever’: *ka<sup>k</sup>dih na-?oōj na-bertoōx!* ‘whenever it comes in it makes a noise!’

|                               |                    |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>həə<sup>k</sup> ?a-dih</i> | ‘yes, that’s it’   |
| <i>həə<sup>k</sup> la-dih</i> | ‘yes, it is so’    |
| <i>had ?a-dih</i>             | ‘yes, it’s enough’ |

As noted already, in §5.4.2, prepositional 3SG pronouns *?ə-doh* and *?ə-na<sup>k</sup>* receive roundedness to its front clitic, as *?o-doh* or *?o-na<sup>k</sup>*, to denote affirmation. The 3PL pronouns also fit into this usage well, due to their already rounded front clitic vowel. the lexeme *lo<sup>k</sup>* ‘what’ joins with the pronoun to add affirmation, as to say ‘look’.

|                              |                   |                                          |                          |
|------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>?o-doh</i>                | ‘this is it’      | <i>lo<sup>k</sup> ?o-na<sup>k</sup></i>  | ‘that’s the one’         |
| <i>doh ?o-doh</i>            | ‘here this is it’ | <i>lo<sup>k</sup> ?om-doh</i>            | ‘yes these are the ones’ |
| <i>lo<sup>k</sup> ?o-doh</i> | ‘yes this is it’  | <i>lo<sup>k</sup> ?om-na<sup>k</sup></i> | ‘those are the ones’     |

### 8.1.10 Negation

The negative participle, *to<sup>k</sup>*, is used in conjunction with verbs and adjectives, in the common verb clause, to negate an activity or description. It is not used with nouns (see *høy* below).The first of these two is used to negate the verb: *to<sup>k</sup> yi-lex* ‘I don’t know’.

|                                                    |                   |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>to<sup>k</sup> bolih ?ε-wε<sup>k</sup></i>      | ‘we can’t go’     |
| <i>to<sup>k</sup> yi-nεeh</i>                      | ‘I haven’t seen’  |
| <i>to<sup>k</sup> ha-lex</i>                       | ‘you don’t know’  |
| <i>to<sup>k</sup> me<sup>j</sup></i>               | ‘not good’        |
| <i>to<sup>k</sup> cεbkùb=</i>                      | ‘not enough’      |
| <i>to<sup>k</sup> me<sup>k</sup>mo<sup>k</sup></i> | ‘there isn’t any’ |

The negative *høy* is used to negate possibility or existence, in statements and answers to questions of can you?, are you? is there? etc., as shown below.

| <i>Question</i>                        |                       | <i>Answer</i> |                |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>ha-nεeh?</i>                        | ‘can you see it?’     | <i>høy</i>    | ‘no’           |
| <i>ma-loo<sup>k</sup>?</i>             | ‘where to?’           | <i>høy</i>    | ‘nowhere’      |
| <i>mo<sup>k</sup> kaa<sup>k</sup>?</i> | ‘are there any fish?’ | <i>høy</i>    | ‘there’s none’ |

The word *høy* can be placed detached from the clause to the left, or sometimes to the right. This construct often creates a negative repetition, where the two negatives do not cancel each other out.

|                                              |                          |
|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>høy, cə-na-na<sup>k</sup></i>             | ‘none with her’          |
| <i>høy, cə-re<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup></i> | ‘no chance in that case’ |
| <i>høy, to<sup>k</sup> mo<sup>k</sup></i>    | ‘no, there’s none’       |
| <i>høy, to<sup>k</sup> yi-lex</i>            | ‘no, I don’t know’       |
| <i>to<sup>k</sup> na-lex, høy</i>            | ‘he doesn’t know, no’    |
| <i>høy, to<sup>k</sup> mo<sup>k</sup></i>    | ‘no, there’s none’       |

When the intitative marker is attached to the verb, the negation gives the sense of ‘will never’, as shown below.

|                                         |                               |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>to<sup>k</sup> nam-lex</i>           | ‘he’ll never know’            |
| <i>heyhøy, to<sup>k</sup> ?εm-dapad</i> | ‘no way, we’ll never get any’ |

The word, *be<sup>k</sup>bo<sup>k</sup>* ‘contrary’, denotes that something is not the right one, and is often used in response to someone or when describing an object. The Malay borrow word *bukan* is used as an objection, to counter an assertion, and it should precede an adjective or a clause (see §8.1.2). Use of the word alone in a response would follow the Malay usage and not the Temiar.

|                                                                      |                               |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>be<sup>k</sup>bo<sup>k</sup> cə-re<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup></i> | ‘it’s not (proper) like that’ |
| <i>bukan= re<sup>k</sup>-na<sup>k</sup></i>                          | ‘not like that’               |
| <i>bukan= yi-cen</i>                                                 | ‘it’s not (that) I want’      |
| <i>bukan= yím-wε<sup>k</sup></i>                                     | ‘I wasn’t going’              |

The word *tah* is used to express not knowing about something, as well as the expressive *jaløøh* ‘who knows?’, while the word *ka<sup>k</sup>* ‘whether,’ can be used to express that one is not sure whether something is, or has done something.

|                                                 |                              |
|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>tah re<sup>k</sup>-loøø<sup>k</sup></i>      | ‘don’t know how’             |
| <i>tah ma-loo<sup>k</sup> na-wε<sup>k</sup></i> | ‘don’t know where he’s gone’ |
| <i>ka<sup>k</sup> mo<sup>k</sup> k'-høy</i>     | ‘whether there is or not’    |

|                                                     |                        |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| ka <sup>k</sup> dih ney                             | 'as if only one'       |
| ?e-roo <sup>k</sup> ka <sup>k</sup> mo <sup>k</sup> | 'we thought there was' |

## 8.2 Conjunctives

---

Temiar has a large set of conjunctive words used for coordinating phrases, including nearly a dozen indigenous words and well over a dozen borrow words. Of native words, by far the most frequently used, and which are additive in nature, are bo<sup>k</sup> 'and', da<sup>k</sup> 'then', and ka<sup>k</sup> 'perhaps' (already noted in §7.4.2 and §7.4.6 as 'whether'). There are also the words ?at 'and then', he<sup>k</sup>dih 'and so', and sùd 'as well as'. A temporal is k'rèk 'after', while tikaak 'in case', is subordinate and always points to the reason something should be done. The conditionals cə-ge<sup>k</sup> 'like if', is used to suggest a possibility, while ?a-dih (already mentioned in affirmatives, in §8.1.9) 'as if', is used to speculate whether something happened and k'da<sup>k</sup> 'as if' is used to say something would never happen.

Of words borrowed from Malay, the additives sama<sup>k</sup> 'with' and lagii<sup>k</sup> 'even more', and temporals bíl 'when' and l'pas 'after' are frequently used, as is the disjunctive word kəh 'or'. Others are subordinate in nature, with causals baruu<sup>k</sup> 'now', jadii<sup>k</sup> 'because of that' and s'bab 'because', conditionals kalow 'if' and tida<sup>k</sup> 'if not', the comparative s'daj 'even' and rational tapii<sup>k</sup> 'but'. There are even more borrow words in use, such as k'cuwaliik 'except', k'nah 'have to', t'pulaj 'up to', ?untu<sup>k</sup> 'for', and walupun 'even though', and there might well be some others!

Additives tend to sit between clauses or phrases, but a first clause is not always needed and so the coordinator word often begins the sentence. Subordinate clauses may either precede or follow the main clause, but again, the main clause is often dropped completely. There is also a set of conjunctive adverbs (see §7.2.5) which are used to qualify the phrase, as being more true than another phrase, or for promoting a reason for something.

### Indigenous words

|                     |                                           |                                |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| ?a-dih              | ?a-dih ?om-lex                            | 'as if they know'              |
| ?at                 | ?at na-je <sup>k</sup> !                  | 'and then she didn't want it!' |
| bo <sup>k</sup>     | wə <sup>k</sup> bo <sup>k</sup> nəeh      | 'go and see'                   |
| cə-ge <sup>k</sup>  | cə-ge <sup>k</sup> ha-buu <sup>k</sup>    | 'like if you see'              |
| da <sup>k</sup>     | mamūh da <sup>k</sup> māāk                | 'bathe then come back'         |
| he <sup>k</sup> dih | he <sup>k</sup> dih hoj sōoj              | 'and so it's finished'         |
| ka <sup>k</sup>     | ?en-B'tus ka <sup>k</sup> mo <sup>k</sup> | 'maybe there's one in B'tus'   |
| k'da <sup>k</sup>   | k'da <sup>k</sup> ?om-siir                | 'as if they would share'       |
| k'rèk               | k'rèk ?ə-na <sup>k</sup> yi-loōs          | 'after that I returned'        |
| sùd                 | sùd ?ee <sup>k</sup> ?en-?anuh            | 'as well as us right here'     |
| tikaak              | koord tikaak nilo <sup>k</sup>            | 'take it in case of anything'  |

### Borrowed words

|                      |                                              |                               |
|----------------------|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| ?untu <sup>k</sup> = | na-doh ?untu <sup>k</sup> yakaal             | 'this is for later'           |
| baruu <sup>k</sup> = | baruu <sup>k</sup> ham-lex!                  | 'now you know!'               |
| bíl=                 | yi-nəeh bíl ?aar                             | 'I saw when we two'           |
| jadii <sup>k</sup> = | jadii <sup>k</sup> yi-wə <sup>k</sup> ma-doh | 'because of that I came here' |
| kalow=               | kalow ha-cen                                 | 'if you like'                 |

|                          |                                                            |                                  |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| kəh=                     | mo <sup>k</sup> kəh həy?                                   | 'got or not?'                    |
| k'cuwalii <sup>k</sup> = | k'cuwalii <sup>k</sup> na-jε <sup>k</sup>                  | 'except she refuses'             |
| k'nəh=                   | k'nəh wε <sup>k</sup> həjε <sup>k</sup>                    | 'have to go too'                 |
| lagii <sup>k</sup> =     | lagii <sup>k</sup> to <sup>k</sup> na-caal                 | 'even more, he didn't say'       |
| l'pas=                   | l'pas na <sup>k</sup> ham-gít ?oox                         | 'after that you can fetch water' |
| sama <sup>k</sup> =      | hāñ <sup>k</sup> sama <sup>k</sup> yih <sup>k</sup>        | 'you with me'                    |
| s'bab=                   | na-caa <sup>k</sup> s'bab na-c'rō <sup>k</sup>             | 'he ate because he was hungry'   |
| s'daj=                   | s'daj yih <sup>k</sup> to <sup>k</sup> yi-caa <sup>k</sup> | 'even I, I don't eat'            |
| tapii <sup>k</sup> =     | me <sup>j</sup> tapii <sup>k</sup> la <sup>j</sup> əs      | 'it's good but it's bad'         |
| tida <sup>k</sup> =      | tida <sup>k</sup> yi-wε <sup>k</sup> ?a-tεε <sup>k</sup>   | 'if not I would have gone'       |
| t'pulan                  | t'pulan na-na <sup>k</sup>                                 | 'up to him/hes'                  |
| walupun                  | walupun to <sup>k</sup> ?ε-lex                             | 'even though we don't know'      |

The word bo<sup>k</sup> is not readily used for making long lists of items, as 'and' does in English, but it is predominantly used to join two clauses. It is also used to denote 'then' as is seen in the examples of comparatives in §7.2.3. The word da<sup>k</sup> is often used together with an imperative or an interrogative, as well as with adjectives and verb clauses as shown in the examples below.

|                                            |                          |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| da <sup>k</sup> caa <sup>k</sup>           | 'so eat it'              |
| da <sup>k</sup> ?oog                       | 'so give it'             |
| da <sup>k</sup> na-wε <sup>k</sup> kəh həy | 'so he's gone or not'    |
| da <sup>k</sup> ho-t'el?                   | 'so have you done it?'   |
| da <sup>k</sup> pəy?                       | 'so how?'                |
| da <sup>k</sup> coo <sup>k</sup> ?         | 'so who?'                |
| da <sup>k</sup> mar?                       | 'then how is it enough?' |
| da <sup>k</sup> me <sup>j</sup>            | 'so it [will be] good'   |
| da <sup>k</sup> ha-lex                     | 'then you know'          |

# Appendix 1

## A comparison of Temiar and Semai lexicon

The word lists here are certainly not exhaustive of the two languages but they do contain all the common words. Comparison is limited to the Temiar and Semai words I have recorded, and I have many words of each which have no equivalent word of the other, due to different research environments and different areas of interest from my respondents. Also, my Semai words probably amount to only a third of the Temiar I have and also I have not compared ideophones, except for one or two, as I hardly have any for the Semai. Neither have I compared every name of species, of which there are many that could be added, especially of trees, to the lists of congruous words. Out of 1300 words here, close to half of them (45%) are in the first four lists, of words congruous in both structure and semantics. Out of this segment, over half of them, or a third of the whole (28%) share close congruity. A further tenth (12%) of these words can be described as semi-congruous, in that they have similar structure across Temiar and Semai but their uses have diverged and are not equal. This gives us a good half (57%) congruity between the two languages (at least in their lexicon), which is a clear indication of how much language is shared between them.

The Semai dialect that I recorded words from is that spoken at the B'taer River, in the highlands of Pahang. There are a dozen dialects of Semai and therefore there could be many words to add here if the other dialects were also researched. However, the Pahang Semai carries perhaps more similar morphology to Kelantan Temiar than Perak Semai dialects.

Refer to §1.3 and §2.3.1 for more description of what these lists contain. A list of similar and dissimilar pronouns and prepositions can be found in §1.3.2, the contents of which is not repeated here.

| Page | List                     | Word count | %<br>of total | Sub-totals |               | %<br>of total |
|------|--------------------------|------------|---------------|------------|---------------|---------------|
|      |                          |            |               | Count      | %<br>of total |               |
| 144  | Congruous words - List A | 144        | 11            | 599        | 45.76         |               |
| 145  | Congruous words - List B | 219        | 16.73         |            |               |               |
| 148  | Congruous words - List C | 153        | 11.69         |            |               |               |
| 149  | Congruous words - List D | 83         | 6.34          |            |               |               |
| 150  | Semi-congruous words     | 153        | 11.69         | 752        | 57.45         |               |
| 154  | Incongruous words        | 423        | 32.31         |            |               |               |
| 158  | Native and borrow words  | 134        | 10.24         |            |               |               |
|      | Total                    | 1309       |               |            |               |               |

### Congruous words List A

These words are equal in both semantics and word structure.

| <i>Temiar</i>       | <i>Semai</i>        | <i>English</i>     |  | <i>duul</i>        | <i>dool</i>         | knife handle    |
|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| ?ansoɔh             | ?ansoh              | go slowly          |  | d'koh              | d'koh               | wild jack fruit |
| ?ataajn             | ?ataj               | tiger              |  | gah                | gah                 | news            |
| ?ayat               | ?ayat               | kind               |  | geel               | geel                | withhold        |
| ?oog                | ?og                 | give               |  | gic                | gic                 | quickly         |
| ?ɔɔs                | ?ɔɔs                | fire               |  | guul               | guul                | mortar          |
| bakad               | bakaad              | scar               |  | halaa <sup>k</sup> | halaak <sup>k</sup> | power           |
| bakoɔ <sup>k</sup>  | bakoo <sup>k</sup>  | monkey trap        |  | hol                | hoɔl                | grave           |
| balu <sup>k</sup>   | balu <sup>k</sup>   | widow              |  | hiir               | heer                | drag            |
| bawurr              | bawur               | fishing rod        |  | jajaa <sup>k</sup> | jajaa <sup>k</sup>  | old woman       |
| bær                 | bær                 | edible ferns       |  | jæl                | jéł                 | bark and chase  |
| biraay              | biraay              | magpie-robin       |  | jɔɔd               | jod                 | smoke tobacco   |
| biyeeeg             | biyeeeg             | white              |  | j'hueud            | j'huud              | draw in         |
| bus                 | buus                | sugarcane          |  | j'lir              | j'lir               | rub soap        |
| b'ʔaag              | b'ʔaag              | high water         |  | j'ʔoɔy             | j'ʔoɔy              | many            |
| b'hiik <sup>k</sup> | b'hiik <sup>k</sup> | satisfied          |  | j'rəs              | j'rəs               | thick/solid     |
| b'kah               | b'kah               | crack              |  | kareh              | kareh               | dry             |
| b'koor              | b'kuur              | murky              |  | karoɔy             | karoɔy              | finished        |
| b'laaw              | b'laaw              | blowpipe           |  | karuu <sup>k</sup> | karoo <sup>k</sup>  | dead bamboo     |
| b'rasoŋj            | b'rasoŋj            | drizzle            |  | kayii <sup>k</sup> | kayii <sup>k</sup>  | flying fox      |
| b'lo <sup>k</sup>   | b'lo <sup>k</sup>   | parent-in-law      |  | kaa <sup>k</sup>   | ka <sup>k</sup>     | fish            |
| b'taar              | b'taar              | tree bean          |  | kaas               | koɔs                | scrape          |
| cabøl               | cabøol              | tree sp.           |  | kerpuŋ             | kərpunj             | surround        |
| cah                 | cah                 | meranti tree       |  | keε <sup>k</sup>   | keε <sup>k</sup>    | search          |
| catuu <sup>k</sup>  | catu <sup>k</sup>   | collect            |  | kuwaac             | kuwεec              | rake            |
| caa <sup>k</sup>    | ca <sup>k</sup>     | eat                |  | kuuy               | kuy                 | head            |
| caal                | caal                | say                |  | k'həs              | k'həs               | sigh            |
| caar                | car                 | hack ends          |  | k'moɔŋj            | k'moɔŋj             | lower leg       |
| ce <sup>k</sup>     | ceε <sup>k</sup>    | louse              |  | k'toɔŋj            | k'toŋj              | chop wood       |
| coɔs                | coɔs                | weave ring         |  | leet               | leet                | vulva           |
| c'ʔeg               | c'ʔeg               | giant gecko        |  | los                | loos                | pick off a bone |
| c'buur              | c'bær               | latex              |  | loy                | loɔy                | reach           |
| c'daaw              | c'daaw              | rainbow            |  | loɔs               | loɔs                | come back       |
| c'koh               | c'koh               | upset              |  | lut                | lut                 | grow            |
| c'mees              | c'mees              | rattan variety     |  | luwag              | luwag               | mountain pass   |
| c'naal              | c'nal               | story              |  | luwaa <sup>k</sup> | luwa <sup>k</sup>   | fruit creeper   |
| c'ŋiis              | c'ŋiis              | foul smell         |  | luweey             | luweey              | honey bees      |
| c'ŋol               | c'ŋol               | a glow             |  | l'ŋsic             | l'ŋsic              | gums            |
| c'rəs               | c'rəs               | ribs               |  | manah              | manah               | old             |
| c'rət               | c'rət               | splice sapling     |  | maŋaay             | maŋaay              | scorpion        |
| dees                | des                 | track an animal    |  | meem               | meem                | breast          |
| doɔl                | doɔl                | put                |  | moɔŋj              | moj                 | go into         |
| doɔr                | doɔr                | move               |  | noŋj               | noɔŋj               | path            |
| doot                | doot                | great grand-parent |  | noy                | nuy                 | copulate        |
| duu <sup>k</sup>    | duu <sup>k</sup>    | clobber            |  | ŋoħ                | ŋoħ                 | kindle fire     |

|                     |                     |                     |                    |                    |                |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| ŋoob                | ŋoɔp                | bend down           | sɔɔr               | sɔɔr               | thin out       |
| ŋoɔy                | ŋoɔy                | a smell             | suuj               | suj                | wash           |
| paap                | paap                | warm by fire        | suy                | suy                | remaining      |
| paay                | paay                | new                 | s'ŋɛc              | s'ŋic              | cold           |
| p'ləuw              | p'ləew              | jump in water       | taboħ              | taboh              | hole in a tree |
| poh                 | poh                 | open s.t.           | tadəs              | tadəs              | stumble        |
| p'suu <sup>k</sup>  | p'suu <sup>k</sup>  | use magic           | tajuu <sup>k</sup> | taju <sup>k</sup>  | snake          |
| r'guul              | r'guul              | tualang tree        | takukur            | təkukur            | spotted dove   |
| ríc                 | ríc                 | tear with teeth     | tagees             | tagees             | keranji tree   |
| r'laay              | r'laay              | python              | tanoŋ              | tanoŋ              | dragonfly      |
| roo <sup>k</sup>    | roo <sup>k</sup>    | scold               | tataa <sup>k</sup> | tataa <sup>k</sup> | old man        |
| roo <sup>j</sup>    | roj                 | pull out            | taaw               | taaw               | alight         |
| ruuy                | ruuy                | scatter             | tiloŋ              | tiloŋ              | water rat trap |
| r'waay              | ruwaay              | spirit/soul         | t'laas             | t'laas             | get free       |
| sæl                 | səl                 | large land tortoise | t'loor             | t'loor             | convey water   |
| sej                 | sej                 | meat                | t'ŋoɔr             | t'ŋoɔr             | migraine       |
| səntəb              | səntəb              | hit on end          | t'rees             | t'rees             | neaten ends    |
| seŋkoɔ <sup>k</sup> | seŋko <sup>k</sup>  | peel                | ʔuuy               | ʔuuy               | do             |
| see <sup>k</sup>    | see <sup>k</sup>    | wrong               | walah              | walah              | none           |
| s'gíil              | s'gíil              | stroke              | waa <sup>k</sup>   | wa <sup>k</sup>    | aunt-younger   |
| símpor              | símpur              | tree sp.            | waal               | waal               | firemound      |
| siir                | siir                | share out           | weel               | weel               | coil           |
| s'laak <sup>k</sup> | s'laak <sup>k</sup> | leaf                | woo <sup>k</sup>   | woo <sup>k</sup>   | to peel        |
| s'maajn             | s'maajn             | ask                 | wooy               | wooy               | a kingfisher   |
| s'ŋe <sup>k</sup>   | s'ŋe <sup>k</sup>   | quiet               | yah                | yah                | daylight       |
| sɔr                 | sɔr                 | cockroach           | yoh                | yoh                | wobble         |
| sɔo <sup>k</sup>    | sɔ <sup>k</sup>     | rot                 | yooɔs              | yooɔs              | give birth     |
| sɔɔl                | sɔɔl                | stopper hole        |                    |                    |                |

### Congruous words List B

These words are equal in semantics and very similar in word structure, with only slight variation of a vowel sound, or an exchange of similar consonant (p/b, p/m, g/x), or added consonant to then front of the word.

| Temiar               | Semai   | English        | baroh   | barəh   | lowland      |
|----------------------|---------|----------------|---------|---------|--------------|
| ?abat                | ?aban   | cloth          | baax    | baam    | beard        |
| ?awaat               | ?awaan  | bamboo pole    | begsig  | bəxsíx  | mating       |
| ?eg <sup>a</sup> aag | ?əx'aax | crow           | beltop  | b'ltom  | roof palm    |
| ?εj                  | ?ɛc     | stomach/feces  | beex    | beenj   | outside      |
| ?əmpiid              | ?əmpad  | spitting cobra | bísík   | bərsík  | whisper      |
| ?endral              | ndrel   | black cicada   | bɔd     | bəd     | disinclined  |
| ?eyuw                | ?eew    | don't know     | b'ɔd    | bat     | tie at waist |
| ?εen                 | ?aajn   | carry          | b'cox   | b'coŋ   | mouse deer   |
| ?ɔɔs                 | c'ooɔs  | firewood       | b'coɔd  | b'coɔt  | disgusted    |
| badoox               | b'doɔŋ  | jelutong tree  | b'gəh   | b'gut   | break        |
| balox                | baloŋ   | beak           | b'gorix | b'goriŋ | a heap       |
| balut                | balun   | wrap           | b'híij  | b'hεenj | itchy        |

|                     |                     |                |                    |                     |                 |
|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| b'ho'j              | b'oh'o'c            | out of reach   | g'relyuuł          | g'rayul             | shaking         |
| cak'o'b             | c'ko'op             | bark           | g'toḥ              | toḥ                 | spit            |
| cap                 | cam                 | pack a bag     | halo <sup>k</sup>  | halə <sup>k</sup>   | exp. never mind |
| carax               | caraj               | celosia flower | hax                | haŋ                 | heal up         |
| cəb                 | c'üp                | set in ground  | haŋoð <sup>k</sup> | haŋo <sup>k</sup>   | lightweight     |
| cəəb                | cəəp                | multiply       | həə <sup>k</sup>   | hə <sup>k</sup> əəh | yes             |
| cəg                 | cəh                 | tear           | helhal             | h'lhal              | in need         |
| celdorəl            | c'ldəl              | sprout leaves  | hey                | hay                 | scream          |
| cemreem             | c'mreem             | left-overs     | həex               | həeŋ                | fly             |
| cenro'o's           | c'nro'o's           | nails          | ho'oł              | ho'oł               | whistle         |
| centaag             | c'ntaa <sup>k</sup> | fork in path   | huuj               | huc                 | sip soup        |
| cəŋ'aanj            | c'ŋ'aanj            | agape          | jag                | jax                 | tread on        |
| cəp                 | cəem                | bird           | jeŋ                | jeε <sup>k</sup>    | pull            |
| cərkoob             | jərk'o'p            | cover          | jeex               | jeŋ                 | adze            |
| ciib                | ciip                | go/move        | jɔɔg               | jəx                 | relocate        |
| cɔx                 | cɔŋ                 | cut            | jùx                | juŋ                 | foot            |
| cōð <sup>k</sup>    | co <sup>k</sup>     | make a pet     | j'ŋεεŋ             | j'ŋaaŋ              | bone            |
| cɔdg                | cɔox                | jab strands    | j'kus              | kuus                | porcupine       |
| cɔoŋ                | to'oŋ               | to hammer      | j'lax              | j'laŋ               | mahogany        |
| cɔɔr                | cɔøy                | thread         | j'ŋoðg             | j'ŋon               | look            |
| ciyoŋ               | tiyoŋ               | minor bird     | j'rū <sup>k</sup>  | j'rī <sup>k</sup>   | deep            |
| cuko <sup>k</sup>   | cuk'o's             | dig out        | kab                | kap                 | bite            |
| culíŋ               | c'líŋ               | cross-eyed     | kadoɔ <sup>k</sup> | k'dəə <sup>k</sup>  | fishing hook    |
| cuwādā <sup>k</sup> | cuwaanj             | stomach cramp  | kakūuh             | kahkuuh             | white hornbill  |
| cuwaas              | c'wø'o's            | dig a thorn    | karaax             | k'raanj             | orchid          |
| c'duup              | c'duum              | curlle         | karəoł             | kuroł               | knee            |
| c'kod               | c'kot               | fasten         | kəd                | kət                 | womb            |
| c'ləx               | cərləŋ              | red            | kəl                | kol                 | fall over       |
| c'ndɔɔ <sup>k</sup> | c'ndoo'n            | lean against   | kəp                | kəm                 | obtain          |
| c'ruux              | c'ruŋ               | water plants   | kelkeel            | k'lkeel             | ankle           |
| dab                 | dap                 | lay out        | kenyεεx            | k'nyεεŋ             | wing            |
| daloox              | dalooŋ              | green lizard   | ko <sup>k</sup>    | kəə <sup>k</sup>    | vomit           |
| dəər                | dər                 | lay poles      | kəoł               | kəoł                | take            |
| dəmdəp              | d'mdəəm             | camp out       | kəoḥ               | ko                  | spiny turtle    |
| diix                | dəeŋ                | home           | kuuh               | kəh                 | hit             |
| døøg                | dø'o'x              | dart poison    | k'ŋāj              | ta <sup>ʔ</sup> āc  | wet             |
| gəp                 | gəm                 | paint face     | k'εeb              | k'εep               | centipede       |
| gəəl                | gəey                | sit            | k'boox             | k'bun               | short python    |
| gercoh              | gərcoh              | hit log embers | k'deg              | k'dec               | bitter          |
| gerhaar             | gərhaar             | fruiting tree  | k'hoøy             | kihøøy              | yawn            |
| gerhem              | gərhəm              | clear throat   | k'jot              | k'njot              | tiptoes         |
| gertas              | gərtas              | plastic bag    | k'laat             | k'lad               | red bean tree   |
| gij <sup>k</sup>    | giit                | wipe           | k'lō <sup>k</sup>  | k'looh              | dig s.t. out    |
| gís                 | gih                 | scratch        | k'laax             | k'laŋ               | eagle           |
| guíp                | góm                 | sift husk      | k'nøøm             | nøøm                | urinate         |
| gool                | gəəl                | pool           | k'rag              | k'rax               | harden/freeze   |
| go'b                | gøp                 | Malay          | k'rotaap           | k'rintap            | muscly          |
| gulap               | gulam               | shoulder s.t.  | k'roox             | karəəŋ              | shiver          |
| guníg               | guni <sup>k</sup>   | dream guide    | k'yool             | kiyəəl              | bamboo variety  |
| guu <sup>k</sup>    | giik                | fell a tree    |                    |                     |                 |

|                    |                                  |                     |                     |                    |                  |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| lalɛɛ <sup>k</sup> | la <sup>k</sup> lɛɛ <sup>k</sup> | play chase          | sɛmpur              | s'mpur             | stroke           |
| lat                | lan                              | wind around         | ssendrey            | s'nrey             | virgin           |
| lawɛ <sup>k</sup>  | lawɛ <sup>k</sup>                | mix                 | səntool             | s'ntool            | body hair        |
| laab               | laap                             | wash face           | sənyօtŋ             | səs'nyօtŋ          | quiet            |
| laar               | laal                             | stick out tongue    | sejloox             | s'jlooŋ            | fortune          |
| ləg                | ləx                              | dart quiver         | siih                | seh                | pound            |
| leg                | lex                              | tickle              | siij                | siih               | nasal mucous     |
| ləntaag            | l'ntaa <sup>k</sup>              | tongue              | soob                | suup               | lungs            |
| ləŋlox             | l'ŋloŋ                           | hole                | sɔcg                | sɔtx               | hair             |
| litaax             | litaŋ                            | cross-wise          | sɔg                 | sɔx                | stuck            |
| liyaax             | liyaŋ                            | bamboo variety      | sɔh                 | sooh               | pull out         |
| liig               | liim                             | swallow             | sɔd                 | soot               | dried up         |
| log                | lox                              | wear                | sūg                 | sux                | shine lamp       |
| lug                | lux                              | laugh               | s'ke <sup>k</sup>   | s'kii <sup>k</sup> | pandanus         |
| l'sap              | l'sam                            | wet weather         | s'lap               | s'lam              | dive             |
| mad                | mat                              | eye                 | s'líj               | s'líc              | slippery         |
| məəh               | moh                              | nose                | s'morr              | las s'moor         | swarming ants    |
| mensaaw            | m'nsaaw                          | son/daughter-in-law | s'paad              | s'pat              | tree sp.         |
| mo <sup>k</sup>    | moŋ                              | have                | s'toog              | s'toɔr             | rattan sp.       |
| moɔ <sup>k</sup>   | ?amoɔ <sup>k</sup>               | aunt-older          | tabəl               | t'bəl              | black bee        |
| müh                | məh                              | bathe               | tabeeg              | tabex              | bull frog        |
| nəeh               | nəeŋ                             | see                 | tado <sup>k</sup>   | cado <sup>k</sup>  | rest on          |
| pəə <sup>k</sup>   | pəəh                             | touch               | tajøol              | jøol               | hang             |
| pux                | puiŋ                             | inflate             | takoøy              | bicaay t'kooy      | angle-head       |
| penlaay            | p'nlaay                          | medicine            | lizard              |                    |                  |
| perlaay            | pərlaay                          | medicate            | tap                 | tam                | assemble         |
| perløy             | pərløy                           | star                | tarog               | taro <sup>k</sup>  | spear            |
| pøɔ'c              | pøɔŋ                             | wait                | taa'c               | taap               | weave            |
| p'ooł              | p'ooh                            | cook in bamboo      | tæg                 | têx                | undo             |
| p'ūūs              | p'ŋus                            | rotten smell        | təŋwaa <sup>k</sup> | tənwaŋ             | red-headed krait |
| p'led              | p'liit                           | scorching           | təc                 | b'təāc             | rotten           |
| p'løp              | p'ləm                            | leech               | te <sup>k</sup>     | tiik               | earth            |
| p'raŋas            | paaŋas                           | rack                | təŋyu <sup>k</sup>  | tinyə <sup>k</sup> | bear cat         |
| p'rat              | p'ran                            | bait                | tiw                 | teew               | river            |
| raŋkəəŋ            | raŋkoŋ                           | skinny              | tīŋøow              | tiyow              | look             |
| renŋeŋ             | r'ndenŋ                          | straight            | tii <sup>k</sup>    | jatii <sup>k</sup> | not yet          |
| roo <sup>k</sup>   | ro <sup>k</sup>                  | say                 | tiix                | təŋ                | hand             |
| roøp               | roøm                             | scoop out           | tutjaaj             | t'ntaŋ             | wide open        |
| rus                | r'iis                            | liver               | tæh                 | təh                | drop down        |
| r'yees             | r'ʔiis                           | roots               | t'biix              | t'biij             | full             |
| sab                | sap                              | snare trap          | t'hool              | t'ŋhool            | blow on ritual   |
| sabɔɔ <sup>k</sup> | sabə <sup>k</sup>                | suspect             | t'luuy              | t'ley              | banana           |
| sag                | sax                              | stuff in            | t'ŋəðs              | t'ŋaas             | a river fish     |
| sagùb              | sagup                            | cloud               | t'waal              | tuwal              | a barbet         |
| saməl              | s'ləməl                          | palm cotton         | wax                 | wɔx                | waist            |
| sādb               | saap                             | curse               | wəət                | wəən               | crawl            |
| səg                | səx                              | snag                | weej                | weel               | coil up          |
| səmpoŋ             | s'mpoŋ                           | honey               | woog                | woo <sup>k</sup>   | shadow           |

### Congruous words List C

These words are equal in semantics and very similar in word structure, with noticeable variation of consonant and vowel sound.

| <i>Temiar</i>         | <i>Semai</i>           | <i>English</i>   | <i>Temiar</i>         | <i>Semai</i>           | <i>English</i> |
|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| ?aləj                 | luj                    | last born son    | g'mayaak              | s'mayar                | tiny centipede |
| ?amēēk                | ?ameh                  | mother           | g'roh                 | k'rəh                  | shake s.t.     |
| ?amōɔ̄k               | mōor                   | serow            | g'suj                 | gərsic                 | rub            |
| ?apoɔ̄s               | l'mpoɔ̄s               | zingiber         | haas                  | cas                    | fume out       |
| ?aab                  | raa <sup>k</sup>       | tiger            | hīs                   | ?as                    | swell          |
| ?əniip                | nəəm                   | ripe             | hom                   | ?əŋhəm                 | breathe        |
| ?əŋ <sup>o</sup> wəŋ  | ?ooŋ                   | black hornet     | huwal                 | hōol                   | come out       |
| ?əŋūh                 | ŋəəh                   | heavy            | h'rəej                | s'rəc                  | cease raining  |
| ?enlaax               | ?ənlīj                 | a half           | jakaa <sup>k</sup>    | yəŋkaa <sup>k</sup>    | jaw            |
| ?oɔ̄ŋ                 | ŋoɔ̄t                  | drink            | jalaak                | jərla <sup>k</sup>     | thorn          |
| bə <sup>k</sup>       | bōo <sup>k</sup>       | carry in sling   | jaw <sup>i</sup> yeer | jawiir                 | swiftlet       |
| bəəh                  | bi <sup>k</sup>        | male             | jəs                   | həs                    | finished       |
| berpah                | gərpah                 | turn over        | je <sup>k</sup>       | ŋɛe <sup>k</sup>       | not want       |
| bii <sup>k</sup>      | bah                    | uncle-younger    | jii <sup>k</sup>      | pi <sup>k</sup>        | ill            |
| booc                  | bəəc                   | lick             | jiyees                | jiis                   | fruit tree     |
| bōd                   | bət                    | bend             | jo <sup>k</sup>       | ko <sup>k</sup>        | IMP. let's go  |
| b'hup                 | həəm                   | fart             | jut                   | juun                   | transport      |
| b'kaad                | b'kət                  | bitter-dry       | j'rū <sup>k</sup>     | c'rūj                  | long           |
| b'lap                 | b'loic                 | bland            | kalted                | g'ltet                 | flick          |
| b'ləəx                | p'ləŋ                  | remember         | karōow                | kariim                 | collect        |
| b'ruux                | b'ruul                 | EXP. s.t. breaks | kar'yed               | kariit                 | selfish        |
| b'yōog                | b'koɔ̄b                | white            | kāŋeb                 | k'nyiip                | blink          |
| ca? <sup>o</sup> et   | ?ət? <sup>o</sup> et   | house mouse      | kasōod                | las g'soo <sup>k</sup> | red ants       |
| caco <sup>k</sup>     | c'nōo <sup>k</sup>     | grandchild       | kayaa <sup>k</sup>    | kərjaak                | ginger         |
| candūg                | cəxdəx                 | hiccup           | kapiik                | kajŋo <sup>k</sup>     | flirt          |
| cəndut                | c'ndōoñ                | lean against     | kəp                   | kəat                   | bury           |
| ceŋkah                | yinkah                 | soot             | kōoc                  | kəən                   | uncle-older    |
| cōøy                  | cōo <sup>k</sup>       | gut fish         | kōop                  | cōot                   | gather up      |
| c'bōo <sup>c</sup>    | c'bii <sup>c</sup>     | watery eyes      | k'maay                | k'mōor                 | grub           |
| c'geg                 | c'ke <sup>x</sup>      | strangle         | k'mūūc                | kamoōm                 | suck           |
| c'gəap                | g'pgəap                | cave             | k'nyiim               | kəryim                 | smile          |
| c'kūū <sup>k</sup>    | c'koor                 | push             | k'pīj                 | kapāac                 | scratch        |
| c'ŋees                | c'ŋeem                 | pleasant smell   | k'rəek                | ka'roo <sup>k</sup>    | stun fish      |
| c'ralaan <sup>j</sup> | c'rəŋlaŋ <sup>j</sup>  | shiny            | k'roox                | karəəj                 | shiver         |
| c'ree <sup>k</sup>    | k'ree <sup>k</sup>     | point at         | k'r'huy               | huhuuy                 | hawk-eagle     |
| c'run                 | c'ruus                 | knock fruits     | k'seed                | kasōot                 | wart           |
| d'bōd                 | d'baax                 | step on          | k'weg                 | kuwaa <sup>k</sup>     | split open     |
| gahox                 | pahux                  | a hollow         | lasaar                | k'lasar                | giant bats     |
| gajwīj                | giwec                  | beckon           | luyec                 | luwiij                 | dizzy          |
| ger? <sup>o</sup> ep  | g'r'p? <sup>o</sup> ep | belch            | luwa <sup>k</sup>     | loo <sup>k</sup>       | penis          |
| g'cox                 | k'joo <sup>k</sup>     | gloomy           | l'gəab                | c'gəp                  | valley         |
| gərlīiŋ               | gərlit                 | roll over s.t.   | l'həej                | həər                   | melt           |
| gerhaag               | kərhā <sup>k</sup>     | cough up phlegm  | manaj                 | jalaanj                | barren         |
| g'umor                | kumur                  | gargle           | menhaar               | b'ŋhar                 | generous       |
|                       |                        |                  | mergees               | mərgas                 | wild beast     |

|                   |                      |                 |                      |                         |                   |
|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| merhiir           | məŋhiin              | confident       | siyεj                | siic                    | steal             |
| mōrōŋ             | b'nmōrōŋ             | a zingiber      | sorap                | sarōrōŋ                 | striped squirrel  |
| mōrōŋ             | l'muuŋ               | teeth           | sōrōr                | soj                     | sharpen end       |
| māl               | k'l'māl              | real            | suj                  | səac                    | sting             |
| ŋāāj              | ŋaam                 | chew            | s'kuwoōy             | sirooy                  | moth              |
| pantiil           | m'ntiil              | play area       | s'luman              | s'lēmbär                | fearless          |
| paag              | pal                  | slap            | s'muj                | cε <sup>k</sup> -s'nāac | wasp              |
| pənēd             | pīt                  | press           | s'mbaah              | s'mbey                  | flower pods       |
| pərluuy           | pərlōŋ               | joke            | s'rampa <sup>k</sup> | s'rampōŋ                | three-prong spear |
| po <sup>k</sup>   | b'rapoo <sup>k</sup> | dream           | s'regyoōg            | s'rayoōk <sup>k</sup>   | noisy             |
| paar              | jaar                 | run             | s'rōx                | s'ra <sup>k</sup>       | jungle            |
| pəd               | lēd                  | extinguish      | s'teey               | l'tey                   | calm water        |
| pēer              | bar                  | hand of bananas | tab                  | g'ntap                  | testicles         |
| poop              | kōop                 | lie on front    | tadox                | dax                     | hold out          |
| puka <sup>k</sup> | paŋkah               | throw           | tag'lōor             | t'ŋalaŋ                 | slip and fall     |
| pulēed            | putēēt               | twist           | talaay               | taluŋ                   | millipede         |
| pəul              | pət                  | fan a fire      | tanut                | tamuŋ                   | pile up           |
| p'iih             | p'əŋ                 | smell of blood  | taŋkol               | caŋol                   | hilltop           |
| p'lad             | p'lut                | sprout          | tapəer               | gərpəer                 | bat               |
| p'lēāŋ            | p'ləy                | awaken          | tasí <sup>k</sup>    | sii <sup>k</sup>        | try               |
| p'sad             | sat                  | wedge in crack  | tāhwhāh              | tawāh                   |                   |
| ragam             | raban                | disorderly      | rahreh               | hərhəer                 | a woodpecker      |
| regrīig           | rii <sup>k</sup>     | orphaned        | tawel                | tampel                  | slow loris        |
| renbōx            | r'boonj              | bamboo shoot    | təp                  | tōom                    | right side        |
| ruwab             | roop                 | accompany       | teŋtiix              | t'xtex                  | wriggle           |
| ruuj              | ro'c                 | get lost        | teeb                 | tēp                     | make mound        |
| r'seem            | l'seh                | drizzle         | tōŋgoor              | t'tajor                 | take ages         |
| r'way             | rooy                 | a fly           | tuh                  | ?adu <sup>k</sup>       | tell              |
| saleey            | c'ləey               | hang up         | tuul                 | toom                    | attract flies     |
| saar              | b'səah               | follow          | t'waag               | t'ruwax                 | over shoulder     |
| seed              | jēed                 | biting cricket  | wiix                 | wōrōŋ                   | bent              |
| sigət             | sirət                | shift up        | yap                  | c'riyaa <sup>k</sup>    | mend              |
|                   |                      |                 | yaap                 | jaam                    | cry               |

### Congruous words List D

These words are equal in semantics but their structures show significantly more divergence than the words in list C, above.

| Temiar             | Semai   | English          | buu <sup>k</sup>                   | b'ləh               | see      |
|--------------------|---------|------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|----------|
| ?ajɔɔ <sup>k</sup> | macoöt  | small            | b'lōod                             | jōrōŋ               | think    |
| ?aŋkōg             | kakox   | hang from branch | b'redleed                          | b'rətlet            | stripy   |
| ?apo <sup>k</sup>  | tapoŋ   | tobacco pouch    | b're <sup>k</sup> hii <sup>k</sup> | pərhii <sup>k</sup> | annoy    |
| ?arap              | kakap   | store away       | cabaax                             | caaŋ                | branch   |
| ?aweed             | wees    | leave it         | canteenj                           | j'líŋkíŋ            | roots    |
| barəew             | banrēet | tapir            | canuuŋ                             | hol t'ŋnoōŋ         | hammer   |
| berpah             | g'rapah | turn over        | caŋwoōj                            | kaŋkuwoōc           | wood-owl |
| bōd                | bəən    | fragrant leaves  | carəh                              | c'ləh               | descend  |

|            |               |                  |           |               |                  |
|------------|---------------|------------------|-----------|---------------|------------------|
| cawēēd     | cawōt         | wrap loins       | ləlwíl    | cawiil        | whirl            |
| ceŋlín     | loŋn          | wide-eyed        | len'ōos   | m'ncoo̥k      | fat of meat      |
| ceŋreeex   | k'nriit       | forearm          | lombęk    | ?uŋex         | meddle           |
| cerlaag    | c'cərlḁk     | eyes rolled up   | luut      | bahuut        | scoff            |
| cuwḁk     | coo̥k         | dog              | luwaar    | lupaas        | roof area        |
| c'god      | c'geh         | hard             | luut      | duun          | scoff            |
| c'liig     | cərlęe̥k      | roll the eyes    | ney       | nanḁk        | one              |
| dəmdup     | kadaap        | newts            | padiix    | s'mḁkdiik    | half full        |
| dəŋdīŋpaan | bəŋbərdíŋ     | huge             | pər       | lapəm         | feel in the dark |
| dudaw      | d'ŋdorj       | log bridge       | pօrc      | pijoøy        | watch            |
| gəncəl     | kacəh         | river source     | r'ŋo̥om   | ŋo̥op         | cloudy           |
| gentox     | ?əntaŋ        | ear              | səmpaal   | gombaak       | upper arm        |
| ger'yex    | g'rīiŋ        | water monitor    | sənparəən | s'ŋligəŋ      | abundant         |
| giij       | ŋəec          | burn             | sentík    | sano̥k        | numbness         |
| g'rax      | g'riim        | delicious        | s'rabùk   | kək'labor     | unclear          |
| g'sax      | radḁk        | go all over      | s'waar    | suwet         | throw            |
| halanwaar  | lanhoor       | loose            | taŋgooh   | tagəh         | knock            |
| hax        | hoŋŋ          | heal             | tapoar    | pal           | palm/sole        |
| howḁk     | b'hoo̥k       | prevent          | taroŋ     | tarəh         | contest          |
| jahən      | k'mhəm        | out of breath    | təb       | c'təŋŋ        | stump tubes      |
| jalíid     | ?o̥os kitləət | firefly          | te̥ktaḁk | rḁknaḁk     | adult            |
| jəeg       | j'toot        | stretch          | teŋhaweeŋ | b'raweeŋ-weeŋ | e.o. gone        |
| juwas      | jo̥os         | straighten       | togroh    | t'rooh        | a barbet         |
| j'mihęk    | j'lihex       | slanted          | t'go̥h    | c'kəät        | tight            |
| kanyoŋŋ    | kanaaŋ        | elbow            | t'lub     | tər'uuŋ       | cover the nose   |
| katūk      | toox          | land snail       | t'ŋul     | c'nəol        | house pile       |
| kaas       | k'riis        | scrape fur       | t'r'líis  | t'rəsg'rulís  | slip off         |
| kex        | tæx           | sound of a crack | t'reŋgoŋŋ | rər'ŋhoŋŋ     | clear            |
| kuman      | koon          | nephew/niece     | wəeg      | k'r'əec       | delay            |
| k'oom      | s'?əem        | warm             | wiil      | lawic         | swirl            |
| k'laad     | ?ikat         | grubs in bamboo  | yel       | wel           | left side        |
| k'lundùx   | g'rijkax      | bent over        | yoob      | lup           | overgrown        |
| ləey       | lilaay        | unroll           | yɔɔx      | giyøy         | wobble           |

### Semi-congruous words

These words show divergence of semantics, although the word structures are often equal or else very similar.

| Word (Tem./Sem.)  | Temiar meaning | Semai meaning | Temiar for the Semai |
|-------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------------|
| ?amaay            | fortune        | careful       | p'lenhaat            |
| ?aal/bḁal        | curse          | angry         | ke̥nii̥k             |
| ?aas              | hope           | shy           | s'ŋēēŋ               |
| ?ət/?ət           | to happen      | go out        | huwal                |
| ?el?aal/m'n?aal   | insulting      | unfriendly    | jəbkəb               |
| ?el?oɔl/?əl?oɔl   | hurry          | telling       | kərləh               |
| ?eŋkuu̥k/?əŋkuu̥k | thunder        | lightning     | kilad                |
| ?is/jis           | day            | new year      | tawün paay           |

|                                        |                    |                 |                   |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| ʔib/ʔip                                | sink               | suffocate       | s'loɔd            |
| ʔop/jɔb                                | heat food          | bake tubers     | toɔd              |
| ʔoɔx                                   | water              | give            | ʔoog              |
| ʔulah                                  | body               | face            | mad               |
| bagan                                  | wild durian        | camp            | kiim              |
| baree <sup>k</sup> /barii <sup>k</sup> | miserable          | rancid          | s"uux             |
| baas                                   | gather             | take a bite     | kab               |
| be <sup>k</sup> bo <sup>k</sup>        | another            | to ridicule     | balíc             |
| bii <sup>k</sup>                       | uncle-younger      | father          | dɔɔ <sup>k</sup>  |
| bot                                    | breast             | seize           | rɔɔt              |
| b'daal/b'dal                           | sprint             | throw           | takíil            |
| b'keed/b'keet                          | sweat              | hot             | bud               |
| b'kooh/b'koh                           | whitish            | white-haired    | b'koɔl            |
| b'la'əər/b'la'uur                      | leaf green         | pale green      | b'la'əəm          |
| b'raaw/c'raw                           | shower             | spray           | p'raay            |
| cab/cap                                | hug                | hold            | kuwap             |
| cabaax/c'baa <sup>k</sup>              | to branch          | river mouth     | boɔx              |
| cah                                    | clear bushes       | cut a swidden   | roh               |
| caaw                                   | sprinkle           | recite magic    | baca <sup>k</sup> |
| cəŋjur/cərcanor                        | huge               | fat             | s'labax           |
| cen                                    | want               | cooked          | cet               |
| cənləøy                                | path in trap       | ladder          | bənlad            |
| cəŋkaar/cíŋkar                         | floor of slats     | flattened floor | niis              |
| cep/cœep                               | bird               | collect         | karɔɔw            |
| cɔp/cop                                | gone               | make a circle   | reŋweenj          |
| cɔx                                    | cut                | stab            | c'ləg             |
| cɔɔ <sup>k</sup>                       | PRON. who          | dog             | cuwa <sup>k</sup> |
| cɔrr/cɔr                               | spicy              | hot smell       | sēb               |
| culey/guley                            | stir               | cook            | p'gooh            |
| cuus                                   | burn/scald         | explode         | pulud             |
| c'uul                                  | vomit              | choke           | heg               |
| c'noo <sup>k</sup>                     | descendant         | grandchild      | caco <sup>k</sup> |
| c'reet/c'reen                          | cut pushing        | cut fine        | ŋeb               |
| dalag/dalax                            | invite             | follow          | hooh              |
| dəx/dəŋ                                | storm              | flood           | lōod              |
| dəər/dər                               | lay poles          | turned on       | caa <sup>k</sup>  |
| doos                                   | sins               | roam on hills   | rantoɔw           |
| doöt                                   | great grandparent  | speak           | tuh               |
| doɔx                                   | warp               | dart poison     | doɔg              |
| gaheel/g'heel                          | tired              | fed up          | bɔɔd              |
| gas                                    | to hook            | throw away      | s'waar            |
| gerta <sup>k</sup> /gərtak             | footbridge         | bridge          | titiyy            |
| ge <sup>k</sup> /gee <sup>k</sup>      | QUAL. like         | few             | ?amís             |
| gəel                                   | withhold           | cut tube end    | t'rees            |
| gəes                                   | groin inflammation | gas             | ges               |
| giik                                   | wipe               | fell tree       | guu <sup>k</sup>  |
| goc/goɔc                               | set alight         | cut meat        | gəd               |
| gol                                    | run fast           | shoulder s.t.   | gulap             |
| guuc                                   | burnt up           | finished        | sɔɔ'j             |
| g'ce <sup>k</sup>                      | month              | menstrual cycle | tenlaak           |

|                             |               |                 |                       |
|-----------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| hiir                        | enlarge       | growl           | k'riic                |
| hūs/hiis                    | swell         | get fat         | hiit                  |
| hol                         | hole          | tracks          | yək                   |
| hoɔk'/hoɔk'                 | plate         | peel            | seŋkoo'               |
| hoɔs/hoos                   | make a smell  | deflate         | s'roob                |
| hōd/hōt                     | desire        | want            | cēn                   |
| hōtj                        | blow          | throw           | takiil                |
| huuj                        | sip soup      | go up           | ?oj                   |
| jajih/jaji'                 | many          | lie down        | kēh                   |
| jalox/jlox                  | treetop       | origin          | ?asal                 |
| jaloch/jalək'               | no idea       | what            | ?ilo'                 |
| jani'/panii'                | illness       | bad             | la?es                 |
| jaŋgap/jaŋgap               | hip           | thigh           | bəli'                 |
| jaŋkor                      | twigs         | buttress        | catùx                 |
| jaay                        | bananas       | wild banana     | mamo'                 |
| jaar                        | go back       | run             | paaṛ                  |
| je' <sup>k</sup> /jee'      | not want      | pull            | jεŋ                   |
| jelmol                      | mountain      | mountain peak   | t'pas                 |
| jeew/ceew                   | droop         | crooked         | litēē'                |
| jo' <sup>k</sup> /ju'       | IMP. let's go | go back         | maa'                  |
| jod/jot                     | suck          | drip            | k'tag                 |
| julan                       | contest       | dance           | pɔoh                  |
| j?oar                       | storm         | lightning       | kilad                 |
| kalox/kalu'                 | a vine        | lime            | kapur                 |
| kam                         | rat trap      | tie trap        | bəx                   |
| kamo'm                      | suckle        | suck            | k'məhəj               |
| kantoh/kantoo'              | knee          | bend knees      | katon                 |
| kapoɔk'/kapoɔx              | cheek         | skin            | sempoɔ'               |
| karaaw                      | scream        | groan           | g'mutoor              |
| kaas                        | scrape        | lazy            | bɔod                  |
| k'bəə'                      | fruit         | coll. one fruit | bijih                 |
| k'diig/k'dig                | rodent        | rat trap        | kem                   |
| k'?eəj/k'?əer               | damp          | salty           | b'cuuc                |
| kenroob/k'nroop             | roof          | make a shelter  | sooy                  |
| keed/kíit                   | bottom        | anus            | ?omoroh keed          |
| kooh/koh                    | pour away     | pour            | sed                   |
| koɔp                        | gather        | lie on front    | poop                  |
| k'la' <sup>k</sup> /k'l?ak' | spit out      | vomit           | ko'                   |
| k'naa' <sup>k</sup> /k'naa' | be affected   | right           | t'had                 |
| k'rəp                       | bamboo guitar | obstruct        | kerlax                |
| laas/las                    | paint tips    | ants            | kabed                 |
| lex                         | know          | tickle          | leg                   |
| leeb                        | creep         | hunt            | siye'                 |
| low                         | reaching      | visible         | ti <sup>k</sup> lalah |
| loor                        | look secretly | roll up         | balut                 |
| loot                        | blood         | suck            | jod                   |
| looy                        | wade          | swim            | kayoh                 |
| lulow                       | immediately   | sky             | balix                 |
| mahal                       | dangerous     | overgrown       | b'həer                |
| maní'                       | bead          | rain            | təəh                  |

|                                         |                 |                   |                               |
|-----------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| maŋkεy/baŋkεy                           | wound           | carcass           | sasɔ'ɔk lawu <sup>k</sup>     |
| mənhaar                                 | generous        | wild boar         | ta <sup>?</sup> oŋ            |
| m'ŋheŋ/m'nheŋ                           | deceased person | scabies           | gaas                          |
| ŋam/ <sup>?</sup> ŋam                   | animal          | unripe            | ?aloŋoy                       |
| ŋam/ŋaam                                | animal          | chew              | ŋāāj                          |
| ŋa <sup>k</sup> /puu <sup>k</sup>       | deity           | tiger             | ?aab                          |
| pejlíij/k'tlíic                         | blister         | graze             | c'roos                        |
| peŋrax/peŋraŋ                           | sunlight        | the sun           | mad ŋis                       |
| pihɔ̄tɔy/pijoo�                         | relax           | watch             | pօ̄'c                         |
| paap                                    | warm up         | sunbathe          | pօ̄oy                         |
| pօ̄oy                                   | sun s.t.        | wind              | hūūl                          |
| pux                                     | inflate         | chicken           | ?ayam                         |
| p'jed/p'jet                             | painful         | spicy             | na-corr                       |
| p'raat                                  | bait            | sore              | pejlíj                        |
| p'raay/b'raap                           | spray           | scatter           | berloŋoy                      |
| p'tlaa'iŋ                               | fairy-bluebird  | red               | c'ləx                         |
| raban                                   | hen coop        | disorderly        | ragab                         |
| ramii <sup>k</sup> /rami <sup>k</sup>   | call over       | befriend          | sayiíŋ                        |
| raŋkeg/raŋkeŋ                           | thin            | skeleton          | raŋkəəh                       |
| rayaa <sup>k</sup> /raya <sup>k</sup>   | large           | many              | ?ibuu <sup>k</sup>            |
| reŋroox/r'ŋrooŋ                         | a length        | pole              | ?aad                          |
| rondoj/r'ndoŋ                           | slanted         | level             | lanay                         |
| roɔ̄t                                   | catch           | tighten           | kərmas                        |
| sabat/saban                             | taboo           | seizures          | gegyeg                        |
| sapoɔ̄d/s'pəət                          | wrap in leaf    | wrap up warm      | s'buul                        |
| sarcɔ̄ <sup>k</sup> /saruu <sup>k</sup> | corpse          | spill             | kakooh                        |
| sen <sup>?</sup> oɔ̄y/s'n'oɔ̄y          | person          | indigenous person | sen <sup>?</sup> oɔ̄y seŋroox |
| sigəət/sirət                            | move up         | push aside        | berwaag                       |
| síij                                    | sharpen blade   | steal             | siyej                         |
| ſccɔ̄x/gcɔ̄x                            | hair            | naval             | paníx                         |
| s'ʔɛep                                  | plant sp.       | grass             | rambaŋ                        |
| s'bíc                                   | sand flies      | sand fleas        | ??                            |
| s'raweən/s'rawen                        | striped         | dance             | kíndən                        |
| tiŋ <sup>k</sup>                        | not yet         | soil              | te <sup>k</sup>               |
| tih                                     | up there        | over there        | tuuy                          |
| toɔ̄c                                   | snap off        | pick              | toɔ̄s                         |
| toɔ̄d                                   | bake in fire    | burn a swidden    | curr                          |
| toɔ̄g/toɔ̄x                             | break down      | break             | p'ləg                         |
| tuuy/ <sup>?</sup> entooy               | over there      | large             | rayaa <sup>k</sup>            |
| waan̄                                   | ring            | lead slowly       | píi <sup>k</sup>              |
| waar                                    | turn            | wade through      | jərwaag                       |
| waay                                    | tear open       | chase out         | yɔɔx                          |
| wel                                     | again           | left side         | yəl                           |
| wεεŋ/wεer                               | steer           | divert            | serwííŋ                       |
| yaap                                    | cry             | speak             | caal                          |
| yεer/ŋεet                               | stretch sheet   | stretch rubber    | ləər                          |

### Incongruous words

These words carry the same semantics but are derived from distinct roots.

| <i>Temiar</i>           | <i>Semai</i>                                      | <i>English</i>     | <i>bɔɔ̄k</i>      | <i>lalow</i>          | <i>plant</i>    |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| ?adíis                  | m'nman                                            | wander about       | b'cuuc            | k'əər                 | salty           |
| ?ajor                   | julooh                                            | a tree-shrew       | b'hed             | c'ʔeeet               | sweet           |
| ?aléeg                  | r'ləəŋ                                            | basket             | b'laay            | c'ʔoŋ                 | look up         |
| ?aloɔ̄y                 | m'ndriis                                          | raw                | b'lacaan̄         | c'rilow               | weak colour     |
| ?amēēw                  | co <sup>k</sup> ween̄                             | cat                | b'ladeer          | p'hoon̄               | yellow          |
| ?amís                   | macððt                                            | small              | b'luuh            | j'rōom                | pounce          |
| ?anjarr                 | l'ŋleŋŋ                                           | carry on pole      | b'relkaal         | b're <sup>k</sup> cox | spotted         |
| ?apet                   | kutii <sup>k</sup>                                | short              | b'reŋcoox         | caŋ ləmpas            | flying snakes   |
| ?apíl                   | c'ruu <sup>k</sup>                                | mat                | b'reŋlox          | s'ninkaar             | house beams     |
| ?ayam                   | pux                                               | chicken            | b'rəx             | s'larah               | tree snake      |
| ?aab bœey               | kaab                                              | leopard cat        | b'seg             | c'həər                | jealous         |
| ?aab parr               | bagor                                             | leopard            | cab               | ?əəm                  | hug             |
| ?aad                    | r'ŋroon̄                                          | pole               | cabol             | c'rōot                | join together   |
| ?awen                   | p'oo <sup>k</sup>                                 | bamboo             | cacuh             | s'paal                | palm species    |
| ?ənuuj                  | k'noom                                            | fruit flesh        | cakəad            | c'taat                | stick           |
| ?əŋeēd                  | c'kəət                                            | tight              | calas             | k'wəej                | scratched       |
| ?ɛj                     | coh                                               | defecate           | caleb             | c'ləx                 | get in eye      |
| ?enjuur                 | p'rəəh                                            | close              | calun             | s'lbo <sup>k</sup>    | ragrant leaves  |
| ?es'os                  | tija <sup>k</sup>                                 | palm civet         | capoɔd            | jo <sup>b</sup>       | biting fly      |
| ?idih                   | ?ujah                                             | waste              | catùx             | k'limpíŋ              | buttress root   |
| ?iloŋ                   | jajo <sup>k</sup>                                 | com. palm civet    | cawēēd            | lan                   | loin cloth      |
| ?omøg                   | k'l'ōom                                           | brain              | cagu <sup>k</sup> | c'həew                | a kingfisher    |
| ?oŋ̄                    | teēw                                             | water              | cəəy              | s'?əən̄               | kiss            |
| ?oɔ̄x tiboɔ̄x           | teēw ?əntoooy                                    | main river         | cəer              | caŋ                   | cut             |
| ?ūŋ̄                    | kərjoōy                                          | smell with nose    | cehcūūh           | ŋ'pŋəəp               | sleepy          |
| babəəh                  | k'raal                                            | man                | cen               | hōot                  | want            |
| babɔɔ̄k                 | kərdoor                                           | woman              | cenhoɔ̄g          | ?aloor                | gully           |
| bacuh                   | tare <sup>k</sup>                                 | mimic              | cenlaay           | s'xnax                | hanging leaves  |
| bageet                  | hareŋ̄                                            | land monitor       | centəŋ̄ mad       | c'la <sup>k</sup> mat | eyebrow         |
| abajii <sup>k</sup>     | m'lə <sup>k</sup>                                 | thing              | ceŋlax            | c'nhoɔ̄y              | sunlight        |
| baloh                   | tarəh                                             | argue              | certəx            | tərlap                | close           |
| basəx                   | b'rol                                             | dart cone          | cidex             | tuuŋ̄                 | bend over       |
| batu <sup>k</sup> t'lag | batu <sup>k</sup> j'mey                           | magic stone        | cɔɔg              | keel                  | banana flower   |
| batu <sup>k</sup> siyab | batu <sup>k</sup> sa <sup>k</sup> pi <sup>k</sup> | fire-lighter stone | cub               | cərlø <sup>k</sup>    | mix in          |
| bawaaj                  | dɔŋ̄                                              | pig-tailed macaque | culec             | tutuul                | dip food        |
| baas                    | sa <sup>k</sup> sii <sup>k</sup>                  | collect            | curr              | tōod                  | burn swidden    |
| borpel                  | kalaac'c                                          | bald-headed        | cuus              | tuŋ̄                  | scald           |
| bəlī <sup>k</sup>       | kajəŋ̄                                            | leg                | cuus              | p'ləj                 | scald           |
| bəs                     | hōoŋ̄                                             | throw              | cəh               | ?ənro <sup>k</sup>    | sound           |
| bəər                    | b'tis                                             | mushrooms          | c'ʔees            | b'ric                 | detest          |
| bel'ihih                | dadoh                                             | amazed             | c'kəər            | c'nlaah               | edible pith     |
| bees                    | c'ŋruŋ̄                                           | animal track       | c'kod             | k'raaj                | bind up         |
| biyæx                   | h'lhiyəl                                          | bush of hair       | c'lax             | b'laj                 | shine           |
| bɔɔ̄k                   | k'niiŋ̄                                           | female             | c'laag            | g'roon̄               | mix meat/manioc |
|                         |                                                   |                    | c'ləg             | cox                   | stab            |

|            |            |                   |             |                  |                     |
|------------|------------|-------------------|-------------|------------------|---------------------|
| c'log      | lōom      | put in hole       | heg         | c'uuł            | choke               |
| c'maas     | s'pjap     | condensation      | helyex      | l'hiij           | saliva              |
| c'mērāk  | bə̄'idih   | want, not show it | hík         | taleh            | only                |
| c'naal     | cərmor     | folktale          | hínjíil     | r'kēk           | limp                |
| c'nēer     | yēac       | knife             | homaj       | pərb'lōj s'ñiīk | disappoint          |
| c'ran      | p'npəən    | dented            | hontēk     | radāk           | without care        |
| c'rapōōd   | hākhīk   | busy              | hɔ̄p        | s'gim            | get happy           |
| c'rēh      | b'laat     | cut open          | hō̄g        | ḡl              | flow                |
| c'rōk     | c'məəs     | hungry            | hō̄g        | jaam ku s'ñiīk  | sad                 |
| dalag      | ?ajax      | invite            | hup         | s'ñiīk          | heart               |
| dadōk     | jaar       | run away          | hū̄l        | pōoy            | blow of wind        |
| dahūg      | ?əntəəh    | chest             | h'laaj      | t'rēj wēl       | a hornbill          |
| dəx        | pəs        | blow a storm      | h'lējpux   | badool           | bulging             |
| dədduud    | gugut      | greater coucal    | h'nom       | nō̄s             | heart               |
| dih        | ciil       | guess             | h'nwaaj     | t'rēj raap       | great hornbill      |
| dool       | deēk      | keep              | jab         | dox              | to soil             |
| d'kad      | c'pex      | chilly            | jajiīh     | kəm              | many                |
| d'lū̄k     | t'koon     | push              | jawāk      | pēey            | millet              |
| gagoh      | hərhuij    | visiting          | jaaw        | sah              | wash clothes        |
| gahmaāk   | k'ñjiim    | feel              | jelmol      | loon             | mountain            |
| galag      | bahood     | greedy            | jíir        | jot l'hiij       | dribble             |
| galah      | sisiyay    | straight hair     | joríx       | gíñgoŋ           | mouth harp          |
| galùx      | k'booj     | snout             | julug       | t'gəm            | stoke fire          |
| gantaāj   | r'boon ?āc | giant bamboo      | j'lagaār   | lukōs            | doing own thing     |
| garuul     | t'gos      | hardened          | j'lęew      | raaw             | long-tailed macaque |
| gas        | k'boot     | hook fruits       | j'rū̄k      | ŋaāk            | far                 |
| gasēk     | l'ŋlíiŋ    | skewer            | j'wāād      | k'taan           | tough               |
| gatah      | cēŋ       | hack up           | j'waaj      | yēac             | bush-knife          |
| gatah      | lōoħ      | hack off          | kabə̄d      | t'bōot          | ride                |
| gəd        | həə̄k      | got cut           | kabox       | r'kop            | pit vipers          |
| gøyeg      | ligut      | break in two      | kabox hē̄ed | s'lākbāk       | whip snake          |
| gít ?ōox  | ham t̄eēw | fetch water       | kab rə̄nah  | sə̄s'ñēj         | very dark           |
| gōj       | lōx       | wear necklace     | kadíib      | t'rē̄ej          | climb a tree        |
| gōoh      | lęew       | bamboo tube       | kajex       | las t̄ōm         | fire ants           |
| gōos      | suuy       | live              | kalos̄n     | c'nə̄ən          | pity                |
| gōow      | m'nman     | trick             | kancos̄ŋ    | ŋ'p̄jəəp̄        | preying mantis      |
| guwaaj     | c'raheēŋ  | blackened         | kantə̄əm    | kawín            | disabled            |
| g'cas      | ramoħ      | sneeze            | kantos̄ŋ    | kurool           | knee                |
| g'ləəh     | lēew      | interfere         | kapōōk    | miīj            | cheek               |
| g'lōh      | gərgog     | throat            | karap       | sə̄əx            | sink                |
| g'lōod     | m'ñhiin    | covet             | kareh       | p'rōōc         | crispy              |
| g'tōj     | g'tcat     | snap              | kar'yel     | tə̄saŋ g'riŋ     | banded krait        |
| had        | ninən      | enough            | katōoŋ     | kalōk           | water snail         |
| halab      | b'təəh     | ride down         | kayc̄d      | makoōk          | pregnant            |
| haloōx    | nux        | flying lizards    | kəh         | jajīk           | lie down            |
| hatōp      | dun        | times past        | kəyōx      | gərtúŋ           | hear                |
| hayom      | p'tnət     | bamboo rat        | kembə̄ək    | didiic           | all                 |
| hāāw       | pōōd       | reduce            | kembc̄d     | j'lēj            | rat trap            |
| hēŋhaŋkoŋ | sə̄s'ñuj   | standing tall     | ken'iīs    | bā'al           | angry               |

|           |               |                   |             |               |                     |
|-----------|---------------|-------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------------|
| kənlat    | lon           | no way out        | l'əaax      | b'kəs         | afternoon           |
| kenloɔx   | k'lдаal mat   | eye ball          | l'bəe̥k     | jey           | spread gum          |
| kenroɔb   | p'loonj       | roof              | l'bəd       | g'lugu̥k      | get up late         |
| keŋrəex   | c'jhər        | etchings          | l'cax       | l'go's        | rambutan            |
| keŋroɔc   | katāāc        | rat nibbling      | l'jùx       | kahyoŋ        | flying squirrel     |
| kerjeer   | g'saq         | dance in a circle | loke̥k      | c'lōk miho̥k  | difficult           |
| ker'ðoŋ   | t'bəəŋ        | ferment           | lōōd        | dəŋ           | to flood            |
| kínjil    | ka:kkey       | hop               | lōot        | b'hiim        | blood               |
| kolím     | s'reŋɔm       | jungle garlic     | man rayaḁk | p'roox ɬamḁk | white-bellied rats  |
| kowēes    | k'nəɔn        | child             | məḁk       | jux           | return              |
| kooh      | cəh           | pour              | me̥j        | boɔr          | good                |
| koor      | b'go̥k        | goiter            | mənyut      | puney         | emerald dove        |
| kōow      | c'rīŋ         | call              | məy         | kiləə̥k       | other               |
| kubaak    | t'lagaḁk     | mud hole          | məɔs        | cōot          | gather              |
| kumlaŋ    | kut           | bad egg           | niim        | sərŋii̥k      | ponder              |
| kúnjoh    | poos          | muntjac           | nùm-hux     | ce̥k sərŋii̥k | imagined            |
| kəas      | raŋ           | bake fish         | ŋāāg        | mpaaŋ         | mouth               |
| k'bəs     | dan           | die               | ŋo̥h        | peh           | light fire          |
| k'bəə̥k   | p'lęe̥k       | fruit             | pag         | kah           | cut open            |
| k'bùk     | s'bəeŋ        | mosquito          | paníx       | sc̥x          | naval               |
| k'díig    | p'roox        | rodent            | paax        | pasiir        | burial hut          |
| k'du̥k    | cíim          | hide              | pə̥k        | m'naŋ         | younger sibling     |
| k'həb     | c'doɔn        | carefully         | pət         | riyaŋ         | miss s.o.           |
| k'jaay    | t'ŋrūŋ        | damar tree        | pəə̥r       | muj           | set off early       |
| k'lagtaes | tunjul laŋi̥k | rafters           | pel'ed      | g'lipiil      | soft-shelled turtle |
| k'lisḁk  | berlęej       | hanging-parrot    | pentüñk     | labun         | forehead            |
| k'lɔ̥c̥k  | t'ne̥e̥k      | older sibling     | pergah      | patəh         | praise              |
| k'lək̥    | yօ̥ŋ          | fall              | perhɔod     | sərlooŋ       | say and not do      |
| k'nəuh    | məh           | name              | peryaad     | tərnat        | instruct            |
| k'nyaŋ    | ?ágic         | imp. quickly!     | pitḁk      | ladaŋ         | group               |
| k'rək̥    | c'loɔn        | the back          | pɔ̥cg       | taŋ           | open                |
| k'redlaad | l'ŋoɔs        | giant squirrel    | pɔ̥ch       | julaŋ         | dance               |
| k'ric     | hiir          | growl             | pɔ̥x        | c'too̥k       | strike              |
| k'səx     | jərnøɔm       | stink bug         | pɔ̥øy       | paap          | sunbathe            |
| k'təg     | jöt           | drip              | pɔ̥øy       | tiil          | to sun              |
| k'waay    | gan           | yam               | pílpօrg     | g'lpaal       | shoulder            |
| la'əs     | niic          | bad               | pudeew      | pipuuy        | mad                 |
| la'əs     | dadat         | defected          | pùg         | coom          | dig                 |
| labøx     | møɔ'j         | plant shoots      | p'cñk       | luwəen        | soft                |
| lako̥k    | papoh         | come off          | p'di̥k̥-?is | ku-k'nriil    | midday              |
| laŋkah    | k'jaaj        | take a step       | p'gəp       | t'roɔŋ        | to fish             |
| layeg     | duuy          | night             | p'hēēŋ      | c'bat         | sharp               |
| laam      | sêm           | rub on            | p'jed       | p'hood        | painful             |
| laa:j     | hool          | arrive            | p'jlaaj     | wec           | fairy-bluebird      |
| le̥k      | kəes          | berangan tree     | p'lāk       | m'nciit       | squashed            |
| le̥lo̥k   | habə̥k        | probably          | p'laaw      | gow           | fly away            |
| leh       | k'naah        | wife              | p'ləə̥ŋ     | b'kuuj        | wake                |
| lejnaaj   | s'liir        | ticklish          | p'ləg       | c'əh          | break               |
| lejnaaj   | s'nlaar       | funny             | p'rḁk      | wəes          | leave s.t           |
| lex       | paney         | know              |             |               |                     |

|                                 |                          |                     |                     |                       |                  |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| p'redhiid                       | bi-pooy                  | breeze              | sù'kwad             | bərsiih               | a cold           |
| p'taa <sup>k</sup>              | cagoh                    | make petition       | sùmboŋ              | ŋ'ncuŋ                | shrimp           |
| rabög                           | t'go's                   | hardened            | suŋkaal             | timpeč                | splash           |
| raŋkuu <sup>k</sup>             | cabeh                    | langur              | suwax               | sooŋ                  | thin             |
| raaj                            | dax                      | spear trap          | s'ŋeeg              | reh                   | stink            |
| regrɔ̄g                         | ceko <sup>k</sup>        | yellow marten       | s'ŋuux              | barii <sup>k</sup>    | rancid           |
| rentuu <sup>k</sup>             | kəhləh                   | collide             | s'buul              | tilom                 | wrap up          |
| raŋjah                          | s'ŋáp                    | dark                | s'garr              | rəəŋ                  | blow-dart        |
| raŋjah                          | c'rat                    | black               | s'ŋíl               | b'láx                 | blunt            |
| raŋeh                           | niic                     | dirty               | s'lantab            | s'tbood               | s.t. offered     |
| reŋhoŋ                          | r'nwəər                  | embers              | s'lāəd              | bi-siŋp               | drowsy eyes      |
| reŋkaa <sup>k</sup>             | k'nłəh                   | door                | s'línjaj            | papoħ                 | fall flat        |
| reex                            | həər                     | collapse of land    | s'log               | beet                  | sleep            |
| riroøy                          | sasow                    | talk nonsense       | s'lōo <sup>k</sup>  | l'nloøn               | lie              |
| roh                             | jəər                     | defoliate           | s'luuh              | puut                  | shoot            |
| roog                            | ŋəəx                     | mash                | s'moŋŋj             | t'ŋheeŋ               | hear             |
| ruwax                           | rəs                      | cross a river       | s'no <sup>k</sup>   | k'rando <sup>k</sup>  | elbow            |
| r'duu <sup>k</sup>              | l'ŋam                    | shaded              | s'ŋaag              | ?imox                 | noisy            |
| r'ley                           | gərdəŋ                   | fall from height    | s'ŋēəŋ              | ?aas                  | shy              |
| r'seem                          | b'rasoŋ                  | drizzle             | s'raloŋ             | k'nmee <sup>k</sup>   | beautiful        |
| sandūl                          | ?ampəh                   | float               | s'ram               | k'tmoj                | ghost            |
| sagoøl                          | s'loot                   | thirsty             | s'waar              | hɔoŋ                  | throw            |
| saŋey                           | b'ruuy                   | red mites           | taʔəj               | t'rəŋ                 | pouched hornbill |
| saŋkaad                         | bíncaay                  | splash              | taʔoŋ               | mənhaar               | wild boar        |
| saŋloor                         | palaak                   | naked               | tab                 | p'ŋləən               | egg              |
| sapoođ                          | c'ŋoŋm                   | fold in packet      | taban               | c'bəər                | latex            |
| sasoh                           | b'ruus                   | dirt                | tabəəx              | danəm                 | dusky langur     |
| satəeh                          | papeh                    | broken down         | tabox               | saŋkíl                | buttock          |
| sāyad                           | c'ləŋhəŋ                 | glide in the air    | tag                 | paa'j                 | torn             |
| sayib                           | s'lii <sup>k</sup> p'raŋ | king cobra          | tameŋj              | s'pjap                | dew              |
| səg                             | həə <sup>k</sup>         | snag                | taŋən               | ləŋi <sup>k</sup>     | neck             |
| sərŋíil                         | sərmiim                  | awaken s.o.         | tap                 | cət                   | plant            |
| se <sup>k</sup> so <sup>k</sup> | ŋ'nox                    | enjoy               | tap                 | lox                   | wear hat/shoes   |
| seel                            | d'koø <sup>k</sup>       | a boil              | taraa <sup>k</sup>  | parij                 | rest             |
| sel"wah                         | d'ndaan                  | faint               | taroøx              | m'ŋroøŋ               | skink            |
| səmpoøy                         | s'psiip mat              | eye lashes          | tati <sup>k</sup>   | hém niic              | snore            |
| senma <sup>k</sup>              | məm                      | NUM.CO. people      | tawoøg              | k'rəkbaa <sup>k</sup> | butterfly        |
| senra <sup>k</sup>              | cabeh                    | animal call         | tawiix              | tapəj                 | spider           |
| sentoør                         | ŋinŋoøy                  | lips                | tawiix ?amaŋ        | maŋhəəl               | tarantula        |
| sen <sup>k</sup> ðøy            | maay                     | people              | taa'c               | biir                  | weave            |
| seew                            | cuwaas                   | clean veg. stems    | təd                 | jéŋ                   | stand            |
| sempeəl                         | k'laŋ tages              | buzzard             | ti'kalah            | lunow                 | light            |
| senlor mad-?is                  | luruŋ cah                | striped coral snake | teg                 | t'roo <sup>k</sup>    | hit s.t.         |
| seep                            | jərmíiš                  | gum strands         | teldíl              | bək'díŋ               | round            |
| siloo <sup>c</sup>              | careel                   | sprain              | teŋkoh              | tərlaar               | waterfall        |
| síjj                            | t'reh                    | sharpen             | teŋteex             | cooŋ                  | rattan           |
| soh                             | ?əntəə <sup>k</sup>      | game meat           | terbuu <sup>k</sup> | kərməh                | to name          |
| soo <sup>k</sup>                | səmpæet                  | wipe                | tinag               | hooc                  | dry weather      |
| søøj                            | həs                      | finished            | tiid                | ?ənyoøŋ               | fetch            |
| søøp                            | dəəŋ                     | nest                |                     |                       |                  |

|                        |                   |                   |                   |                       |                  |
|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| to <sup>k</sup>        | c'rap             | eat meat          | t'rə <sup>k</sup> | c't̄iŋ                | trunk            |
| tood                   | pankeh            | a small porcupine | t'r'līiſ          | tawəs                 | slip off edge    |
| tōg                    | kej               | cut rice heads    | wad               | jōøy                  | follow path      |
| tōr                    | bōl               | pluck             | wāād              | wēh                   | pick shoots      |
| tōw                    | ŋínsiir           | husband           | wəl               | siim                  | forget           |
| tōd                    | jōp              | bake              | wē <sup>k</sup>   | ?ət                   | go               |
| tuh                    | dōot              | speak             | wējwoōj          | jool                  | pangolin         |
| tuy                    | səeh              | dismantle         | wel               | nēex                  | again            |
| tuux                   | s'ŋōh            | afraid            | wēer              | rooŋ                  | check traps      |
| tat                    | siku <sup>k</sup> | kick              | wiid              | gēl                   | float downstream |
| t'el                   | bəh               | make              | wōg               | kus                   | arise            |
| t'ob                   | tər'oos           | put on the fire   | yaay              | cuul                  | smoke            |
| t'bōh                  | hor               | drill a hole      | yayah             | papo <sup>k</sup>     | crazy            |
| t'hōor                 | pəes              | gust              | yaak              | ganas                 | stick insect     |
| t'kōoh                 | d'haax            | drop by           | yēeg              | r'no <sup>k</sup> dōŋ | remove from fire |
| t'mel <sup>2</sup> ooy | bərnoor           | peace/justice     | yehyah            | ?ipəer                | morning          |
| t'meel                 | leen              | stare             | yenyoot           | kərdii <sup>k</sup>   | staying still    |
| t'mōor                 | t'gōm             | put a log on fire | yōox              | waay                  | chase out        |
| t'juh                  | can               | climb a hill      |                   |                       |                  |

### Native and borrow words

The lists show Temiar native words for which Semai has no native word and Temiar borrow words, for which Semai has a native word.

| Temiar<br>native   | Semai<br>borrowed    | English    | halo <sup>k</sup>   | ta <sup>k</sup> pəeh | EXP. never mind |
|--------------------|----------------------|------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| ?acag              | cadaŋ                | plan       | həjə <sup>k</sup>   | juga <sup>k</sup>    | also            |
| ?ahēex             | k'lah                | mahseer    | herhaāj            | bi-b'to <sup>k</sup> | disappear       |
| ?alol              | gajah                | elephant   | hōɔp                | g'mar                | happy           |
| ?asaad             | labu <sup>k</sup>    | squash     | hōnjoł              | lumpat               | jump            |
| ?exsen             | sumboŋ               | proud      | hōy                 | ?ənto <sup>k</sup>   | no              |
| ?iwōh              | rayəe                | to feast   | jułaj               | pancat               | contest         |
| ?iid               | risow                | worry      | juwah               | man                  | to play         |
| ?is                | hari <sup>k</sup>    | day        | kaciid              | budo <sup>k</sup>    | unknowing       |
| ?ɔɔr               | surəh                | command    | kaloon              | ?ampun               | forgive         |
| ?oɔd               | tahan                | to fast    | kasíŋ               | rusa <sup>k</sup>    | sambar deer     |
| ?udlíd             | ?ubah                | change     | kawiib              | b'ruwoŋ              | bear            |
| bəer               | sayur                | vegetable  | keex                | jagaak               | guard           |
| b'huj              | shurgaa <sup>k</sup> | heaven     | lax                 | goreŋ                | fry             |
| b'rachuuy          | ratah                | messy      | layęg               | ?əŋg'lap             | night           |
| ciwaak             | bincaj               | discuss    | lōoŋ                | panaah               | arrow           |
| c'nēe <sup>k</sup> | p'nakit              | illness    | l'baax              | paya <sup>k</sup>    | mud             |
| doos               | dusaa <sup>k</sup>   | sin        | ma-beex             | ma-darat             | forest          |
| g'ce <sup>k</sup>  | bulan                | month      | menwaa <sup>k</sup> | duniya <sup>k</sup>  | world           |
| gōow               | mayín                | tease      | naar                | duwaa <sup>k</sup>   | two             |
| g'rempēeh          | díniŋ                | wall       | ne <sup>k</sup>     | tigaa <sup>k</sup>   | three           |
| had                | cukup                | enough     | ŋam                 | bínataŋ              | animal          |
| hagaab             | bada <sup>k</sup>    | rhinoceros | pag                 | b'lah                | cut open        |
|                    |                      |            | paraq <sup>k</sup>  | pajaj                | roast           |

|                    |                          |                 |                     |                    |                 |
|--------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| p'taa <sup>k</sup> | b'san                    | request         | s'ríg               | malas              | lazy            |
| raro <sup>h</sup>  | larah                    | larah fruit     | tabəəh              | tamah              | add more        |
| r'ma <sup>k</sup>  | susah                    | difficult       | tanás               | tudəh              | blame           |
| sa'ccd             | jawap                    | answer          | tawcch              | mawaa <sup>k</sup> | gibbon          |
| sab                | j'rat                    | wire snare trap | tayoɔd              | ?aŋkít             | lift            |
| sayib              | s'lii <sup>k</sup> p'raŋ | king cobra      | tile <sup>k</sup>   | tuju <sup>k</sup>  | direct          |
| sō'c               | p'rah                    | perah nut       | tempoo <sup>k</sup> | bulaj              | headdress       |
| səeh               | hubi <sup>k</sup>        | sweet potato    | teŋlex              | b'lajar            | teach           |
| s'bíc              | ?agas                    | sand flies      | toɔx                | man                | play instrument |
| s'jex              | t'rus                    | straight        | t'naa <sup>k</sup>  | ?ísi <sup>k</sup>  | body            |
| s'nam              | latih                    | train           | yog                 | k'nwat             | stamina         |
|                    |                          |                 | yeew                | jagaa <sup>k</sup> | stay up         |

| Temiar<br>borrowed              | Semai<br>native     | English          | l'məəs                               | s'leyuw                          | tired          |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|
| ?amaŋ                           | həəl                | siamang          | mano <sup>w</sup>                    | sərpiin                          | manau rattan   |
| ?arah                           | ?apah               | direction        | maŋgís                               | gamus                            | mangosteen     |
| ?asal                           | j'lōx               | origin           | mənəih                               | k'nuuy                           | seed           |
| ?ujat                           | mani <sup>k</sup>   | rain             | mənlaa <sup>k</sup>                  | canuu <sup>k</sup>               | beginning      |
| bantal                          | s'reŋkal            | pillow           | padiy                                | baa <sup>k</sup>                 | rice           |
| bīŋaa <sup>k</sup>              | s'nəm               | oil              | pantey                               | huwəy                            | sand           |
| bubug                           | k'mo <sup>d</sup>   | weevils          | pinaŋ                                | b'ləəŋ                           | betel          |
| bu <sup>k</sup> ti <sup>k</sup> | ?i-c'nəh            | proof            | píjan                                | pisín                            | plate          |
| b'lajaa <sup>k</sup>            | lii <sup>k</sup>    | wok              | rabùŋ                                | k'ndriil                         | ridge pole     |
| b'ralanj                        | cuj                 | grasshopper      | rayaa <sup>k</sup>                   | ?əntooy                          | large          |
| b'ras                           | c'nroɔy             | raw rice         | risəw                                | g'lisor                          | worry          |
| c'ko <sup>o</sup> r             | looj                | shave face       | r'bus                                | gam                              | boil           |
| də̄yan                          | s'mpaa <sup>k</sup> | durian           | sayeex                               | ho <sup>k</sup>                  | to love        |
| didih                           | nam                 | boil             | sayiŋ                                | b'rami <sup>k</sup>              | be friends     |
| ganguh                          | ?uro <sup>k</sup>   | interrupt        | salah                                | hanya <sup>k</sup>               | scold          |
| garam                           | ?əmpoɔc             | salt             | sisal                                | jahreh                           | no luck        |
| g'liah                          | s'lir               | squeamish        | suseew                               | məmməem                          | milk           |
| g'tah                           | borr                | bird latex       | s'dəəb                               | c'ŋoɔl                           | nice           |
| jarii <sup>k</sup>              | jaras               | fingers          | s'lamad                              | ?abo <sup>o</sup> r              | safely         |
| jodoh                           | tərmuu <sup>k</sup> | a match          | s'tix                                | tipey                            | plastic bag    |
| j'mūūh                          | baharr              | tired of         | talii <sup>k</sup>                   | cooŋ                             | rope           |
| kalaw                           | ?aga <sup>k</sup>   | if               | tawün                                | p'na <sup>k</sup>                | season         |
| kasih                           | r'nami <sup>k</sup> | friend           | tayar                                | kiliy                            | tyre           |
| kayuh                           | maleŋ               | manioc           | teəem                                | jani <sup>k</sup>                | time           |
| kawín                           | jêx                 | marry            | tiba <sup>k</sup> -tiba <sup>k</sup> | p'rahbəh                         | suddenly       |
| kilad                           | j? <sup>2</sup> aar | lightning        | tohaat                               | j'naaŋ                           | lord           |
| kosoŋ                           | cəə <sup>k</sup>    | plain            | tuloŋ                                | jah <sup>2</sup> re <sup>k</sup> | help           |
| kota <sup>k</sup>               | pax                 | box              | tukkul                               | p'no <sup>k</sup>                | fire ring      |
| kuko <sup>k</sup>               | tadəər              | cockle-doodle-do | t'bal                                | s'koor                           | thick          |
| k'rad                           | kat                 | cut              | t'duu <sup>k</sup>                   | s'lii <sup>k</sup>               | sumatran cobra |
| lamad                           | liiw                | long time        | walawpun                             | s'ŋkii <sup>k</sup>              | even though    |
|                                 |                     |                  | papaa <sup>k</sup>                   | c'nhaa <sup>k</sup>              | make suffer    |

# Appendix 2

## Fossilised morphology

These lists contain words that exhibit fossilised morphology, or the morphological processes producing imperfective, causative and uncontrolled verb forms. Many of them cannot be traced to any known root word, although one could have a guess at some of them. Refer to §3.1.1 and §6.1.3 for further description.

### A – Nouns

#### A1 *Names of species*

The Simple names column, below, includes words showing evidence of morphology from root lexemes, while the Complex names column includes words showing evidence of morphology from causative morphemes.

| <i>Class</i> | <i>Simple names</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <i>Complex names</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Trees        | bərbəw, cədroð, cəŋcoðx, cərməer, gərca <sup>k</sup> , genraa <sup>c</sup> , gerhaar, hemrep, janrax, jernaaj, jerneg, kəgwəg, kejkəðj, kəlwəðy, kəlwəex, kər'yəeh, kermal, k'maluj, k'maraak, k'nalag, lərwəer, memhiim, negsag, pənpup, pərgəəs, pərgəəs, perlüg, rəjnaaj, remmaj, sedwəed, sensat, səŋrex, sərlor, serwəər, seŋluwac, təŋbiyəx, təŋwəx, terhiik, terləej, termín, tersaaj, tersiŋ | b'laŋūð, b'ləŋgaaj, b'lunəey, b'rənsax, b'rəwəðj, b'regnoðg, b'rənih, c'reŋloðx, c'rikay, g'rəcəðj, g'rəmtəp, g'rutees, j'rəŋkəj, j'rəməseem, j'renluc, ker'wo <sup>c</sup> , k'ləbəðb, k'ladas, k'nəgwəg, k'rəlad, k'rəkbu <sup>k</sup> , k'rəkmad, k'rəmnum, k'rudo <sup>k</sup> , p'lace <sup>k</sup> , p'lakuj, p'latow, p'rəgo <sup>k</sup> , p'ragun, p'rəŋkup, p'rəwas, p'resles, p'rigo <sup>y</sup> , s'ləjməj, s'ləmdam, s'ləmnəm, s'mal'yəx, s'merluj, t'layax, t'límbø <sup>k</sup> , t'ramo <sup>k</sup> |
| Rice         | bərjeer, bertih, cə <sup>k</sup> co <sup>k</sup> , heryas, kənlas, kənərəj, səyjoy                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Plants       | bərcaap, bəjsíj, berdaax, bərjeŋ, cəgləg, cəmcoðp, herwəe <sup>k</sup> , jərwad, kəŋwoðx, kər'yax, penlu <sup>k</sup> gob, pənpət, pənreew, pənpup, s'matu <sup>k</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | b'laŋūð, b'ləŋgaaj, b'rəjan, b'rəwəðj, b'rəyax, b'rəŋbux, c'mərdam, g'rəceej, k'rəlad, p'rənhəg, s'nər'yaar, s'rudeb                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Rattan       | bər'yel, b'luruh, cəŋcoðx, cərwiís, jərməees, jernaaj, kədreed, pəŋpəəx, p'nehsəeh, p'níntəes, r'nalo <sup>j</sup> , seŋsiyəc, temtəp, təŋtəex                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | c'lakah, g'rəmtəp, p'rəgo <sup>k</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Fish         | bəgbag, b'ləmbad, jenra <sup>k</sup> , kərjuh, kənrab, k'nəŋrəj, pərgəj, rəŋhəex                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | b'ləmbad, j'lawaŋ, k'lisəh, k'lulaŋ, k'rana <sup>k</sup> , k'ricit, p'ridon, s'lawaŋ, s'legnəðg                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |

|         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                          |
|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Snakes  | regsɔɔg, təŋwaax                                                                                                                                                                                               | b'reŋcoox                                                                                                                |
| Reptile | bəŋboŋ, bertoŋ, dəmdup, gəŋdooŋ, ger'yex, kəŋkax, pənpɔn, pənpāc, seŋnūg                                                                                                                                       | b'reŋcoox                                                                                                                |
| Birds   | ?eg'aag, ?es'ēēs, bərkoh, bərkɔg, berleŋ, cəcdad, cer'yεj, deŋdoŋ, hehhooθh, kahkuuh, kərkɔr, lemsap, p'jlaaj, regwoog, seŋduwag, seŋseŋ, selseel, seŋlox, səŋuwēēŋ, tegteg, teŋtaŋ, teŋtoox, terheer, wedwāād | b'rawel, b'rawoł, b'rəlkuul, c'ragah, g'raloł, j'raglag, j'regpaag, p'ragaa <sup>k</sup> , s'merloŋ, t'rane <sup>k</sup> |
| Rodent  | c'dceed, cəŋc'raaŋ, dəndut, j'nale <sup>k</sup>                                                                                                                                                                | b'rawāāŋ, k'lubɔŋ, k'redlāād, t'rawəg                                                                                    |
| Animal  | ?es'ōo's, cəgcōo'g, je <sup>k</sup> tuux, regroog, wəjwoo'j                                                                                                                                                    | s'lada <sup>k</sup>                                                                                                      |
| Insect  | cəbtæeb, g'mayaɑ <sup>k</sup> , jəŋjax, kərpəx, heŋwaŋ                                                                                                                                                         | b'ralaŋ, b'raŋsax, g'lumiir, g'rimoŋ, k'laduh, k'lejbaaj, k'relboøł, t'rulu <sup>k</sup>                                 |

### A2 Body part nouns

|              |                  |                                         |                 |
|--------------|------------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------|
| cənroo's     | 'nails'          | k'reŋyɔɔx                               | 'heel ligament' |
| cəŋrɛex tiix | 'forearm'        | pentūū <sup>k</sup>                     | 'forehead'      |
| dəldəul jùx  | 'heel'           | lentaag                                 | 'tongue'        |
| gentoox      | 'ear'            | sempɔɔ <sup>k</sup>                     | 'skin'          |
| hermoor      | 'nasal cavity'   | sempoøy                                 | 'eye lashes'    |
| kəlkəel tiix | 'knuckles'       | sentaa <sup>k</sup> /sente <sup>k</sup> | 'tail'          |
| kəlkəel jùx  | 'ankle'          | sentool                                 | 'body hair'     |
| k'redløɔd    | 'the lower back' | sentoor                                 | 'lips'          |

### A3 Other nouns

|                      |                       |                      |                     |
|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| ?es'əs               | 'a death'             | c'naruu <sup>k</sup> | 'floor poles'       |
| bejsíj               | 'itchy hairs'         | dənloob              | 'roof of a cave'    |
| b'rampa <sup>k</sup> | 'stuff'               | dəŋkuy               | 'honey'             |
| cəmreem              | 'leftover scraps'     | derjuw               | 'a radio'           |
| cənrəg               | 'handholds'           | gehnih               | 'the rest'          |
| cənroh               | 'grain'               | gəncəl               | 'source of a river' |
| cənyuuš              | 'hair comb'           | gənhuŋ               | 'bamboo tube'       |
| cəŋ'eeer             | 'a small bump'        | gerbɔɔ <sup>k</sup>  | 'ridge'             |
| cəŋkal               | 'a wad'               | gərtə <sup>k</sup>   | 'footbridge'        |
| cəŋkēh               | 'scales'              | g'rempíid            | 'strips of bamboo'  |
| cəŋkød               | 'a tied bundle'       | g'rəsmas             | 'intestinal worms'  |
| cəŋ'oth              | 'soot'                | jənrap               | 'a tiger kill'      |
| cəŋwoɔŋ              | 'a tiger attack'      | j'nare <sup>k</sup>  | 'cleaning rod'      |
| cəsnas               | 'vapour of the rain'  | j'reŋkab             | 'pincers'           |
| c'naboŋ              | 'giant bamboo shoots' | kənløɔx              | 'glassy ball'       |

|                      |                       |                      |                   |
|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| kənron               | 'a dance style'       | rəbsəb               | 'toothpick'       |
| kənrōɔ̄b             | 'roof'                | rən?əəl              | 'call of a tiger' |
| kerdùx               | 'the pith of palm'    | rentix               | 'pounding pole'   |
| k'ladəuw             | 'dark magic'          | rəŋbəɔ̄x             | 'bamboo shoots'   |
| k'nikid              | 'a corner'            | rəŋhəŋj              | 'glowing embers'  |
| k'norux              | 'the julux soul'      | səmlup               | 'tadpole'         |
| k'rímpíij            | 'the sides of a pool' | səmpol               | 'envelope'        |
| lenwoɔ̄t             | 'long-house'          | sən?ðøy              | 'person'          |
| mensaaw              | 'child-in-law'        | səndax               | 'infancy'         |
| menwaa <sup>k</sup>  | 'the world'           | səndəər              | 'an open porch'   |
| məŋhəeŋj             | 'deceased person'     | səndool              | 'frog season'     |
| mergees/mergəəh      | 'a beast'             | sənləɔ̄x             | 'luck'            |
| merpə <sup>k</sup>   | 'siblings'            | sənra <sup>k</sup>   | 'animal call'     |
| pelpol               | 'sparks'              | sənraay              | 'string'          |
| penlög               | 'nose quill'          | səntii <sup>k</sup>  | 'numbness'        |
| pelpol               | 'sparks'              | sənyaag              | 'sharp edge'      |
| penrax               | 'bright light'        | səŋkoo <sup>k</sup>  | 'skin of fruits'  |
| perløy               | 'a star'              | sermaar              | 'ant tunnels'     |
| penpíic              | 'a drought'           | tenrax               | 'a door post'     |
| p'nahɔ̄ <sup>k</sup> | 'a girlfriend'        | teŋmeeŋj             | 'morning dew'     |
| p'ranyo <sup>h</sup> | 'the steering oar'    | teŋtəex              | 'liana'           |
| p'ranjew             | 'a trap'              | t'mel?ðøy            | 'peace'           |
| p'ranjas             | 'a drying rack'       | t'racoo <sup>g</sup> | 'a taboo'         |
| p'remjəem            | 'light rain'          | t'rinah              | 'news'            |

## B – Verbs

### B1 Verbs showing imperfective morphology

|                      |                          |                                |                             |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ?edlad               | 'to change'              | dəŋdex                         | 'to hold onto s.t.'         |
| ?eh?eih              | 'to scream'              | gago <sup>o</sup> <sup>k</sup> | 'to call out '              |
| ?el?oɔ̄l             | 'to hurry'               | gesruus                        | 'to charge about'           |
| bækco <sup>k</sup>   | 'to tease'               | gestaas                        | 'to throw things about'     |
| beglaag              | 'to keep an eye on s.t.' | haywaay                        | 'to scramble with the arms' |
| begsii <sup>g</sup>  | 'to to mate'             | heglög                         | 'to dig deep'               |
| benbox               | 'to take huge mouthfuls' | hembaaw                        | 'to make a bang'            |
| benlox               | 'to tell fibs'           | hembaeŋj                       | 'to fall on the ground'     |
| cedwac <sup>d</sup>  | 'to prowl'               | hembuul                        | 'to come out on top'        |
| cəgcəg               | 'to set aside'           | heŋhuwax                       | 'to eat a huge amount'      |
| cehruh               | 'to mix together'        | heŋroɔ̄j                       | 'to fancy'                  |
| cemcəəp              | 'to lean against s.t.'   | hughaag                        | 'to feel relieved'          |
| cenhiir              | 'to growl'               | jehjoɔ̄h                       | 'to put off'                |
| ceŋluŋ               | 'to nibble into'         | jeŋjəex                        | 'to hold back'              |
| ceŋtox               | 'to follow e.w.'         | jeŋhəex                        | 'to take a deep breath'     |
| cewhēēw              | 'to throb with pain'     | jeŋroɔ̄x                       | 'to fall a long way'        |
| c'meŋra <sup>k</sup> | 'to pretend'             | kəbkəb                         | 'to smack the lips'         |
| dehdəəh              | 'to go hunting'          | kəbkoo <sup>b</sup>            | 'to huddle up'              |

|                                  |                                          |                                         |                            |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| kebroob                          | 'to wait to pounce'                      | rəhpær                                  | 'to prod the bushes'       |
| kedwēed                          | 'to shrivel'                             | rəljow                                  | 'to jump around'           |
| kemkwaap                         | 'to hide behind'                         | rəmrep                                  | 'to show off'              |
| kemrəəp/kəbrəəb                  | 'to lie in wait'                         | renkaaj                                 | 'to throttle s.o.'         |
| kənkot                           | 'to cling underneath'                    | rənsūd                                  | 'to sniff the nose'        |
| kənkit                           | 'to grate the teeth'                     | rəntad                                  | 'to zoom by'               |
| kil?il                           | 'to slip through a gap'                  | rentuu <sup>k</sup> /rantu <sup>k</sup> | 'to collide'               |
| ku <sup>k</sup> ka <sup>k</sup>  | 'to get busy'                            | renyeeuw                                | 'to whine'                 |
| merhiir                          | 'to be confident'                        | reŋluuj                                 | 'to go straight past'      |
| ŋerŋəər                          | 'to shake the head'                      | reŋweex                                 | 'to wander about'          |
| ŋerŋoɔr                          | 'to sit sadly'                           | sagwag                                  | 'to put over the shoulder' |
| ŋedŋeed                          | 'to pull open the eyelid'                | se <sup>k</sup> yaa <sup>k</sup>        | 'to not believe'           |
| pe <sup>k</sup> sii <sup>k</sup> | 'to persecute'                           | sedmad                                  | 'to splash'                |
| peblab                           | 'to flash'                               | seglaeg                                 | 'to tie a knot'            |
| pebŋəb                           | 'to nod the head'                        | segwæg                                  | 'to get caught'            |
| ped <sup>?</sup> oɔd             | 'to blow towards s.o.'                   | sehnøh                                  | 'to move back and forth'   |
| pedwed                           | 'to wag the tail'                        | sejruuj                                 | 'to slurp'                 |
| peg <sup>?</sup> ag              | 'to go <sup>?</sup> ag- <sup>?</sup> ag' | selsaal                                 | 'to peel vegetables'       |
| pegtoɔ                           | 'to boil food'                           | seŋyoɔox                                | 'to make a loud noise'     |
| pegyiig                          | 'to frighten s.o.'                       | serseer                                 | 'to fumble around'         |
| pejhaaj                          | 'to laugh on purpose'                    | seplaa'c                                | 'to lick with flat tongue' |
| pejlēej                          | 'to be critical'                         | teglæg                                  | 'to indulge'               |
| pelhæel                          | 'to mention things'                      | tegmoo <sup>g</sup>                     | 'to wait on s.o.'          |
| pelŋeel                          | 'to sway the head'                       | təhbæh                                  | 'to poise to pounce'       |
| pempoop                          | 'to lie on one's front'                  | telbakəl                                | 'to tumble over'           |
| pemtuaam, pemtaam                | 'to stamp the feet'                      | telguul                                 | 'to heap up'               |
| peŋriiŋ                          | 'to buzz'                                | teŋbaex                                 | 'to trouble s.o.'          |
| pesruus                          | 'to blow the nose'                       | teŋroɔox                                | 'to take ages'             |
| peŋŋoɔr                          | 'to sway the head'                       | teŋtiix                                 | 'to wriggle'               |
| peypreey                         | 'to fondle'                              | ye <sup>k</sup> yuu <sup>k</sup>        | 'to sway'                  |
| rehluuh                          | 'to jump in'                             | yeryoor                                 | 'to shake or toss'         |

*B2 Verbs showing 'middle voice' morphology*

|                    |                         |                    |                        |
|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| dade <sup>k</sup>  | 'to forget s.t.'        | kakəah             | 'to beat with a stick' |
| gagaaw             | 'to go and see'         | lalay              | 'to be disinterested'  |
| gagə <sup>k</sup>  | 'to hurry'              | mamuuj             | 'to moan'              |
| gagoh              | 'to visit'              | tatii <sup>k</sup> | 'to snore'             |
| gagoɔ <sup>k</sup> | 'to call out '          | tatoh              | 'to rub off'           |
| hahəay             | 'to burst out laughing' | waŋwəəl            | 'to awake suddenly'    |
| jajuūh             | 'to pretend'            |                    |                        |

*B3 Verbs showing lax sense morphology*

|                                  |                     |                      |                     |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| laŋlùx                           | 'to echo a sound'   | len <sup>?</sup> aah | 'to hold back'      |
| leb <sup>?</sup> ii <sup>b</sup> | 'to swell bigger'   | lemkəp               | 'to pause'          |
| lebcōo <sup>b</sup>              | 'to close the eyes' | leŋŋiim              | 'to look with love' |
| legyag                           | 'to flap'           | leŋlaaŋ              | 'to wobble'         |

|          |                   |         |                     |
|----------|-------------------|---------|---------------------|
| l̥erhaar | 'to creep closer' | leytuuy | 'to scatter things' |
| l̥erkuur | 'to quiver'       |         |                     |

**B4 Verbs showing causative morphology – ber- per- and ter- affixes**

|                      |                            |                     |                                |
|----------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| bercuuy              | 'to scatter'               | perwaag             | 'to release,'                  |
| berkɔ̄k              | 'to leave'                 | perwaas             | 'to make a crossing'           |
| berkɔ̄ðb             | 'to turn over'             | peryih              | 'to make afraid'               |
| berlad               | 'to run off'               | tərbəeŋ             | 'to make pain'                 |
| berleer              | 'to flick'                 | ter <sup>2</sup> əs | 'to do s.t. bad'               |
| berloog              | 'to make queasy'           | terbíd              | 'to provide'                   |
| berloøy/berkɔ̄y      | 'to scatter things'        | terdəp              | 'to encircle'                  |
| berpah               | 'to turn over'             | terboox             | 'to get s.t. wet'              |
| bertoox              | 'to make noise'            | terhæl              | 'to lose s.t.'                 |
| ber'yoɔ̄k            | 'to foster'                | terhðk              | 'to make sad'                  |
| ber'yuh              | 'to chase out people'      | telhùg              | 'to choke'                     |
| per <sup>2</sup> iis | 'to make a happy sound'    | terjal              | 'to name a place'              |
| per <sup>2</sup> uu  | 'to cook manioc with meat' | terjød              | 'to push over'                 |
| percōor              | 'to insist on'             | terkaak             | 'to call out the name of s.t.' |
| perdəet              | 'to lean s.t. against'     | tərkah              | 'to accuse'                    |
| perduh               | 'to cause difficulty'      | terkiís/t'kiís      | 'to finish s.t.'               |
| perdux               | 'to grow over'             | terlax              | 'to forbid'                    |
| pergoog              | 'to go on'                 | terloor             | 'to channel water'             |
| perheg               | 'to produce s.t.'          | terlox              | 'to cause s.o. to cease up'    |
| perhij               | 'to create'                | termiih/t'miih      | 'to entice s.o.'               |
| perhɔ̄od             | 'to cause s.o. to expect'  | terpa <sup>k</sup>  | 'to take cover'                |
| perkət               | 'to take so long'          | terpaad             | 'to prop up with a fork'       |
| perlah               | 'to give a present'        | terpəəx             | 'to close taboo period'        |
| perlaap              | 'to disregard'             | terpēēb             | 'to stuff with more'           |
| perleew              | 'to disclose'              | tersē <sup>k</sup>  | 'to let go'                    |
| perlīi <sup>k</sup>  | 'to joke'                  | telwah              | 'to steam food'                |
| perluuy              | 'to tease'                 | telwex              | 'to shake'                     |
| perlüb               | 'to infuse'                | telwaj              | 'to dab with water'            |
| pernaan              | 'to hold back'             | telwoød             | 'to cry without ceasing'       |
| perneej              | 'to show s.t.'             | t'r'líis            | 'to slip off'                  |
| pernøk               | 'to assume'                |                     |                                |

**B5 Verbs showing causative morphology with reduced affixes – b'-, p'- and t'-**

|                   |                       |         |                         |
|-------------------|-----------------------|---------|-------------------------|
| b <sup>2</sup> ug | 'to have a revulsion' | b'hod   | 'to kick with the foot' |
| b'coød            | 'to detest'           | b'hup   | 'to break wind'         |
| b'daal            | 'to run fast'         | b'hueed | 'to talk too much'      |
| b'døh             | 'to get away'         | b'kag   | 'to be about to burst'  |
| b'gəh             | 'to break'            | b'kah   | 'to break'              |
| b'guuy            | 'to diffuse'          | b'keed  | 'to sweat'              |
| b'haal            | 'to hack'             | b'lad   | 'to lash a pole'        |
| b'hød             | 'to cut down'         | b'laah  | 'to ignore'             |
| b'hæer            | 'to become overgrown' | b'laay  | 'to look above'         |

|                    |                             |                                 |                               |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| b'læəx             | 'to remember'               | p'rət                           | 'to feel pain'                |
| b'leg              | 'to lick'                   | p'rəəh                          | 'to descend on a line'        |
| b'lem              | 'to eye s.t.'               | p'rəəy                          | 'to blow in from outside'     |
| b'líd              | 'to change the mind'        | p'rəəh                          | 'to snort out'                |
| b'lōəd             | 'to think'                  | p'rut                           | 'to burn piles'               |
| b'luuh             | 'to pounce'                 | p'saar                          | 'to send forward'             |
| b'lūūs             | 'to go through'             | p'seeh                          | 'to extend a cord'            |
| b'luuj             | 'to feel sick'              | p'sor                           | 'to lay out'                  |
| b'raad             | 'to brush the inside'       | p'suy                           | 'to step on the edge'         |
| b'raag             | 'to come off'               | p'suu <sup>k</sup>              | 'to use sorcery'              |
| b'raaw             | 'to shower'                 | p'suuy                          | 'to vanish'                   |
| b'reey             | 'to drip or trickle'        | p'tas                           | 'to begin dropping'           |
| b'reeg             | 'to drizzle'                | p'taa <sup>k</sup>              | 'to request'                  |
| b'rōh              | 'to bleed'                  | p'təəl                          | 'to shine'                    |
| b'r'líj            | 'to disappear'              | p'tí <sup>k</sup>               | 'to run off'                  |
| b'seg              | 'to be jealous'             | p'tíg                           | 'to rap on the roof'          |
| b'ted              | 'to stay put'               | p'təəh                          | 'to swell,'                   |
| p'ʔəh              | 'to wander about'           | p'wəəy                          | 'to blow'                     |
| p'ʔoəl             | 'to cook in bamboo'         | p'yəh                           | 'to pick off the bones'       |
| p'ceer             | 'to restrict '              | t'ʔəl                           | 'to make'                     |
| p'ciis             | 'to be revolted'            | t'bəəŋ                          | 'to add to s.t.'              |
| p'dog              | 'to lay s.t. against'       | t'bəəx                          | 'to soak'                     |
| p'dug              | 'to carry a load'           | t'bəəh                          | 'to hit'                      |
| p'duul             | 'to fall on one's backside' | t'buul                          | 'to wrap in cloth'            |
| p'gəp              | 'to sink a fishing line'    | t'dəb                           | 'to tie a bundle'             |
| p'gōd              | 'to beat heavily'           | t'ges                           | 'to break off'                |
| p'guul             | 'to smoke out'              | t'gorr                          | 'to point at'                 |
| p'həəy             | 'to waver the voice'        | t'haat                          | 'to lie down'                 |
| p'həeg             | 'to guide'                  | t'hii̯r                         | 'to heat up'                  |
| p'hiim             | 'to puff'                   | t'hoəŋ                          | 'to blow gently'              |
| p'hiir             | 'to leap'                   | t'hoər                          | 'to gust'                     |
| p'juur             | 'to ache'                   | t'huur                          | 'to get hot'                  |
| p'lāk              | 'to squash'                 | t'kəəl                          | 'to go down'                  |
| p'laaj             | 'to appear'                 | t'keed                          | 'to open up'                  |
| p'laaw             | 'to fly off'                | t'koo <sup>k</sup>              | 'to push s.t. through a hole' |
| p'ləd              | 'to remember s.t.'          | t'koəh                          | 'to collide '                 |
| p'ləg              | 'to break'                  | t'lah                           | 'to chip an edge'             |
| p'lēēj             | 'to detest'                 | t'laa <sup>k</sup>              | 'trad. to abstain'            |
| p'lēew             | 'to fiddle'                 | t'laa̯j                         | 'to sharpen'                  |
| p'līnd             | 'to twinkle'                | t'laas                          | 'to get free'                 |
| p'lōo'j            | 'to arrive'                 | t'ləer                          | 'to slip'                     |
| p'lōo'w            | 'to fly away'               | t'liy <sup>a</sup> <sup>k</sup> | 'to fall in a heap'           |
| p'luu <sup>k</sup> | 'to hit'                    | t'līŋge <sup>k</sup>            | 'to swing the head'           |
| p'ləəŋ             | 'to open the eyes'          | t'lō <sup>k</sup>               | 'to tuck in'                  |
| p'ra <sup>k</sup>  | 'to leave s.t.'             | t'lùb/t'lab                     | 'to cover the mouth'          |
| p'raas             | 'to spray from the mouth'   | t'la <sup>k</sup>               | 'to flatten'                  |
| p'raay             | 'to spray'                  | t'meəl                          | 'to stare'                    |

|                   |                       |                    |                            |
|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| t'moɔ̄h           | 'to abstain'          | t'rek              | 'to slide s.t. down'       |
| t'juh             | 'to ascend'           | t'reel             | 'to snap off'              |
| t'pa <sup>k</sup> | 'to wash'             | t'rees             | 'to cut off ends'          |
| t'par             | 'to fly close'        | t'rōo'c            | 'to ache'                  |
| t'po <sup>k</sup> | 'to clap'             | t'ruu <sup>k</sup> | 'to manifest hot anger'    |
| t'pɔɔ̄k           | 'to wear a head band' | t'səb              | 'to bump the nose'         |
| t'pueh            | 'to flatten'          | t'waag             | 'to wear across the front' |

*B6 Verbs showing causative morphology – ger- and ker- affixes*

|                                  |                           |                                          |                              |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| ger <sup>ʔ</sup> aab             | 'to belch'                | kelhōō <sup>k</sup>                      | 'to stab accidentally'       |
| gerdal                           | 'to hurry'                | kelwa <sup>k</sup>                       | 'to make loud ejections'     |
| gerdax                           | 'to put in effort'        | kelwad                                   | 'to lever'                   |
| gərgəb/gərgəb                    | 'to darken'               | kelwaad                                  | 'to throw a huge storm'      |
| gerguu <sup>k</sup>              | 'to gather'               | kelwət                                   | 'to look long'               |
| gerguur                          | 'to waste'                | kelweel                                  | 'to cross the legs'          |
| gergùb                           | 'to plonk down'           | ker <sup>ʔ</sup> aah                     | 'to make a sound'            |
| gergùg                           | 'to collapse'             | ker <sup>ʔ</sup> əər                     | 'to heat up food'            |
| gerhaag                          | 'to cough up'             | ker <sup>ʔ</sup> oɔŋ                     | 'to soak in water'           |
| gerheem                          | 'to clear the throat'     | kerboox                                  | 'to pile up with coils'      |
| gerhuuy                          | 'to breathe in the face'  | kerjeeṛ                                  | 'to dance in a circle'       |
| gerlaaj                          | 'to roll over s.t.'       | kerlax                                   | 'to obstruct'                |
| gerlíid                          | 'to grind'                | kerlaad                                  | 'to make serrations'         |
| gerlíinj                         | 'to roll over s.t.'       | kerləs                                   | 'to step over s.t. sideways' |
| gerlùx                           | 'to grind by pushing'     | kerloh                                   | 'to extract s.t.'            |
| gerloɔ̄r                         | 'to rumble'               | kerlih                                   | 'to roll'                    |
| gerpah                           | 'to jump out on s.o.'     | kerləuŋj                                 | 'to go secretly'             |
| gerpeeh                          | 'to close with walls'     | kerməðh                                  | 'to make a smell'            |
| gerpíid/g'píid                   | 'to squash'               | kerməɛ <sup>k</sup> /kermūū <sup>k</sup> | 'to forebear'                |
| gersə <sup>k</sup>               | 'to relapse'              | kermii <sup>k</sup>                      | 'to be kind'                 |
| gersùd                           | 'to wait around'          | kerŋiir                                  | 'to wiggle the eyebrows'     |
| ger'yad                          | 'to lie, to scare people' | kerŋood                                  | 'to peep out'                |
| ger'yaah                         | 'to shout'                | kerseɛb                                  | 'to squint'                  |
| ger'yeed                         | 'to make difficult'       | kerta <sup>k</sup>                       | 'to cook plain'              |
| ger'yuh                          | 'to scare people'         | kerwaax                                  | 'to build a frame'           |
| kel <sup>ʔ</sup> eəb             | 'to strain'               | kerwəəh                                  | 'to bring out s.t. old'      |
| kel <sup>ʔ</sup> ōō <sup>j</sup> | 'to bellow'               | kerwəəh                                  | 'to whimper'                 |
| keldiix                          | 'to wiggle s.t.'          | kerwoøh                                  | 'to mention'                 |
|                                  |                           | ker'yool                                 | 'to erupt'                   |

*B7 Verbs showing causative morphology – cer-, der-, her-, jer-, ler-, ser- 'affixes'*

|                                  |                      |                    |                   |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| cer <sup>ʔ</sup> ee <sup>k</sup> | 'to roast'           | cergo <sup>k</sup> | 'to cuddle'       |
| cer <sup>ʔ</sup> ū <sup>k</sup>  | 'to fall head-first' | cerkap             | 'to interlock'    |
| cerbab                           | 'to grab s.o.'       | cerkəb             | 'to cover'        |
| cerbəer                          | 'to create leaves'   | cerləey            | 'to lay out'      |
| cerdoøl                          | 'to prop up'         | cermɔɔn            | 'to persuade'     |
| cergøl                           | 'to rush'            | cerpag             | 'to greet people' |

|                      |                                |                      |                           |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| certas               | 'to repay'                     | jerwaag              | 'to part'                 |
| certaad              | 'to weld together'             | lerho <sup>k</sup>   | 'to disturb'              |
| certəx               | 'to close'                     | lērkōo <sup>j</sup>  | 'to turn smooth'          |
| cerootol             | 'to join up the ends'          | lērkuur              | 'to quiver'               |
| cerwæer              | 'to ask many questions'        | sər <sup>w</sup> eј  | 'to disappear'            |
| cerweey              | 'to thread a bait'             | sər <sup>2</sup> oøy | 'to keep s.t. wrapped up' |
| cerwoøy              | 'to cast a love spell'         | sərba <sup>k</sup>   | 'to stir trouble'         |
| cerweel              | 'to coil'                      | sərbuh               | 'to gang up'              |
| dérhaas              | 'to radiate'                   | sərjeg               | 'to scrape'               |
| derloh               | 'to hurry'                     | sərkaab              | 'to pincer'               |
| herbüg               | 'to fill-in a hole'            | sərkah               | 'to cackle'               |
| herhag               | 'to rip off'                   | sərkēh               | 'to scale a fish'         |
| herhaa <sup>j</sup>  | 'to disappear'                 | sərkōob              | 'to darken'               |
| herhej               | 'to disappear'                 | sərləx               | 'to injure oneself'       |
| herhùg               | 'to gasp for air'              | sərluux              | 'to slide into s.t.'      |
| herkal               | 'to bar a way'                 | sərjíil              | 'to wake s.o.'            |
| herlæør              | 'to make a frenzy'             | sərpaađ              | 'to wrap in leaf'         |
| herlees              | 'to plane'                     | sərpāăđ              | 'to straddle the legs'    |
| herlœy               | 'to break off twigs'           | sərpət               | 'to get drowsy'           |
| herlod               | 'to accidentally swallow s.t.' | səpuur               | 'to wrap up warm'         |
| hermaar              | 'to become deranged'           | sərseer              | 'to fumble around'        |
| hernūüh              | 'to arrive together'           | sərwęg               | 'to strap on the back'    |
| herŋat               | 'to squeeze'                   | sərwíij              | 'to channel water'        |
| jer <sup>2</sup> iis | 'to come back'                 | səryaad              | 'to crowd around'         |
| jerjøb               | 'to feel negative'             | səryaağ              | 'to finish off'           |
| jerlax               | 'to consume'                   | səryaaw              | 'to settle down'          |
| jerlaay              | 'to rise, of a flame'          | səryeb               | 'to fold up'              |
| jerloh               | 'to extend s.t.'               | səryeh               | 'to get people moving'    |
| jerloy               | 'to jump up'                   |                      |                           |

*B8 Verbs showing imperfect causative morphology*

|                       |                          |                      |                       |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| b'rampaak             | 'to take anything'       | k'ricaay             | 'to spurt out'        |
| b'raník               | 'to set off'             | k'rili <sup>k</sup>  | 'to copy s.o. else'   |
| b'rapāās              | 'to grin'                | p'radčč <sup>k</sup> | 'to take a rest'      |
| b'rujaaw              | 'to speak nonsense'      | s'rapaa <sup>k</sup> | 'to look for s.t.'    |
| c'ra <sup>2</sup> ððj | 'to whisper'             | s'ripaax             | 'to rebound'          |
| c'raŋgøg              | 'to look upwards'        | s'ripaax             | 'to rebound'          |
| g'lesyas              | 'to go crashing through' | s'ruwaj              | 'to slither away'     |
| g'ramda <sup>k</sup>  | 'to scare off'           | s'ruyuw              | 'to burn up'          |
| h'rapo'o <sup>j</sup> | 'to scramble up'         | t'laŋkiíš            | 'to slide'            |
|                       |                          | t'raji <sup>k</sup>  | 'to get the hopes up' |

## C – Adjectives & Adverbs

### C1 Adjectives showing imperfective morphology

|                                 |                           |                                  |                           |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| ?en?aaŋ                         | 'dumb'                    | gəŋget                           | 'flabby'                  |
| be <sup>k</sup> bō <sup>k</sup> | 'another'                 | genlæəl                          | 'garbled'                 |
| beglug                          | 'white water'             | genlùg                           | 'thick'                   |
| bel?aa'c                        | 'disinterested'           | geŋwɔoŋ                          | 'slowly'                  |
| bel?ih                          | 'surprised'               | geŋwɛeŋ                          | 'no stopping'             |
| bel?el                          | 'red'                     | heblaab                          | 'near-naked'              |
| belbaal                         | 'abashed'                 | helmeel                          | 'to thump'                |
| belhed                          | 'sweet-tasting'           | helmuul                          | 'inquisitive'             |
| belyēc                          | 'far away'                | jebgɔɔb                          | 'arched over'             |
| bennyoŋ                         | 'white-haired'            | jebkəb                           | 'unhappy'                 |
| beswas                          | 'distasteful'             | jed?ōōd                          | 'cloudy'                  |
| cəb?ub                          | 'staring eyes'            | jegríg                           | 'standing still'          |
| cəbgəb                          | 'immovable'               | jelgaal                          | 'too big to carry'        |
| cəbŋɛēb                         | 'stuck watching s.t.'     | jemjeb                           | 'drooping'                |
| cəbrəb                          | 'very dry'                | jemped                           | 'tight'                   |
| cədhɛēd                         | 'slowly'                  | jenrus                           | 'sticking out'            |
| cədhəud                         | 'famished'                | jenjuŋ                           | 'breathless'              |
| cəd?iid                         | 'growling'                | jenkít                           | 'stuck on one's backside' |
| cəghaag                         | 'noisy'                   | jenlaaŋ                          | 'staring blankly'         |
| cəgkalɔɔg                       | 'going in all directions' | jenlīŋ                           | 'wide-eyed'               |
| cəgwawaag                       | 'crying of a baby'        | jensooŋ                          | 'protruding'              |
| cegl'yeg                        | 'a shrill sound'          | jesjoos                          | 'poor'                    |
| cəgwəəg                         | 'noisy'                   | kə <sup>k</sup> nii <sup>k</sup> | 'jealous'                 |
| cəgwɔoŋ                         | 'crying loudly'           | kəbrab                           | 'dried up'                |
| cəhcūh                          | 'drowsy'                  | kəgpɔɔg                          | 'orphaned'                |
| cəjhaa'j/cəjhēj                 | 'non-stop'                | kəjwɔoŋ                          | 'curled up'               |
| cel?ūl                          | 'smoke arising'           | kəlbət                           | 'almost ripened'          |
| celpəel                         | 'a tiny piece'            | kəl? <sup>k</sup> ees            | 'stuffed tight'           |
| cemkoom                         | 'quiet'                   | kəlhəəd                          | 'sore laughing'           |
| cempud                          | 'blemished'               | kənlat                           | 'stuck s.w.'              |
| cemrap                          | 're-sprouted'             | kəŋwaŋ                           | 'coiling'                 |
| cənheeer                        | 'constantly'              | məlhíil                          | 'surprised to see s.o.'   |
| centiŋ                          | 'sheer rock'              | menhaar                          | 'kind'                    |
| cənwəew                         | 'crying on and on'        | mənyex                           | 'clear'                   |
| cəŋ?aaŋ                         | 'gaping'                  | nəŋneŋ                           | 'first'                   |
| cəŋhoon                         | 'howling'                 | ŋəŋwŋjaaw                        | 'stupid'                  |
| cəpraa'c                        | 'crunchy and juicy'       | pə <sup>k</sup> pu <sup>k</sup>  | 'blind'                   |
| dəgdig                          | 'sprawling'               | ped?ūūd                          | 'smoky'                   |
| dəŋ?əŋ                          | 'zig-zag'                 | pedcəd                           | 'stopping'                |
| ge <sup>k</sup> gōōk            | 'gloomy'                  | pedcēēd                          | 'a little'                |
| ge <sup>k</sup> wəēk            | 'busy working'            | pedheed                          | 'sharp'                   |
| gebrəəb                         | 'crunchy'                 | pedsūūd                          | 'sniffing'                |
| gehyuh                          | 'flying about'            | pedwood                          | 'gone a long time'        |
| gejruj                          | 'full of people'          | pegcɔɔg                          | 'having black spots'      |

|                       |                          |                      |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| peghög                | 'not hard-working'       | reŋwεŋ               | 'very clean'       |
| peghεeg               | 'going slowly'           | reŋlaa'c             | 'fast'             |
| pejlíij               | 'blistered'              | sebmab               | 'cramped'          |
| pelhaaj               | 'wide open'              | sedməəd              | 'drowsy'           |
| pełnqđ                | 'tiny'                   | sedweg               | 'malnourished'     |
| pełpol                | 'poor'                   | segliig              | 'half-naked'       |
| pen?ee <sup>k</sup>   | 'short'                  | segreeg              | 'noisy'            |
| perheer               | 'narrow'                 | segyaag              | 'dark'             |
| peŋpuun               | 'falling down'           | semjɔɔm              | 'cloudy'           |
| rebjoɔb               | 'on the move'            | semriim              | 'smooth'           |
| red? <sup>k</sup> eəd | 'small'                  | senroð'j             | 'continual'        |
| regríig               | 'orphaned'               | seŋwej               | 'small'            |
| rejdøɔr'j             | 'wandering off'          | seŋyoð'j             | 'quiet'            |
| rejduuj               | 'very fast'              | seŋyeŋ               | 'dark'             |
| rel? <sup>k</sup> el  | 'having a thin waist'    | seŋyoð'x             | 'loudly'           |
| rel? <sup>k</sup> iíl | 'smartly dressed'        | septaaŋ              | 'wiry'             |
| rejgaardj             | 'walking arms swinging'  | tegtɔɔg              | 'disabled'         |
| remyɔɔm               | 'quiet'                  | telbuc               | 'bulbous'          |
| reŋbøŋ                | 'piled up'               | teldíil              | 'rounded'          |
| reŋdiix               | 'long and straight'      | telhab               | 'deaf'             |
| reŋhum                | 'empty'                  | telhaatj             | 'at the extremity' |
| reŋjeŋ                | 'far'                    | teŋhūŋ               | 'all alone'        |
| reŋlux                | 'having many tall trees' | testuuus             | 'easily agitated'  |
| reŋræəŋ               | 'long'                   | teŋ? <sup>k</sup> iç | 'agitated'         |
| reŋseŋ                | 'straight'               | yenyɔɔt              | 'stationary'       |

*C2 Adjectives derived by frontal affixation to monosyllabic roots*

|                                      |                          |                        |                          |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| bəlb'yaal                            | 'thick with undergrowth' | geŋ'waaj               | 'blackened'              |
| beŋb'líiŋ                            | 'very shiny'             | geŋr'hox               | 'hoarse of voice'        |
| beŋb'laa'c                           | 'leaping'                | gerg'híir              | 'unable to listen'       |
| cenc? <sup>k</sup> aaŋ               | 'out of breath'          | gerg'tuur              | 'coughing'               |
| cehc'ruuh                            | 'gushing'                | geŋg'neɛŋ              | 'pricking'               |
| ceŋc'ŋɔɔn/ceŋc'ŋuuu                  | 'bulky'                  | geŋg'raŋaŋ             | 'biting of sharp teeth'  |
| ceŋc'tiix                            | 'drumming'               | hegh'ñaag              | 'throwing open'          |
| ceŋr'díix                            | 'lumpy'                  | hegh'r'bøøg            | 'wanting e.t.'           |
| ceyc'guuy                            | 'bulky'                  | hegh'yuug              | 'freezing shiver'        |
| de <sup>k</sup> d'kít                | 'bending the knees'      | henh'narot             | 'bulky'                  |
| deŋd'woonj                           | 'alone'                  | hewh'raboow            | 'descending'             |
| dey'd'waay                           | 'smart'                  | hewh'yaaw              | 'wriggling'              |
| ge <sup>k</sup> g'lawəə <sup>k</sup> | 'black-bodied'           | helh'wíil              | 'about to fall'          |
| ge <sup>k</sup> g'lü <sup>k</sup>    | 'jiggling'               | jedj'led               | 'narrow'                 |
| gedg'hεed                            | 'tight'                  | jehj'roh               | 'returning all the time' |
| gegr'ŋɔɔg                            | 'indifferent'            | jelj? <sup>k</sup> əəl | 'out of breath'          |
| gehg'laar                            | 'throwing insults'       | jedj'leed              | 'sharp pain'             |
| gehg'lüh                             | 'stretched out'          | jedj'pūud              | 'springy'                |
| gelg'yuul                            | 'shaking of the trees'   | jedj'ronhed            | 'frayed'                 |
| geŋg'lex                             | 'desiring things'        | jedj'r'ləəd            | 'jumping up'             |

|                     |                        |                     |                            |
|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| jedj'waad           | 'too tough to eat'     | pelp'læd            | 'painful'                  |
| jelj'túil/jewj'taaw | 'springy'              | pənp'jæən           | 'bouncy'                   |
| jemj'píp            | 'eager'                | pənp'jon            | 'stretchy'                 |
| jenj'líin           | 'stretchy'             | pənj'goŋ            | 'thirsty'                  |
| jenj'lunj           | 'very far'             | peyp'rəsəy          | 'missing each other'       |
| jenj'raanj          | 'eager'                | pənp'hēŋj           | 'steep-sided on each side' |
| jenj'waanj          | 'stuck fast'           | pənp'laaj/pənp'luuj | 'appearing'                |
| kekk'yék            | 'jumping about'        | regr'noog           | 'walking slowly'           |
| kebk'tab            | 'chewy'                | remr'dom            | 'a dark sky'               |
| kebk'tíib           | 'sticky'               | remr'najam          | 'ghost-like'               |
| kebk'yæb            | 'standing up'          | renr'cɔt            | 'gloomy'                   |
| kebk'yíib           | 'swaying'              | renr'jooŋ           | 'tired and hungry'         |
| kedk'cíib           | 'winking'              | reŋr'poŋ            | 'falling apart'            |
| kedk'nood           | 'in heaps'             | sebbiyed            | 'too large'                |
| kedk'raad           | 'smart'                | sébk'yeb            | 'unmovable'                |
| kedk'waad           | 'lustful'              | séds'bæd            | 'very handsome'            |
| kejk'lejwaa'j       | 'wriggling'            | seg'sriyaag         | 'disappearing'             |
| kelk'íil            | 'tangled'              | sejs'rawaa'j        | 'running out'              |
| kelk'lel            | 'a very small amount'  | sem's'yæp           | 'loaded up'                |
| kemk'joor'm         | 'loose-fitting'        | sem'laah            | 'disinterested'            |
| kenk'don            | 'standing up'          | senp'yék            | 'putrid'                   |
| kenk'lit            | 'all the time'         | sers'buur           | 'noisy'                    |
| kewk'jow            | 'walking with no rest' | sews'koorw          | 'rain coming'              |
| kejk'jaanj          | 'startled'             | seys'looty          | 'quiet, abashed'           |
| ledl'næd            | 'bent over'            | sers'yoor           | 'overflowing'              |
| ledl'nød            | 'big'                  | sers'yuur           | 'shocked'                  |
| legl'yag            | 'flapping'             | seys'looty          | 'quiet, shy'               |
| lewł'neew           | 'drooping over'        | tedruwiíd           | 'hanging full'             |
| leyl'pay            | 'flexible'             | telt'neel           | 'precipitous'              |
| pedp'hed            | 'narrow'               | temt'jep            | 'sheer'                    |
| pedp'nood           | 'peeping out'          | tent'raan           | 'refusing'                 |
| pejp'uuj            | 'rancid'               | teŋm'naaj           | 'not knowing'              |
| pejp'hæj            | 'very high up'         | teŋt'giinj          | 'caught by s.t.'           |
| pelp'dæul           | 'to fall flat'         | tewt'ŋoow           | 'drowsy'                   |

*C3 Adjectives derived by frontal affixation to disyllabic roots*

|            |                           |            |                      |
|------------|---------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| cækalɔɔg   | 'going in all directions' | geŋguyoox  | 'walking alone'      |
| cækmayaaag | 'noisy'                   | reŋrawoox  | 'going about alone'  |
| cegraley   | 'not found'               | reŋroŋdaaj | 'diagonal'           |
| cegrohag   | 'sharp ends'              | sedroped   | 'all over the place' |
| cejgamaa'j | 'crawling with creatures' | segbalog   | 'empty of stuff'     |
| cejkulej   | 'crumbling'               | segdawug   | 'immovable'          |
| cempalam   | 'commotion'               | seglantaag | 'muddy'              |
| cemrugab   | 'impenetrable'            | seglapoog  | 'dropped all over'   |
| ceŋmahaanj | 'fierce'                  | segpataag  | 'wet'                |
| ceybarœey  | 'spattering'              | segrapœag  | 'having plenty'      |
| ceybaruuuy | 'scattering'              | sehgaleh   | 'abandoned'          |

|                     |                          |             |                 |
|---------------------|--------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| sejlipuj            | 'swarming'               | tegrujag    | 'uneven'        |
| sejmoryej           | 'feeling lost'           | tējbalaaj   | 'very steep'    |
| selgawəl            | 'caught in the trees'    | tēlbakəl    | 'tumbling over' |
| sergaliiř           | 'discarded'              | tēlrojoɔ̄l  | 'uneven'        |
| seylawooøy          | 'wriggling and swarming' | tējbahneenj | 'no one around' |
| tebrapab/tēkrapoɔ̄k | 'emptied out'            | tēngalíj    | 'all quiet'     |
| ted'akaad           | 'masses'                 | tēngawaan   | 'full of vines' |
| tegragūg            | 'jumbled'                | tējhaweeŋ   | 'empty'         |
| tegraleeg           | 'deserted'               | tējrayaaŋ   | 'deserted'      |
| tegrampog           | 'all over the place'     | teyrajoy    | 'dangling'      |
| tegraweg            | 'busy'                   | teyralay    | 'unwilling'     |

*C4 Adjectives showing continuous morphology*

|            |             |            |                        |
|------------|-------------|------------|------------------------|
| b'gorix    | 'heaps'     | b'ləlam    | 'crowded'              |
| b'jenreεŋ  | 'red-faced' | b'naraay   | 'flocking'             |
| b'jileed   | 'twinkling' | b'saŋoɔ̄r  | 'wilted'               |
| b'juŋgəēk | 'gloomy'    | b'segyaag  | 'dark'                 |
| b'keldæl   | 'lumpy'     | b'semyoɔ̄m | 'dark with clouds'     |
| b'kukəb    | 'squashed'  | b'tabøg    | 'sprouting along s.t.' |
| b'laal     | 'bored'     | b'tumpəəl  | 'laden with fruits'    |

*C5 Adjectives showing 'middle voice' morphology*

|        |                 |         |              |
|--------|-----------------|---------|--------------|
| gagíd  | 'middle'        | mamēē̄k | 'adequate'   |
| jajiih | 'many'          | papah   | 'inside out' |
| lalag  | 'nutty'         | yayah   | 'crazy'      |
| lalay  | 'disinterested' |         |              |

*C6 Adjectives showing lax morphology*

|            |               |          |                    |
|------------|---------------|----------|--------------------|
| laboɔ̄j    | 'greasy'      | lebyəb   | 'misty'            |
| ləlabug    | 'lazy'        | ledluwed | 'long'             |
| ləlagøh    | 'tapping'     | lēdl'nəd | 'bent over'        |
| ləlahē̄k   | 'giggling'    | lēdpəd   | 'longing'          |
| ləlapaad   | 'wiggling'    | lēpœed   | 'on the edge'      |
| ləlaped    | 'rustling'    | lēdwəəd  | 'pleasant voice'   |
| ləlapiis   | 'revving'     | lēbgəb   | 'trembling'        |
| ləlasaaw   | 'too noisy'   | lēbgøɔ̄b | 'wandering about'  |
| ləlayē̄ŋi  | 'whining'     | lēdwɔ̄cd | 'hanging about'    |
| ləlapnāaw  | 'chomping'    | lēdwəd   | 'long'             |
| lēk'cē̄k   | 'drizzling'   | lēg'ē̄eg | 'not finishing'    |
| lēk'cō̄k   | 'slowly'      | lēgbaag  | 'very talkative'   |
| lēk'tāk   | 'sticky'      | lēgbøg   | 'talking too much' |
| lebl'ŋoɔ̄b | 'nodding off' | lēgcaag  | 'talking noisily'  |
| lebnøgb    | 'chewing'     | lēgeeg   | 'knowing s.t.'     |
| lebtəb     | 'multitudes'  | legħaag  | 'feeling ill'      |
| lebwaaib   | 'weak'        | legreg   | 'hot and dry'      |
|            |               | leħjiih  | 'putting off'      |

|               |                           |            |                         |
|---------------|---------------------------|------------|-------------------------|
| lehjoh        | 'seeping'                 | lenyoöt    | 'hungry'                |
| lehjah        | 'feeling awful'           | lenjoök    | 'on and on'             |
| lehjeh        | 'weak and sickly'         | lenjoonj   | 'hanging down'          |
| lejlawoōj     | 'creeping about'          | lenjum     | 'sound of bamboo tubes' |
| lejnaat'j     | 'ticklish'                | lenjhæx    | 'greedy'                |
| lejnaat'j     | 'blacking out'            | lenjlox    | 'have holes'            |
| lel'íil       | 'making waves'            | lenjraanj  | 'heard afar off'        |
| lel'ol        | 'sick'                    | lenpoŋj    | 'constantly'            |
| lelduuł       | 'fallen e.w.'             | lenjwæx    | 'silly'                 |
| lelg'íil      | 'holding in the bosom'    | lenjiíŋ    | 'swirling'              |
| leljal/leljel | 'again and again'         | lenjyux    | 'blazing'               |
| leljol        | 'hopping about'           | ler'oor    | 'sweating'              |
| leljuul       | 'bouncing about'          | lerŋoɔr    | 'eager'                 |
| lel'uul       | 'promising, no intention' | lertuur    | 'muddy'                 |
| lelwəðl       | 'insistent'               | lewdeew    | 'soft'                  |
| lelyaal       | 'rocking'                 | lewl'ŋeew  | 'drooping over'         |
| lemcaap       | 'having plenty'           | lewrínyeew | 'plodding along'        |
| lemcōop       | 'sleepy'                  | lewtow     | 'adolescent'            |
| lemyəp        | 'feeling ill'             | leyl'pay   | 'flexible'              |
| lemyoōm       | 'feeling sad'             | leyweenj   | 'curly'                 |
| len'aap       | 'stinking'                | lejbaa'c   | 'spots of red'          |
| lenhah        | 'panting'                 | lejboŋj    | 'gooey'                 |
| lenjoöt       | 'drooping'                | lengec     | 'abundant'              |
| lenwooy       | 'able to attract'         | lejlaapj   | 'sharply pointed'       |
|               |                           | leplíc     | 'squeaky clean'         |

*C7 Adjectives showing lax morphology with affix ha-*

|            |              |            |              |
|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| halajok    | 'plump'      | haleđwiid  | 'swollen'    |
| halajaat   | 'masses'     | haleŋdaaqj | 'winding'    |
| halanjgoob | 'baggy'      | haleŋdiíx  | 'bulging'    |
| halanjkaak | 'big'        | haleŋpux   | 'bulging'    |
| halanjwaar | 'loose'      | harayon    | 'active'     |
| halapaw    | 'straight'   | hareŋmux   | 'whimpering' |
| halebgooob | 'over-sized' |            |              |

*C8 Adjectives showing causative morphology*

|          |                       |           |                    |
|----------|-----------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| bercāh   | 'fallen all over'     | cērpoɔr   | 'overhanging'      |
| bercēh   | 'fine'                | cērudíil  | 'fallen in plenty' |
| berkíc   | 'compact'             | gerg'híir | 'unable to listen' |
| berleeh  | 'bright'              | gerg'daar | 'banging'          |
| berluuh  | 'straight'            | gerg'duur | 'rumbling'         |
| bersag   | 'untidy'              | gerhíij   | 'walled'           |
| bertaa'j | 'covered in s.t. wet' | gerlot    | 'thin and long'    |
| cerbeer  | 'frayed'              | gernaa'j  | 'corrugated'       |
| cermag   | 'very ill'            | hercəb    | 'stuck'            |
| cerogel  | 'lumpy'               | hergoɔp   | 'complete'         |

|                      |                        |           |                |
|----------------------|------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| herhōōg              | 'overflowing'          | mərhīir   | 'confident'    |
| herwōōj              | 'disappeared'          | pərgub    | 'staying put'  |
| jər <sup>2</sup> əd  | 'hungry'               | perheer   | 'narrow'       |
| jərboōn              | 'alone'                | serbuur   | 'blurred'      |
| jərigūūs             | 'dead things all over' | sərgaliir | 'discarded'    |
| jərikaag             | 'too big to carry'     | sərguur   | 'bustling'     |
| jərpəas              | 'baggy'                | serjuur   | 'burniong hot' |
| ker <sup>2</sup> iix | 'tight fitting'        | sər'yōoř  | 'overflowing'  |
| ker <sup>2</sup> uc  | 'short'                | səryad    | 'blackened'    |
| ker <sup>2</sup> uh  | 'hot'                  | tərbəh    | 'uneasy'       |
| kerħeel              | 'constipated'          | tərtaj    | 'wide open'    |
| məŋ'yex              | 'clear'                |           |                |

## C9 Adjectives showing imperfect causative morphology

|                                   |                             |                       |                       |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| b'rebcōōb                         | 'chunky'                    | g'relhāəl             | 'chunky'              |
| b'rebkēb                          | 'not ever happening'        | g'rēltaal             | 'in a hurry'          |
| b'rebsiib                         | 'pimply'                    | g'rēlyool             | 'shaking'             |
| b'redləd                          | 'splotchy'                  | g'remhūm              | 'eager to do s.t.'    |
| b'redleed                         | 'thin-striped'              | g'remhùx              | 'dragging away'       |
| b'redyaad                         | 'rushing in all directions' | g'rēmpíid             | 'strips of bamboo'    |
| b'reglög                          | 'rambling'                  | g'renhiix             | 'spacious'            |
| b'rehgoh                          | 'haphazardly'               | g'rendaaj             | 'noise of clanging'   |
| b'rehsuh                          | 'flaky'                     | g'reyyaaay            | 'a moving mouth'      |
| b'rejwaa;j                        | 'gone'                      | hareŋkoσŋ             | 'not staying at home' |
| b'relcaal                         | 'spotted'                   | h'regyaag             | 'to brighten up'      |
| b'reldaal                         | 'pouring down'              | h'rejwaa;j            | 'crying the eyes out' |
| b'relheel                         | 'pitted with holes'         | j'reb <sup>2</sup> ab | 'stinking'            |
| b'relkaal                         | 'multi-coloured'            | j'reghaag             | 'bare'                |
| b'relkeel                         | 'dashed'                    | j'reglag              | 'unbearable'          |
| b'relnqōōl                        | 'spotted with colour'       | j'regliig             | 'clear'               |
| b'relwəəl                         | 'flowery'                   | j'regtaag             | 'full of people'      |
| b'relwħəl                         | 'striped'                   | j'rehloħ              | 'burning hot'         |
| b'renyaaw                         | 'flashing'                  | j'rēmsaam             | 'bristly'             |
| b'reŋbōj                          | 'stacked up'                | j'rēmseem             | 'wispy'               |
| b'reŋcaa/b'reŋcaa;j               | 'dark striped'              | j'rentíil             | 'suspended'           |
| b'reŋceej                         | 'patterned'                 | j'res <sup>2</sup> is | 'rotting'             |
| b'reŋləax                         | 'wide eyed'                 | j'reptaaj             | 'holed'               |
| b'reŋyōx                          | 'quiet'                     | k'rēkpeēk             | 'going on and on'     |
| b'reskees                         | 'deserted'                  | k'rebciib             | 'nasty'               |
| b'rewkēew                         | 'loud'                      | k'rebyeeb             | 'constantly active'   |
| b'reykōy                          | 'setting off together'      | k'rejləej             | 'stony'               |
| b'reŋwaaj                         | 'dashed'                    | k'reljel              | 'busy'                |
| c'regbag                          | 'loud all the time'         | k'reypəy              | 'pitted'              |
| c'relhul                          | 'stuffed thick'             | k'reptaaj             | 'spiraling'           |
| c'relħaal                         | 'lights shining'            | p'rēdhiiđ             | 'cool'                |
| g're <sup>2</sup> lu <sup>k</sup> | 'impatient'                 | p'redliid             | 'flashing lights'     |
| g'rebcaab                         | 'many small things'         | p'rēdlōđ              | 'tough-going'         |

|                   |                           |            |                      |
|-------------------|---------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| p'redluaad        | 'greedily'                | s'rejwēēj  | 'fine stripes'       |
| p'rejbej          | 'chattering'              | s'rēlbool  | 'garbled up'         |
| p'relcool         | 'glinting'                | s'renyan   | 'moving fast'        |
| p'reldoɔl         | 'taking one's time'       | s'renyeb   | 'walled in'          |
| p'relhaal         | 'subject to restrictions' | t'rekhōk   | 'make sad'           |
| p'relyal          | 'wavering'                | t'rebjəb   | 'full of s.t.'       |
| p'rendiinj        | 'straight'                | t'redkad   | 'in bunches'         |
| p'renjhux         | 'burning pain'            | t'regbog   | 'so many'            |
| p'renjiij         | 'motionless'              | t'rehlleeh | 'heavy with bunches' |
| p'resyas/k'resyas | 'in a hurry'              | t'rehwiih  | 'clear'              |
| s'reg'uug         | 'thousands of s.t.'       | t'reljoɔl  | 'not tiring'         |
| s'regloog         | 'bursting full'           | t'rengooŋ  | 'glassy'             |
| s'regyoɔg         | 'noisy'                   | t'reŋhel   | 'fine'               |
| s'regyuug         | 'cold'                    | t'reŋlæex  | 'eyes gaping wide'   |
| s'rejwāāj         | 'all stripy'              |            |                      |

*C10 Adjectives showing 'middle voice' causative morphology*

|                                            |                        |                        |                            |
|--------------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| b'ra <sup>2</sup> eeeg                     | 'afraid'               | c'rapud                | 'sealed'                   |
| b'ra <sup>0</sup> k                        | 'noisy'                | c'ratōōg               | 'talking a lot'            |
| b'rabaag                                   | 'scant'                | d'ragīk                | 'a bustle'                 |
| b'racaaj                                   | 'baring the teeth'     | d'raŋg                 | 'sitting idly'             |
| b'racex                                    | 'uneven'               | d'rayāāj               | 'getting up fast'          |
| b'radoɔy                                   | 'gossiping'            | g'racaaj               | 'chunky'                   |
| b'rahiid                                   | 'numb'                 | g'radaaj               | 'getting ready'            |
| b'ragoɔy                                   | 'smoky'                | g'raduus               | 'bumping into things'      |
| b'rakaaj                                   | 'loose'                | g'rahaaj               | 'collapsing'               |
| b'rakəeb                                   | 'stacked up together'  | g'rahāām               | 'dangerous'                |
| b'rakoɔy                                   | 'e.o. leaving'         | g'rahīid               | 'putting the hairs on end' |
| b'ralah                                    | 'lop-sided'            | g'rahoɔj               | 'hot-tempered'             |
| b'raləed                                   | 'aching'               | g'rajad                | 'ripped open'              |
| b'ralik <sup>k</sup>                       | 'bright during rain'   | g'rajed                | 'sparse'                   |
| b'raliid                                   | 'twinkling'            | g'rajoŋ                | 'spiky'                    |
| b'ralog                                    | 'going here and there' | g'ralas                | 'blackened'                |
| b'raŋkaaj                                  | 'bare bones'           | g'raloɔy               | 'stranded s.w.'            |
| b'raŋqeŋj                                  | 'wailing'              | g'ramaas               | 'grubby'                   |
| b'rase <sup>k</sup>                        | 'uneasy'               | g'rancaad              | 'spiky'                    |
| b'ratog                                    | 'all gone out'         | g'raŋhox               | 'hollowed'                 |
| b'raŋāāj                                   | 'very itchy'           | g'rataal               | 'hurrying'                 |
| b'r'guuh                                   | 'with a group'         | g'ratoŋ                | 'holed'                    |
| c'ra <sup>2</sup> ox/c'ra <sup>2</sup> eex | 'hot and sweaty'       | g'rawəej               | 'taking e.t.'              |
| c'rabaag                                   | 'standing out'         | h'ra <sup>k</sup> yeel | 'on the move'              |
| c'radooj                                   | 'going as a group'     | h'rabaag               | 'presume to know'          |
| c'raheed                                   | 'walking slowly'       | h'rabəel               | 'all together'             |
| c'rahueed                                  | 'waiting ages'         | h'raboow               | 'confusing'                |
| c'ralex                                    | 'mean-looking'         | h'rapoɔ'j              | 'scrambling'               |
| c'ralōk                                    | 'haphazardly'          | j'radeel               | 'crowded'                  |
| c'rapos                                    | 'busy working'         | j'raŋkeg               | 'frail'                    |

|                       |                       |                        |                    |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| j'raŋwes              | 'small'               | p'rāŋa <sup>k</sup>    | 'hot in the face'  |
| j'rawəd               | 'taking e.t.'         | s'ra? <sup>u</sup> k   | 'about to cry'     |
| k'rabo <sup>o</sup> k | 'inedible'            | s'rabù <sup>k</sup>    | 'unclear'          |
| k'radaay              | 'fully loaded'        | s'rakūū <sup>k</sup>   | 'getting light'    |
| k'radon               | 'wiggling the body'   | s'ralaad               | 'darkened'         |
| k'rajel               | 'always active'       | s'raloŋj               | 'very pretty'      |
| k'rasoh               | 'crunchy'             | s'raŋlīj               | 'swollen'          |
| k'rawed               | 'single-file'         | s'rawah                | 'dirty-faced'      |
| k'rawōōd              | 'wrinkled'            | s'rawāā <sup>i</sup> j | 'striped'          |
| p'racaan              | 'talk loudly'         | s'rawēē <sup>i</sup> j | 'small stripes'    |
| p'ragas               | 'sound in the bushes' | s'rawel                | 'cute'             |
| p'ra? <sup>u</sup> d  | 'with blocked nose'   | s'rayeg                | 'a horrible noise' |
| p'rajaan              | 'go in a hurry'       | s'rayog                | 'noisy'            |
| p'rasuud              | 'lumpy'               | t'rampē <sup>k</sup>   | 'minute'           |
| p'rayel               | 'waving in the wind'  | t'rapij                | 'screwed up'       |

*C11 Adjectives showing imperfect causative morphology with [i]*

|                 |                  |          |                |
|-----------------|------------------|----------|----------------|
| b'rigoo'y       | 'smoke rising'   | p'risoy  | 'windy'        |
| b'rihəy/b'rikay | 'talkative'      | p'ritæl  | 'crowded'      |
| b'rituuy        | 'making a cloud' | s'rimaay | 'yellow sky'   |
| b'rinyēēw       | 'sparkling'      | s'riyaag | 'to disappear' |
| k'riməd         | 'lumpy'          | t'ripíj  | 'ugly'         |
|                 |                  | t'rínjed | 'minute'       |

*C12 Adjectives showing imperfect causative morphology with [u]*

|                    |                         |          |                    |
|--------------------|-------------------------|----------|--------------------|
| b'rulaa'c          | 'racing off'            | b'rujuš  | 'dead at the ends' |
| b'ruloōw/b'lunyoōw | 'talking nonsense'      | g'rudaal | 'strong'           |
| b'rumpup           | 'rotten'                | g'ruluw  | 'very large '      |
| b'rumnōh           | 'accustomed to harming' | j'rulaap | 'sharp'            |
| b'runaar           | 'breaking down'         | p'runcoŋ | 'sticking up'      |
| b'runtùx           | 'ready to go'           | t'ruluj  | 'steep'            |

*C13 Adjectives showing causative phoneme consonant replacement, [l] for [r]*

|                                             |                 |                         |                      |
|---------------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| b'la? <sup>u</sup> əm                       | 'pale green'    | b'lataa <sup>i</sup> j  | 'wet'                |
| b'la? <sup>u</sup> ər                       | 'green'         | b'lateeg                | 'black'              |
| b'la? <sup>u</sup> iig                      | 'rancid'        | b'layah                 | 'faded'              |
| b'la? <sup>u</sup> ug/b'la? <sup>u</sup> uh | 'green'         | b'ledhiid               | 'pale'               |
| b'la? <sup>u</sup> uc                       | 'faint'         | b'ledjaad               | 'sparkling'          |
| b'lacaaj                                    | 'translucent'   | b'leg? <sup>u</sup> iig | 'gone off'           |
| b'lacuŋ/b'lacūh                             | 'pale coloured' | b'len? <sup>u</sup> oot | 'overcast'           |
| b'ladeer                                    | 'deep yellow'   | b'lenyaag               | 'covered with green' |
| b'laduuy                                    | 'crowded'       | b'leŋ? <sup>u</sup> ux  | 'rancid'             |
| b'laga <sup>k</sup>                         | 'foolish'       | b'lertiir               | 'slimy'              |
| b'lahak                                     | 'awful'         | c'ladoty/c'ladorj       | 'no one about'       |
| b'lanyoōw                                   | 'talking'       | c'lapād                 | 'flat'               |
| b'laŋ? <sup>u</sup> eay                     | 'loud'          | c'lapag                 | 'lone male'          |

|           |                      |           |                      |
|-----------|----------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| c'lataaj  | 'big and bare'       | k'lacís   | 'splayed open'       |
| g'lamaa;j | 'crawling with s.t.' | k'leŋbuux | 'bulging'            |
| g'laŋøh   | 'sitting still'      | k'lespuus | 'able'               |
| g'lerhoor | 'gullied'            | k'leŋcaaj | 'taught'             |
| h'leŋjaad | 'coiled up'          | k'leŋdaaj | 'warped'             |
| h'liwíid  | 'full of fruits'     | p'layoar  | 'concave'            |
| h'lugat   | 'thick'              | p'leŋdiíŋ | 'horizontal'         |
| h'lupñéew | 'fine'               | s'labax   | 'fat'                |
| h'luwiiw  | 'very large'         | s'ladaar  | 'fat of body'        |
| j'lagoor  | 'in any direction'   | s'lanjag  | 'teeming'            |
| j'lagen   | 'up and down'        | s'lapík   | 'flat on one's face' |
| j'lantut  | 'piled up'           | s'lapuj   | 'slithering'         |
| j'laŋñík  | 'twisted'            | s'larís   | 'going on forever'   |
| j'layag   | 'piled up'           | s'lāyāh   | 'over-sized'         |
| j'leŋbox  | 'heaped up'          | s'lipuuj  | 'scattered about'    |
| j'leŋgaax | 'piled up'           | t'lebhùb  | 'unbearable'         |
| k'labooy  | 'a mass of s.t.'     | t'lebtəb  | 'full of people'     |

*C14 Nominal verbs as adjectives & adverbs*

|                                     |                         |                        |                            |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 'Middle voice'                      |                         | s'nehräh/s'nehrəh      | 'crashing through'         |
| c'nalih̩                            | 'smooth'                | <i>Causative</i>       |                            |
| g'natec                             | 'undersized'            | c'mer <sup>2</sup> oɔj | 'speaking softly'          |
| k'marad                             | 'not bathed'            | c'mer <sup>2</sup> ur  | 'gurgling'                 |
| r'majyeεel                          | 'clear'                 | c'merheex              | 'feeling light'            |
| s'naro <sup>2</sup> j               | 'deceased'              | c'merwaal              | 'spinning'                 |
| s'natiíŋ                            | 'distant'               | g'merlaax              | 'hard'                     |
| <i>Imperfect</i>                    |                         | g'merlab               | 'flashing'                 |
| c'negrūg                            | 'standing stems'        | g'merle <sup>2</sup> k | 'fidgety'                  |
| g'miwaaw                            | 'wide open'             | g'merpaad              | 'noisy'                    |
| j'meŋhaaj/j'meŋheej                 | 'wonky'                 | g'mersuh               | 'uneasy'                   |
| j'nerlæer                           | 'gone a long while'     | g'mercem               | 'pattering about'          |
| j'nertiír                           | 'very angry'            | g'meryeeb              | 'all standing about'       |
| k'neŋraaj                           | 'stubborn'              | g'moryex               | 'not growing well'         |
| r'mo <sup>2</sup> dø <sup>2</sup> k | 'run down'              | g'nerdaar/g'nerdəər    | 'shaking'                  |
| r'neb <sup>2</sup> ob               | 'broken inside'         | k'neryoɔr              | 'having spasms'            |
| r'negleg                            | 'much bamboo about'     | p'nercurr              | 'sizzling'                 |
| r'nehduuh                           | 'lying side-by-side'    | s'merŋuuj              | 'fat and short'            |
| r'neŋlùx                            | 'many tall trees about' | s'mer'yɔx              | 'fallen into a deep sleep' |

# Appendix 3

## List of ideophones

Refer to §7.3 for a description of Temiar ideophones.

### Class 1 Ideophones (onomatopoeic)

|                      |                                                                                                 |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| bergah               | wood breaking                                                                                   |
| b'rehgah             | lots of wood or bamboo breaking, e.g. an elephant treading on it                                |
| b'rehgəh             | s.t. breaking                                                                                   |
| b'r'gooh             | s.t. collapsing or breaking in pieces                                                           |
| gehբ'r'guuh          | e.t. collapsing                                                                                 |
| bəŋb'hox, bəŋb'rahox | shouting                                                                                        |
| bəŋb'r'laa'c         | leaping, consuming, of a fire                                                                   |
| buur                 | vomiting                                                                                        |
| cərmabuur            | spilling of water, or vomit                                                                     |
| b'lut                | popping out of a hole                                                                           |
| b'raj                | running off                                                                                     |
| b'ragooh-gooth       | speak scolding                                                                                  |
| b'rahíis-híis        | calling out, e.g. warning of s.t.                                                               |
| b'rahùx-hùx          | shouting at s.o.                                                                                |
| b'ra?ow, b'ra?ūg     | vomiting from gut                                                                               |
| b'raay               | a splat                                                                                         |
| b'rajeeŋ-ŋeeŋ        | things biting                                                                                   |
| b'rulaa'c            | running off fast                                                                                |
| b'ruuj               | when people are setting off, or a collapse                                                      |
| bəjruuj              | all setting off s.w.                                                                            |
| b'ruun               | kicking s.t. down a hill, or a puff of smoke                                                    |
| bənb'ruun            | puffing out smoke                                                                               |
| b'rəx                | producing s.t., e.g. a landslide, a wad of money, a large house, a heap of food, lice in a comb |
| bəŋb'rəx             | producing s.t. many times over                                                                  |
| b'nəŋrəx             | a massive amount, e.g. cutting down the whole forest                                            |
| b'r'raap             | suddenly flying off, e.g. a bird                                                                |
| cāās                 | dropping of food into hot oil                                                                   |
| p'cāās               | attack of a cat, a sudden shout, a bursting pipe                                                |
| p'racāās             | e.o. sneezing                                                                                   |
| cəbmakəb             | thumping, fighting                                                                              |
| cəbraab              | rustling of leaves or rain on the roof                                                          |
| cədparāād, cəsparuuš | rasping, e.g. a fart, or a motorbike, or s.o. spurting out abuses                               |

|                        |                                                                  |
|------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| c̥edmakāād             | creaking, e.g. a door opening                                    |
| c'merkāād, c'merked    | s.t. creaking, bamboo in the wind, walking on a bamboo floor     |
| c̥eghaag               | dropping things, e.g. bowls and plates, or rain on a zinc roof   |
| c'reghaag              | water pounding into a pool                                       |
| c'reghoōg              | gushing water                                                    |
| c̥egkalaag             | rattling, e.g. throwing stones in the house                      |
| c̥egkalōōg             | clonking, e.g. dropping logs or bamboo poles                     |
| c̥egkawaag, c̥egkawēēg | crying of babies or puppies                                      |
| c̥egliyeg              | shrilling sound, a scream                                        |
| c̥ehmahaar             | e.o. eating and laughing together                                |
| c̥ejmapoōj             | rasping of a fart                                                |
| c̥ejparíij             | ripping, a zip doing up                                          |
| c̥enkaluŋ              | hitting heads on things                                          |
| c̥enmantəəŋ            | clanging, e.g. of pots and pans                                  |
| c̥erguur               | the constant noise of a large river                              |
| c̥espuruus             | do s.t badly, e.g. build a house                                 |
| c̥eymaguuy             | rumbling, e.g. of thunder                                        |
| c̥ig                   | a stab or prod, e.g. with a dibble stick in the ground           |
| l̥elacíg               | stabbing, e.g. a wild boar                                       |
| cāāw                   | a drip                                                           |
| cam                    | a jump down                                                      |
| cumcam-g̥ebrob         | walking on a bamboo floor                                        |
| c̥hag                  | the crack of bone, e.g. a thumb under a hammer, a spear on bone  |
| c̥rahag                | cracking of bone                                                 |
| c̥egrohag              | hacking into s.t.                                                |
| c̥rahug                | chopping with knives                                             |
| c̥haāj                | crinkling of plastic, crashing of water, e.g. of a waterfall     |
| c̥haas                 | water of a waterfall, or s.t. hissing about to explode           |
| c̥hoōw                 | flowing water                                                    |
| c̥ewc'hoōw             | rain coming, hitting the trees                                   |
| c̥mer̥aag              | like a buzzer, making an ?aag sound                              |
| c̥mer̥oog              | barking of the muntjac                                           |
| c̥mer̥uug              | gurgling in the stomach                                          |
| c̥mərcəem              | treading on a bamboo floor (children)                            |
| c̥merhōōŋ              | wind, or s.t. going fast, e.g. an aeroplane or car               |
| c̥rahud-hud            | walking on and on                                                |
| c̥rakāāj, l̥elakāāj    | s.t. being strangled                                             |
| c̥reg̥oōg              | whining                                                          |
| c̥regyaag              | loud screaming                                                   |
| cegmayaag              | making noise, e.g. of children playing or people shouting        |
| c̥ronlaaj              | sliding bamboo poles, or s.o. falling                            |
| c̥ruuw, c'r'ruuw       | falling or plunging into water                                   |
| c̥ewc'ruuw             | gushing of water                                                 |
| c̥tiix                 | a thud on the ground                                             |
| c̥ençtiix              | a continuous beat, drumming                                      |
| gebrəb                 | cracking, e.g. an elephant treading on bamboo, a swidden burning |
| gebgr̥əb               | crunching food in the mouth                                      |

|                |                                                              |
|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| gebr̥ɔɔb       | jumping about in a bamboo house, wall poles collapsing, e.o. |
| gewgowaaw      | getting to work on s.t.                                      |
| gergug         | chewing on a mouthful of food                                |
| gərg'daar      | a sudden collapse                                            |
| gərg'duur      | banging or crackling, e.g. fire-crackers                     |
| gesg'ləsyas    | rumbling, e.g. thunder                                       |
| g'darr         | crashing through the forest                                  |
| g'gaab         | a small explosion                                            |
| g'lɔgdəg       | s.t. falling over                                            |
| g'luuuh        | talking a lot                                                |
| g'merpaad      | falling over, e.g. felling a tree, or a snake lying still    |
| g'merpaas      | shaking, e.g. the leaves in the wind                         |
| g'mertəd       | running here and there, e.g. a child                         |
| g'mohoor       | popping, e.g. a swidden burning                              |
| g'rab          | heavy snoring, or a discussion going on                      |
| g'rub-g'rab    | a crinkle, e.g. of a dry leaf                                |
| gəbg'rab       | treading on dry leaves or plastic                            |
| g'ralūūn       | crinkling, e.g. tin roofing                                  |
| g'rəb-g'rəb    | roaring, e.g. a waterfall                                    |
| g'rihɛ̊k       | chewing                                                      |
| g'rek'he̊k     | making sounds, getting up early or working alone             |
| g'r'daaŋ       | washing the pots, pounding spice                             |
| g'rek'daaŋ     | a cooking pot being opened (nothing inside)                  |
| g'r'doon       | pots and pans being opened                                   |
| g'rendoŋ       | dropping a bamboo tube, clonking of bottles                  |
| g'r'hux        | clonking of bamboo tubes                                     |
| genj'g'r'hux   | falling on the ground, the snapping of a tree                |
| g'rahux-hux    | distant thumps, e.g. a movie playing on a TV                 |
| haåj          | loud chatter in a house                                      |
| renhaåj       | sliding down s.t., e.g. a plastic sheet, a shaving blade     |
| ləlahaåj      | brushing the hair, or scrubbing cloth                        |
| haaŋ           | constantly sliding                                           |
| renhaaŋ        | a scrub on metal, or a bite                                  |
| hegh'lɔg       | scrubbing pans                                               |
| hegh'lūg       | slopping sound, e.g. when walking in deep mud                |
| hejh'waåj     | copulating                                                   |
| hembaəŋ        | fast-flowing water, eg a shallow part of a river             |
| herh'moor      | falling on the ground                                        |
| hembaaw        | growling, e.g. of the tiger                                  |
| hewhembaaw     | a pop                                                        |
| hūūg-hūūg      | popping, e.g. bamboo or fire crackers                        |
| herherhūūg     | treading in soft mud, swallowing one's foot                  |
| hūūh, c'rahūūh | squelching of soft mud                                       |
| h'rejwaåj     | zooming past                                                 |
| h'wåj         | clawing, e.g. a tiger                                        |
| harawåj       | a scratch                                                    |
|                | scratching with claws                                        |

|                                      |                                                             |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| j'bōōh                               | s.t. heavy dropping in water, e.g. sweet milk into tea      |
| jĕbjebnjĕb                           | to timber, come crashing down, e.g. a giant hardwood tree   |
| kedk'cēd                             | trickling of water                                          |
| kĕnj'hăeŋ                            | sobbing                                                     |
| k'bub                                | a drop on the ground or thump on the back                   |
| k'hub                                | throwing food in the mouth                                  |
| k'rebhuh                             | scoffing down food, e.g. very hungry                        |
| k'lĕg, k'lag                         | a tap or knock on s.t. hard                                 |
| k'r'lag                              | opening s.t., or s.t. breaking in pieces                    |
| k'reglĕg                             | tree cutting from far off, cutting firewood                 |
| k'reglag                             | cutting a tree                                              |
| k'regleg                             | tapping or knocking s.t. hard                               |
| k'ralĕg, k'raleg                     | tapping                                                     |
| k'raleglĕg                           | a mouse in bamboo nibbling                                  |
| k'lōg                                | a knock on the door                                         |
| k'ralōg-lōg                          | tapping a beat with the hands                               |
| k'ralug-lug                          | rattling, e.g. things in a box                              |
| k'lăeŋ, k'r'lăeŋ                     | falling to the ground                                       |
| k'líít                               | s.t. coming off or popping out                              |
| k'lūū <sup>k</sup>                   | a heavy thump                                               |
| kekk'lūū <sup>k</sup>                | things thumping, or a baby in the womb                      |
| kekk'r'lūū <sup>k</sup>              | rocks tumbling                                              |
| k'rekk'lūū <sup>k</sup>              | rushing, e.g. of a storm or a waterfall in flood            |
| k'lăb                                | falling on the ground                                       |
| kebk'lăb                             | completely forgetting s.t.                                  |
| k'nĕjrĕej                            | chewing of a mouse                                          |
| k'radí <sup>k</sup> -dí <sup>k</sup> | making tunes                                                |
| k'rasoh-soh                          | crunching of leaves, e.g. on a jungle path                  |
| k'rebhah                             | chomping while eating                                       |
| k'rahabhab                           | many people eating together (chomping), e.g. having a party |
| k'regloog                            | coming barging in, or going up stairs                       |
| kegk'r'loog                          | coming in all the time                                      |
| k'reglōg                             | coming in through the window, e.g. a thief                  |
| k'regwaaag                           | crying of a newborn baby                                    |
| k'rentuŋ                             | chomping, of an animal                                      |
| kejk'r'ratuŋ                         | crunching, e.g. a wild boar eating the manioc               |
| k'regtod                             | chopping up roots, e.g. kacip                               |
| k'r'lag                              | opening s.t., undoing s.t.                                  |
| k'r'lăeŋ                             | tipping s.t. out, tumbling rocks, a flash flood, thunder    |
| k'reŋlăeŋ                            | thundering, of water falling into a rock hole               |
| kĕnj'k'r'lăeŋ                        | rumbling of thunder                                         |
| k'r'lōŋ                              | to put s.t. into a bamboo tube                              |
| k'r'lōg                              | swallowing loudly                                           |
| k'tęg                                | a drip                                                      |
| k'rateęg                             | raindrops falling on a rock or the roof                     |
| k'rectaag                            | rain drops (heavier than drizzle)                           |
| kegk'rateęg                          | constant dripping                                           |

|                                           |                                                                       |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| k'təs                                     | a snap, or finished off                                               |
| g'restəs                                  | got cut in half                                                       |
| ləlacēd                                   | suckling                                                              |
| ləlahēk                                   | laughter                                                              |
| ləlañed-ñəd                               | having pangs of pain                                                  |
| ləlapaad                                  | flapping, e.g. fish tails, or leaves of trees                         |
| ləlapíis                                  | coming in and going out                                               |
| ləlasēd                                   | chirping of a cricket                                                 |
| ləlatay                                   | pounding rice                                                         |
| ləlayēēj                                  | whining                                                               |
| ləlañāāw                                  | chomping on food                                                      |
| leg <sup>?</sup> ug (ug- <sup>?</sup> ug) | water pouring from a bamboo tube/bottle, chatter of people            |
| legraag                                   | stuff crashing down                                                   |
| lelacep-cəp                               | squeaking, e.g. of a chicken                                          |
| lelaha'j                                  | scratching of claws                                                   |
| lelapəp-pəp                               | blowing of a trumpet                                                  |
| lemgum                                    | bamboo music, having a dance                                          |
| ley <sup>?</sup> oy                       | buzzing of a bee                                                      |
| lùb                                       | when pouring in a load of s.t., e.g. salt                             |
| ləb                                       | turning off                                                           |
| l'saaw                                    | leaves crunching, s.t. russling in the bushes, or a snake on the roof |
| ñaar                                      | getting hit, e.g. by a blow dart, or a lightning flash                |
| ñerr                                      | a sudden red sky                                                      |
| ñaaw                                      | get s.t. in the eye                                                   |
| ñoow                                      | s.t. flying past                                                      |
| ño'o'w                                    | a poke in the face                                                    |
| ñuuud, luud                               | a heavy slap being received, a sudden fall                            |
| ñuur                                      | a bang                                                                |
| ñerñarñuur                                | loud bangs                                                            |
| lerñuur                                   | rumbling                                                              |
| pa'j                                      | splatting on the face, e.g. mud, or an arrow hitting                  |
| p'r'hag                                   | s.t. breaking, chopping s.t. hard                                     |
| p'r'híg                                   | a rip                                                                 |
| p'reghíg                                  | getting ripped                                                        |
| p'reghùg                                  | ripping up banana trees                                               |
| pedp'cùd                                  | a kiss                                                                |
| pegp'r <sup>?</sup> og                    | a gargling sound, e.g. diarrhea                                       |
| pehp'lōðh                                 | breathless (light breathing)                                          |
| pehp'lūūh                                 | breathless (heavy breathing)                                          |
| pejp'go'o'j                               | swallowing water                                                      |
| pelp'cūh                                  | s.t. popping, a cherry tomato in the mouth                            |
| pelp'yel                                  | blowing of the wind                                                   |
| penp'luuh                                 | pouncing on s.t.. e.g. of a tiger, or people on food                  |
| pespiyees                                 | spraying, of a watnrfall                                              |
| pesp'ríis                                 | spurting out                                                          |
| p'r'níis                                  | a burst of rebukes                                                    |
| cesparíis, cejparíij                      | rasping, e.g. diarrhea                                                |

|                      |                                                                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| pεwp'lūūw            | rumbling, e.g. thunder or bombs                                       |
| pøŋ, pøŋ-papøŋ       | chopping a hollow fruit, e.g. a coconut                               |
| pupaaw               | breaking of bamboo                                                    |
| pøuh, k'luuh         | hitting s.t. hard with a stick or bamboo, or a gun shot               |
| p'øug                | a swallow                                                             |
| p'lad, cødpalad      | s.t. snapping into place, a smack with a stick                        |
| p'la'j               | the lick of a tongue, e.g. lapping water                              |
| pejp'la'j            | licking                                                               |
| p'lejrøc             | a scratch of claws, eating meat ravenously                            |
| p'log                | s.t. popping out of a hole, e.g. a baby being born                    |
| pegp'log             | s.t. going in and out                                                 |
| p'lūūs-p'lūūs        | expansion of an anus, e.g. farting                                    |
| pesp'lūūs            | breaking wind                                                         |
| p'luuc               | appearing, arriving s.w.                                              |
| p'løuh               | an explosion                                                          |
| p'løuw               | a plunge of water                                                     |
| pewp'løuw            | plunging of water, waves, a great storm, scoffing down food           |
| p'raacaŋ             | bouncing off things, e.g. bullets, or a stone on the roof, or a spell |
| p'raacaŋ-caaŋ        | a verbal fight, excited conversation                                  |
| p'racas              | a sneeze                                                              |
| p'rad                | squirting out                                                         |
| pedp'rad             | scolding, telling off                                                 |
| p'rægb-gæb           | clacking of a floor                                                   |
| p'rah                | cutting down a new swidden                                            |
| p'redcad             | smacking the lips when thinking of food or kissing                    |
| p'redlùd             | popping of bamboo                                                     |
| p'redløød            | swallowing fruits                                                     |
| p'regøg              | swallowing water                                                      |
| pegp'øg              | swallowing                                                            |
| p'regjøeg            | trickling of water, e.g. from an aqueduct                             |
| p'regdaag, b'regcaag | chattering                                                            |
| p'regsaag            | splashing of water, e.g. from a roof or a pipe                        |
| p'reŋløøŋ            | thundering, a flooded river                                           |
| p'resguuus           | rushing of water                                                      |
| p'roow               | a fruit falling to ground                                             |
| p'ruloøw             | stamping on bamboo (of an elephant)                                   |
| p'ræhc               | s.t. dropping, s.t. ripped out, cutting off hair                      |
| p'r'bag, p'ra'j      | a shooting poop                                                       |
| p'r'dùd              | jumping down to go                                                    |
| p'reddùd             | pounding feet when running off                                        |
| pedp'r'dùd           | pounding of feet                                                      |
| p'r'guŋ              | a large flash flood of the river                                      |
| penp'r'guŋ           | a heavy flood, with boulders rolling along, or rumbling thunder       |
| p'reŋgoŋ             | water underground                                                     |
| p'r'guus             | sputtering out                                                        |
| pesp'r'guus          | sputtering with water                                                 |
| p'r'hag              | a break of wood                                                       |

|                  |                                                              |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| p'rahag          | breaking of wood                                             |
| p'reghag         | breaking of bamboo                                           |
| p'r'hèg, p'r'híg | cracking, e.g. a dead tree or branch                         |
| p'rahèg          | snapping off                                                 |
| p'r'hūk          | bursting through, e.g. stepping in a hole, a wall collapsing |
| p'r'lad          | a flash of lightning                                         |
| p'r'luej         | s.t. falling or slipping, e.g. on stones                     |
| pejp'r'luej      | e.t. falling                                                 |
| rad              | tying s.t. secure                                            |
| raag             | hearing sudden news                                          |
| raaw             | beginning to rain                                            |
| remrarəəm        | pounding of bamboo at a dance                                |
| reŋraŋdoŋ        | an animal scampering along a branch                          |
| rewlagaw         | creaking, e.g. walking on bare floor slats                   |
| rīŋ              | hitting s.t. hard                                            |
| rəl              | a smack, or a storm hitting                                  |
| rəm              | a jump down from s.t. high                                   |
| siyuŋ            | s.t. zooms past                                              |
| seŋsiyuŋ         | zooming past                                                 |
| sūt-sūt          | sniffing the nose, or sucking at a teat                      |
| s'nebroðob       | slurping, e.g. eating noodles                                |
| s'luex, tøy      | falling to the ground                                        |
| seŋs'luex        | thumping on the ground, e.g. s.o. fat falling                |
| s'rah            | falling in the bushes                                        |
| s'raaj           | ripping s.t. out, taking out a knife, stealing s.t.          |
| sejs'raa'j       | ripping out everything                                       |
| s'reew           | throwing a net, or throwing out water                        |
| sews'rëew        | throwing nets, or the rain                                   |
| s'røow           | a fall in the bushes                                         |
| sews'røow        | falling in the bushes                                        |
| s'ruew           | water cascading over a waterfall                             |
| sews'ruew        | waves, e.g. of a waterfall or the rain                       |
| s'nəruuw         | the sound of rain coming                                     |
| s'r'uux          | falling in water                                             |
| taŋ              | when s.t. opens                                              |
| tərtan           | getting light                                                |
| tarr             | ripping open                                                 |
| tas              | s.t. breaking, or s.o. suddenly leaving                      |
| təŋ              | cutting of an adze                                           |
| waas             | a blowpipe being shot at s.o.                                |

## Class 2 Ideophones (imaginary)

|                                                |                          |
|------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| be <sup>k</sup> b' <sup>?</sup> ō <sup>k</sup> | noisy, e.g. cockerels    |
| be <sup>k</sup> b'r'lā <sup>k</sup>            | shaking up and down      |
| bedb'løəd                                      | having aches in the body |

|                          |                                                                 |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| b'ralæd                  | aching without cause                                            |
| begb'kōōg                | shouting loudly                                                 |
| begreeg                  | starting to rain, or people leaving                             |
| bejb'r'līj               | seen only for a second and then gone                            |
| belbuŋkuul               | tumbling water, of a flood or a rolling wave                    |
| beyb'rēey                | trickling, e.g. of a small stream                               |
| b'raŋed-ŋed              | hunger pangs, throbbing of pain                                 |
| b'raŋelŋool              | scattered with colour, e.g. flowers                             |
| b'raŋaaŋ                 | biting pain, ep. a caterpillar sting, or ant bites              |
| b'raŋaaŋŋaaŋ             | constant biting pain                                            |
| b'relheeł                | pitted with small holes                                         |
| b'rem-rem                | dark of the sky                                                 |
| b'reskees                | deserted                                                        |
| b'rewyoow                | no one about                                                    |
| b'reykoy                 | never happening                                                 |
| b'reŋyaaj                | scolding                                                        |
| b'rīŋaab                 | glowing, e.g. lights far away                                   |
| b'rujaaw                 | going in any direction, e.g. wading a rives                     |
| b'rulōōw                 | talking nonsense                                                |
| cəb'ub, cəmgəəb, cəl'ūūl | a cloud of smoke                                                |
| cəbc'ŋēēb                | staring long at s.t.                                            |
| cəbmageb                 | clonking of things carried                                      |
| cədbaraad                | wet, e.g. a child wetting the bed                               |
| cədc'duud                | fully loaded, e.g. with a heavy basket or a rucksack            |
| cədc'māđd, cədc'mēđd     | looking long, e.g. with desire                                  |
| cəgc'liig                | having a displeased look                                        |
| cəgkaloog                | going in all directions, e.g. fearful of danger                 |
| cəglokaag, cəjlokaaj     | poles all over the place                                        |
| cəgmayaag                | noisy, of children playing loudly                               |
| cəgrohag                 | protruding with sticks, buffalo horns                           |
| cəgrohùg                 | a difficult way, e.g. tangled, fallen logs                      |
| cəhc'rāuh                | reducing, e.g. a flood, or stuff in the house                   |
| cəjkuleeg                | crumbling, e.g. ground with loose rocks                         |
| cəjkuluj                 | very bumpy, e.g. a road                                         |
| cəmcemkoom               | unhappy                                                         |
| cəmíntaam                | loaded, e.g. with children                                      |
| cəmparoox                | greatly disturbed, e.g. a fight going on, or e.o. fleeing       |
| cəmroogaap               | stuff e.w.                                                      |
| cəŋc'aaŋ                 | out of breath                                                   |
| cəŋc'lembōōm             | stacked up on the back                                          |
| cəŋc'mahooŋ              | gigantic, e.g. an elephant                                      |
| cəŋmar'yex               | throwing things about, eg, bottles, or e.o. deserting the place |
| cəŋmuŋkaaj               | prodding, e.g. of elbows, legs when crowded                     |
| cəŋronjdeen              | logs e.w.                                                       |
| cərodeel                 | crowded, busy with people, or lots of cut logs                  |
| cərudíil                 | fallen in plenty                                                |
| cəskāyas, cəsmāyas       | frantic, e.g. a cat in a fight, or when seeing a snake          |

|                        |                                                                                       |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ceybaraay              | dripping with                                                                         |
| ceybareεy              | spattering of water wide, e.g. a waterfall                                            |
| ceybaruuuy             | scattering things, or running all over the place,                                     |
| ceyc'guuy              | loaded on the back                                                                    |
| c'raguuy               | loading up with too much                                                              |
| ciit                   | getting a good smack, a direct hit or being blown up                                  |
| laciit                 | getting hit (helplessly)                                                              |
| cōd                    | a suck, e.g. of the cold                                                              |
| p'racōd                | suckling                                                                              |
| p'racēdcēd             | puppies suckling                                                                      |
| c'lapēdpad             | all flat, e.g. cakes                                                                  |
| c'lēbgāb               | crowded                                                                               |
| c'merwaal              | going round in a circle                                                               |
| c'rahēj, c'rahaa'j     | on and on, e.g. the rain or walking                                                   |
| c'reblaab, c'rehlah    | piled up, e.g. beads, shells or stones                                                |
| c'reljaal, c'raŋeljaal | lights shining at night, or much red, e.g. flowers                                    |
| c'reshaas              | out of breath, e.g. while climbing a hill                                             |
| degd'ŋoŋ               | making noise but no action                                                            |
| deŋd'woon              | alone, e.g. walking s.w.                                                              |
| deyd'waay, g'rawaaj    | smart, well-dressed                                                                   |
| diir                   | a wobble                                                                              |
| lerdiir                | blubbery                                                                              |
| duwar'yex, ləlaped     | waving in the wind                                                                    |
| gedg'hēed              | tight, e.g. of a path                                                                 |
| gehg'laar              | throwing insults, speaking to s.o.'s face                                             |
| gēlg'yuul              | shaking of the trees                                                                  |
| g'relyuul              | movement in the bushes                                                                |
| geŋg'lex               | desiring things, e.g. meat, fruits                                                    |
| geŋguyoox              | walking alone, with no friends                                                        |
| gērg'hiir              | hot tempered, very impatient                                                          |
| gergergùb              | all sat on the ground                                                                 |
| geŋg'naaj              | biting, e.g. a fish on a line, dogs biting people                                     |
| geŋg'rajaaj            | biting of sharp teeth                                                                 |
| g'lamaa'j-maa'j        | crawling with things, e.g. maggots                                                    |
| g'merlooŋ              | tall, like a sky-scraper                                                              |
| g'mersuh               | uneasy                                                                                |
| g'meryəh               | all over the place, e.g. flowers in the hair                                          |
| g'mipeey               | waving of hands, or flapping of flags                                                 |
| g'rāduus, g'rādēes     | packing things in a hurry                                                             |
| g'rahuum               | violent, e.g. a thug or a vicious dog                                                 |
| g'ralerloor            | like logs, e.g. all sleeping together, or long tubers, or a corpse rolled up in cloth |
| g'rawēj                | hitting e.o. e.g. small children                                                      |
| g'rek'lūūk, g'reltaal  | in a hurry                                                                            |
| g'rebcaab              | many small things, e.g. centipede legs, scales of large fish                          |
| g'r'teŋ                | biting, e.g. stomach pain, tearing apart, e.g. of dogs                                |
| geŋg'r'teŋ             | constantly, e.g. s.t. going missing, taking stuff                                     |

|                                                |                                                                   |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| g'waryeej                                      | active in one place, e.g. s.t. in the bushes                      |
| g'yəyaar                                       | getting very angry                                                |
| haleŋdaaj                                      | winding, e.g. a ridge                                             |
| haleŋpuux                                      | bulging, e.g. a sack of stuff                                     |
| halub                                          | to give a good smell                                              |
| hegh'yaag                                      | throwing open the covers or clothes                               |
| hegh'r'boog                                    | wanting e.t. that comes along, following anything                 |
| hegh'yuug                                      | freezing shiver, feeling ill                                      |
| helh'wíil                                      | about to fall over, e.g. on the edge                              |
| herherhaeg                                     | gasping for air, e.g. after running up a hill                     |
| herhejhaaij                                    | disappearing                                                      |
| herh'naroɔl                                    | heaped up, e.g. stuff on the back                                 |
| hewh'raboow                                    | descending from all sides, e.g. to get s.t.                       |
| hewh'yaaw                                      | making a wave, e.g. spilled water                                 |
| h <u>uu</u> d                                  | sinking down, slipping backwards                                  |
| h <u>uu</u> d-h <u>uu</u> d                    | on and on, e.g. waiting                                           |
| h'lebgaab                                      | thin from hunger                                                  |
| h'regwēēg                                      | wandering about or working, not resting                           |
| h'rawēēg                                       | walking enthusiastically                                          |
| jedj'laad, jedj'læd                            | a sharp pain, e.g. of a thorn or a fish bone in the throat        |
| jedj'puud                                      | springy, e.g. sponge                                              |
| jedj'r'læd                                     | leaping up, e.g. to see s.t., or the flames of a swidden burn off |
| jedj'waad                                      | too tough to eat                                                  |
| jebjebgɔɔb                                     | left completely empty                                             |
| jebjebnub                                      | dark, e.g. a storm coming, or a great tree falling                |
| jemj'píp                                       | wanting to go, eager, e.g. to see s.o. or do s.t.                 |
| jenj'líin                                      | chewy, stretchy, e.g. of chewing gum                              |
| jenj'lun                                       | very far, not reaching                                            |
| jenj'raaj                                      | eager to help                                                     |
| jenj'waan                                      | stuck fast, unable to get free. or lost                           |
| jerj'uur                                       | wailing, e.g. in pain                                             |
| j'lapəgpøg                                     | huddled together, e.g. by the fire                                |
| j'lapəgpug                                     | sitting idly                                                      |
| j'lenjbox                                      | heaped up, e.g. excrement                                         |
| j'lenjgaax, j'lenjbax,<br>j'lerkaar, j'lerbaar | heaped up, e.g. elephant dung                                     |
| j'meŋhaaj                                      | wonky, sloped or tilted =j'meŋheej                                |
| j'rahugheeg                                    | sprawled about, e.g. e.o sleeping on top of e.o., or starving     |
| j'reghaag                                      | withered, not growing well                                        |
| j'reglag                                       | unbearable, e.g. the heat of the day                              |
| j'regliig                                      | clear, a place with no trees                                      |
| j'regsøɔg                                      | cluttered                                                         |
| j'rectaag, t'rebjøb                            | full of people                                                    |
| j'regtøg                                       | plundered, stolen, e.g. crops, by people or monkeys etc.          |
| j'riliin                                       | e.o looking, e.g. at s.o. new or s.t. they want                   |
| j'rulaaj                                       | spiky, e.g. thorns or fish bones                                  |
| j'r'læd-læd                                    | stinging pain                                                     |

|                                   |                                                           |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| j'r'luad                          | coming in without any shame                               |
| ke <sup>k</sup> k'lū <sup>k</sup> | jiggling to music                                         |
| kēdk'cíib                         | winking                                                   |
| kebk'líib                         | blinking                                                  |
| kebk'tíib                         | sticky, like gum                                          |
| kebk'yílb, yegyogyiig             | swaying in the wind                                       |
| kebkaloob                         | shy, looking away                                         |
| kedkuwēēd                         | wiggling of the bum                                       |
| kēdk'nood                         | stuff keeps on coming, or a flood                         |
| kēdk'waad                         | lustful                                                   |
| kejk' <sup>o</sup> oj             | wriggling, like grubs                                     |
| kejk'dej                          | laden with stuff                                          |
| kejk'lejwaa'j                     | wriggling, e.g. a snake or a centipede                    |
| kejk'raa'j                        | stubborn                                                  |
| kēnk'daa'j                        | plodding along                                            |
| kēnk'lit                          | all the time, e.g. s.t. keeps coming back                 |
| kesk'juus                         | startled                                                  |
| kejn'jaan                         | startled, e.g. a sleeping baby                            |
| kūb                               | covering s.t.                                             |
| k'don                             | standing up                                               |
| k'labuuy                          | crowding around, or a mass of s.t., e.g. billowing clouds |
| k'laboōr                          | sprayed all over, e.g. the face                           |
| k'lēbhuh                          | throbbing pain                                            |
| k'lēdhēēd                         | wailing                                                   |
| k'luus                            | pulling s.t. off, e.g. a head, a stalk, a manioc root     |
| k'raluuus-luus                    | pulling things up                                         |
| ceskaluuus                        | pulling up roots                                          |
| k'nējraa'j                        | searing pain, when carrying a heavy load on the back      |
| k'nerjuur                         | shaking, convulsing                                       |
| k'rawaay                          | going enthusiastically                                    |
| k'rawenwaaj                       | all bent, none good                                       |
| k'redlēēd, h'redlēēd              | tightly packed, e.g. poles in a wall                      |
| k'rejwēēj                         | etchings, e.g. in the sand                                |
| k'relwēel                         | humping                                                   |
| k'r'lam-lam, k'ralud-lud          | pitch black darkness                                      |
| k'r'luj                           | a small bump, e.g. a louse in the hair                    |
| kejk'r'luj                        | lots of small bumps                                       |
| lāb                               | a sudden flash, e.g. lightning                            |
| lēblāb                            | turning on and off                                        |
| lēbləblāb                         | flashing                                                  |
| g'merlāb                          | lights of a town                                          |
| laar                              | turning suddenly, e.g. a mirror in the face               |
| laar, lərlaar                     | a lightning flash                                         |
| ləb                               | turning off                                               |
| lēblaləb                          | running down, e.g. batteries                              |
| ləlagùg-gùg                       | walking far                                               |
| ləlawaay                          | a cycling motion                                          |

|                                                |                                                                   |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ledluweed                                      | bouncing, e.g. a bendy pole on the shoulder                       |
| lednaj                                         | fuzzy, e.g. a TV picture                                          |
| leglaweeg                                      | coming back empty, nothing caught                                 |
| leglowag                                       | flapping of fine hair                                             |
| legl'yaag, legluwaag                           | flapping, e.g. of large yam leaves, or elephant ears (waag-waag)  |
| lemlímdam                                      | soaring of a bird, or baggy clothes                               |
| lenyæx                                         | s.t. burning up                                                   |
| lenyut                                         | running off scared                                                |
| lerŋo'or                                       | wanting to go s.w.                                                |
| leylibuuy                                      | about to cry                                                      |
| pædp'hēēd                                      | narrow, e.g. of a path                                            |
| pedp'ηood                                      | peeping out of a hole                                             |
| pejp'ōō'i                                      | slimy, rancid, e.g. fermented manioc                              |
| pelpelduul                                     | running about bare-bummed                                         |
| peyp'rasoy                                     | missing each other                                                |
| peŋp'hēēn                                      | steep-sided on each side                                          |
| peŋp'laaŋ, peŋp'luu'c                          | appearing, of a pest                                              |
| p'led                                          | remembering s.t.                                                  |
| pedp'led                                       | suddenly remembering                                              |
| p'rædælduul                                    | piled up, e.g. rats from trapping                                 |
| p'rem'iim                                      | stinking, e.g. sweaty armpits                                     |
| rebhæb                                         | the gaping mouth of a crocodile                                   |
| rebromkoob                                     | feeble, e.g. an old man                                           |
| redradrad                                      | getting completely stuck                                          |
| regr'noog                                      | walking slowly, unwilling to go                                   |
| remr'lēēp, remr'līip                           | out of breath, e.g. climbing a hill                               |
| renr'jooŋ                                      | tired and hungry                                                  |
| reŋrobox                                       | dangling, e.g. elephant testicles                                 |
| ríg                                            | stuck fast, e.g. a post in the ground                             |
| rüb, rab                                       | a crowd suddenly appearing                                        |
| rebrarüb                                       | crowds arriving, one after another                                |
| ləlarüb-rüb                                    | crowding together all the time                                    |
| rœuw                                           | e.o. running in at once, or the rain suddenly falling             |
| rewrarœuw                                      | e.o. following wherever one goes                                  |
| r'ne <sup>k</sup> duu <sup>k</sup> , g'merpuuj | collapsing, e.g. an old house                                     |
| <br>                                           |                                                                   |
| r'neglleg                                      | sticking out of the ground, e.g. posts                            |
| sebbiyed                                       | too large to cling to                                             |
| sebk'yeb                                       | unmovable                                                         |
| sedroped                                       | same all over, e.g. people with same clothes, or e.o. getting ill |
| segbalög                                       | empty of stuff                                                    |
| seglapoog                                      | dropped all over the place                                        |
| seglatāāg                                      | sloppy with mud                                                   |
| segssaroog                                     | completely stuck                                                  |
| segssyaag                                      | clear sky                                                         |
| segss'riyaag                                   | disappearing, e.g. food                                           |
| segss'yoog                                     | sending a chill                                                   |

|                      |                                                                                               |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| sehgalii̥r           | messy, stuff all over the place, e.g. packing up to go                                        |
| sehrabajah           | sodden, e.g. after a fall, or cut and bleeding                                                |
| sejbaraḁj           | blood flowing profusely                                                                       |
| sejgaræej            | blood dripping, e.g. of a wounded board                                                       |
| sejlapaḁj           | sodden, or wet from bleeding                                                                  |
| sejlatuej            | in a mob, gang, or herd                                                                       |
| sejs'rawḁj          | running off all the time (a child)                                                            |
| semplayaḁm          | bouncing about, e.g. long hair or flowers stuffed in the hair                                 |
| semrajem             | swaying, e.g. of vines hanging from trees                                                     |
| senparæen            | heaps, e.g. fruits in the bunch, beads                                                        |
| senlaboo̥j           | people or logs carried away by a flood                                                        |
| serbajuur            | dangling, e.g. tassels, beads                                                                 |
| sers'buur            | noisy, in the ears                                                                            |
| sews'ko̥w            | rain coming, seen as a sheet                                                                  |
| seygaloo̥y           | all over the place, e.g. food left out, children left in different places, victims of a flood |
| siyag                | getting cut                                                                                   |
| s'rayagyag           | cutting pain                                                                                  |
| siyaaw               | a sudden pain                                                                                 |
| sewsiyaaw            | going to the nerves, e.g. a cut, s.t. hot or very cold                                        |
| s'rayaaw-yaaw        | biting pain                                                                                   |
| sewsiyuw             | sending a shock                                                                               |
| siyæg                | a suddenly answer                                                                             |
| segziyæg             | answering suddenly                                                                            |
| siit                 | when s.t. gets smelled                                                                        |
| s'lejwḁj            | long, e.g. a snake                                                                            |
| s'mer'yeh            | beautifully adorned, e.g. with flowers                                                        |
| s'mer'yox, s'mur'yex | fallen into a deep sleep                                                                      |
| s'rañeñjoonj         | all looking together                                                                          |
| s'ratejtuej          | so long, e.g. a snake                                                                         |
| s'redlued            | putting s.t. together instantly                                                               |
| s'regwoc̥g           | curling of ferns                                                                              |
| s'regyæg             | calling out from behind                                                                       |
| s'regyo̥g, s'rayo̥g  | shouting noisily                                                                              |
| s'rayæeg-yeeg        | screaming                                                                                     |
| s'remjap             | cold, e.g. from the rain or the wind                                                          |
| s'renyan             | slopping of fruits in a bamboo tube                                                           |
| s'riyaag             | consuming food, finishing it off                                                              |
| s'rinjub             | blacking out                                                                                  |
| s'røoy               | s.t. disappearing                                                                             |
| s'r'røoy             | all gone and quiet                                                                            |
| s'ruwḁj, s'ruwe̥j   | slithering away, e.g. a snake                                                                 |
| s'ruuj               | s.o. stealing                                                                                 |
| s'r'ruuj             | pangs in the stomach                                                                          |
| ted'akaad            | crammed full of things, e.g. fruit pips                                                       |
| tedroñhed            | full of holes, e.g. clothes                                                                   |
| tedruwëed            | hanging with things, e.g. people swinging in a tree                                           |

|                    |                                                               |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| təŋhawεŋj          | empty, e.g. a house                                           |
| teyralaay          | indifferent                                                   |
| t'rabag            | noisy, e.g. chattering                                        |
| t'rabeğbög         | a heap of things, e.g. langsat fruits                         |
| t'ragoh            | people talking s.w. outside, or non-stop chatter in the house |
| t'raŋooow-ŋooow    | nodding heads, falling asleep                                 |
| t'r'līis, t'r'luus | slipping off s.t.                                             |

Some words describe the appearance of objects and colours

|                      |                                                |
|----------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| delduldíil           | fat                                            |
| h'rahəlhəel          | all large e.g. grains                          |
| b'racuŋceŋj          | patterned                                      |
| c'rapudped           | flat and thin                                  |
| c'rapudpad           | flat and thick                                 |
| gɛ̊g'lawəək          | black-bodied, e.g. a bear, or s.o. in the dark |
| g'ralewluuw          | fat people                                     |
| g'raweŋwaanj         | bulging                                        |
| h'r'leglaag          | full of ugliness                               |
| k'raduldeel          | small and round                                |
| k'raduldíil          | big and round                                  |
| s'raweŋjwāāj         | stripy                                         |
| b'leg'ug             | all green (new leaves)                         |
| b'ler'əər            | all green                                      |
| b'lerdeer            | all yellow                                     |
| b'regyoog            | all white                                      |
| b'rehkooh            | all murky                                      |
| c'nəŋləx, rəŋr'ŋaajn | all red                                        |
| r'nəŋjah             | all black                                      |

### Class 3 ideophones (repetition)

Given that nearly any verb or adjective can be made into a repetition ideophone, the list here is no where exhaustive. They might well fill up a hundred pages if I could manage to record them all.

|                     |                           |
|---------------------|---------------------------|
| ʔəraŋjud-ʔəraŋčeed  | squashed up together      |
| b'lanyeew-b'lanyaaw | e.o. eating together      |
| b'lanyeew-b'lanyoow | talking nonsense          |
| b'racye-b'racyuuy   | all over the place        |
| b'ragam-b'ragiik    | all kinds                 |
| b'ragam-b'ragom     | disorderly                |
| b'raheg-b'rahox     | shouting                  |
| b'raheey-b'rahəey   | shouting, e.g. e.o. happy |
| b'rakəd-b'rakəed    | sweating from work        |
| b'raleŋ-b'ralaan    | all passing on one path   |
| b'ralupŋ-b'ralaa'c  | going crazy               |

|                                          |                                                     |
|------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| b'redyud-b'redyaad                       | running in any direction                            |
| b'rehggeh-b'rehgah                       | treading on things                                  |
| b'rehgoh-b'rehgah                        | treading on things                                  |
| b'ruluj-b'rulaa'j                        | zooming about                                       |
| b'ruluuj-b'rulaaj                        | sharp things jabbing                                |
| b'r'gooh-b'r'gah                         | lots of things collapsing                           |
| cægwæg-cægwæg                            | lots of chatter                                     |
| c'ded-c'dood                             | s.o. loaded on the back                             |
| c'raded-c'radood                         | all loaded on the back                              |
| c'gæey-c'guuy                            | heavy on the back, e.g. elephant                    |
| c'huuj-c'haaj                            | water spurting                                      |
| c'merweel-c'merwaal                      | spinning                                            |
| c'ra?ox-c'ra?ex                          | hot from work                                       |
| c'rabug-c'rabag                          | chopping                                            |
| c'rageey-c'raguuuy                       | loaded with things                                  |
| c'rahæŋ-c'rahoonj                        | cars going past                                     |
| c'rahuus-c'rahaas                        | exhausted                                           |
| c'rakeb-c'rakub                          | getting upset                                       |
| c'reew-c'ruew                            | jumping in water                                    |
| c'nareew-c'nareuw                        | e.o. jumping into water                             |
| c'ted-c'tud                              | closed up, no way through                           |
| c'teer-c'tær                             | playing in the house                                |
| c'tuŋ-c'tiix                             | beating of music                                    |
| d'raked-d'rakad                          | freezing, e.g. with no blanket                      |
| gebreb-gebroob                           | collapsing, e.g. a bamboo wall                      |
| gemrem-gemroop                           | loads of cars arriving                              |
| g'deer-g'duur                            | explosions, thunder claps                           |
| g'duh-g'deh                              | working alone                                       |
| g'duur-g'daar                            | lightning flashes                                   |
| g'lawu <sup>k</sup> -g'lawē <sup>k</sup> | working non-stop, e.g. weaving                      |
| g'miwoh-g'miwah                          | left wide open, e.g. the door                       |
| g'moheer-g'mohoor                        | talking all the time                                |
| g'mopeew-g'mopoow                        | popping of bamboo                                   |
| g'murtad-g'mertad                        | crackling of a sudden burn                          |
| g'neryuur-g'neryaar                      | shaking with fear                                   |
| g'rateg-j'ratoj                          | all snapping                                        |
| g'raweh-g'rawooh                         | nothing left                                        |
| g'rawej-g'rawoɔŋ                         | wandering about, e.g. a child                       |
| g'rayel-g'rayuul                         | shaking, e.g. in the bushes                         |
| g'rub-g'rab                              | crunching underfoot                                 |
| herhuj-herhaaj                           | disappearing, e.g. a child                          |
| her'yood-her'yeed                        | eager, responsive                                   |
| h'rabeeg-h'raboog                        | following too easily                                |
| h'rud-h'læd                              | darting about                                       |
| h'yug-h'yaag                             | opening the windows                                 |
| h'rayug-h'rayaag                         | taking before the owner gives                       |
| j'lagen-j'laget                          | going and coming back again, or always moving about |

|                                                     |                                        |
|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| j'lun-j'líín, j'ralun-j'ralíín                      | chewy, like gum                        |
| j'ra <sup>2</sup> el-j'ra <sup>2</sup> əl           | out of breath                          |
| j'ralunj-j'ralíínj                                  | all looking                            |
| j'rawəd-j'rawaad                                    | stuck to the floor (unwilling to help) |
| j'rawug-j'rawiig                                    | crying miserably                       |
| j'reglug-j'reglag                                   | overheated, e.g. cooking               |
| kaleb-kaloob                                        | too shy to look up                     |
| k'du <sup>k</sup> -k'dii <sup>k</sup>               | hobbling, with a sore leg              |
| k'rabe <sup>b</sup> -k'rabi <sup>b</sup>            | thumping each other                    |
| k'racub-k'raciib                                    | looking away (snubbing)                |
| k'radug-k'radeg                                     | bitter taste, no meat around           |
| k'rahū <sup>k</sup> -k'rahī <sup>k</sup>            | sobbing, sad                           |
| k'rawəd-k'rawed                                     | dancing together                       |
| laŋye <sup>k</sup> -laŋyo <sup>o</sup> <sup>k</sup> | shouting, e.g. e.o. excited            |
| lasu <sup>k</sup> -lasē <sup>k</sup>                | go wrong, e.g. writing                 |
| ləlabes-ləlabuu <sup>s</sup>                        | spilling from a pot                    |
| ləlacuu <sup>s</sup> -ləlacaas                      | cooking                                |
| ləlagem-ləlagum                                     | dancing                                |
| ləlahey-ləlahōy                                     | completely gone                        |
| ləlahu <sup>k</sup> -ləlahē <sup>k</sup>            | laughing                               |
| ləlakuh-ləlakah                                     | chatter of monkeys                     |
| ləlamūh-ləlamah                                     | tired out                              |
| ləlanqōōw-ləlanqāāw                                 | chewing on food                        |
| ləlatug-ləlatiig                                    | crying, sticking out the lower lip     |
| ləldel- <sup>e</sup> ləlduul                        | falling down all the time              |
| ləlduul- <sup>e</sup> ləlwax                        | stuff falling                          |
| litū <sup>k</sup> -litēē <sup>k</sup>               | wobbling along                         |
| l'see <sup>w</sup> -l'saaw                          | running through leaves                 |
| l'suuw-l'saaw                                       | dry leaves                             |
| p'leŋ-p'leŋ                                         | bombs exploding                        |
| p'leew-p'leew                                       | crashing water                         |
| p'nared-p'narud                                     | spitting in the face                   |
| p'naruus-p'nariis                                   | squirting out                          |
| p'ra <sup>2</sup> eg-p'ra <sup>2</sup> ug           | swallowing                             |
| p'ra <sup>2</sup> el-p'ra <sup>2</sup> əl           | very ill                               |
| p'racu <sup>k</sup> -p'raci <sup>k</sup>            | totally exhausted                      |
| p'rajud-p'rajed                                     | so painful                             |
| p'ralej-p'rala <sup>j</sup>                         | e.o. licking, e.g. ice creams          |
| p'redlud-p'redlad                                   | popping of a fire                      |
| p'reh-p'rah                                         | cutting a swidden                      |
| p'res-p'raas                                        | spitting of a snake                    |
| p'rees-p'roos                                       | getting down                           |
| p'ruh-p'rah                                         | cutting this way and that              |
| p'naruh-p'narah                                     | cutting the swidden                    |
| p'yuul-p'yee <sup>l</sup>                           | blowing of the wind                    |
| p'rayuul-p'raye <sup>el</sup>                       | windy                                  |
| p'r'bug-p'r'bag                                     | rasping                                |

|                    |                                                         |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| p'seeey-p'suuuy    | vanishing                                               |
| p'raseey-p'rasuuy  | disappearing, unable to be caught                       |
| rateh-ratoh        | shaking the last of s.t. out                            |
| rejgħuuc-rejgħaaċ  | going here and there (in a group)                       |
| sipuŋ-sipen        | staggering about                                        |
| siyę̄n-siyuŋ       | going whizzing past                                     |
| s'rayeŋ-s'rayuŋ    | whizzing of cars                                        |
| s'keew-s'koow      | about to rain                                           |
| s'led-s'ləed       | all sleepy                                              |
| s'ley-s'lōoty      | so shy, unable to look                                  |
| s'ralej-s'raloøy   | unfriendly                                              |
| s'leŋ-s'lax        | falling, e.g. s.o. fat                                  |
| s'lug-s'liig       | going about naked                                       |
| s'nareew-s'nareuw  | casting a net                                           |
| s'narux-s'naraax   | struggling to carry things                              |
| s'nuræew-s'nuraaw  | running off into the bush                               |
| s'nejed-s'nejod    | clear into the distance, e.g. a view from a mountaintop |
| s'raʔej-s'raʔoox   | rancid food                                             |
| s'raʔug-s'raʔeeġ   | stinking badly                                          |
| s'raled-s'raləed   | rolling the eyes                                        |
| s'rayeg-s'rayoġ    | calling loudly                                          |
| s'rayeg-s'rayeġ    | calling for s.t.                                        |
| s'rayeew-s'rayaaw  | pangs of pain                                           |
| s'reŋ-s'roox       | falling in water                                        |
| s'reew-s'raaw      | running off                                             |
| s'reew-s'ruew      | pouring of water, rice etc.                             |
| s'reey-s'røøy      | disappearing                                            |
| s'ruj-s'raaj       | sharp swords                                            |
| s'yeg-s'yaag       | getting light                                           |
| tedʔakud-tedʔakaad | covered with fruits                                     |
| t'lebheb-t'lebhūb  | throbbing with pain                                     |
| t'rasħħ-t'rasuh    | falling into the bushes                                 |
| wenwùn-wenwiit     | warping poles                                           |

Certain words are used to describe people copulating.

|                     |               |
|---------------------|---------------|
| b'rawēk-b'rawōōk | swaying       |
| giyel-giyool        | quaking       |
| g'rayel-g'rayool    | quaking       |
| h'rawoŋ-h'rawiíŋ    | swaying       |
| k'rawəl-k'rawiíl    | rocking       |
| lelaʔuh-lelaʔah     | making noises |
| p'raleg-p'ralog     | popping out   |

Descriptive of appearance

|                   |                 |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| b'raŋug-b'raŋiġ   | smiling so much |
| b'rayeŋ-b'rayuŋ   | messy hair      |
| b'relwəl-b'relwəl | splotchy        |

|                                |                                           |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| b'reŋcuŋ-b'reŋcaŋ              | striped                                   |
| b'reŋcuŋ-b'reŋceŋ              | patterned body                            |
| b'reŋhooŋ-b'reŋhaŋ             | flaring nostrils                          |
| b'raheŋ-b'rahaag               | e.o. having flaring nostrils              |
| b'reŋluŋ-b'reŋlux              | big holes, e.g. in the bamboo             |
| bayuj-bayaalj                  | unbrushed hair                            |
| bunceŋ-buncit                  | fat tummied                               |
| cenduŋ-cendaŋ                  | all huge ass, sticking out                |
| cenduŋ-cendiix                 | all wide ass, e.g. an elephant            |
| c'leŋ-c'looc, c'raleŋ-c'ralooc | goofy teeth                               |
| c'rabej-c'rabooj               | crying eyes                               |
| c'rabul-c'rabeel               | young ladies                              |
| g'lempēk-g'límpūk              | baggy clothes                             |
| g'weŋ-g'waaj                   | dark, e.g. a bear                         |
| g'rawuŋ-g'rawaaŋ               | dark skinned                              |
| g'seŋ-g'suuŋ                   | sooty faced                               |
| haŋkeŋ-haŋkoŋ                  | tall of stature                           |
| h'laju*-h'laja*                | flabby                                    |
| h'lapew-h'lapaaw               | flat tummied                              |
| h'lawəd-h'lawiid               | dangling                                  |
| h'leŋpeŋ-h'leŋpux              | fat tummied                               |
| h'lug-h'laag                   | only ugly                                 |
| h'ralug-h'ralaaq               | all too ugly                              |
| haleŋpeŋ-haleŋpux              | big and fat                               |
| h'rajel-h'rajol                | long-legged                               |
| jaŋrel-jaŋroł                  | skinny legs                               |
| jeŋkeŋ-jaŋkoŋ                  | lanky legged                              |
| j'wug-j'wiig                   | large mouthed                             |
| kaleb-kaləb                    | tight trousers                            |
| kalteb-kaltəb                  | fat faced                                 |
| kedwud-kedweed                 | skinny butt                               |
| k'ralel-k'ralul                | bulging balls                             |
| k'ratəd-k'ratad                | tight-fitting                             |
| libuuy-libəey                  | fat lipped                                |
| pəl'uj-pəl'ij                  | no clothes on                             |
| peldəel-pelduul                | bare butts                                |
| p'radeel-p'raduul              | without clothes, e.g. children            |
| pəŋhuŋ-pəŋhaŋ                  | bare butt hole                            |
| p'oor-p'oir                    | hot and sweaty                            |
| p'rateel-p'ratəel              | sweaty foreheads, people arriving         |
| p'rihoŋ-p'rihaŋ                | bare bummed                               |
| p'teeel-p'tueł                 | slap headed                               |
| rənduŋ-rendiix                 | long poles on shoulder, all stood upright |
| rulud-ruleed                   | angry-faced                               |
| r'ŋuaŋ-r'ŋaaŋ                  | red-faced (angry)                         |
| saweh-sawəh                    | huge mouths                               |
| səbsub-səbsiib                 | slit-eyed                                 |

|                    |                    |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| selpuj-selpæj      | smooth hair        |
| similud-simileed   | slit eyes          |
| sínjud-sínjad      | long buttocks      |
| suluw-suleew       | thin bodied        |
| s'labuŋ-s'labax    | fat belly          |
| s'maleŋ-s'malux    | fat legs           |
| s'raleh-s'raloh    | fair-skinned       |
| s'rawej-s'rawaa'i' | stripy on the back |
| s'rapud-s'raped    | small butts        |
| telbey-telbu'c     | bulging            |
| t'rapuj-t'rapíj    | so ugly            |

## Descriptive of colours

|                   |           |
|-------------------|-----------|
| b'keeb-b'kæb      | all brown |
| b'keeh-b'kooh     | all grey  |
| b'rakeeh-b'rakooḥ | all murky |
| b'laʔeər-b'laʔəər | all green |
| b'yeeeg-b'yoog    | all white |
| r'ηeh-r'ηah       | all black |
| r'ηeeṛ-r'ηaaṛ     | all red   |

## Descriptive of the face and hair

|                                           |                                   |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| b'rayeŋ-b'rayuχ                           | messy haired                      |
| b'reŋheŋ-b'reŋhoοj                        | wide-nosed                        |
| c'erlug-cerlaag                           | eyes rolled up                    |
| c'latuŋ- c'lataaj                         | bald-headed                       |
| c'raleŋ-c'raloo'c                         | goofy teathed                     |
| c'raluŋ-c'raleŋ                           | evil-eyed                         |
| <br>                                      |                                   |
| c'raped-c'rapud                           | scarred, sewn up on the face      |
| g'wəer-g'wəər                             | dark-skinned                      |
| herled-herləd̥                            | drowsy eyed                       |
| h'leer-h'loor                             | long-nosed                        |
| j'layug-j'layag                           | huge hair                         |
| juwug-juwíig                              | wide mouthed                      |
| ker <sup>2</sup> eər-ker <sup>2</sup> uuc | all short                         |
| leybeey-leybuuy                           | fat lipped                        |
| litug-litiig                              | big mouth                         |
| palen-palooŋ                              | big heads                         |
| p'jeer-p'joor                             | long nosed                        |
| ruhug-ruhag                               | gaping-mouthed, crying            |
| saweh-sawoh                               | wide-mouthed                      |
| serŋug-serŋaag                            | gaping-mouthed, showing the teeth |
| s'lapej-s'lapəəj                          | smooth haired                     |
| t'reŋluuŋ-t'reŋləəx                       | wide-eyed                         |

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