A short morphology, phonology and vocabulary of Kiput, Sarawak
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Pacific Linguistics 546
A short morphology, phonology and vocabulary of Kiput, Sarawak

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</tbody>
</table>
Preface

The present sketch continues a series initiated by Blust (1977), which outlined plans for brief descriptions of seven of the languages of northern Sarawak. The choice of Kiput as the third of these languages departs from the original order of coverage, which called for prior descriptions of Bintulu and Miri, and the form of presentation has been modified from that used in Blust (1977, 1988). Publication of the Kiput materials has been delayed for some years both because other projects took priority, and because of uncertainties regarding some aspects of the phonetic transcriptions.

Kiput materials were collected in the context of surveying the historical relationships of over 40 language communities in northwest Borneo, and so represent the results of no more than 20-25 hours collection time. Data was collected between June 30 and September 24, 1971, primarily from John Malang, who was then 17. He spoke Kiput, English, Malay, Iban, the Long Terawan and Batu Belah dialects of Berawan, a little Kayan and a little Kelabit, and reported that almost everyone at Long Kiput spoke Iban as a second language. Additional material was collected from Thomas Belulok, who was perhaps 16 at the time, and reportedly spoke only Kiput, Malay and English. Where there appear to be significant differences between the two speakers forms from Thomas Belulok are marked (TB). At that time both informants were students at the Government Secondary School in Marudi, Baram District, Fourth Division, Sarawak.

My greatest thanks naturally go to John Malang and Thomas Belulok, who by now may have only a dim recollection of the hours we spent together transcribing data by hand and primitive tape recorder. In addition I am indebted to Kenneth L. Rehg for providing me with information which I could not easily obtain myself while writing this paper on sabbatical leave, and to an anonymous referee for valuable suggestions on style and references to the general theoretical literature in phonology. All conclusions reached from the analysis of the data are mine alone.
1 Discussion

1 Background

Kiput is a member of the Berawan-Lower Baram branch of the North Sarawak subgroup of Austronesian (An) languages, spoken by perhaps 450 people. The entire language community reportedly resides in a single longhouse known variously as Long Kiput, Long Tutoh, or Kuala Tutoh, located on the Baram river, Fourth Division, Sarawak, about one kilometer from its junction with the Tutoh. The nearest major settlements are the Kenyeh longhouse of Long Ikang, further up the Baram, and the more recent Ibansettlement of Belahui, some distance up the Tutoh. The nearest relatives of Kiput appear to be Belait, spoken in Brunei, Narum, Miri and Dali’, spoken in the basin of the Baram river and adjacent coastal regions in Sarawak, and the languages described by Ray (1913) as Lemeting and Lelak, which may now be extinct.¹

Most questions regarding contrast in Kiput were carefully checked in the field during the last two or three meetings with the informants, and a number of tape recordings were made at that time as well. These materials provide an increased sense of confidence in the accuracy of the phonetic transcriptions, but they do not rule out the possibility that some errors remain. However, given the low probability that a better description of Kiput phonology will become available in the near future it seems appropriate to publish my materials now in the hope that they will provide a foundation on which scholars in the future can build.

Very little has been published on this language. Ray (1913) contains a vocabulary of about 200 items in a phonemically inadequate transcription, and scattered data appear in various of the writer’s earlier publications (e.g. Blust 1974, 2000). The principal aim of the present study is to provide an overview of the synchronic morphology and phonology of Kiput, together with a considerably longer and more reliable vocabulary than that in Ray (1913), and some sentence material. To my knowledge, no additional fieldwork of any significance has been undertaken on Kiput since I collected my data 30 years ago. The material gathered here will therefore be useful in itself, since so little additional descriptive work is likely to be done in the near future. As a secondary aim the present description attempts to lay the groundwork

¹Grimes and Grimes (2001), drawing on Wurm and Hattori (1981), report three dialects of Kiput: Long Kiput, Long Tutoh (= Kuala Tutoh), and Lemiting, with some 2,460 speakers in all. However, there appear to be multiple errors in this account. According to my own informants Long Kiput and Long Tutoh/Kuala Tutoh are alternative names for the same longhouse and, as already noted, Lemiting evidently was a distinct language which may no longer exist. Few longhouses in Sarawak have more than 350-400 inhabitants, and the figure of 2,460 for a single dwelling must misrepresent the actual number of speakers by several orders of magnitude. The morpheme long = ‘river junction’ in a number of the languages of northern Sarawak, and kuala is its equivalent in Malay.
for an account of Kiput historical phonology, a subject of particular interest which is treated in a separate publication (Blust 2002).

2 Subsystems

Four subsystems of the Kiput lexicon are described here: 1) numerals, 2) personal and possessive pronouns, 3) demonstrative pronouns, and 4) kinship terms.

2.1 Numerals

Like almost all Austronesian languages, Kiput has a decimal system of counting. The primary numerals are shown in Table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary numerals of Kiput</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sih/silaaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dufih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuceu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pai'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulau'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-lataw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-libew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The derived numerals 11-19 are formed through combinations of pulau' with the primary numerals 1-9 in the order pulau’ X (‘ten plus X’). Those from 21 are formed through combinations of a primary numeral with pulau’ in the order X pulau’ (‘X times ten’). Higher numerals which end in ‘one’ use only siilaaj, never sih: pulau’ siilaaj (**pulau’ sih) ‘11’, pulau’ dufih ‘12’, dufih pulau’ ‘20’, dufih pulau’ siilaaj ‘21’ (**dufih pulau’ sih), dufih pulau’ dufih ‘22’, etc. Like some other languages in Borneo and the Philippines, the numerals ‘100’ and ‘1000’ take a prefix me-, which appears to reflect the PAn stative marker *ma-. Multiples of one hundred and one thousand are formed like multiples of ten: dufih lataw ‘200’, dufih lataw siilaaj ‘201’, dufih lataw dufih pulau’ siilaaj ‘221’, telaw libew ‘3000’, telaw libew paat lataw limeh pulau’ nem ‘3,456’. No term for primary numerals higher than libew ‘thousand’ could be elicited.

Like a number of the languages of western Indonesia, Kiput uses a system of nominal classifiers which co-occur with numerals. Recorded classifiers include: 1) belugon (fish, pigs),
2) kadih (fruits, leaves, flowers, seeds, trees, birds, optionally with humans), 3) papaa’ (bunches of fruit), and 4) tulew (people). Examples of usage appear in Table 2:

Table 2: Nominal classifiers of Kiput

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dufih belujon putaa’</td>
<td>two fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telaw belujon babuy</td>
<td>three pigs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paat kadih anaak</td>
<td>four children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limeh kadih butë’</td>
<td>five flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paat kadih dun kacew</td>
<td>four leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dufih kadih kacew</td>
<td>two trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kerusl’ dufih kadih</td>
<td>two chairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telaw kadih lujon putay</td>
<td>three bananas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paat kadih manoë’</td>
<td>four birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limeh kadih sai’</td>
<td>five seeds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paat kadih turay</td>
<td>four women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telaw papaa’ lujon putay</td>
<td>three bunches of bananas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paat tulew anaak</td>
<td>four children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dufih tulew turay</td>
<td>two girls, two women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all but one of these examples the order of elements is Numeral + Classifier + Noun. The single exception is kerusl’ dufih kadih, with Noun + Numeral + Classifier. Given the limited number of examples collected it seems likely that both orders are permitted, and that more examples of the latter type would be found in a larger database. Possible semantic nuances conveyed by differences of word order in constructions with nominal classifiers are unknown. No information could be obtained concerning possible connotational differences between the use of kadih vs. tulew as nominal classifiers for humans. Very little time was spent investigating the use of nominal classifiers in Kiput, and it is possible that the system is considerably richer than what has been indicated here.

2.2 Personal and possessive pronouns

Atypically among the An languages of insular Southeast Asia, a number of the languages of northern and central Sarawak distinguish singular, dual, trial/paucal and plural numbers in the personal pronouns. In this respect they share a global structural resemblance to typical Oceanic languages. The distribution of such systems of number marking raises the question whether such a system might have been present in Proto Malayo-Polynesian. However, a consideration of the details of morphological marking makes this appear unlikely. Rather, the
generic structural similarities of number marking in the personal pronouns of Proto North Sarawak and Proto Oceanic appear to be parallel developments. Given the existence of similar systems of pronominal number marking in other parts of the world, the operation of convergence to produce structurally similar results among languages belonging to the same family is not at all implausible. The Kiput personal pronouns are given in Table 3:

Table 3: Kiput personal pronouns

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>naw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>in kifih</td>
<td>ex kafih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ifih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dîfih dufih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trial</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>in killaw</td>
<td>ex kallaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>illaw telaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>lew telaw telaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>in kiteh</td>
<td>ex kamay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>semuē' semuē' uñew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>idih/lew ieh/semuē' lew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It seems clear that where dual and trial pronouns do not contain an actual morpheme dufih 'two' or telaw 'three', these pronouns are formed by combining one syllable from the corresponding plural pronoun with the last syllable of dufih 'two', or telaw 'three'. For the 1st and 2nd persons the first syllable of the dual or trial pronoun is drawn from the first syllable of the plural pronoun, while for at least the 3rd person dual it is drawn from the last syllable (presumably because i- has already been preempted for use as a 2nd person marker): ki-fih, ka-fih, i-fih, di-fih, ki-llaw, ka-llaw next to kiteh and kamay, ilaw, idih which are unanalyzable.

The personal pronouns of Table 3 mark both subjects and objects with no change of form:
1. *kaw mukUt ŋih* (1sg ACT-punch 3sg) ‘I punched him’
2. *kaw n-ukUt ŋih* (1sg PASS-punch 3sg) ‘He punched me’
3. *ŋih mukUt kaw* (3sg ACT-punch 1sg) ‘He punched me’
4. *ŋih n-ukUt kaw* (3sg PASS-punch 1sg) ‘I punched him’

Reciprocal and reflexive pronouns appear to have the same form:

5. *difih se-pesih* (3dl RECIP-hit) ‘They hit each other’
6. *kafih sel-adek* (2dl/ex RECIP-kiss) ‘We kissed each other’
7. *anaak ieh se-pitoy* (child DEM REFL-swing) ‘The child is swinging’
8. *laay ieh sek-abue*’ (man DEM REFL-drunk) ‘That man is trying to get drunk’

Although far less material was collected on the Kiput possessive pronouns than for many of the other languages of Sarawak, the limited data to hand suggest that possessive pronouns are identical to the forms in Table 3:

9. *mateh kaw* ‘my eye’; *mateh naw* ‘your eye’; *mateh ŋih* ‘his/her eye’
10. *tameh kaw* ‘my father’; *tameh naw* ‘your father’; *tameh ŋih* ‘his/her father’
11. *bukUt kaw* ‘my punch’; *bukUt naw* ‘your punch’; *bukUt ŋih* ‘his/her punch’

The Kiput pronominal system appears to be unusual among An languages generally in using a single set of forms for both subject/object marking and possessive marking. The only form in my data which suggests that there may be a distinct set of possessive pronouns which was not recorded is seen in *tineh* ‘mother’; *tina-n* ‘his/her mother’. Since no other comparable possessed nouns were recorded, and since *tameh ŋih* was given in the meaning ‘my father’ this isolated example must be treated with caution. It is possible that *tina-n* preserves a trace of an older system of possessive marking which has begun to disappear among younger Kiput speakers.

### 2.3 Demonstrative pronouns

Relatively little information was collected for the demonstrative pronouns of Kiput. Two proximal deictics and two distal deictics were recorded, with the following generalized glosses:

- **nay** ‘this’
- **teh** ‘this’
- **cuy** ‘that’
- **ieh** ‘that’

The forms *teh* and *ieh* were also recorded after *atek*, the generic marker of location: *atek teh* ‘here’, *atek ieh* ‘there’. The forms *nay* and *cuy* were not recorded after *atek*, but no specific questions were asked regarding the possibility of such combinations. All of these forms except *ieh* were also recorded after *li* ‘to come’. Again, it is unclear whether the absence of such a combination with *ieh* is due to its impossibility in the language or to lacunae in the
elicitation process. Many of the North Sarawak languages distinguish distal deictics in terms of second person vs. third person, or in sight vs. out of sight reference, but no clear evidence of such distinctions are apparent in the material collected for Kiput.

2.4 Kinship terms

The full set of kinship terms recorded for Kiput appears in Table 4. (F = father, M = mother, B = brother, Z = sister, e = elder, y = younger, Sb = sibling, C = child, S = son, D = daughter, W = wife, H = husband):

Table 4: Kiput kinship terminology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. General:</th>
<th>lanek</th>
<th>relative/kinsman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Consanguineal:</td>
<td>sadei’ laay</td>
<td>FF, MF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sadei’ turay</td>
<td>FM, MM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tameh</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tineh</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kemamaan</td>
<td>FB, MB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>keminaan</td>
<td>FZ, MZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tukeh</td>
<td>eSb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tadey</td>
<td>ySb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tadey petaam</td>
<td>FBC, MBC, FZC, MZC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anaak laay</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anaak turay</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anaak menaan</td>
<td>BC, ZC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Affinal:</td>
<td>ibin</td>
<td>WF, WM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>baneh</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>safeh</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>balet</td>
<td>BW (add. and ref.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sabiëy</td>
<td>ZH (add.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sabey</td>
<td>ZH (ref.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anaak linay</td>
<td>CSp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The affinal terminology of Kiput probably is incomplete, and there are some uncertainties regarding the glossing of forms collected. First, it is not clear whether *ibin* includes HF, HM, or whether these kin categories are represented by a different lexical item. Second, it is not certain whether the glosses provided for *balet* and *sabiëy/sabey* hold for both male and female speakers, or only for male speakers. Finally, a reference/address distinction in the term for ZH
implies similar a similar distinction elsewhere in the system, but if such distinctions exist they were not recorded.

3 Morphology

Kiput morphology is simpler than that of most Philippine languages, or of the Philippine-type languages of Sabah. In general terms the level of complexity seen in the affixation system of this language is roughly comparable to that of Malay. The affixes (including reduplication) recorded for Kiput include 1) verbal ablaut, 2) -em- ‘active verb’ (transitive or intransitive), 3) -en- ‘passive/perfective verb’, 4) me- ‘stative verb’, 5) ŋ- ‘active verb (generally transitive or causative, but sometimes intransitive)’, 6) ke- ‘causative verb’, 7) man+ verb stem or active verb ‘imperative verb’, 8) pe- ‘nominalizer’, 9) pe- ‘causative verb’, 10) se-, sek-, sel-, sep- ‘reciprocal or reflexive verb’, 11) sep- ‘simulative verb’, and 12) full reduplication. In addition, a few affixes were recorded in a single example. Some of these appear in native words, as nel-anaak ‘to give birth’, but others are products of borrowing from Malay, as with lagU ’song’ : be-lagU ’to sing’ or bilei ’either of the halves of something split’ : se-bilei ’a half’, where the longer forms can be analyzed as bimorphemic, but the affixes they contain are marginal to the Kiput morphological system.

3.1 Ablaut

The existence of widespread systems of verbal ablaut in the languages of central and northern Sarawak has been described elsewhere (Blust 1997). Since Kiput was among the languages included in this earlier study only an outline of the main features of the ablaut pattern needs to be given here.

Briefly, in stems that contain a penultimate schwa active verbs are often formed through replacement of schwa with ŋ, and their passive counterparts through replacement of schwa with i. Historically this situation came about through two changes: 1) *e (schwa) deleted in the environment VC—CV, 2) consonant clusters were reduced. As a result of these changes bases of the shape *CeCVC were transformed in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage 1</th>
<th>Stage 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*CeCVC</td>
<td>CeCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*C-um-eCVC</td>
<td>CuCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*C-in-eCVC</td>
<td>CiCVC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bases with a penultimate vowel other than schwa, however, retained the infixes which were later subject to the merger of all vowels as schwa in prepenultimate syllables:
All known examples of ablaut are given in Table 5, where ‘base’ indicates 1) unrecorded, and in some cases perhaps non-attested shapes, which allow the active and passive forms of verbs to be related through a common stem, as /esiɛl/, 2) attested bases which occur without an affix, whether these are concrete or abstract nouns (pela ‘broom’, teppen ‘felling of trees’), or 3) bases which occur with an affix, but without ablaut, as ŋe-deket ‘to stick something to a surface’:

The 23 examples of ablaut patterns in partial verb paradigms in Table 5 show variations which require some comment. First, there are gaps in two paradigms which may reflect facts about the language, or may simply be oversights during the elicitation process when fieldwork was conducted. If the latter is the case then **diket ‘was stuck to a surface’ and **sipaa ‘was chewed, of betel’ may occur. However, the first of these forms is unlikely, since the transitive/causative form of the verb ‘to stick, adhere’ is ŋe-deket, and any passive form is likely to be formed from it rather than from the active intransitive duket. Second, five paradigms lack a recorded base form with schwa. As with the missing passive forms these gaps may reflect facts about the language or omissions during elicitation. In all of these cases the latter explanation is more plausible, but with /esiɛl/ it requires that an underlying schwa be posited in initial position which never occurs on the surface. Third, in bases that begin with p- the stem-initial consonant of the active form is replaced by m- in addition to u-ablaut (/peput/: muput, pesih : musih), or sometimes without it (pela : melə). This process, which I have called ‘pseudo nasal substitution’ (Blust to appear) can easily be confused with nasal substitution but is distinct from it, since nasal substitution reflects the transitive prefix *mal- , while pseudo nasal substitution derives historically from the infix *-um- (Blust 1997).
Table 5: Recorded examples of ablaut alternations in Kiput verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Active verb</th>
<th>Passive verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01. (\eta e)-deket</td>
<td>duket</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>stick, adhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02. se-de(\eta e)k</td>
<td>du(\eta e)k</td>
<td>di(\eta e)k</td>
<td>press down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03. /lesi(\eta e)/</td>
<td>u(\eta e)</td>
<td>isi(\eta e)</td>
<td>give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04. se-getep</td>
<td>gutep</td>
<td>gitep</td>
<td>bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05. se-getin</td>
<td>gutin</td>
<td>gitin</td>
<td>pinch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06. gut(\eta lJ)h</td>
<td>(\eta lJ)ut(\eta lJ)h</td>
<td>gitt(\eta lJ)h</td>
<td>cut with scissors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07. /kekep/</td>
<td>kukep</td>
<td>k(kkep)</td>
<td>hang something up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08. ma-kes(\eta e)t</td>
<td>kus(\eta e)t</td>
<td>kis(\eta e)t</td>
<td>press, squeeze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09. ler(\eta e)’</td>
<td>lur(\eta e)’</td>
<td>lir(\eta e)’</td>
<td>cut, as grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. pa-les(\eta e)t</td>
<td>lus(\eta e)t</td>
<td>lis(\eta e)t</td>
<td>release, let go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. pela</td>
<td>mel(\eta e)</td>
<td>pil(\eta e)</td>
<td>sweep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. /peput/</td>
<td>muput</td>
<td>niput</td>
<td>sting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. pes(\eta i)h</td>
<td>mus(\eta i)h</td>
<td>nis(\eta i)h</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. sep(\eta a)’</td>
<td>sup(\eta a)’</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>chew betel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. /serep/</td>
<td>surep</td>
<td>sirep</td>
<td>burn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. te(\eta aaw)v</td>
<td>tu(\eta aaw)v</td>
<td>t(\eta aaw)v</td>
<td>call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. /te(\eta n)en/</td>
<td>tu(\eta n)en</td>
<td>ti(\eta n)en</td>
<td>swallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. tepeh</td>
<td>tupeh</td>
<td>ti(\eta e)h</td>
<td>pound rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. tepek</td>
<td>tupek</td>
<td>ti(\eta pek)</td>
<td>stab, pierce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. tep(\eta e)n</td>
<td>tup(\eta e)n</td>
<td>tip(\eta e)n</td>
<td>cover, close</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. tep(\eta pe)n</td>
<td>tup(\eta pe)n</td>
<td>tip(\eta pe)n</td>
<td>fell trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. te(\eta se)i’</td>
<td>tuse(\eta i)’</td>
<td>tis(\eta e)’</td>
<td>step on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. tet(\eta e)k</td>
<td>tutek</td>
<td>titek</td>
<td>cut, as wood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most problematic feature of the ablaut system in Kiput is its synchronic relationship to infixation with -em- and -en-. With only one or two possible exceptions (e.g. gut\(\eta lJ\)h ‘scissors’: gitt\(\eta lJ\)h ‘was cut with scissors’), ablaut is confined to disyllabic bases in which the penultimate vowel is schwa. The infix -em- rarely occurs in such bases, although the infix -en- occurs in a number of examples: /let\(\eta e\)/ : m-en- ‘to bury’ : n-en- ‘was buried by someone’, /kelap/ : \(\eta e\)lap ‘to wipe’ : k-en-elap ‘was wiped by someone’, /kes\(\eta ayl\)/ : \(\eta e\)say ‘to slice’ : k-en-es\(\eta ayl\) ‘was sliced by someone’, pele\(\eta h\) ‘throwing’ : mele\(\eta h\) ‘to throw’ : n-ele\(\eta h\) ‘was thrown by someone’, se-peron ‘to blow on each other’ : meron ‘to blow’ : n-eron ‘was blown on by someone’. Although the ablaut pattern is largely in complementary distribution with the infixes -em- and -en- in other languages of central or northern Sarawak such as Mukeh Melanau, then, in Kiput the two patterns seem to contrast. This probably is an indication that ablaut in Kiput was acquired through language contact rather than innovated system-internally.
In a few other cases ablaut forms exist as variants of active verb forms without ablaut, or co-occur with affixes which redundantly mark the same morphological category: *tetek* 'cutting' : *netek/tutek* 'to cut something' (where nasal substitution and u-ablaut both mark the active verb, but on variant affixed forms of the same stem), *n-isi* 'was given by someone', /peput/ : *m-u-put* 'to sting, as a bee' : *n-i-put* 'was stung, as by a bee' (where n- and i-ablaut redundantly mark the passive-perfective in a single variant of the same stem).

### 3.2 -em- ‘active verb’

The affix -em- marks both transitive and intransitive verbs in Kiput, but where there is a transitive : intransitive contrast in the same base -em- typically marks the intransitive, and η- the transitive member of the pair:

/abit/  m-abit 'to hold'
/abut/  m-abut 'to pluck'
/itoyl  m-itoy 'to swing someone, as in pushing a child on a swing'

but kadey 'direction of falling, direction of being put down' : m-a-dey 'to topple, as a tree falling of its own accord' : ηadey 'to put someone down, as in putting a child down to sleep'.

In vowel-initial bases -em- and η- clearly contrast, the former being realized as m-, and the latter as η-. In consonant-initial bases, however, the distinction between these affixes can be more difficult to draw. In bases that begin with a non-labial consonant -em- and η- can usually be distinguished, as in the example of kadey : m-a-dey : ηadey given above, or in tuloe 'helping efforts' : m-u-loe : nuloē 'to help'. In disyllabic bases that begin with a labial stop, however, both affixes surface as homorganic nasal substitution of the base-initial consonant, and both can mark transitive verbs. Thus it is unclear whether the active verb in e.g. bagi ' : magi ' to divide' is underlyingly η-bagi' or b-em-agi', or whether the active verb in e.g. pukat 'dragnet' : mukat 'cast a dragnet' is underlyingly η-pukat or p-em-ukat. The representation of morpheme boundaries in such cases is largely arbitrary. If magi' and similar affixed forms of other labial-initial bases are assumed to contain the infix -em-, a morpheme boundary should appear between the nasal and the following vowel. In such cases the active verb and its passive-perfective counterpart are morphologically parallel: m-agi' (< b-em-ag'i) 'to divide, share', n-agi' (< b-en-ag'i) 'was divided by someone, was shared by someone'. On the other hand, if magi' and similar affixed forms of other labial-initial bases are assumed to contain the prefix ηe- the morpheme boundary falls within the nasal, and cannot be represented by ordinary segmentation procedures. In such cases no morpheme boundary is written: hence bagi ' : magi' (< η-bagi').

As in many other languages of Borneo, the verb 'to eat' preserves more conservative forms of these affixes: kaan : k-un-aan 'to eat' : k-in-aan 'was eaten by someone'. Historically this situation arose as a result of the reduction of the base *kaen to a monosyllable, leaving the infixed forms *k-un-aen and *k-in-aen as derived disyllables *k-un-an and *k-in-an prior to the merger of all vowels as schwa in prepenultimate syllables. The presence of these conservative forms of the productive infixes -em- and -en- raises the question whether the latter should be represented synchronically as -um- and -in- and the surface forms derived by
Discussion

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rule. In the present analysis this more abstract level of representation will be avoided, and the shapes of the infixes in \textit{k-um-aan} and \textit{k-in-aan} will be treated as exceptional.

3.3 \textit{-en-} ‘passive-perfective verb’

Most of the remarks made above in connection with the infix \textit{-em-} can be applied without change to the infix \textit{-en-}. There are, however, some details of distribution which distinguish the two. First, unlike \textit{-em-}, which may be difficult to distinguish from \textit{n-} in labial-initial bases, \textit{-en-} (and its allomorph \textit{n-}) is always unambiguous: passive-perfective verbs that begin with \textit{n} must be followed immediately by a morpheme boundary, as in \textit{batin} ‘small cannon’: \textit{matin} ‘to shoot’ (ambiguous for \textit{η-batin} or \textit{b-em-atin}): \textit{n-atin} ‘was shot by someone’, \textit{biguē} ‘an adze’: \textit{miguē} ‘to adze wood’ (ambiguous for \textit{η-biguē} or \textit{b-em-iguē}): \textit{n-iguē} ‘was adzed by someone’, \textit{pa-kaan} ‘to feed’: \textit{n-a-kaan} ‘was fed by someone’. Second, \textit{-en-} surfaces as \textit{n-} in many bases that begin with a vowel, and so parallels \textit{-em-}:

\begin{align*}
/\text{abit}/ & \quad n-\text{abit} \ ‘\text{was held by someone}’ \\
/\text{abut}/ & \quad n-\text{abut} \ ‘\text{was plucked by someone}’ \\
/\text{itoy}/ & \quad n-\text{itoy} \ ‘\text{was pushed on a swing by someone}’
\end{align*}

However, in some other vowel-initial bases it must be added to a prefixed form of the base and so surfaces as \textit{-en-}. This is true both of vowel-initial bases that form the active verb with \textit{-em-} and of vowel-initial bases that form the active verb with \textit{n-}: \textit{m-añet} ‘to sink’: \textit{k-añet} ‘make something sink, deliberately drop something in the water’: \textit{k-en-añet} ‘was dropped in the water by someone’, \textit{araap} ‘hope, trust’: \textit{η-araap} ‘to hope, to trust in someone’: \textit{k-en-araap} ‘was hoped for, was trusted’. As these examples suggest, \textit{-en-} also surfaces as an infix in \textit{k-} initial bases: \textit{kalot} ‘mixed together’: \textit{ηalot} ‘to mix things together’: \textit{k-en-alot} ‘were mixed together’. In disyllabic bases that begin with a labial consonant \textit{-en-} is infixed and the first syllable of the resulting word is dropped \textit{bagi} ‘divide, share’: \textit{n-agi} ‘was divided, was shared by someone’ (< \textit{b-en-agi}). If the same analysis were applied to ‘pseudo nasal substitution’ with labial-initial bases infixed with \textit{n-} the morpheme boundary would also fall between the initial nasal and the following vowel: \textit{m-agi} (< \textit{b-em-agi}), etc.

As already noted, however, in Kiput the effects of pseudo nasal substitution mimic those of true nasal substitution so closely that the affixed forms of such bases are often ambiguous for infixation with \textit{-em-} or prefixation with \textit{n-}. By contrast, infixation with \textit{-en-} is invariably unambiguous.

In many other languages of northern and central Sarawak the passive voice, whether expressed through the infix \textit{-en-} or through \textit{i-} ablaut, is obligatorily perfective, a result of the historical complementarity of PAn \textit{*-in-} ‘perfective’ and \textit{*-en} ‘patient focus’. In languages that have preserved more of the morphological apparatus of the PAn focus system \textit{*-in-} is clearly a perfective marker which functions as a portmanteau affix in the patient focus (marked by a zero allomorph of \textit{*-en} in the perfective). In many of the languages of central and northern Sarawak, as well as some others in western Indonesia (e.g. Rejang of southern Sumatra) the earlier four-focus system has been reduced to a system of two voices, active and passive. The passive voice in such languages is a historical reflex not of the patient focus
Chapter 1

suffix *-en, but rather of the portmanteau infix *-in- which marked both perfective and the patient focus of perfective verbs. Why there was a preference to select a reflex of *-in- rather than of *-en to mark the new passive in such languages remains unclear, but the result in all cases was a passive voice which is obligatorily perfective.

In most cases a similar analysis appears to apply to Kiput, but some observations conflict with this interpretation. In k-en-iǐim 'was tasted by someone', for example, -en- does not clearly mark the perfective aspect unless it is accompanied by ĕaa 'already': kan-an ĕeh k-en-iǐim ǐih (food that eat-passive 3sg) 'He ate/is eating the food', but kan-an ĕeh ĕaa' k-en-iǐim ǐih (food that already eat-passive 3sg) 'He ate the food'. On the other hand, in the sentence padey ĕeh ĕaa'tipeh ǐih (rice that already pound-passive 3sg) 'She has pounded the rice already' the action was said to be completed even without use of ĕaa', thus implying that i ablaut has a portmanteau function of signaling both passive voice and perfectivity as a single complex. Finally, in the sentence semaa'iiih ndeh adi' n-a-īnh (borrowing 3sg NEG can pay-passive 3sg) 'He cannot repay what he borrows' (lit. 'His borrowing cannot be repaid by him') the form n-a-īnh evidently is not perfective if the comment is generic or habitual rather than specific. If, in fact, the comment was intended to be specific the gloss should be altered to 'He cannot repay what he borrowed'.

In kaan: k-um-aan 'to eat' pa-kaan 'to feed' : n-a-kaan 'was fed by someone' the morpheme boundary in n-a-kaan must be understood in relation to the causative verb form pa-kaan (*p-en-a-kaan, with loss of the first syllable). Finally, in monosyllabic bases -en- is realized as the prefix ne:- maa 'to scale, as fish': ne-maa 'was scaled by someone', pei 'to carry on the back': ne-pei 'was carried on the back by someone'. A parallel allomorph of -em- (viz. me- in monosyllables) was not recorded, but this is presumably an accidental gap in the data collected.

3.4 me- 'stative verb'

A stative verb prefix of the basic shape me- can be identified in a number of affixed words, where it contrasts with other forms of the verb that lack it. Almost all of these examples are found in bases that begin with a vowel or l, and contrast can almost invariably be found with a causative form of the base marked by ke- or ŋe- (Table 6).

In addition to the above forms a number of invariant bases were recorded which begin with m- and are semantically stative. That these bases were originally affixed with me- seems clear from the skewed phonotactics since, with a single exception, all examples are either monosyllables or disyllables in which m- is followed immediately by a vowel, or trisyllables in which me- is followed immediately by l: maak 'shallow', mamey 'mute', manaay 'male (animals)', maron 'loose, of binding', masem 'sour', masēn 'sweet', mataa 'raw', melait 'cold (weather)', melehum 'ancient', melepey 'lazy', meley 'loose, of a knot', melesih 'comatose', meletaw 'salty', melipay 'thin', melufen 'old (people)', mitam 'black'. The one exception is mecǐi 'clever', and since no etymology is available for this form it is unclear whether it contains a fossilized prefix me-. It is, of course, possible that some or all of these apparent bases are in fact morphologically complex words in which a base was not identified due to insufficient time in the field.
Table 6: Evidence for a synchronically productive stative verb prefix me- in Kiput

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m-abue'</td>
<td>sek-abue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-ara</td>
<td>k-ara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-asaak</td>
<td>k-asaak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-asan</td>
<td>k-asan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-ataay</td>
<td>k-ataay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-eloe'</td>
<td>n-eloe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-elai'</td>
<td>n-elai'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-laneh</td>
<td>ke-laneh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-lemaw</td>
<td>lema performer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-lataw</td>
<td>dufih lataw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-libew</td>
<td>dufih libew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-liem</td>
<td>pe-liem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-lumau'</td>
<td>ke-lumau'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-ulon</td>
<td>ulon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>drunk/make oneself drunk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dry/make something dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cooked/cook something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>embarrassed/embarrass someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dead/kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>slack/loosen something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cool/cool something off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wither/was made to wither</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>corpulent/fat, grease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one hundred/two hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one thousand/two thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dark/make something dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>soft/softened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alive/life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two other forms present unique problems. In kusét 'to press, squeeze, as juice from a fruit': ma-kesét 'squeezed, as someone’s arm that has gotten caught in a machine' the latter form appears to contain a stative prefix. In this form, however, the prefix was recorded only as ma-, not as me-, and the longer form is perhaps better construed as resultative than stative. In addition, both lasau' and masau' were recorded in the meaning 'hot', although neither form was obtained in phrasal context.

Finally, there are a number of zero-marked statives in Kiput, as with abië 'left (side)', bei 'wet', bucen 'hungry', bule 'blind', buruë 'rotten', but 'afraid', cei 'good', dalaw 'angry', gaduë 'green', kalot 'mixed together', kesän 'strong, forceful', kunë 'yellow', lasau 'hot', lataa 'flat, level', pacey 'weak, exhausted', paroët 'hoarse', patai 'broken', pesei 'stinging, smarting, pët 'bitter', pideyn 'upright, as a post', patai 'white', puton 'broken', selam 'selfish', seret 'sharp', seu 'short in height', sileh 'dazzling', talom 'deep', terei 'pregnant', tuëw 'right (side)', tuëi 'hard, of substances', usoy 'straight', utaï 'tart'. In many cases these may have become zero-marked through loss of me- before consonant-initial bases that did not begin with l-. Other bases, however, appear to have been zero-marked originally, as with usoy and utaï, which we would expect to begin with m-.

3.5 η- 'active/causative verb'

Together with -em- this affix accounts for most active verb forms in Kiput. Like -em-, η- marks both transitive and intransitive verbs, although it is relatively uncommon in the latter function: araap 'hope, trust': η-araap 'to hope, to trust': īnh η-araap araaw peraa' (3sg
ACT-hope weather rain) ‘He is hoping it will rain’, dalaw ‘anger, jealousy : ye-dalaw ‘to be angry at or jealous of someone’ : niih ye-dalaw yan laay ieh (3sg ACT-angry/jealous COMP man that) ‘He is jealous of that man’, labet ‘loincloth’ : ye-labet ‘to wear a loincloth’ : niih ye-labet (3sg ACT-loincloth) ‘He is wearing a loincloth’, tanay ‘cry, weep’ : anaak ieh tanay (3sg ACT-cry) ‘That child is crying’. It is rare for a single verb stem to take both -em- (including ablaut) and η-, but in the few available examples the two affixed forms were either given as identical in function, or the form with η- marks constructions which take an additional argument. The recorded examples are: 1) duket ‘to stick, adhere to a surface’ : ye-deket ‘to stick something to a surface’, 2) kadey ‘direction of falling’ : m-adey ‘to fall, topple, as a tree that is felled’ : ηadey ‘to put something or someone down, as in putting a child down to sleep’, 3) tutek/netek ‘to cut, to break’, 4) m-uloe/nuloi ‘to help’. The same general relationship appears to hold of zero-marked intransitives vs. their transitive/causative counterparts: acon ‘to melt, dissolve’ : η-acon ‘to melt/dissolve something’, pudun : (to gather (intrans.) : mudun ‘to gather (trans.) : lew ieh pudun nen (3pl those gather place) ‘They gathered/are gathering in one place’ : niih mudun kacew ieh silaay pacey (3sg ACT-gather wood that one pile) ‘He gathered/is gathering the wood into one pile’. A second pattern in which the morphological profile of -em- and η- differs is seen in passive constructions, as active verbs with -em- normally are passivized with -en-, while active verbs with η- are most commonly passivized with k-en- : m-abut ‘to pluck’ : n-abut ‘was plucked by someone’, but η-acon ‘to dissolve something’ : k-en-acon ‘was dissolved by someone’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m-</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η-</td>
<td>k(-en)-e-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The affix η- has numerous allomorphs, which are described in Section 4.4.1.

3.6 ke- ‘causative verb’

The prefix ke- marks causative verbs in examples such as m-añet ‘to sink’ : k-añet ‘make something sink, drop something in the water’, m-ara ‘dry’ : k-ara ‘make something dry, dry something up’, m-asäak ‘cooked, ripe’ : k-asäak ‘to cook’, m-asen ‘shy, ashamed, embarrassed’ : k-asen ‘to embarrass someone’, and m-ataay ‘die, dead’ : k-ataay ‘to kill’. All examples of active causative verbs in my database occur with vowel-initial stems, and so are realized as k-. Active causatives with ke- form part of a construction of the form AGT-V-PAT, as with:

1. niih k-ara kukot ieh (3sg CAUS-dry well DEM) ‘He dried up/is drying up the well’
2. niih k-asen ηen kaw (3sg CAUS-embarrass ACC 1sg) ‘He made/is making me embarrassed’
3. niih k-ataay asaw (3sg CAUS-die dog) ‘He killed/is killing a dog’
Most examples of *ke-* ‘causative’, however, were recorded as the passive counterparts of active transitive or causative verbs with *ŋe-,* as with *bule* ‘blind’ : *ŋe-sule* ‘to blind someone, make someone blind’ : *ke-sule* ‘was blinded by someone’, *ŋe-deket* ‘to stick something to a surface’ : *ke-deket* ‘were stuck together by someone’, *dime* ‘dirty’ : *ŋe-sime* ‘to make something dirty’ : *ke-sime* ‘was made dirty by someone’, *lacun* ‘poison’ : *ŋe-lacun* ‘to poison someone or something’ : *ke-lacun* ‘was poisoned by someone’, or *lasau* ‘heat’ : *m-sasu* ‘hot’ : *ŋe-lasau* ‘to heat’ : *ke-lasau* ‘was heated by someone’. When a causative verb appears in its passive form it forms part of a construction of the type PAT-V-AGT. This difference in syntactic behavior appears to correlate with the larger affix potential of the verb. Verbs that take a causative in *ŋe-* show the order AGT-V-PAT, and *ke-* forms a passive counterpart of the causative construction, while in verbs that do not take a causative in *ŋe-* the prefix *ke-* forms an active causative, as seen above in 1-3):

4. *nih ŋe-laneh dun ieh* (3sg CAUS-wither leaf DEM) ‘He made/is making the leaves wither’
5. *nih ŋe-lumau* puttay ieh (3sg CAUS-soft banana DEM) ‘She softened/is softening the banana’
6. *dun ieh ke-laneh nih* (leaf DEM CAUS-PASS-wither 3sg) ‘He made the leaves wither’
7. *puttay ieh ke-lumau* nih (banana DEM CAUS-PASS-soft 3sg) ‘She softened the banana’

In a few cases *ke-* appears to mark the passive of a zero-marked causative, as in *dudue* ‘to pawn’ : *ke-dudue* ‘was pawned by someone’: *nih dudue* jiem nih (3sg pawn watch 3sg) ‘He pawned/is pawning his watch’ : anew pay ke-dudue* nih* (what PASS-pawn 3sg) ‘What did he pawn?’ : jiem nih ke-dudue* nih* (watch 3sg PASS-pawn 3sg) ‘He pawned his watch’.

As these examples demonstrate, passive causatives do not require the passive-perfective infix *-en-*, although they may take it: *araap* ‘hope, trust’ : *ŋe-araap* ‘to hope, to trust’ : *k-en-araap* ‘was hoped for, was trusted by someone’, *lasaak/l m-asak* ‘cooked, ripe’ : *k-asak* ‘to cook’ : *k-en-asak* ‘was cooked by someone’, *bei* ‘wet’ : *ŋe-bei* ‘to dampen, make something wet’ : *k-en-e-bei* ‘was dampened by someone’, *sei* ‘water’ : *ŋe-sei* ‘to water something’ : *k-en-e-sei* ‘was watered by someone’, *sée* ‘a laugh’ : *ŋe-sée* ‘to laugh at someone’ : *k-en-e-sée* ‘was laughed at by someone’. All available examples of this affix combination occur with vowel-initial bases or monosyllables.

### 3.7 *man-* + ACT/CAUS verb ‘imperative verb’

The prefix *man-* is added either to the unaffixed base, to the active form of the base, or to a causative form of the base to form the imperative. Unlike other affixes which contain a prepenultimate low vowel, *man-* is invariably pronounced with the low vowel *a,* never with a schwa, thus raising questions as to whether it is an affix or a clitic:
### Table 7: The imperative prefix *man-* in relation to base and affixed forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Active verb</th>
<th>Imperative verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acon</td>
<td>η-acon</td>
<td>man-η-acon</td>
<td>dissolve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/adek/</td>
<td>m-adek</td>
<td>man-m-adek</td>
<td>kiss, smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alot</td>
<td>η-alot</td>
<td>man-η-alot</td>
<td>paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alut</td>
<td>η-alut</td>
<td>man-η-alut</td>
<td>smooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/añe/i/</td>
<td>m-añe/i</td>
<td>man-m-añe/i</td>
<td>chew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ara/</td>
<td>k-ara</td>
<td>man-k-ara</td>
<td>dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/asaak/</td>
<td>η-asaak</td>
<td>man-η-asaak</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ataay/</td>
<td>k-ataay</td>
<td>man-k-ataay</td>
<td>kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagi’</td>
<td>magi’</td>
<td>man-magi’</td>
<td>divide, share</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bei’</td>
<td>ηe-bei’</td>
<td>man-ηe-bei’</td>
<td>wet, damp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bukUt</td>
<td>mukUt</td>
<td>man-mukUt</td>
<td>punch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danat’</td>
<td>pe-danai’</td>
<td>man-pe-danai’</td>
<td>near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/deket/</td>
<td>ηe-deket</td>
<td>man-ηe-deket</td>
<td>stick, adhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/getep/</td>
<td>gutep</td>
<td>man-gutep</td>
<td>bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/isit/</td>
<td>m-isit</td>
<td>man-m-isit</td>
<td>pull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kaan/</td>
<td>pa-kaan</td>
<td>man-pa-kaan</td>
<td>eat/feed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kadey</td>
<td>ηadey</td>
<td>man-kadey</td>
<td>put down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katoë</td>
<td>m-atöë</td>
<td>man-katoë</td>
<td>adrift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kekep/</td>
<td>kukep</td>
<td>man-kukep</td>
<td>hang up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelai’</td>
<td>ηelai’</td>
<td>man-ηelai’</td>
<td>cool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kesay/</td>
<td>ηesay</td>
<td>man-ηesay</td>
<td>slice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lasau’</td>
<td>ηe-lasau’</td>
<td>man-ηe-lasau’</td>
<td>hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lata’</td>
<td>ηe-lata’</td>
<td>man-ηe-lata’</td>
<td>flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lerë’</td>
<td>l-u-rë’</td>
<td>man-l-u-rë’</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lesét</td>
<td>pe-lesét</td>
<td>man-pe-lesét</td>
<td>release</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/liem/</td>
<td>pe-liem</td>
<td>man-pe-liem</td>
<td>dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lubië</td>
<td>ηe-lubië</td>
<td>man-ηe-lubië</td>
<td>hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lumau’/</td>
<td>ηe-lumau’</td>
<td>man-ηe-lumau’</td>
<td>soft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maa’</td>
<td>ma’a’</td>
<td>man-maa’</td>
<td>harp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūue’</td>
<td>me-ūue’</td>
<td>man-me-ūue’</td>
<td>wrap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pana</td>
<td>mana</td>
<td>man-mana</td>
<td>boil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peken</td>
<td>meken</td>
<td>man-peken</td>
<td>sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pesih</td>
<td>musih</td>
<td>man-musih</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sei’</td>
<td>ηe-sei’</td>
<td>man-ηe-sei’</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sipak</td>
<td>ūipak</td>
<td>man-ūipak</td>
<td>kick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teŋaaw</td>
<td>tuŋaaw</td>
<td>man-tuŋaaw</td>
<td>call, shout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/teñen/</td>
<td>tuñen</td>
<td>man-tuñen</td>
<td>swallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepen</td>
<td>tupeh</td>
<td>man-tupeh</td>
<td>pound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miten</td>
<td>tupek</td>
<td>man-tupek</td>
<td>pierce, stab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepen</td>
<td>tupen</td>
<td>man-tupen</td>
<td>cover</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It will be noted that various affixed forms of the base appear under the column ‘active verb’. These include stems with ę- and -em-, ke- and pe- as well as u-ablaut, and pseudo nasal substitution. The affixes ę- and -em-, u-ablaut and pseudo nasal substitution form active verbs, while ke- and pe- form causatives. The general pattern, then, is for man- to be added to the active form of a verb. However, in a few cases man- is added instead to the bare stem, as in man-kadey ‘put it down!’; man-katoe ‘set it adrift!’ or man-pek en ‘put him/her to sleep!’. No explanation can be suggested for this difference.

3.8 pe- ‘nominalizer’

A nominalizer pe- is seen in a few morphologically complex words. All recorded examples begin with a vowel: 1) /adek/: m-adek ‘to smell, to kiss’; sel-adek ‘to kiss one another’; p-adek ‘a kiss’; 2) m-ara ‘dry’; k-ara ‘make something dry, dry something up’; p-ara ‘something that has been dried, as by smoking’ (e.g. p-ara putaa ‘fish dried and smoked over a fire for preservation’); 3) m-ataay ‘die; dead’; k-ataay ‘to kill’; p-ataay ‘death; corpse’.

3.9 pe- ‘causative verb’

A causative affix pe- was recorded in a handful of verb forms. Its function appears to be identical to that of ke-, although the two are paradigmatically distinct in that pe- marks the causative of active verbs which are either zero-marked or affixed with -em-, and of stative verbs which are either zero-marked or prefixed with me-, while ke-, at least as a passive causative, is the counterpart of the active verb prefix ę-: m-adu ‘to bathe’; p-adu ‘to bathe someone (as a child)’; danai ‘near’; pe-danai ‘put something nearer’; k-um-aan ‘to eat’; pakaan ‘to feed’, labië ‘running’; pe-labië ‘to run’, lesët ‘to exit, leave a place’; pe-lesët ‘to release, let something go’, me-liem ‘dark’; pe-liem ‘to make something dark, as by obstructing a light source’.

Two recorded instances of pe- are difficult to classify: ulon ‘life’; man-p-uron ‘give it life, light it!’; upew ‘talk, things people say’; p-upew ‘to say, to tell, to talk to’. In the first of these examples an affixed base p-uron was not recorded, but the imperative form of the verb implies such an affixed base in the meaning ‘to give life to, to let live’.

**Table 7 Continued**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Active verb</th>
<th>Imperative verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tetek</td>
<td>tutek</td>
<td>man-tutek</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuie</td>
<td>nuie’</td>
<td>man-nuie’</td>
<td>hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tusot/</td>
<td>nusot</td>
<td>man-nusot</td>
<td>wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ulai'/</td>
<td>m-ulai’</td>
<td>man-m-ulai’</td>
<td>return, go home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulon</td>
<td>p-uron</td>
<td>man-p-uron</td>
<td>alive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.10 *se-, sel-, sep-, sek-, -el* ‘reciprocal or reflexive verb’

A number of forms were recorded with a prefix of varying shape that generally contains the constant element *se-*. These are usually reciprocal in meaning, but some are reflexive, and a single example is simulative. Because of its divergent meaning the latter form is treated separately.

3.10.1 *se-*

Recorded bases which take a prefix of the shape *se-* are shown in Table 8:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Reciprocal/Reflexive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buku</td>
<td>muku ‘to punch’</td>
<td>se-buku ‘punch each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dei</td>
<td>dei ‘to squeeze’</td>
<td>se-dei ‘squeeze each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>getep</td>
<td>getep ‘to bite’</td>
<td>se-getep ‘bite each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geleen</td>
<td>geleen ‘to pinch’</td>
<td>se-geleen ‘pinch each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelai’</td>
<td>kelai ‘to cool sth.’</td>
<td>se-kelai ‘cool oneself/each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keset</td>
<td>keset ‘to squeeze’</td>
<td>se-keset ‘squeeze each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paki</td>
<td>paki ‘knock sth. away’</td>
<td>se-paki ‘knock from each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paraat</td>
<td>paraat ‘to pound w/ fist’</td>
<td>se-paraat ‘pummel each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peleh</td>
<td>peleh ‘to throw’</td>
<td>se-peleh ‘throw things at each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peron</td>
<td>peron ‘to blow’</td>
<td>se-peron ‘blow on each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pesih</td>
<td>pesih ‘to hit’</td>
<td>se-pesih ‘hit each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pidi</td>
<td>pidi ‘to hang sth. up’</td>
<td>se-pidi ‘hang oneself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisit</td>
<td>pisit ‘to pull’</td>
<td>se-pisit ‘pull each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pullo</td>
<td>pullo ‘hunt w/ weapons’</td>
<td>se-pullo ‘hunt each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puñeu’</td>
<td>puñeu ‘to push’</td>
<td>se-puñeu ‘push each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tejaaw</td>
<td>tejaaw ‘to call’</td>
<td>se-tejaaw ‘call each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tepek</td>
<td>tepek ‘to stab’</td>
<td>se-tepek ‘stab each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tesei’</td>
<td>tesei ‘to step on sth.’</td>
<td>se-tesei ‘step on each other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a general rule *se-* is added to bases which begin with a stop rather than with *s-* or a vowel. There is one apparent exception:

battin | mattin ‘to shoot’ | se-pattin ‘shoot each other’

Since an alternation of *b* with *p* is unparalleled in the database collected the explanation for *se-pattin* must be somewhat speculative. It is conceivable that the form *battin* was borrowed from Malay (*bedil ‘small cannon’) fairly early, and an affixed form *se-battin* then underwent
the general process of intervocalic devoicing which affected all stops and affricates in Kiput, whether native or borrowed. The problem with this explanation is that it fails to account for the absence of devoicing in forms such as se-bukUt ‘punch each other’, se-deñeK ‘squeeze each other’, se-getep/se-gutep ‘bite each other’, or se-getin ‘pinch each other’. Alternatively, it is conceivable that the active verb mattin ‘to shoot’ was reinterpreted as formed from a base attin, which then took the allomorph sep-, which occurs in the reciprocal forms of many bases that begin with a vowel, or from a base pattin, which then took the allomorph se-, as expected of bases that begin with p-. The problem with this explanation is that reanalyzed bases attin or pattin are unattested in the material collected, and the base battin still occurs as a noun meaning ‘small cannon’. Without further evidence, then, the form se-pattin ‘shoot each other’ is difficult to explain.

Where a base which is affixed with se- also undergoes an ablaut alternation it is generally the neutral form of the base (with penultimate schwa) which is prefixed in the reciprocal form. With se-getep/se-gutep ‘bite each other’, however, there is variation between the neutral form of the base and the active verb with n-ablaut.

It appears from the material collected that se- most frequently marks reciprocal. Of the 19 affixed forms considered above only two show a reflexive meaning, and one of these is optionally reciprocal: se-kelai ‘cool oneself off’, se-pidië ‘hang oneself (in suicide)’.

3.10.2 sel-, sep-

Recorded bases which take a prefix of the shape sel- or sep- are shown in Table 9:

Table 9: Recorded bases which take a reciprocal/reflexive prefix of the shape sel- or sep-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Reciprocal/Reflexive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abit</td>
<td>m-abit ‘to hold’</td>
<td>sel-abit ‘hold each other’ (refined) sep-abit ‘hold each other’ (coarse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adek</td>
<td>m-adek ‘to kiss’</td>
<td>sel-adek ‘kiss each other’ sep-adek ‘kiss each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adu’</td>
<td>m-adu’ ‘to bathe’</td>
<td>sel-adu’ ‘bathe each other’ sep-adu’ ‘bathe each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ataay</td>
<td>m-ataay ‘to die’</td>
<td>sel-ataay ‘commit suicide’ sep-ataay ‘commit suicide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isit</td>
<td>m-isit ‘to pull’</td>
<td>sel-isit ‘pull each other’ sep-isit ‘pull each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibet</td>
<td>m-ibet ‘to turn’</td>
<td>sel-ibet ‘turn oneself’ sep-ibet ‘tie each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iket</td>
<td>m-iket ‘to tie’</td>
<td>sep-iket ‘tie each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itoy</td>
<td>m-itoy ‘to swing (tr.)’</td>
<td>sep-itoy ‘to swing (intr.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulei’</td>
<td>m-ulei’ ‘to spit’</td>
<td>sel-ulei’ ‘spit at each other’ sep-ulei sedirI’ ‘live alone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulon</td>
<td>m-uron ‘to be alive’</td>
<td>sel-uron sedirI’ ‘live alone’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The allomorphs sel- and sep- are found with bases that begin with a vowel. In sel-abit: sep-abit there was a clearly stated connotational difference, the former variant being considered more refined than the latter, a perception that may not be unrelated to the widespread Austronesian preference for avoiding unlike labials in successive syllables. Similar information regarding connotational differences was not obtained for other bases, and where only a single variant was recorded it is assumed that this is due to accidental gaps in the data rather than to asymmetries in the language. Since no phonological conditioning is apparent, and the evidence of connotational differences is very limited, it is unclear why sel- and sep- both occur.

As with bases that take the allomorph se-, most affixed forms with sel- or sep- are reciprocal. However, a somewhat larger percentage of the latter are reflexive, including sep-ataay ‘commit suicide’, sel-ibet ‘turn oneself around’, sep-itooy ‘to swing back and forth (as a rope from a tree branch, or a child on a swing)’, and apparently sep-ulong sedirl ‘to live alone, live by oneself’, a form which is not prototypically reflexive in cross-linguistic perspective, but which can be seen as plausibly falling within the range of meanings marked by reflexive constructions.

3.10.3 sek-

Recorded bases which take a prefix of the shape sek- include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>sek-Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abue’</td>
<td>‘drunk’</td>
<td>sek-abue’ ‘get drunk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ataay</td>
<td>‘die; dead’</td>
<td>sek-ataay sedirl ‘commit suicide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elai’</td>
<td>‘cool’</td>
<td>sek-elai’ ‘cool oneself off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iték</td>
<td>‘to tickle’</td>
<td>sek-iték ‘tickle each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulai’</td>
<td>‘to return, go home’</td>
<td>sek-ulai’ ‘go to and from home’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first three of these forms are reflexive, the fourth is reciprocal, and the fifth is unclear.

As with sel- and sep-, sek- also occurs with bases that begin with a vowel. Again, since no phonological conditioning is apparent, it is unclear why some bases begin with sel- or sep- but others with sek-. A single base shows both types of variant: ataay : m-ataay ‘to die; dead’ : k-ataay ‘to kill’ : sep-ataay sedirl / sek-ataay sedirl ‘to commit suicide’. In this particular case it appears likely that sep-ataay sedirl is formed from the unaffixed base ataay, and sek-ataay sedirl ‘to commit suicide’ (hence: se-k-ataay sedirl’).

3.10.4 -el-

A single recorded base forms a reciprocal verb through infixation with -el-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>semaa’</td>
<td>‘to borrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋemaa’</td>
<td>‘to borrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-el-emaa’</td>
<td>‘borrow from each other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only one other verb base that begins with s- was recorded in its reciprocal or reflexive form, and it shows zero-marking of the reciprocal relationship: difih ieh sakop (3dl that embrace)
‘The two of them embraced/are embracing’. Given this limited and apparently contradictory set of data it is unclear whether s-initial bases take a special form of reciprocal marking.

3.11 Simulative

The single example recorded of a se- verb with a simulative meaning is seen in m-akét ‘sick, ill’: sep-akét ‘pretend to be ill’: lew ieh sep-akét (3pl there SIM-sick) ‘They are pretending to be ill’. It is unclear whether the prefix sep- in this form should be treated as homophonous with the similar prefix marking reciprocals and reflexives, or whether all three senses are associated with a single morpheme.

3.12 Reduplication

The only form of reduplication which was recorded in Kiput is full reduplication, marked in the accompanying vocabulary by a postscript numeral 2, as with adew tunaw2 = adew tunaw-tunaw ‘very much, very many’. Recorded examples of reduplication include the preceding, and anaap ‘gaping’: anaap-anaap ‘open, of the mouth’, /kafet/ : kafet-kafet ‘catch a glimpse of someone or something’, /kidep/ : kidep-kidep ‘to blink (involuntarily); to flicker, of a fire’, /kiñim/ : kiñim-kiñim ‘to pick at one’s food, to taste a little of this and a little of that’, kire ‘to think’: kire’-kire ‘calculations, arithmetic; to think’, /lew/ : lew telaw-telaw ‘3p paucal’, /litép/ : litép-litép ‘partially submerged, as a log in water’, sagiè ‘early’: sagiè-sagiè ‘very early’, sipin ‘side, as of the body’: sipin-sipin ‘both sides’, tunaw ‘much, many’: tunaw-tunaw ‘very much, very many’. The forms kire’and kire’-kire’ are borrowings from Malay, and so do not necessarily reflect native patterns of affixation. The other forms given here, however, appear to be native, and it is difficult to generalize about the function of reduplication in them, apart from its use to intensify the meaning of the simple base, as with sagiè-sagiè or tunaw-tunaw.

4 Phonology

Kiput historical phonology exhibits some highly unusual and theoretically puzzling features. Two of these, the development of a system of verbal ablaut through conditioned sound change and the fronting of low vowels after voiced obstruents, have received fairly systematic treatment in the context of broader studies of the languages of central and northern Sarawak (Blust 1997, 2000). Others, as the historical change of *b to s, have been mentioned in passing (Blust 1969, 1974), but this does not exhaust the list of theoretically challenging innovations which have affected this language. Since little synchronic data for Kiput has appeared in print, to attain a more adequate understanding of its distinctive history it is necessary to first fill this descriptive gap.

4.1 Segmental phonemes

Some of the languages of northern Sarawak contain true phonemic voiced aspirates (Bario Kelabit), or a full series of implosive stops ranging from labial through dental and palatal to
velar (Bintulu, with labial and alveolar implosives, various Lowland Kenyeh dialects, with implosives at all four points of articulation). Unlike these languages the Kiput phoneme inventory contains no typologically unusual consonants apart from the mid-central glide ē, a segment which, however, is quite common in other languages of the area, and phonemic geminates, which are also found in other Berawan-Lower Baram languages. Rather, what makes Kiput synchronic phonology noteworthy even for the phonologically highly innovative and typologically distinctive North Sarawak languages, is the complexity of the vowel/diphthong system, including phonemically long and short vowels, a variety of both rising and falling diphthongs, distinctive triphthongs, and phonologically conditioned but phonetically unmotivated nasality in the vowels, the apparent contribution of syllable onsets to maintaining bimoraic length requirements in content morphemes (seen only in monosyllables), and the types of phonological alternations which surface in verb paradigms, most notably the alternation of d with s and, more strikingly, of b with s in morpheme-initial position. Each of these topics will be treated in turn. Table 10 lists the consonant phonemes of Kiput:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10: The consonant phonemes of Kiput</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As already stated, the symbol ē represents a typologically rare mid-central glide. In addition Kiput has eight vowels, and at least twelve diphthongs and two triphthongs. The vowels are i, I, é, u, U, o, e, and a where, following a longstanding tradition in the romanization of Malay, e represents a mid-central vowel (schwa). There are ten level or rising diphthongs with a high vocoid as coda (-iw, -éw, -uy, -øy, -ey, -ew, -ay, -aay, -aw, -aaw), and at least four falling diphthongs with a mid vocoid as coda (-ië, -ëë, -uë,-oë).

An apparently distinct falling diphthong -uë, with short vowel nucleus, was recorded in a single form: semuë‘all’, a borrowing of Malay semua. In word-final position rising diphthongs are written with a semivocalic coda; preceding a final consonant they are written with a vocalic coda: ëñey ‘who?’, but sei‘water’, kacew ‘wood; tree’, but ceu‘tail’. The lax vowels i and u do not occur as diphthongal nuclei. The triphthongs are -iëy and -iëw. Examples of each segment type appear in Table 11, with evidence of contrast where appropriate:
Table 11: Evidence of contrast used to establish the phonological inventory of Kiput

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Segment</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p : b</td>
<td>lepuē 'inner part of rattan' : lebuē 'prow of a boat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t : d</td>
<td>tuðih 'liver' : duðih 'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c : j</td>
<td>pacin 'white egret' : rajIn 'industrious'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k : g</td>
<td>sikup 'tobacco, cigarette' : igum 'hut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↑ : r</td>
<td>buiē 'millipede' : buiē' 'flower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m : n</td>
<td>uneh 'grass' : uneh 'old (things)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n : ñ</td>
<td>munén 'civet cat' : tuñen 'to swallow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n : ñ</td>
<td>tunaw 'truth; very, truly' : tuñawaw 'call s.o.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f : ñ</td>
<td>kafie 'k.o. cooking pot' : tesie 'noose trap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l : r</td>
<td>buliē 'metal cockspur' : buliē' 'borak, rice wine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i : i</td>
<td>adin 'name' : rajIn 'industrious'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i : é</td>
<td>gutin 'pinch' : setén 'thunderclap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i : é</td>
<td>sallp 'cross' : pusew selép 'to whisper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u : U</td>
<td>tabun 'quarrel' : sabUn 'soap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u : o</td>
<td>bulun 'person' : m-ulon 'alive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e : a</td>
<td>beluy 'wrong' : baroy 'wind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uy : oy</td>
<td>cuy 'there': moy 'foolish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ey : ay</td>
<td>ñey 'who?' : nay 'here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay : aay</td>
<td>talay 'rope' : kulaay 'clouded leopard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei : ai</td>
<td>sei 'water' : sai 'seed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai : aai</td>
<td>manmai 'defecate' : tenai 'intestines'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iw : ëw</td>
<td>biw 'odor' : këw 'vetative: don't'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ew : aw</td>
<td>kutew 'louse' : bataw 'stone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aw : aaw</td>
<td>telaw 'three' : telaaw 'barking deer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eu : au</td>
<td>tuceu 'seven' : pulau 'ten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ië : êë</td>
<td>direi 'wall' : tarëë 'tusk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ûë : ëë</td>
<td>busëë 'fighting between relatives' : soë 'rice mortar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ey : iëy</td>
<td>jey 'jaw' : fiëy 'rattan'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ië : iëy</td>
<td>tegeriē 'rib' : tegeriēy 'k.o. plant with fibrous roots'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ew : iëw</td>
<td>kacew 'wood, tree' : kaciëw 'disturb'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The segments j and g are rare. All but a few examples of the former are confined to transparent Malay loanwords (jarafj 'wide-spaced' < Malay jarang idem, muj' 'praise' < Malay me-muj idem, rajIn 'industrious' < Malay rajin idem, tuju 'goal, course' < Malay tuju idem, etc.). The latter is found both in Malay loans (lug 'loss in a business transaction' < Malay rugi idem) and in a few forms that appear to be native (tegeriē 'ribs'). Among the Kiput vowels I and U are rare, and apparently are confined to loanwords from Brunei Malay.
(some of which are themselves ultimately borrowed from other languages), as in katln ‘bed’, lattlh ‘raft’, lugu’ ‘loss in a commercial transaction’, mujl’ ‘to praise’, sapl’ ‘cow’, sedirl’ ‘oneself’, bakUn ‘basket’, butUn ‘bottle’ or sabUn ‘soap’.

4.2 Distributional constraints

Unlike most languages of the Philippines and western Indonesia, which allow consonant clusters in medial position, sequences of consonants are almost completely unknown in Kiput. Although medial clusters were recorded in a few Malay loanwords, as belimbin ‘the star fruit: Averrhoa carambola’ (< Malay belimbing idem), only one consonant cluster was noted in a native word, and this one in initial position: ndeh ‘no, not’. It is noteworthy that a similar violation of canonical constraints is found in some other languages of western Indonesia, where the only consonant cluster permitted in word-initial position is found in the negative marker.

In final position consonants are restricted to the voiceless stops, -h, the diphthongal codas -w, -y and -ë, and the nasals -m, -n and -ñ. Moreover, although -ñ is found following i and ë in a handful of Malay loanwords such as guttl1 ‘scissors’ (< Malay gunting idem), or bawiii1 ‘onion’ (< Malay bawang idem), with five known exceptions in words which are not borrowed from Malay -k and -ñ are found only after syllabic schwa and a. The exceptions are ari1 ‘earwax’, evidently a borrowing of Long Terawan Berawan adiy ‘earwax’, puttay kali1 ‘kind of banana’, kebibu1 ‘cockroach’, ëtëk ‘to tickle’, and puti1 ‘nipple’, which may also be Berawan loans. Stated differently, palatal s, voiced stops, J, s, and liquids are unconditionally disallowed in final position, and in native vocabulary the velar stop and nasal are disallowed in final position after high vowels. In addition, -h does not occur after back vowels, but only in the attested sequences -ih, -ëh and -eh. Of these -ih and -eh are by far the most frequent. There are fewer restrictions on the distribution of consonants in non-final position. The most important of these are 1) r occurs only as the onset of a final syllable, most commonly in intervocalic position, and more rarely as the onset of a monosyllable, and 2) h, ‘, w and y occur only in final position in native forms, although medial glides are occasionally found in Malay loanwords which have otherwise undergone various phonological adaptations to Kiput, as with bayin < Malay bayar ‘to pay’, or kawen < Malay kawan ‘friend’.

Among the vowels, I, é, U and o are restricted to final syllables. None of these vowels may occur word-finally, nor may schwa, although the phonetically similar non-syllabic mid-central glide ë is common in this position. In initial position schwa does not occur on the surface, but has been posited in some underlying forms in order to regularize partially recorded patterns of verbal ablaut.

One of the more problematic aspects of Kiput orthography is the representation of prepenultimate vowels. In every known language of Borneo the reflexes of Pan *a and *e (schwa) have merged in prepenultimate syllables. In the great majority of cases the result is a mid-central vowel. In a few languages an earlier situation of this type has evidently been transformed by a tendency to change prepenultimate schwa from any source (*i, *u, *a, *e) back to a low vowel. This has happened consistently in Miri, where the only vowel allowed in prepenultimate syllables is a. Kiput shows a similar tendency, but is less consistent than Miri, since a and schwa are often interchangeable in prepenultimate syllables, but far less
Discussion

commonly in penultimate syllables, as in *me-lemaw, ma-lemaw* ‘fat, corpulent’, but apparently not **me-lamaw** or **ma-lamaw**. The one striking exception to this tendency is the imperative prefix *man-*, which was never recorded with a mid-central vowel. In the vocabulary all prepenultimate *e-a* variation is written as *e* in the main entry, since in all syllable positions where such variation is found it appears to have arisen from a tendency to lower earlier schwa to *a*.

Finally, the rising diphthongs as well as the falling or level diphthongs -*ue*, -*oe* and -*ée* occur only word-finally or before final glottal stop, as in *telaw* ‘three’, *kasaaw* ‘rafters’, *ticew* ‘elbow’, *penau* ‘full’, *peseu* ‘gall, gall bladder’, *loray* ‘scale of fish or reptile’, *anaay* ‘termite’, *sa‘i* ‘seed’, *taai* ‘feces’, *sei* ‘water’, *gadue* ‘green’, *mabue* ‘drunk, intoxicated’, *lisoe* ‘whirlpool’, *sikoe* ‘gibbon’, *tisée* ‘finger ring’, or *mée* ‘goat’, but the falling diphthong -*ie* is found both in these environments and preceding -*p, t, m, n* or -*ŋ* (the latter only in loanwords), as in *padie* ‘field’, *betie* ‘design’, *luflep* ‘tide’, *suët* ‘wound’, *miciem* ‘borrow’, *laflen* ‘rice paddy’, *bawiëg* ‘onion’. The triphthongs are attested only in final position.

4.3 Phonetic description

The phonetic description of the above segments includes the following noteworthy features. Voiceless stops are unaspirated, and *t* is dental, while *d* is alveolar, an articulatory difference which is immediately apparent in the sequential numerals *dufih* ‘two’ and *telaw* ‘three’, or the minimal pair *dufih* ‘two’ : *tufih* ‘large intestine’. Although consonant gemination is phonemic in Kiput, consonants are automatically geminated following schwa, and gemination is not indicated in this position.

Nasal consonants nasalize a following vowel, but unlike the situation in many of the languages of Borneo, nasal spreading in Kiput appears to be confined to adjacent syllables. Although Kiput *f* can be described as a voiceless labiodental fricative, it is phonetically different from canonical segments of this type, as it is commonly pronounced with slight lip rounding, and was generally transcribed as [fʷ]. It can thus be described as intermediate between a voiceless labiodental fricative, with which it shares labiodental contact, and a voiceless bilabial fricative, with which it shares lip rounding. The lateral *l* is a bright *l*, and there are two phonetically distinct rhotics, the first an alveolar tap and the second a 3-4 tap trill.

As will be see below, the two rhotics are best treated as exemplifying a contrast of consonant length or gemination. The symbol *e* represents a mid-central glide which is in all respects identical to schwa except that it is non-syllabic, and occurs only postvocally as the coda of a falling diphthong.

The diphthongs -*ey* and -*ew* and the similar heterosyllabic sequences in medial position were sometimes recorded as *é* and *o* as a result of the assimilation of the schwa to the frontness of the following glide: [usaya] ~ [uséya] ‘cat’, [luraya?] ~ [luréya?] ‘to cut’, [libaw] ~ [libo] ‘thousand’, [luwaw] ~ [iuwo] ‘right side’, [tucaw?] ~ [tuco?] ‘seven’. As noted earlier, diphthongs are written as vowel-glide sequences in open syllables, but as vowel-vowel sequences in closed syllables to avoid orthographic clusters of -*y*’ or -*w*’ in final position, hence *seiw*, not **seiy** ‘water’, or *tucew*’ not **tucew*’ ‘seven’. Consistency would then demand the same convention in relation to the mid-central glide: *munoe* ‘mouth’, but *manoe* ‘bird’. However, I avoid such a convention here since it would lead to confusion between
vowel sequences of which the second member is a schwa and falling diphthongs, as in meliém 'dark' (with stress on the final schwa), but miciém 'to borrow' (with stress on the high front vowel). The word for 'bird' is thus written manoe', and similarly with other cases of this type.

Apart from the trivial observation that e has been chosen for orthographic convenience to represent the schwa, the Kiput vowels have their normal phonetic values, with two exceptions. The first of these exceptions is rather ordinary, and requires no special comment: é and o are pronounced respectively as lax mid-front and mid-back vowels when preceding a consonant, but as the tense equivalents when preceding a vowel. This is a distributional pattern found in many other An languages. The second exception is far from ordinary, and is not yet well understood.

4.3.1 Spontaneous nasality

Before final p, t and k (but not glottal stop) high and mid vowels were often recorded with some nasality. This was transcribed with a raised m, n or η, as its perceptual value in this environment resembles a weakly articulated nasal homorganic with the following stop. Given the absence of any known phonetic basis for lowering the velic in such an environment these forms were checked repeatedly in the field, and there can be no doubt about the fundamental phonetic facts. Examples include: sakop [sako:m] 'embrace', nusop [nuso:mp] 'pour', kulé [kule:nt] 'skin', tumé [tume:nt] 'heel', kidep kidep [kidamp kidamp] 'blink; flicker (fire)', fit [f"i:nt] 'long', adit [adi:nt] 'customary law', sor [so:nt] 'upriver', tulot [tulo:nt] 'to fly', alut [alu:nt] 'smooth', but [bu:nt] 'fear', pesek [pasæŋk] 'nasal mucus'. In addition to native forms, spontaneous nasality in this environment was recorded in the English loanword bup [bu:m] 'book'. To make matters even more bizarre, although virtually all forms with underlying -h, -it, and -ot consistently showed weak nasality in the vowel preceding final t, this was only rarely present in forms with -ut: cut [chu:t] 'back', liut [liy u:t] 'dust', lamut [lamu:t] 'root', laput [lapu:t] 'cloud', mabut [mabu:t] 'pluck, pull out', ubut [ubu:t] 'palm cabbage', etc. A similar phenomenon was noted in several words following the low vowel a: anak [anaŋk] 'child', mak [maŋk] 'shallow', minat [miŋk] 'to climb (in general)', sumat [sumɑŋk] 'to climb (a ladder)'. Although these words appear a priori to exemplify the same phenomenon, they can be explained as products of normal vowel nasalization, since no examples of nasalized low vowels were recorded unless they immediately followed a nasal consonant.

Spontaneous nasality in Kiput is peculiar for at least two reasons. First, it occurs in the absence of an adjacent nasal consonant or of a laryngeal consonant that might trigger lowering of the velic, as in the phenomenon now widely known as 'rhinoglottophilia'. Second, it is puzzling that spontaneous nasalization would affect the least sonorous of the vowels while leaving the most sonorous vowels (and most instances of the sequence-ut) untouched.

4.3.2 Stress

As in many other languages in the coastal and lowland areas of central and northern Sarawak, stress is final in citation forms. However, unlike some languages of the region in which the final stress of citation forms varies with penultimate stress in phrasal forms, word-
stress in Kiput appears to remain final throughout. Some Kiput forms appear to show stress contrasts, but both synchronic and historical information show that these are better analyzed as contrasts of tautosyllabic vs. heterosyllabic sequences of similar vocoids. The former sequences constitute diphthongs, as noted above, and in these stress falls on the vowel preceding the non-syllabic schwa, as in lufiep ‘tide’, pafiët ‘kind of bat’, bawiët ‘onion’, mabuë ‘drunk’, soë ‘rice mortar’, or manoë ‘bird’. The latter sequences, by contrast, constitute two separate vowels, as in buen ‘bottom’, muek ‘enter’, puet ‘navel’, meliem ‘dark’, meriem ‘cannon’, tekien ‘thread’ or tuëw ‘right side’, or lipeh tuëw ‘python’, all of which are stressed on the schwa preceding the final consonant.

4.3.3 The problem of segmental length

Undoubtedly the most unsettled aspect of Kiput phonology, both synchronic and diachronic, is the phonemic interpretation of phonetic length. Other languages in the Berawan-Lower Baram branch of North Sarawak have developed a contrast of simple vs. geminate consonants under unusual phonological conditions (Blust 1995), but Kiput has length differences in both the consonants and in at least some vowels. Moreover, Kiput consonants and vowels appear to be sensitive to length differences in one another, a phenomenon reported elsewhere only in the closely related Belait (Clynes 2002).

The vowels I, U and e (schwa) are invariably short, as are all vowels in unstressed (non-final) syllables and all vowels preceding word-final h. The only qualification that might be made for this statement relates to emphatic pronunciations of forms with medial geminate consonants that form part of a minimal pair. Thus daccih ‘crocodile’ : dachih ‘big’ normally contrast solely through the phonetic length difference in the medial palatal stop. However, some emphatic pronunciations were recorded in which the vowel preceding -cc- appeared to be lengthened to magnify the difference between what John Malang called ‘slow’ (daccih) and ‘fast’ (dachih) pronunciations of words that were otherwise segmentally identical.


Where high vowels in this environment are short they can usually be interpreted as I and U, although there is some limited evidence that U and short u are distinct. A more serious analytic problem is presented by the few cases in which short mid-vowels were recorded in stressed position, as with akkét [akːet] ‘hook’ vs. akét [aket:] ‘illness’. As the orthography which I have adopted for these forms suggests, the shortness of the stressed vowel in the word for ‘hook’ may be related to the length of the preceding consonant. In other words, Kiput may exhibit at least a tendency for long consonants to be associated with following short vowels and for short consonants to be associated with following long vowels.
The problem with the preceding analysis is that both consonants and vowels may occur contrastively geminated in Kiput:

- *pana* ['pana:] 'to cook'
- *lanna* ['lan:a:] 'rapids'
- *mataay* 'die; dead'
- *mattay* 'kingfisher'
- *lattaay* 'chain'

This set of terms would appear to support two conclusions: 1) that segmental length is contrastive in Kiput, and 2) that quantity distinctions in consonants and vowels are mutually independent, since long consonants and long vowels co-occur in forms such as *lattaay* 'chain'. What complicates the analysis of segmental length in Kiput is that this seemingly secure understanding is soon shaken, since a consideration of additional data strengthens the first conclusion, but tends to undermine the second.

Vowel length is contrastive in such monosyllables as *lay* 'dry season': *laay* 'male', *leu/lat* 'mountain': *laat* 'blowpipe dart', *maay* 'bumblebee': *maay* 'red', *say* 'meat, flesh': *saay* 'frog', *sai* 'seed; snail': *taai* 'faeces', *saw* 'breath': *paaw* 'fern', or *tot* 'fart': *toot* 'sewing needle'. However, a narrow transcription shows that in monosyllables initial consonants are long if the following vowel is short, and initial consonants are short if the following vowel is long, hence *[l:ay]* 'dry season': *[la:y]* 'male', *[la:t]* 'mountain': *[la:t]* 'blowpipe dart', *[ma:n]* 'bumblebee': *[ma:n]* 'red', *[s:ay]* 'meat, flesh': *[sa:y]* 'frog', *[s:a:i?]* 'seed; snail': *[ta:i?]* 'faeces', *[s:aw]* 'breath': *[pa:w]* 'fern', *[to:t]* 'fart': *[to:t]* 'sewing needle'. In 'bumblebee', moreover, the initial nasal is optionally syllabic, whereas the corresponding segment in 'red' is not.

Because initial geminate consonants are cross-linguistically rare, and appear phonetically in Kiput only in monosyllables that contain a short vowel, it is tempting to see consonant gemination in Kiput monosyllables as an automatic consequence of vowel quantity. In effect, a constant unit of length appears to hold over adjacent CV-sequences: if the vowel is short the duration of the consonant will be increased to maintain the unit of length; if the vowel is long no such increase is needed. The problem with this analysis is that it is arbitrary. Since consonant and vowel length are interdependent in these forms the arrow of causality is potentially bidirectional. Rather than writing *lay* 'dry season': *laay* 'male', etc., we could with as much apparent justification write *llay* 'dry season': *lay* 'male', deriving surface differences of vowel quantity from underlying differences of consonant quantity. There are, in fact, some apparent advantages to the latter analysis, since the derivation of consonant length from vowel length would require that the syllable onset contribute to the unit of length, rather than the syllable coda as is typical of moraic structure cross-linguistically, an important issue to which we will return below.

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2 In some ways a bisegmental length constraint of this kind resembles the moraic requirement, found in many of the Austronesian languages of insular Southeast Asia that consonants be lengthened after schwa, as this vowel typically is shorter than other short vowels (Blust 1995). Both of these requirements in effect demand that a constant unit of length be assigned to adjacent CV or VC sequences. However, they differ in at least three respects: 1) In pairs such as *[l:ay]* : *[la:y]* either vowel length or consonant length may be interpreted as allophonic, whereas sequences of schwa followed by a long consonant in other languages are open only to one interpretation, namely that the length of the consonant is allophonic; 2) in Kiput phonemic vowel quantity affects the allophonic quantity of a preceding consonant, or phonemic consonant quantity affects the allophonic quantity of a following vowel, while in Kelabit and many other languages allophonic vowel quantity (extra-shortness in
At this point we are confronted with a dilemma: consonant and vowel length appear to be mutually *independent* in forms such as *lattaay* ‘chain’, and in less obvious examples such as *lanna* ‘rapids’ (since final vowels are automatically long). At the same time, however, consonant and vowel length appear to be *interdependent* in monosyllables. Since we would expect the stressed final syllable of disyllabic or polysyllabic words to behave essentially like a monosyllable, and since monosyllabic content words are infrequent in comparison with disyllables, it might be suggested that the analysis of segmental length in Kiput will ultimately depend on the patterning of long and short segments in longer words.

As noted already, not all stressed vowels are long: in monosyllables differences of vowel length are well-established, the loan phonemes *I* and *U*, as well as the native schwa, are always short, hence the impossibility of predicting consonant length in *tupeh* ‘pound rice’: *tuppeh* ‘fell trees’, or *durrey* ‘escape’: *durrey* ‘thorn’, and all vowels are short before final *h*: *depih* [dapih] ‘fathom’, *tirêh* [tirêh] ‘to want’, *mateh* [matôh] or [matah] ‘eye’, hence the impossibility of predicting consonant length in e.g. *dacih* ‘big, large’: *dacih* ‘crocodile’. Moreover, as just observed, in the last syllable of polysyllables vowel *shortness* rather than vowel length is marked, a situation that appears to be the reverse of that found in monosyllables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marked feature</th>
<th>Monosyllables</th>
<th>Polysyllables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>length</td>
<td></td>
<td>shortness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 1:* Marked features of stressed vowels in Kiput monosyllables and polysyllables

There is one last complication. If the analysis adopted to account for non-low vowels is extended to low vowels we encounter a problem, since surface length contrasts of [a] vs. [a:] are very frequent both in simple vowels and in diphthongal nuclei. This pattern contrasts strikingly with the high and mid vowels, which are almost always long in stressed position. It is difficult to appreciate the degree to which these patterns contrast without some reference to numbers. While short *é* or *ô* in final syllables was recorded in just three forms (*akkét* ‘hook’, *mammét* ‘to jump with surprise’, *mulloë* ‘to hunt with weapons’), short *a* was recorded in at least 144 examples, where it frequently contrasts with long *a*. If we were to insist that differences of vocalic length always be predictable from underlying differences of consonant length it would become necessary to recognize at least 144 instances of geminate consonants preceding final short *a*: *η-akkán* ‘to cheat’, *m-arrá* ‘dry’, *assaw* ‘dog’, *asse* ‘goose’, *banneh* ‘husband’, *barraw* ‘new’, *dallaw* ‘anger’, *kammay* ‘1p excl.’, *lattaw* ‘hundred’, *limmeh* ‘five’, *mettai* ‘rambutan’, *mittam* ‘black’, *pallam* ‘k.o. mango’, *pirrak* ‘silver’, *puttai* ‘white’, *puttay* (the schwa) affects the allophonic quantity of a following consonant; 3) in Kiput the constant unit of length over CV sequences, which can be described as a target, is tautosyllabic, while in Kelabit and many other languages the same type of target is heterosyllabic (the schwa in the first syllable of Kelabit *teluh* lengthens the onset of the second syllable.)
One possible escape from this quandary would be to interpret all instances of short a as schwa, a vowel which can never be long. Under this interpretation the new a would be automatically lengthened in stressed position, and the parallelism with non-low vowels would become much clearer. There is some evidence in favor of this analysis, since e and a are often interchangeable. This appears to be the case for many instances of e/a preceding other final consonants, as in alem/alam ‘inside’, aren/aram ‘pangolin, scaly anteater’, gaten/gatan ‘itchy’, irep/irap ‘wasp sp.’, kaceng/kacang ‘peanut’, kapek/kapak ‘axe’, kematek/kematak ‘leech’, kukep/kukap ‘hang up’, let/lat ‘mountain’, pelakep/pelakap ‘cage trap’, pesek/pesak ‘nasal mucus’, peset/pesat ‘submerge’, piren/piran ‘to rest’, seret/serat ‘sharp’, surep/surat ‘to burn’, terep/terat ‘latex-producing tree similar to breadfruit’, and ure’ura ‘stay, dwell’. To some extent the same interchangeability of schwa with a was observed in non-final syllables, although here it appeared to be much less common: desem/dasem ‘cold, having chills’, peñew/pañew ‘sea turtle’, me-lefen/ma-lefen ‘old (of people)’.

The problem with any proposal to unconditionally equate schwa with short a is that these segments cannot be interchanged in diphthongs without a loss of phonemic contrast. Especially clear evidence for the need to recognize a three-way contrast between e (schwa), short a and long a is seen in jey ‘jaw’: say ‘flesh, muscle’: saay ‘frog’, sei ‘water’: sai ‘snail; seed’: taai ‘feces’, new ‘according to (someone)’: naw ‘secondary forest; 2sg.’: danaaw ‘lake’, but many other examples of recorded schwa or short a also could not be interchanged: delei ‘tongue’: m-ulei ‘to spit’: mulai ‘go home’, pei ‘carry on back’: pai ‘nine’, adei ‘shadow, reflection’: arai ‘sirih leaf’, bilei ‘part of something split’: palai ‘footprint’, bulaw ‘feather, body hair’: telaw ‘three’: pulaaw ‘island’, seu ‘short’: belasau ‘rice porridge’, tekey ‘traditional haircut’: takay ‘the largest type of deer in Borneo’. Moreover, even if all examples of short a were interpreted as schwa we would not be able to maintain the position that a constant unit of length holds over an adjacent CV-sequence in all final syllables, since long and short consonants contrast not only before long vowels, as in mataay ‘die, dead’: lattaay ‘chain’, but also before short vowels, as in dacih ‘big, large’: daccih ‘crocodile’, or tupeh ‘to pound rice’: toppen ‘to fell trees’.

Given these problems differences of phonetic length in Kiput appear to be accounted for most simply by disconnecting the treatment of monosyllables from that of disyllables. Monosyllabic bases may contain either long or short vowels, although in the corpus of data collected length contrasts in monosyllables are limited to the vowels a and o. The last syllable of polysyllabic bases may also contain either long or short vowels, although short vowels are rare, and generally appear to follow long consonants. Nonetheless, examples such as lattaay ‘chain’, lanna ‘rapids’ and dacih ‘big, large’ show that long consonants may co-occur with long vowels, and that short consonants may co-occur with short vowels. Phonetically geminated initial consonants in monosyllables, then, are best treated as automatic responses to the common requirement in Austronesian languages that content morphemes be minimally bimoraic. Where a base contains a long vowel, as with laay ‘male’, or toot ‘to sew’ this requirement is met without the need for further phonetic adjustments, but where the base
vowel is short, as in *lay* ‘dry season’, or *tot* ‘fart’, the initial consonant is lengthened to meet the moraic structure required of freestanding content morphemes (i.e. morphemes which are not cliticized to an adjacent free morpheme). What is surprising about this conclusion is that it contravenes the well-established claim in general phonological theory that only syllable codas contribute to meeting moraic requirements.\(^3\)

García-Bellido and Clayre (1997) make a similar claim about onsets contributing to syllable weight for Long Terawan Berawan, but the facts are very different in the two cases, and the argument presented by these writers is open to serious objections. In Long Terawan and other Berawan languages syllable onsets lengthened if and only if the syllable lacked a coda at the time of the change. If the development of heavy onsets is seen as motivated by the absence of a coda in these cases one must ask why literally hundreds of other Austronesian languages permit both -CV and -CVC syllables with no phonetic adjustment in the onset of the shorter syllable type. The phonetic motivation of consonant gemination in Long Terawan Berawan remains, in fact, very much an open question. In Kiput, on the other hand, initial geminates are found only in monosyllables which contain a short vowel. Since monosyllables which contain long vowels never lengthen the initial consonant, initial consonant gemination clearly is allophonic. Moreover, since initial consonants never geminate in polysyllables the allophonic lengthening of initial consonants in monosyllables must be motivated by some general prosodic constraint. The only obvious candidate is the bimoraic length requirement.

Clynes (2002) has reported a similar correlation between vowel and consonant length in the monosyllabic vocabulary of Belait, as in [jjuŋ] ‘above’ : [juud] ‘back’, [ddaq] ‘flour’ : [diin] ‘thing’, or [nnaq] ‘mosquito’ : [maal] ‘blunt’. However, he maintains that there is ‘no strong evidence for not concluding that initial long consonants are not moraic in Belait’. While the multiple embedding of negations here makes parsing less than instantaneous, it seems clear that Clynes is reluctant to accept an analysis similar to that proposed above for Kiput. The principal reasons that he expresses for this reluctance are 1) Belait has at least one CV monosyllable *bi* [b:i:] ‘long’, and in this form both the consonant and the vowel are lengthened (hence there can be no motivation for the lengthening of the syllable onset), 2) a disyllabic analysis of forms such as [jjuŋ] is possible (e.g. with initial schwa, which deletes under specifiable conditions), and 3) in the great majority of reported languages bimoraic length requirements are met by syllable codas, not syllable onsets.

The first objection that Clynes raises is perhaps the most serious, but he vacillates in his interpretation of this single example, noting that it is unclear whether the pattern observed is ‘just a tendency’. The second objection essentially appeals to a historical explanation or its synchronic equivalent: disyllables that earlier began with schwa had short vowels in the last syllable, and when initial schwa was lost this resulted in monosyllables with short vowels. Compensatory lengthening of the syllable onset then re-established the minimal bimoraic freestanding content morpheme. Ironically, the same type of ordering argument can be used to account for [b:i:] ‘long’, since the allophonic lengthening of final vowels could have been a feature acquired after loss of initial schwa and gemination of the resulting word-initial consonant. The last objection is the most pernicious, namely that the use of syllable onsets to

\(^3\) For another Austronesian language in which syllable onsets reportedly contribute to bimoraic length requirements see Davis (1999).
meet moraic word requirements in Belait should be treated with suspicion, because such a pattern is cross-linguistically rare. Such an attitude is methodologically dangerous, since it suggests that whenever theory and data conflict existing theory should predominate. Such a view of the relationship between theory and data in any science will ultimately lead to stasis.

4.4 Phonological alternations

On the level of morphophonemics Kiput presents some peculiarities which are no less striking than those seen already on the level of the phoneme or allophone. The principal morphophonemic phenomena which require attention are: 1) nasal substitution, 2) initial syllable deletion, and 3) the alternations b/s and d/s.

4.4.1 Nasal substitution

One of the apparent innovations characterizing the proposed but problematic ‘Western Malayo-Polynesian’ subgroup of An languages is the presence of a set of verbal or nominal prefixes which end with an underlying velar nasal that has variant phonemic realizations in different phonological environments. The most important of these prefixes is *ma1)-, an affix which is shortened to n- in a number of attested languages, including Kiput. Like other languages, Kiput exhibits a range of allomorphs of the active/causative verb prefix n-. These include variants formed by homorganic nasal substitution, variants formed by schwa epenthesis, and variants formed by schwa epenthesis plus an alternation of the stem-initial consonant. The full pattern of affixation in the active forms of verbs appears in Table 12:

In monosyllables the prefix n- is realized as n- regardless of the stem-initial segment: bei’ ‘damp, wet’ : n-bei’ ‘to dampen’ (cp. bigué ‘an adze’ : migüé ‘to adze, work with an adze’), tot ‘a fart’ : n-tot ‘to fart’ (cp. tulit ‘writing’ : nulit ‘to write’), ciet ‘paint’ : n-ciët ‘to paint’, sei ‘water’ : n-sei’ ‘to sprinkle with water’, sëé ‘a laugh’ : n-sëë ‘to laugh’ (cp. semaa ‘borrowing’ : nema ‘to borrow’, suët ‘a wound’ : nuiët ‘to wound’, etc.) , me-raan ‘light in weight’ : n-raan ‘make something lighter’. In two recorded forms a disyllable with stem-initial s- takes n-: sulie ‘cockfight’ : n-sulie ‘to fight cocks’, silei ‘to split (intr.)’ : n-silei ‘to split (trans.)’. However, a wider pattern to be described below suggests that the affixed forms of these stems were originally paired with bases that began with b-, and the attested s-initial bases are back-formations from the affixed stem.
Table 12: Realizations of the active/causative verb prefix $η$- with all possible stem-initial segments in bases of two or more syllables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem-initial segment</th>
<th>Form of active verb prefix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$a$</td>
<td>$η$-</td>
<td>aton: $η$-aton ‘to arrange, put in order’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$i$</td>
<td>$η$-</td>
<td>iték ‘tickling’: $η$-iték ‘to tickle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$u$</td>
<td>$η$-</td>
<td>usoy ‘straight’: $η$-usoy ‘to straighten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$p$</td>
<td>$m$-</td>
<td>peleh ‘throwing’: melleh ‘to throw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b$</td>
<td>$m$-</td>
<td>batten ‘cannon’: matti ‘to shoot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>$n$-</td>
<td>talay ‘rope’: nala ‘to make rope’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$d$</td>
<td>$n$-</td>
<td>deket ‘sticky’: $η$-deket ‘to stick s.t. on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$k$</td>
<td>$n$-</td>
<td>dime ‘dirty’: $η$-sime ‘to make s.t. dirty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$g$</td>
<td>$n$-</td>
<td>guttl $η$ ‘scissors’: $η$utt $η$ ‘to cut with scissors’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$c$</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$j$</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m$</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ň$</td>
<td>$n$-</td>
<td>$ň$et ‘a cough’: $η$-ňet ‘to cough’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$η$</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$s$</td>
<td>$ň$-</td>
<td>semaa ‘borrowing’: $ň$emaa ‘to borrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$l$</td>
<td>$n$-</td>
<td>lubië ‘a hole’: $η$-lubië ‘to make a hole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$r$</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.2 Initial syllable deletion

The infixation of the active voice marker -em- or of the passive/perfective voice marker -en- into consonant-initial bases leads to the deletion of certain initial syllables. Syllable deletion is distinct from nasal substitution: in the latter case one consonant replaces another as part of a process of prefixation, while in the former a CV-syllable is deleted after infixation of the base. As noted earlier, these two distinct morphological processes produce identical results in the active voice of labial-initial bases, leading to uncertainty as to whether such words contain -em- or $η$- in particular cases. Recorded examples are given in Table 13:
### Table 13: Patterns of initial syllable deletion in Kiput bases infixed with -em- and -en-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BASE</th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Underlying</th>
<th>Passive</th>
<th>Underlying</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bagi'</td>
<td>magi'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-agi'</td>
<td>b-en-agi'</td>
<td>share, divide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>battin</td>
<td>mattin</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-attin</td>
<td>b-en-attin</td>
<td>cannon; shoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayin</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>n-ayin</td>
<td>b-en-ayin</td>
<td>pay, repay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biguë</td>
<td>miguë</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-iguë</td>
<td>b-en-iguë</td>
<td>adze, to adze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bukaa/'</td>
<td>mukaa'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-ukaa'</td>
<td>b-en-ukaa'</td>
<td>open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bukUt</td>
<td>mukUt</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-ukUt</td>
<td>b-en-ukU'</td>
<td>punch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kadey</td>
<td>m-adey</td>
<td>k-em-adey</td>
<td>k-en-adey</td>
<td>k-en-atoë</td>
<td>fall; put down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katoë</td>
<td>m-atoë</td>
<td>k-em-atoë</td>
<td>k-en-atoë</td>
<td>k-en-atoë</td>
<td>adrift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pacey</td>
<td>macey</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-acey</td>
<td>p-en-acey</td>
<td>knock away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakin</td>
<td>makin</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-akin</td>
<td>p-en-akin</td>
<td>fence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakU'</td>
<td>makU'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-akU'</td>
<td>p-en-akU'</td>
<td>nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palöë'</td>
<td>malöë'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-alöë'</td>
<td>p-en-alöë'</td>
<td>tell a lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pana</td>
<td>mana</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-ana</td>
<td>p-en-ana</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pañim</td>
<td>mañim</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-añim</td>
<td>p-en-añim</td>
<td>begin weaving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/paraat/</td>
<td>maraat</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-araat</td>
<td>p-en-araat</td>
<td>hit with hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paraaw</td>
<td>maraaw</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-araaw</td>
<td>p-en-araaw</td>
<td>scratch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paroy</td>
<td>maroy</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-aroy</td>
<td>p-en-aroy</td>
<td>sew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasée'</td>
<td>masée'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-asée'</td>
<td>p-en-asée'</td>
<td>splash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pastië'</td>
<td>masië'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-asië'</td>
<td>p-en-asië'</td>
<td>split</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasiw</td>
<td>masiw</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-asiw</td>
<td>p-en-asiw</td>
<td>weave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peken</td>
<td>meken</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-eken</td>
<td>p-en-eken</td>
<td>sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peleh</td>
<td>meleh</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-eleh</td>
<td>p-en-eleh</td>
<td>throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peron</td>
<td>meron</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-eron</td>
<td>p-en-eron</td>
<td>blow on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peset</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>n-eset</td>
<td>p-en-eset</td>
<td>dive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piciëm</td>
<td>miciëm</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-iciëm</td>
<td>p-en-iciëm</td>
<td>borrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pidey</td>
<td>midey</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-idey</td>
<td>p-en-idey</td>
<td>erect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pidië</td>
<td>midië</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-idië</td>
<td>p-en-idië</td>
<td>hang up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pucet</td>
<td>mucet</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-ucet</td>
<td>p-en-ucet</td>
<td>request</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pucut</td>
<td>mucut</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-ucut</td>
<td>p-en-ucut</td>
<td>pick up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pudëü</td>
<td>mudëü</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-udëü</td>
<td>p-en-udëü</td>
<td>count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pudun</td>
<td>mudun</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-udun</td>
<td>p-en-udun</td>
<td>gather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puji'l</td>
<td>mujl'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-ujl'</td>
<td>p-en-ujl'</td>
<td>praise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pukat</td>
<td>mukat</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-ukat</td>
<td>p-en-ukat</td>
<td>dragnet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulloë</td>
<td>mulloë</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-ulloë</td>
<td>p-en-ulloë</td>
<td>hunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulot</td>
<td>mulot</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-ulot</td>
<td>p-en-ulot</td>
<td>latex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puñeu'</td>
<td>muñeu'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>n-úñeu'</td>
<td>p-en-úñeu'</td>
<td>push</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued
It is difficult to reach clearcut generalizations from this data. The most consistent pattern is that labial-initial bases infixed with -en- drop the initial CV-. The same bases may also drop the initial CV- when infixed with -em-, but here the underlying forms are ambiguous for affixation with -em- or η-, hence /b-em-agi/ or /η-bagi/, /b-em-atin/ or /η-batin/, etc. This indeterminacy is indicated by the use of a question mark, and contrasts with the passive voice, where the underlying shapes of morphologically complex verbs are unambiguous.

In bases that begin with non-labial consonants the underlying shape of active verbs is unambiguous, but the loss of the initial CV- in forms infixed with -em- was recorded in only three forms, two that begin with k- and one with t-. Two of these forms also have known active counterparts with η-: m-adey 'topple, fall down, as a tree': n-adey 'put someone down to sleep, as a child', m-uloe, nuloe 'to help' (no known semantic or syntactic difference). In virtually all other recorded examples the active verb undergoes homorganic nasal substitution (hence prefixation with η-), and its passive counterpart is infixed with -en- with no loss of phonemic material from the stem: kaccI1) 'button': ηaccI1) 'to button': k-en-accI1) 'was buttoned by someone', kalot 'mixed together': ηalot 'to mix together': k-en-alot 'was mixed together by someone', sakop 'grasp': ηakop 'to grasp something': s-en-akop 'was grasped by someone', talay 'string, rope': nalay 'to make string or rope': t-en-alay 'was made into string or rope by someone'. Bases that begin with l- form the active verb with ηe- and the passive with ke- (never -en-). Taken together these observations suggest that -em- is a rare affix in Kiput, and is perhaps in the process of being replaced by η-. While this is perhaps true of bases that begin with a consonant, as seen already, -em- is rather common in bases that begin with a vowel, and clearly contrasts with η- in this environment.

Two examples which show initial syllable loss are difficult to classify:

1) muput 'to sting, as a bee': n-iput 'was stung, as by a bee',
2) patai 'broken': k-atai 'to break something, as a branch': matai 'to break, as a stick or a branch': n-atai 'was broken by someone, as a stick'.

The first of these examples suggests a base /peput/ which is not attested in the material collected. Both the active and the passive forms of this verb are formed by redundant morphological processes of ablaut and affixation with η- for the active verb, and -en- for the passive. The form n-iput thus appears to result from:
1. *peput > piput, with passive-perfective ablaut,
2. *piput > p-en-put, with secondary infixation with the passive-perfective infix, and
3. loss of the initial CV-.

In the second example the form n-atai' is a straightforward reduction of underlying p-en-atai', but the form k-atai' is unparalleled in the data collected. It is possible that the underlying form of this base is atai' rather than patai'.

4.4.3 b/s and d/s alternations

One of the most bizarre features of Kiput phonology is the alternation of b with s under affixation with the transitive/causative prefix ɬ-. Only four examples of this alternation were recorded, but these leave no doubt that the phonological relationship between b and s is real: bilei' 'either of the halves of something that is split' : ye-silei' 'to split something in half', bule' 'blind' : ye-sule' 'to blind someone', bulii' 'metal cockspur' : ye-sulië 'to fight cocks', burue' 'rotten' : ye-surue' 'to let something get rotten'. The first and third of these examples are complicated by the occurrence of variant bases with s-: silei' 'to split (intr. ), suliië 'cockfight'. However, the normal active/transitive form of an s-initial base would undergo nasal substitution with ɬ-.

In the sentences 1) buleu' ieh silei' 'The bamboo is splitting (by itself)' , and 2) ɬih ɬilei' buleu' ieh 'He split/is splitting that bamboo' we see this expected relationship in the shapes of intransitive and transitive verb stems, suggesting that Kiput has two distinct bases bilei' and silei', with corresponding active verb forms ye-silei' and ɬilei' respectively. Likewise, the morphologically deviant character of ye-sulië points to an original base with b-, suggesting that the abstract noun suliië is a back-formation from the concrete noun buliië in its prefixed form. Moreover, this synchronic interpretation is consistent with the comparative evidence for *buli1)' artificial cockspur; bind on an artificial cockspur' in other languages of the Philippines and western Indonesia, and with additional evidence for the historical sound change *b > s.

The alternation of d with s under similar conditions should come as no surprise after acknowledging the typologically much more unusual alternation of b with s. For this alternation only a single example was recorded: dime' 'dirty' : ye-sime' 'to make something dirty'. Despite the limited evidence available in this case this alternation is almost certainly valid, as it is consistent with the historical change PMP *z > s in intervocalic position.

One other marginal matter should perhaps be mentioned in passing. In teban' 'scale, instrument for weighing' : nipiëg 'to weigh' we see a unique alternation of b with p, and of the vowel a with both the vowel i and the diphthong ië. These differences could be due to borrowing, with teban' entering the language as a relatively late loan from Malay (timbang-an). If both forms are native, however, this pair of words provides tenuous evidence for
1) a synchronic rule of intervocalic devoicing, and
2) a synchronic rule of low vowel fronting after voiced obstruents, both of which occurred in the history of Kiput.

The latter interpretation would raise still unanswered questions about the possible role of suprasegmental conditioning in these changes. For this reason it is perhaps best to assume
borrowing. It is possible that both forms were borrowed from Malay, nipiëh at an earlier period and tebojan more recently.

4.4.4 Vowel shortening

A rule of vowel shortening is required to account for the alternation of long and short vowels in kan-en ‘cooked rice’ as against k-um-aan ‘to eat’ or pa-kaan ‘to feed’, although no other examples of such an alternation are known. Historically the inherited vowels *i, *u and *a were lengthened in stressed (hence final) syllables. By contrast, the schwa (*e) was not, and a length contrast developed for $e = [a] - [ə]) : aa in final syllables. Hence earlier *kan-en ‘cooked rice’ developed a short low vowel in both syllables, while earlier *k-um-an and *pa-kan developed a short low vowel in the penult but a long low vowel in the final syllable. Somewhat different is the contraction of like vowels in mateh ‘eye ’ + araaw ‘day’ > mateh raaw ‘sun’, a change which presumably took place before the addition of final h in the first morpheme (*mata araw > mata raw > mateh raaw).

4.4.5 Miscellaneous observations

Several types of observations based on the vocabulary collected raise questions for which adequate answers are not yet available. For example, it might be asked whether fiilaa ‘to lick’ is morphologically related to delei ‘tongue’, whether afiim ‘the taste of something’ is morphologically related to niinim ‘to taste’ or whether mannit ‘to defecate’ is morphologically related to taai ‘feces’. If any of these proposals were adopted it would be necessary to propose phonological rules for which no independent motivation is currently known. On the other hand, it seems clear that sikup ‘tobacco, cigarette’ : pe-nikup ‘a smoker, someone who smokes a lot’ : sekup-in ‘smoking pipe’ do form a valid morphological paradigm, but one which contains two otherwise unrecorded affixes: an agentive prefix pe- and an instrumental suffix -in. The form sigup is a widespread loanword in this area, and the entire paradigm probably was borrowed from some other indigenous language of the Baram basin after tobacco had been introduced into the region through European contact.

In addition to the above observations, some segmentation problems which do not involve unfamiliar affixes remain recalcitrant. The forms musoy ‘to straighten something’ and kisoy ‘was straightened by someone’, for example, imply a base **kesoy, with redundant u-ablaut and prefixation with $η$- in the active form and i-ablaut in the passive form of the verb. But a base usoy ‘straight’ occurs in Kiput, leaving the form kisoy with no obvious explanation in terms of known patterns of affixation. Similarly, in pesih ‘hitting’ : ma-k-esih ‘to be hit or knocked down by a blow’ the segmentation remains unclear. We might posit a base **esih, and derive the abstract noun by prefixation with the nominalizer pe-, but then pisih ‘was hit by someone’ becomes problematic. In this particular case some parts of the paradigm were recorded from John Malang and others from Thomas Belulok, and these appear to differ in their implications for a morphological analysis.

As noted earlier, no surface form in Kiput can begin with schwa, but some e-initial underlying bases must be posited in order to unite what would otherwise be disconnected pieces of a morphological paradigm. An example is seen in usië ‘to give something to
someone' : išiē 'was given by someone' : n-išiē 'was given by someone', where these forms are related through a non-attested base /esiē/. Four such e-initial bases are posited in the vocabulary. The base /esiē/ is further unusual in having two passive forms which may be syntactically distinct, the former marking an agentless construction, as in bup ʾe-h išiē ṣan kaw (book that give-passive COMP 1sg) 'The book was given to me (by someone)', and the latter an agentive construction, as in anew pay n-išiē ʾniḥ (what give-passive 3sg) 'What did he give?', or bup n-išiē ʾniḥ (book give-passive 3sg) 'He gave a book' (answer to preceding question). In bases that do not contain a penultimate schwa the second of these would ordinarily be formed by prefixation without change of the stem vowel, thus implying a base išiē. However, this formation may be motivated purely by double marking of the same passive function. In /eten/ : m-eten 'to bury' : n-eten 'was buried by someone' or /uñun/ : m-uñun 'to grub in the dirt, as a pig' : n-uñun 'was grubbed in, as dirt when a pig is rooting about' the choice of a vowel-initial underlying base rather than a labial-initial underlying base is arbitrary.

5 The vocabulary

The Kiput vocabulary given here is approximately four times the size of that in Ray (1913), the only other published source that merits mention. Every effort has been made to ensure that it is phonemically accurate, although as noted earlier, some questions remain with regard to the treatment of segmental length. In addition, wherever possible loanwords have been distinguished from native vocabulary, and their probable source has been indicated.

5.1 Main entries

As in most dictionaries of the languages of Indonesia and the Philippines, affixed forms of bases are listed in alphabetical order under the simple base. Where a base is needed to relate affixed forms but is not attested in the data collected it is posited as an abstract form written between slant lines, as with /asaak/, posited as a basis for relating the affixed forms k-asaak ‘to cook’, k-en-asaak ‘was cooked by someone’, man-ḫ-asaak ‘cook it!’, and m-asaak ‘cooked’, or /abuē/, used to relate m-abuē ‘drunk’ and Sek-abuē ‘make oneself drunk, try to get drunk’. Apart from their use in helping to relate otherwise disconnected pieces of a morphological paradigm such abstract forms can be justified through reference to similar paradigms in which the simple base is attested, as with talay ‘rope, string’ : nalay ‘to make rope or string’ : t-en-alay ‘was made into rope or string by someone’, or battin ‘small cannon’ : mattin ‘to shoot’ : n-attin ‘was shot by someone’. Homophonous bases are distinguished by a hyphenated numeral, as with kepen-1 ‘coffin’ and kepen-2 ‘invulnerable’. A numeral ‘2’ immediately following a base with no intervening hyphen indicates reduplication, as with kafet2 (= kafet-kafet) ‘catch a glimpse of someone’, or sagiē2 lebelem (= sagiē-sagiē lebelem) ‘very early in the morning’.

Variant pronunciations are given in parentheses, as with irep ‘k.o. wasp’ (= irap), and cross-references to semantically related forms (synonyms, antonyms, etc.) are given by ‘cf.’, as with /eloē/ ‘slack’ (cf. utan), where the latter form means ‘taut’.
5.2 Loanwords

There are a number of clearly identifiable loanwords in Kiput, the great majority from Malay. These are marked in the accompanying vocabulary, but are brought together in one place here for convenience of reference. Known or suspected Malay loanwords are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Original Language</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adit</td>
<td>'customary law'</td>
<td>Malay adat (from Arabic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ-akaan</td>
<td>'to cheat'</td>
<td>Malay meng-akal, belakaan 'clever, intelligent' (Malay ber-akal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alun</td>
<td>'wave, billow at sea'</td>
<td>Malay alun</td>
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<tr>
<td>alut</td>
<td>'smooth'</td>
<td>Malay halus</td>
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<tr>
<td>araap</td>
<td>'hope, trust'</td>
<td>Malay harap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>areŋ</td>
<td>'charcoal'</td>
<td>Malay arang</td>
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<tr>
<td>asse’</td>
<td>'goose'</td>
<td>Malay angsa (from Sanskrit)</td>
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<tr>
<td>bacci</td>
<td>'hate'</td>
<td>Malay benci</td>
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<tr>
<td>bagi'</td>
<td>'divide, share'</td>
<td>Malay bagi</td>
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<tr>
<td>bakUn</td>
<td>'carrying basket'</td>
<td>Malay bakul</td>
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<tr>
<td>barengh</td>
<td>'things, belongings'</td>
<td>Malay barang</td>
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<tr>
<td>base’</td>
<td>'race, nationality'</td>
<td>Malay bangsa</td>
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<tr>
<td>battin</td>
<td>'small cannon'</td>
<td>Malay bedil (from Tamil)</td>
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<tr>
<td>bawieŋ</td>
<td>'onion'</td>
<td>Malay bawang</td>
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<tr>
<td>bayin</td>
<td>'to pay'</td>
<td>Malay bayar</td>
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<tr>
<td>belajen</td>
<td>'to study'</td>
<td>Malay bel-ajar</td>
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<tr>
<td>beledi</td>
<td>'bucket'</td>
<td>Malay beledi (from Portuguese)</td>
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<tr>
<td>belimbiŋ</td>
<td>'star fruit'</td>
<td>Malay belimbing</td>
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<tr>
<td>bucię</td>
<td>'bachelor'</td>
<td>Malay bujang</td>
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<tr>
<td>buduh</td>
<td>'silly, stupid'</td>
<td>Malay bodoh</td>
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<tr>
<td>bulih</td>
<td>'may, can'</td>
<td>Malay bolēh</td>
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<tr>
<td>burek</td>
<td>'sweet rice wine'</td>
<td>Malay borak</td>
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<tr>
<td>burut</td>
<td>'inguinal hernia'</td>
<td>Malay burut</td>
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<tr>
<td>cięt</td>
<td>'paint'</td>
<td>Malay cat</td>
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<tr>
<td>dagįn</td>
<td>'meat'</td>
<td>Malay daging</td>
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<tr>
<td>gamben</td>
<td>'picture'</td>
<td>Malay gambar</td>
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<tr>
<td>ganum</td>
<td>'corn, maize'</td>
<td>Malay gandum 'wheat'</td>
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<tr>
<td>gaye’</td>
<td>'way, manner'</td>
<td>Malay gaya</td>
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<tr>
<td>gule’</td>
<td>'sugar'</td>
<td>Malay gula</td>
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<tr>
<td>guni’</td>
<td>'sack'</td>
<td>Malay gunt</td>
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<tr>
<td>guttľn</td>
<td>'scissors'</td>
<td>Malay gunting</td>
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<tr>
<td>ińę́n</td>
<td>'want, desire'</td>
<td>Malay ingin</td>
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<tr>
<td>jaccei’</td>
<td>'promise'</td>
<td>Malay janji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jadi’</td>
<td>'to become'</td>
<td>Malay jadį́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jarenj</td>
<td>'seldom; to have wide spaces between the knots, of nets'</td>
<td>Malay jarang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jię́m</td>
<td>'watch, clock'</td>
<td>Malay jam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabun</td>
<td>'garden'</td>
<td>Malay kebun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>kacc1n</td>
<td>‘button’ (Malay kancing)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kace1</td>
<td>‘peanut’ (Malay kacang)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kafi1</td>
<td>‘black frying pan’ (Malay kawang)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kapek</td>
<td>‘axe’ (Malay kapak)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kapien</td>
<td>‘ship’ (Malay kapal)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kataam</td>
<td>‘wood plane’ (Malay ketam)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kai1n</td>
<td>‘bed’ (&lt; Malay kait ‘bedstead’)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kawan</td>
<td>‘friend’ (Malay kawan)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kelabaaw</td>
<td>‘water buffalo’ (Malay kerbau)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kelataat</td>
<td>‘paper’ (Malay kertas)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>kelecih</td>
<td>‘work’ (Malay kerja)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kepen</td>
<td>‘invulnerable’ (Malay kebal)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kerus1</td>
<td>‘chair’ (Malay kursi)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>keén</td>
<td>‘clothing’ (Malay kain)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kikén</td>
<td>‘wood file’ (Malay kikir)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>kire1</td>
<td>‘think, want, intend’ (Malay kira)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>kude1</td>
<td>‘horse’ (Malay kuda)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kurang</td>
<td>‘insufficient, lacking’ (Malay kurang)</td>
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<tr>
<td>lacun</td>
<td>‘poison’ (Malay racun)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>lagU1</td>
<td>‘song’ (Malay lagu)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>lajen</td>
<td>‘copper or iron cooking pot’ (Malay lajang)</td>
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<tr>
<td>lamaay</td>
<td>‘lively, bustling’ (Malay ramai)</td>
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<tr>
<td>lapiæw</td>
<td>‘kind of fish trap’ (Malay selambau)</td>
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<tr>
<td>lapuæn</td>
<td>‘lamp’ (Malay lampu)</td>
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<tr>
<td>lattaay</td>
<td>‘chain’ (Malay rantai)</td>
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<tr>
<td>lat1n</td>
<td>‘raft’ (Malay lanting)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>lekhi1</td>
<td>‘price’ (Malay harga, from Sanskrit)</td>
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<tr>
<td>lug1l</td>
<td>‘loss in a financial transaction’ (Malay rugi)</td>
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<tr>
<td>lurUt</td>
<td>‘correct, accurate’ (Malay lurus ‘straight, honest’)</td>
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<tr>
<td>maat</td>
<td>‘gold’ (Malay emas)</td>
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<tr>
<td>makan</td>
<td>‘the more X the more Y’ (Malay makin)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>menasaan</td>
<td>‘regret’ (Malay menyesal)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>meriem</td>
<td>‘large cannon’ (Malay meriam)</td>
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<tr>
<td>mij1e1</td>
<td>‘table’ (Malay méja, from Portuguese)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pakU1</td>
<td>‘iron nail’ (Malay paku)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>payuæ</td>
<td>‘umbrella’ (Malay payung)</td>
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<tr>
<td>pepluæn</td>
<td>‘rudder of a boat’ (Malay pengulin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>pic1t</td>
<td>(in lapuæn pic1t ‘flashlight’; Malay lampu pijit = ‘squeeze light’)</td>
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<tr>
<td>pikaan</td>
<td>‘plate’ (Malay pingan, from Persian)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pik1n</td>
<td>‘think’ (Malay pikir, from Arabic)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pirek</td>
<td>‘silver’ (Malay pirak)</td>
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<tr>
<td>pu1l1</td>
<td>‘praise’ (Malay puji)</td>
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<tr>
<td>puket</td>
<td>‘dragmet’ (Malay pukat)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulæw</td>
<td>‘island’ (Malay pulau)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Loanwords from English, some of which may have entered Kiput through the medium of Malay, include:

- *bilun* ‘airplane’ (English ‘balloon’)
- *bisin* ‘container’ (English ‘basin’)
- *bun* ‘ball’
- *bup* ‘book’
- *butUn* ‘bottle’
- *jin* ‘jail’
- *kapun* ‘camphor’
- *kepen* ‘coffin’
- *kupi* ‘coffee’
- *tn* ‘tin can, metal container’

In addition to these examples a much smaller number of words shows distinctive phonological characteristics which mark them as loanwords from the Berawan dialect of Long Terawan, spoken further up the Tutoh river. The most obvious of these are *ari1J* (LTB *adi1J*)
'ear wax', and uken (LTB uken) 'horn'. Since John Malang professed to speak the Berawan dialect of Long Terawan it is possible that these and perhaps some other Berawan forms were inadvertently offered as Kiput, but are not generally used by other speakers at Long Kiput.

The above list includes 119 probable loanwords in Kiput out of a total vocabulary of 931 items collected. It is very likely, however, that a number of loanwords were missed, either because of insufficient information about neighboring languages or because some items left no telltale phonological clues. It follows that at least one eighth, or about 12.5% of the vocabulary of Kiput consists of borrowed lexical material, the great bulk of it from Brunei Malay.
2 Kiput–English vocabulary

A

aan  chicken, domestic fowl
abew  ash
abey  Brunei Malays
abië (1)  left side (cf. tuew)
abië (2)
lipen abië  molar tooth
abiëi (3)  ilipe nut (cf. ljyon)
/abit/ (1)
m-abit  to hold
nih m-abit kaw ‘He held/is holding me’
n-abit  was held by someone
kaw n-abit nih ‘He held me’
seleabit  to hold one other (said to sound ‘nicer’ than sep-abit)
sep-abit  to hold one another
difih seleabit/sep-abit ‘They held/are holding each other’
abit (2)  iron; parang, machete, bush knife used to clear underbrush
/abut/
m-abut  to pluck, pull out, as grass or feathers
nih m-abut bulew aan ieh ‘She plucked/is plucking the chicken’
n-abut  was plucked by someone
bulew aan ieh n-abut nih ‘She plucked the chicken’
/abuē’/
m-abuē’  drunk
laay ieh m-abuē’ ‘That man is drunk’
sek-abuē’  to make oneself drunk, to try to get drunk
laay ieh sek-abuē’ ‘That man is trying to get drunk’
acon (1)  to melt, as wax; to dissolve
uei’ alem sekin ieh acon ‘The salt in the cup is dissolving’
k-en-acon  was dissolved by someone
uei’ ieh k-en-acon nih ‘She dissolved the salt’
man-ŋ-acon: dissolve it!

ŋ-acon: to dissolve something

n-adei: rainpipe, drain for rainwater from the roof

/adek/

m-adek: to smell something, to kiss

man-m-adek: kiss her!
n-adek: was smelled, was kissed by someone
p-adek: a kiss

sel-adek: to kiss one another
difih sel-adek: 'They are kissing each other'

sep-adek: to kiss one another
difih sep-adek: 'They are kissing each other'
adew: some, much, many

a.tunaw2: very much, very many

adin: name

adi': can, able (cf. bulih)
adit: customary law (< Malay adat)

/aду'/

m-аду': to bathe, take a bath (cf. nusot, surei')
n-аду': was bathed by someone

anaak ńih n-аду' ńih: 'She bathed her child'
p-аду': to bathe someone, as in giving a child a bath

ńih p-аду' anaak ńih: 'She is bathing her child'

sel-аду': to bathe one another
difih sel-аду': 'They are bathing one another'

sep-аду': to bathe one another

/akaan/

k-en-akaan: was cheated by someone

ŋ-akaan: to cheat

ńih ŋ-akaan ŋen kaw: 'He cheated/is cheating me'

akaay: ghost, spirit of the dead

akem: foot, leg

akét: illness

m-akét: sick, ill

ńih ńeh m-акét: 'She is ill'
sep-akét  to pretend to be ill
lewieh sep-akét ‘They are pretending to be ill’

aki  because, that (introducing clauses of reason, as in ‘He regrets that he did not study hard’)

akkét  hook
alem  in, inside (= alam)
a. raw  inside bottom of a boat, floor of a boat
alot  boat
k-en-alot  was paddled by someone
alot ieh k-en-alot ňih ‘He paddled the boat’

man-ŋ-alot  paddle it!
man-ŋ-alot alot ieh ‘Paddle the boat’!

ŋ-alot  to paddle
ňih ŋ-alot alot ieh ‘He paddled/is paddling the boat’

NOTE: Kiput uses a verbal form of the noun ‘boat’ rather than the noun ‘paddle’ (palah) to indicate the action of paddling

alun  wave, billow at sea (< Malay alun)
alut  smooth (< Malay halus)
k-en-alut  was made smooth by someone
mije’ ieh k-en-alut ňih ‘He made the table smooth’

man-ŋ-alut  make it smooth!
man-ŋ-alut mije’ ieh ‘Make the table smooth!’

ŋ-alut  to make something smooth
ňih ŋ-alut mije’ ieh ‘He made/is making the table smooth’
amén  house (= amin)

/amé/  to scratch hard, as a cat (cf. paraaw)

m-amé  uséé ieh m-amé kacew ‘The cat scratched/is scratching a tree’
n-amé  kacew namé ét uséé ‘The cat scratched a tree’

ami’  few, little (in amount)
a. tuk tunaw2  very, very few; very, very little
anaak  child
a. aënim  grandchild
a. laay  son
a. linay  son-in-law; daughter-in-law
a. menaan  nephew, niece, BC, ZC
a. turay  daughter
kel-anaak  was given birth to
anaak ieh kel-anaak ňih ‘She gave birth to the child’

ŋel-anaak  to give birth
ňih ŋel-anaak anaak ieh ‘She gave birth/is giving birth to the child’

anaay  termite, white ant
anew which?
a. pay what? (also heard as anu, and then generally shortened to upay)
upay séét ‘What is the news?/How are you?’; also ‘What pain do you feel?’
a. gaye’ how?
aŋaap gaping
aŋaap2 open, of the mouth
aŋaat intestinal worm
/aŋei’/ to chew
m-án ei ‘He chewed/is chewing the rice in his mouth’
man-m-án ei ‘He chewed the rice in his mouth’
n-án ei ‘He chewed the rice in his mouth’
aŋeu’ ointment, balm
/aŋe/ (cf. peset) to make something sink, drop something in the water
k-án et ‘He dropped my watch in the water (deliberately)’
k-en-án et was made to sink, was dropped in the water by someone
jięm kaw k-en-án et ‘He dropped/is dropping my watch in the water’
m-án et ‘My watch sank/is sinking’ (it dropped in the water)
ajięm kaw m-án et ‘My watch sank/is sinking’ (it dropped in the water)
ańim (1) (cf. anaak)
ańim (2) the taste of something, as of food (cf. kińim)
apay scorpion
apun lime chewed with betel
/lara/ to make something dry
k-ara ‘He made the well dry/he dried up the well’
k-en-ara was made dry by someone
kukot ięh k-en-ara ‘He made the well dry’
man-k-ara dry it up, make it dry!
man-k-arakot ięh ‘Make the well dry!’
m-ara dry
kukot ięh mara ‘The well is dry’
m. batoë’ thirsty (lit. ‘dry throat’) p-ara something that has been dried, as by smoking
para baka ‘pork dried and smoked over a fire for preservation’
para putaa ‘fish dried and smoked over a fire for preservation’
araap  hope, trust (< Malay harap)

k-en-araap  was hoped for, was trusted

η-araap  to hope, to trust

η-araap  He is hoping that it will rain

araaw  day; weather

araa’  sirih leaf (in betel quid)

arem  pangolin, scaly anteater: Manis javanica (= aram)

areŋ  cold charcoal (< Malay arang; cf. salaŋ)

ariŋ  earwax (< Long Terawan Berawan adiŋ)

/asaak/

k-asaak  to cook

k-asaak  She cooked the rice

k-asaak  was cooked by someone

kan-en ieh k-en-asaak  She cooked the rice

man-ŋ-asaak  to cook it!

man-ŋ-asaak  Cook the rice!

m-asaak  cooked, ripe

m-asaak  that fruit is already ripe

/asaan/

m-asaan  to fix something, to repair

m-asaan  He repaired/is repairing the knife

n-asaan  was repaired by someone

n-asaan  He repaired the knife

asaw  dog

η-asaw  to hunt using dogs (cf. mulloē)

/assen/

k-asen  to embarrass someone

k-asen  He made/is making me embarrassed

k-asen  was embarrassed by someone

k-asen  He embarrassed me

m-asen  shy, ashamed, embarrassed

aseŋ  standing, stature

aseŋ  His stature is like that of a giant

m-aseŋ  to stand

asin  ladder

asse’  goose (< Malay angsa)

ataa’  rice grain with husk adhering after the pounding (cf. berey)

/k-ataay/

k-ataay  to kill

k-ataay  Who killed/is killing the dog?

k-ataay  He killed/is killing the dog (answer to preceding question)
was killed by someone

`anew pay k-en-ataay nih` ‘What did he kill?’

`asaw k-en-ataay nih` ‘He killed a dog’ (answer to preceding question)

Kill him! Kill it!

`man-k-ataay asaw ieh` ‘Kill that dog!’

to die; dead
death; corpse

`jake' p-ataay` ‘time when someone dies’

to kill oneself, commit suicide

`nih se-k-ataay` ‘He killed himself, he committed suicide’

to kill oneself, commit suicide

`difih sep-ataay` ‘The two of them committed suicide’

from, ellative preposition (sometimes shortened to `te’; cf. `gu’)

at

here
here
there
where?
tweezers, forceps
to pluck with tweezers, to pick up with forceps

was plucked with tweezers, was picked up with forceps

was arranged, was put in order

`barej ieh k-en-aton nih` ‘She put those things in order’

to arrange, put in order

`nih n-aton barej ieh` ‘She put/is putting those things in order’

domesticated pig (cf. `baka’)
to hate (< Malay `benci’)
k.o. trunkless plant with leaves used to make roofing for huts and boats
to divide, share (< Malay `bagi’)

`nih bagi’ putaa’ ieh` ‘He divided/is dividing the fish’

to divide, share

`nih magi’ putaa’ ieh` ‘He divided/is dividing the fish’

divide it!

`man-magi’ putaa’ ieh` ‘divide the fish!’
was divided by someone
putaa' ieh n-agi' ňih 'He divided the fish'

wild boar (cf. babuy)

sleeping met
carrying basket carried in the hand, as to market (< Malay bakul; cf. kibih, lage')
guilty
brother's wife, apparently both m.s. and w.s., add. and ref.; (cf. sabey, sabiēy)
giant
kitchen, cooking area (cf. puraan)
husband
upper arm, arm from shoulder to elbow (cf. gule')
part of a log in the fire that has not yet been burned
things, belongings (< Malay barang)
swollen
new
wind
whirlwind
roof for a hut or boat made from the long leaves of a trunkless plant
called badiē'
plank, board
race, nationality (< Malay bangsa)
tree trunk, log
stone
neck
small cannon (< Malay bedil; cf. meriem)
shoot, discharge a cannon or other firearm
'He shot/is shooting a boar'
was shot by someone
baka n-attin ňih 'He shot a boar'
to shoot one another
kifih se-pattin 'The two of us shot each other'
onion (< Malay bawang)
to pay (< Malay bayar)
'She paid/is paying for those things'
was paid or repaid by someone; be repaid by someone
'He has already paid for those things'
'she cannot repay what he borrows'
(lit. 'His borrowing cannot be repaid by him')
damp, wet
was made damp, was dampened by someone
'keēn ieh k-en-e-bei' ňih 'She dampened the clothes'
man-ŋe-bei’ dampen it/them!
man-ŋe-bei’ kéén ieh ‘Dampen those clothes!’
ŋe-bei’ to dampen, make wet
ńih ńe-bei’ kéén ieh ‘She dampened/is dampening the clothes’
belacié barbed spear (cf. bući’e, desen)
belafién rainbow
belajen to study (< Malay bel-ajar)
belakaan clever, intelligent (< Malay ber-akal; cf. paloy)
belaléé circle
belasau’ rice porridge
belatée’ spring-set spear or arrow trap, used to catch large animals like wild oars (cf. pelakep, testé’, ubié sengirai’)
beledI’ bucket (< Malay beledi)
belelen round
beleñaan a bird, the hornbill
belilih fish sp. (= Malay belida)
belimbij the star fruit: Averrhoa carambola (< Malay belimbing; cf. luJon)
belufié the Malayan sun bear: Ursus malayanus
belulJon numeral classifier used to count animals
dufih belulJon putaa’ ‘two fish’
telaw belulJon babuy ‘three pigs’
beñey heat
berey husked rice (cf. ataa’, kan-an, padey)
berih bubble (cf. puraa’)
berit heavy
besey iron
besué’ large yellowish-brown short-tailed monkey, the coconut macaque (cf. ucit)
besun full, of the stomach after eating, satiated
beti leg from knee to foot (cf. lulot, pupun)
beti’e’ design, tattoo
betué k.o. bamboo (cf. bula’)
bigué implement for scraping out or smoothing wood, adze (cf. kapek,
kataam)
migué to adze wood, to smooth the surface of wood with an adze
ńih migué kacew ieh ‘He adzed/is adzing the wood’
n-igué was adzed by someone, of wood
kacew ieh n-igué ńih ‘He adzed the wood’
bilei’ either half of something split, as the halves of a split bamboo (cf. ilei’,
silei’)

ipin se-b. opposite bank of a river
ŋe-silei’e to split something, as wood or bamboo
bílun airplane (< English ‘balloon’)
bin to leak, as a roof
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bisei'</td>
<td>to worsen, of a pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bisin</td>
<td>container (&lt; English ‘basin’?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biw</td>
<td>odor, smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bucen</td>
<td>hungry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bucie</td>
<td>bachelor (&lt; Malay bujang; cf. buday)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bucie'</td>
<td>bachelor (cf. bucie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buday</td>
<td>k.o. large spear (cf. belacië, desen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buduh</td>
<td>silly, stupid (&lt; Malay bodoh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bien</td>
<td>bottom, posterior, buttocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buië</td>
<td>millipede (cf. kelipan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buië'</td>
<td>flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bukaa/</td>
<td>open it!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-mukaa'</td>
<td>to open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukaa'</td>
<td>ńih mukaa' tln ieh ‘He opened/is opening the can’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-ukaa'</td>
<td>was opened by someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nih</td>
<td>ńih ‘He opened the can’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bukaw</td>
<td>node, joint, knuckle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bukUt</td>
<td>a punch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-mukUt</td>
<td>punch him!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukUt</td>
<td>to punch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ńih mukUt kaw</td>
<td>ńih ‘He punched/is punching me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-ukUt</td>
<td>was punched by someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaw n-ukUt ńih</td>
<td>‘He punched me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se-bukUt</td>
<td>punch each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>difih se-bukUt</td>
<td>They punched/are punching each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bule'</td>
<td>blind (cf. tulaa’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-sule'</td>
<td>‘That man is blind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laay ieh ke-sule' ńih</td>
<td>‘He blinded that man/he made that man blind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ńe-sule'</td>
<td>‘He blinded that man/he made that man blind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laay ieh ńe-sule'</td>
<td>to blind someone, make someone blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buleu'</td>
<td>bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. butuë</td>
<td>k.o. bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buliew</td>
<td>body hair, downy feathers (cf. suë”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. gumey</td>
<td>moustache, beard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. kiraay</td>
<td>eyebrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulië</td>
<td>metal cockspur (cf. tadih; sulie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ńe-sulië</td>
<td>to fight cocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulih</td>
<td>may, can, be permitted (&lt; Malay boléh; cf. adi’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulin</td>
<td>moon, month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulun</td>
<td>person, human being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bun (1)</td>
<td>ball (&lt; English ‘ball’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bun (2)  before
  b. teh  now, at this time
bunjeh  areca nut, betel nut
bunjén  ankle
bup  book (< English ‘book’)
bupun  heap, pile
burek  sweet rice wine (< Malay burak; cf. buriē’)
buriē’  rice wine (cf. burek)
buriē’  rotten
  ñe-suruē’  to let something get rotten
    ñih ñe-suruē’ puttay ieh ‘He let that banana get rotten’
burUt  inguinal hernia (< Malay burut)
busuē’  fighting between kin, conflict among relatives
busuē’ (1)  high, of the river
busuē’ (2)  small boring insect that eats maize, wood, bamboo, etc., probably
    wood weevil/rice weevil
busut  brown bird with long black tail feathers, the cuckoo
but  fear; afraid
butin  coconut
butun  wood carving
butUn  bottle (< Malay butul or English ‘bottle’)

C

cei’  good
ceu’  tail
cew  river
ciēt  paint (< Malay cat)
  k-en-e-ciēt  was painted by someone
    amin ieh k-en-e-ciēt ñih ‘He painted the house’
  ñe-ciēt  to paint, as a house
    ñih ñe-ciēt amin ‘He painted/is painting the house’
cin  dammar, resin
cuē  above, on top of (cf. seu’, ucuē)
cut (1)  back (anatomical)
cut (2)  small saltwater shrimp brought in by coastal people
cuy  that; there (cf. nay)
Daccih  crocodile
Dacih  big, large
dadin  tortoise, land turtle
dafiëy  face
dagly  meat (< Malay daging)
dalaan  path
d. lalun  road
dalaw  anger, angry; jealous, jealousy
    laay ieh dalaw  ‘That man is angry’
    ke-dalaw  to be the object of someone’s anger or jealousy
        laay ieh ke-dalaw nih  ‘He is jealous of that man; that man arouses his jealousy’
    ye-dalaw  to be angry at or jealous of someone
        nih ye-dalaw yen laay ieh  ‘He is jealous of that man’
dalét  ear
danaat  sweat, perspiration
danaaw  lake
danai'  near
    man-pe-danai'  put it nearer!
        man-pe-danai' kerusI' ieh  ‘Put that chair closer!’
        man-pe-danai' kerusI' dufih kadih ieh  ‘Put those two chairs closer together!’
    pe-danai'  to put something nearer, move something closer
        nih pe-danai' kerusI' dufih kadih ieh  ‘He put those two chairs closer together’
daseï'  boiling, bubbling up
dasem  shivering with cold, have chills
/deket/
duket  to stick, to adhere to a surface
    kelataat ieh duket  ‘Those papers are sticking together’
    man-ye-deket  stick them together!
        man-ye-deket kelataat ieh  ‘Stick those papers together!’
    ye-deket  to stick something to a surface
        nih ye-deket kelataat ieh  ‘He stuck/is sticking those papers together’
        ney ye-deket kelataat ieh une  ‘Who stuck those papers together just now?’
    ke-deket  were stuck together by someone
        kelataat ieh ke-deket nih  ‘He stuck those papers together’
delei'  tongue, uvula
d. dacih  tongue
d. iti’ uvula
d. tu’unuk uvula
demih country, state
/dêñek/
diñek was pressed down by someone
mije’ ieh diñek ŋih ‘He pressed down on the table’
duñek to press down on something
ŋih duñek mije’ ieh ‘He pressed down/is pressing down on the table’
se-deñek to press one another down
difih se-deñek ‘They are pressing each other down’ (as of two people
wrestling, first one on top, then the other)
depih fathom
desen barbless spear (cf. belacië, bucië’)
dibin side (cf. libin)
d. cew river bank
d. li’ cut behind (also heard as ibi li’ cut)
difih dufih 3p dual
dilei’ sea, ocean
dime’ dirty
dime’ tu’unaw kasut kaw ‘My shoes are really dirty’
ke-sime’ was made dirty by someone
kan-en ieh ke-sime’ ŋih ‘He made the food dirty’
ŋe-sime’ to make something dirty
ŋih ŋe-sime’ kan-en ieh ‘He is making the food dirty’
din branch
dipi’ short in length (cf. seu’)
dirië wall
dudue’ to pawn, to deposit goods as collateral
ŋih dudue’ jiëm ŋih ‘He pawned/is pawning his watch’
ke-dudue’ was pawned by someone
anew pay ke-dudue’ ŋih ‘What did he pawn?’
jiëm ŋih ke-dudue’ ŋih ‘He pawned his watch’
dufih two
dufih pulau’ twenty
dun leaf
d. kacew eaf of a tree
dupen slave
durey thorn
durrey to escape, slip away


\(/eI\aI/\\)
\(k\-\-eI\aI\) was cooled by someone
\(kupi\ k\-eI\aI\ nih \) ‘She cooled the coffee/she let the coffee cool’
\(m\-eI\aI\) cool
\(kaw\ kire\ umaau\ kaw\ m\-eI\aI\) ‘I want to make myself cool’
\(\eta\-eI\aI\) to cool something off
\(nih\ \eta\-eI\aI\ \kupi \) ‘She cooled the coffee/she let the coffee cool’
\(\eta\-eI\aI\) cool it off!
\(\eta\-eI\aI\ \seai\ \kupi\ \ieh \) ‘Cool this coffee/let this coffee cool!’
\(\text{to cool one another, to cool oneself}
\(\kaw\ kire\ ‘sek\-eI\aI\ kaw\ sedirI\) ‘I want to cool myself off’
\(\text{(cf. uten)}
\(/eI\oE/\\)
\(k\-eI\oE\) was loosened or made slack, as a rope
\(talay\ \ieh\ k\-eI\oE\ nih \) ‘He loosened the rope’ (i.e. made it slack, or no longer straight)
\(m\-eI\oE\) slack, as a rope
\(talay\ \ieh\ \eta\ ‘m\-eI\oE\) ‘The rope is already loosened/slack’
\(\eta\-eI\oE\) to loosen something or make it slack, as a rope
\(nih\ \eta\-eI\oE\ talay\ \ieh \) ‘He loosened/is loosening the rope’
\(/\text{esi}e/\\)
\(\text{isie}\) was given by someone
\(bup\ \ieh\ isie\ \yen\ kaw \) ‘The book was given to me (by someone)’
\(n\-\text{isie}\) was given by someone
\(anew\ \ay\ n\-\text{isie}\ \nih \) ‘What did he give?’
\(bup\ n\-\text{isie}\ \nih \) ‘He gave a book’ (answer to preceding question)
\(\text{usi}e\) to give something to someone
\(nih\ usie\ bup\ \ieh\ \yen\ kaw \) ‘He gave/is giving the book to me’
\(\yen\ usie\ bup\ \ieh \) ‘Who gave the book (to someone)?’
\(nih\ usie\ bup\ \ieh \) ‘He gave the book’ (answer to preceding question)
\(/\text{eten}/\\)
\(m\-\text{eten}\) to bury
\(nih\ m\-\text{eten}\ pataay\ asaw\ \ieh \) ‘He buried/is burying the corpse of the dog’
\(n\-\text{eten}\) was buried by someone
\(\text{pataay\ asaw\ ie}\h n\-\text{eten}\ \nih \) ‘He buried the corpse of the dog’


### F

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fiëy</td>
<td>rattan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fit</td>
<td>long, of physical objects.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### G

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gaben 1</td>
<td>wooden box used for storing clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaben 2</td>
<td>wooden bellows used in traditional metallurgy (= gaben 1?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gadüë</td>
<td>green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamben</td>
<td>picture (&lt; Malay gambar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganeh</td>
<td>kind of carrying basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganUm</td>
<td>corn, maize (&lt; Malay gandum 'wheat')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaten</td>
<td>itchy (= gatan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaye’</td>
<td>way, manner (&lt; Malay gaya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/getep/</td>
<td>was bitten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gitep</td>
<td>to bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/getin/</td>
<td>was pinched by someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gitep</td>
<td>to pinch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/getin/</td>
<td>to pinch one another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gitep</td>
<td>to bite one another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/getep/</td>
<td>to bite one another</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Malay Words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ne-le’ gaye’ nih musiy mije’ ieh</td>
<td>‘Look at the way he is turning that table around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/getin/</td>
<td>was pinched by someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/getep/</td>
<td>to pinch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/getin/</td>
<td>to pinch one another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/getep/</td>
<td>to bite one another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/getep/</td>
<td>to bite each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/getep/</td>
<td>Those dogs are biting each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/getep/</td>
<td>They pinched/are pinching each other’s arms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bareh kaw</td>
<td>‘He pinched my arm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bareh kaw</td>
<td>‘He pinched/is pinching my arm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>difihi se-getin bareh’</td>
<td>They pinched/are pinching each other’s arms’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guë'</td>
<td>naughty, as a misbehaving child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gule' (1)</td>
<td>arm from elbow to wrist (cf. <em>barah</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gule' (2)</td>
<td>sugar (&lt; Malay <em>gula</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guney</td>
<td>(cf. <em>bulew</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guni'</td>
<td>sack (&lt; Malay <em>guni</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu'</td>
<td>on, against; from; relative pronoun(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guttIlJ</td>
<td>scissors (&lt; Malay <em>gunting</em>; cf. <em>kuttIlJ</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guttIlJ</td>
<td>was cut by someone with scissors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nih</td>
<td>'He cut the rope with scissors'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pany kaw guttIlJ nih saat</td>
<td>'She did a bad job of cutting my clothes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nih nih</td>
<td>to cut with scissors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nih nih</td>
<td>'He cut/is cutting the rope with scissors'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nih nih suë' kaw</td>
<td>'He cut/is cutting my hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iibet/</td>
<td>to turn something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-iibet</td>
<td>was turned by someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-iibet</td>
<td>to turn oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sel-iibet</td>
<td>behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iibin</td>
<td>parents-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-iibin</td>
<td>to stay with one's parents-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idih</td>
<td>3pl: they, them; other people (cf. <em>lew</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idin</td>
<td>to hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-idin</td>
<td>to be heard by someone; able to hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-idin</td>
<td>'Could you hear him calling just now?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaw k-idin new lew ye-ladiw</td>
<td>'I could/can hear what they are shouting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ieh</td>
<td>that, those; there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iëññ</td>
<td>gills of a fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ifih</td>
<td>2p dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igum</td>
<td>field hut, temporary shelter used while working in the fields (cf. <em>silAAP</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikaat</td>
<td>ray of light, as from the sun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2

**iket**
- **iket nih maron** ‘His tying (of something) is loose (not tight)’
- **ne-le’ gaye’** iket nih ‘Look at his way of tying!’

**m-iket**
- to tie
  - **nih m-iket kacew ket** ‘He tied/is tying up the firewood (into a bundle)’

**n-iket**
- was tied by someone
  - **kacew ket n-iket nih** ‘He tied up the firewood (into a bundle)’

**sep-iket**
- to tie one another
  - **difih sep-iket** ‘They tied each other up’

**ilaak**
- scar, cicatrix

**ilei’**
- piece of something that is broken (cf. bilei’, silei’)
  - **nih mudun ilei’ butun ieh** ‘He is gathering the pieces of broken bottle’

**illaw**
- **i. telaw** 2p paucal (cf. semuë’ illaw)

/inaat/
- **m-inaat**
  - to climb; to rise, of a river (cf. sumaat)
    - **nih m-inaat asin** ‘She climbed/is climbing a ladder’
    - **nih m-inaat lat ieh** ‘He climbed/is climbing that mountain’
  - was climbed by someone
    - **asin n-inaat nih** ‘She climbed a ladder’
    - **let ieh n-inaat nih** ‘He climbed that mountain’
    - **anew pay n-inaat nih** ‘What did he climb to get?’ (asked, e.g. of someone who has just climbed a fruit tree)

’inaa’
- was done by (someone), was made (by someone)
  - **kerusI’ difih kadih ieh inaa’ nih danai’** ‘She put those two chairs closer together’

**i. pay**
- why?
  - **inaa’ pay nawi dëh tupen tIn ieh** ‘Why didn’t you cover that can?’

**inéén**
- to want, desire (< Malay ingin)

**ipaa’**
- **seu’ i.**
  - armpit

**iraat**
- vein, vessel

**irep**
- k.o. wasp (= irap)

**isej**
- ant

/isep/
- **m-isep**
  - to drink
    - **nih m-isep sei’** ‘He is drinking water’

- **n-isep**
  - was drunk by someone
    - **sei’ n-isep nih** ‘He drank the water’

/isit/
- **man-m-isit**
  - pull it!
    - **man-m-isit talay ieh** ‘Pull the rope!’
to pull

ñih m-isit bataaŋ 'He pulled/is pulling a log'
ñih m-isit talay 'He is pulling a rope'

m. saaw
to breathe

n-isit
was pulled by someone
bataaŋ n-isit ñih 'He pulled the log'
talay ieh n-isit ñih 'He pulled the rope'

sel-isit
to pull each other

sep-isit
to pull each other
difih sel-isit/sep-isit 'They are pulling each other'

sel-isit talay
tug-of-war

sep-isit talay
tug-of war

itaaw
long ago, in former times (cf. melefen, melehum, uneh)
itée'
domestic duck

k-en-iték
was tickled by someone

anaak ieh k-en-iték ñih 'He tickled that child'

η-iték
to tickle

ñih η-iték anaak ieh 'He tickled/is tickling that child'

sek-iték
to tickle one another
difih sek-iték 'The two of them are tickling each other'

iti'
small

itoë'
mind, intellect, character

c ei' itoë
generous

m-itoy
to swing something, to push someone on a swing

ñih m-itoy anaak ieh 'He pushed/is pushing the child on a swing'

n-itoy
was pushed on a swing by someone

anaak ieh n-itoy ñih 'He pushed the child on a swing'

sep-itoy
to swing back and forth (as a rope from a tree branch, child on a swing)

anaak ieh sep-itoy 'That child is swinging (himself)'

J

jaccei'
a promise (< Malay janji)

be-jaccei'
to promise

jadi'
to become (< Malay jadi)

jake'
during, when

jareŋ
seldom; have wide spaces between the knots, of a net (< Malay jarang)
jeu’ far
jey chin, jaw
jiêm watch, clock (< Malay jam)
jin gaol (< English ‘gaol’)

K

/kaan/
kan-en cooked rice (cf. berey, padey)
k-in-aan was eaten by someone
kan-en k-in-aan ņih ‘She ate some rice’
k-um-aan to eat
ņih k-um-aan kan-en ‘She eats/is eating rice’
ŋe-le’ gaye’ ņih k-um-an ‘Look at how he eats!’
k-um-aan kan-en ‘Eat the rice!’
man-pa-kaan feed him/her!
man-pa-kaan anaak ieh ‘Feed that child!’
naa-kaan was fed by someone
anaak ieh n-a-kaan ņih ‘She fed the child’
pa-kaan to feed, as an animal or a child
ņih pa-kaan anaak ieh ‘She fed the child’
kaa’ a raucous black bird, the crow (cf. manö’)
kabin beetle
kabun garden (not a cultivated field) (< Malay kebun)
kaccen peg or short support used to steady a housepost
kaccen button (< Malay kancing)
k-en-accen was buttoned by someone
seluën ņih k-en-accen ņih ‘He buttoned his trousers’
ŋaccen to button
ņih ŋaccen seluën ņih ‘He buttoned/is buttoning his trousers’
kaceñ peanut (= kacan; < Malay kacang)
kacew wood, tree
kaciëw to disturb
ņih kaciëw kaw ‘He disturbed/is disturbing me’
k-en-aciëw was disturbed by someone
kaw k-en-aciëw ņih ‘He disturbed me’
kadey direction of falling, direction of being put down
li’ ņeh raay kadey kacew ieh ‘In which direction will the tree fall?’
k-en-adey was put down to sleep, as a child
anaak ieh k-en-adey ņih ‘She put the child down to sleep’
m-adey to fall down, to topple, as a tree
    kacew ieh m-adey 'The tree fell down'

man-kadey put it down! cut it down!
    man-kadey kacew ieh 'Cut down that tree!'

ηadey to put someone down to sleep, as a child
    nih ηadey anaak ieh 'She put/is putting the child down to sleep'

kadih numeral classifier used to count most referents, including leaves,
    seeds, flowers, trees, fruit, birds; used optionally for humans next to
    tulew, and apparently not allowed with names of animals. Noun
    may precede or follow numeral + classifier (cf. belujon, tulew)
    paat kadih anaak 'four children'
    limeh kadih buie 'five flowers'
    paat kadih dun kacew 'four leaves'
    dufih kadih kacew 'two trees'
    kerusI 'dufih kadih 'two chairs'
    telaw kadih lujon puttay 'three bananas'
    paat kadih manoë 'four birds'
    limeh kadih sai 'five seeds'
    paat kadih turay 'four women'

/kafet/
    kafet2 to catch a glimpse of someone or something
    kafie black frying pan; copper cooking pot used for vegetables (< Malay
        kawang; cf. lajen)
    kafih (cf. kifih)
    keh interrogative marker, sentence-final marker of a question
    kakaak a bird, the large blue-crested kingfisher (cf. mattay)

/kakaap/
    k-en-akaap was groped for by someone
        sabun nih mañet k-en-akaap nih 'He groped for his soap (which)
            sank'
    ηakaap to grope for something, as in the dark or under water
        nih ηakaap sabun nih mañet 'He groped/is groping for his soap,
            (which) sank'

kalaay a dance, the ngajat (traditional Bornean dance form)
    ηalaay to dance the ngajat
    kalét bat sp.
    kaliñ k.o. short, thick banana (cf. puttay; kelatat, tanduk, ucit)
    kallaw (cf. killaw)
    kalot mixed together, stirred together
        uei ieh kalot ron gule 'This salt is mixed with sugar'
        k-en-alot was mixed or stirred together by someone
            gule' k-en-alot nih ron sei nih 'He stirred sugar into his water'
    ςalot to mix things together, stir together
        nih ςalot gule' ron sei nih 'He stirred/is stirring sugar into his water'
kamay (cf. kiteh)
kapaan thick, as a plank
kapaay to hang something up

\[
\textit{ni\text{n}h kapaay pe\textit{n} nih gu' dirig} '\text{He hung/is hanging his shirt on the wall}'
\]

k-en-apaay was hung up by someone

\[
\textit{pe\textit{n} nih k-en-apaay nih gu' diri} \text{g} '\text{He hung his shirt on the wall}'
\]

\[
\eta\text{apaay to hang something up}
\]

\[
\textit{ni\text{n}h \eta\text{apaay pe\textit{n} nih gu' dirig} '\text{He hung/is hanging his shirt on the wall}'
\]

NOTE: The sentences with \textit{kapaay} and \textit{\eta\text{apaay}} are identical in structure, and were said to be identical in meaning.

kapay to fetch something from the water and bring it to shore

\[
\textit{ni\text{n}h kapay bataan ieh dibin latt} \text{H} '\text{He pulled/is pulling the log to the side of the raft}'
\]

k-en-apay was fetched from the water by someone

bataan ieh k-en-apay \textit{ni\text{n}h} 'He fetched the log from the water'

\[
\eta\text{apay to fetch something from the water and bring it to shore}
\]

\[
\textit{ni\text{n}h \eta\text{apay bataan ieh dibin latt} \text{H} '\text{He pulled/is pulling the log to the side of the raft}'
\]

NOTE: The sentences with \textit{kapay} and \textit{\eta\text{apay}} are identical in structure, and were said to be identical in meaning.

ka\textit{pek} axe (< Malay kapak; cf. biguë, kataam)

\textit{\eta\text{apek to cut with an axe}}

\[
\textit{ni\text{n}h \eta\text{apek kacew ieh} '\text{He cut/is cutting the wood with an axe}'
\]

k-en-apek was cut by someone with an axe

\[
\textit{kacew ieh k-en-apek nih} '\text{He cut the wood with an axe}'
\]

kap\textit{iën} ship (< Malay kapal)

kapuk silk cotton, kapok (< Malay kapok)

kapun camphor (< English ‘camphor’)

kasaaw rafter

kasay to sneeze

kas\textit{ut} shoes

ket

kacew k. firewood

kataam (1) crab (cf. kucew)

kataam (2) wood plane (< Malay ketam)

\textit{\eta\text{ataam to work wood with a wood plane}}

\[
\textit{ni\text{n}h \eta\text{ataam kacew ieh} '\text{He worked/is working that wood with a wood plane}'
\]

k-en-ataam was worked by someone with a wood plane

\[
kacew ieh k-en-ataam nih '\text{He worked that wood with a wood plane}'
\]

kat\textit{in} bed (< Malay katil ‘bedstead’)

katoë (1) to let something go on a current, to set something adrift, as a boat

\[
\textit{ni\text{n}h katoë alot kaw 'He set my boat adrift'}
\]
k-en-atoë was set adrift, was released on a current
   alot kaw k-en-atoë nih ‘He set my boat adrift’
man-katoë set it adrift, let it go on the current!
   man-katoë alot ieh ‘Let the boat go on the current!’
m-atoë carried away on a current, adrift
   alot kaw m-atoë ‘My boat is adrift’
katoë (2) porcupine
kaw 1sg. I; my
   mateh kaw ‘my eye’
kawen friend (< Malay kawan)
kebepe’ butterfly
kebepepet firefly
kebibuł cockroach (cf. kebipeh)
kebipeh cockroach (cf. kebibuł)
kebulih
   k. sei’ whirlpool (cf. lisoł)
keburenp k.o. black flying insect that bores into wood (carpenter bee?)
kedacen forehead
/kkekep/ was hung up by someone
   gamben ieh kikep nih gu ‘diriè ‘He hung the picture on the wall’
   nih kikep gamben ieh gu ‘diriè ‘He hung the picture on the wall’
kukep to hang something up
   kéew kukep gamben ieh gu ‘diriè ‘Don’t hang that picture on the wall!’
man-kukep hang it up!
   man-kukep gamben ieh gu ‘diriè ‘Hang that picture on the wall!’
kelabaaw carabao, water buffalo (< Malay kerbau)
keladei’ grasshopper
kelanaan empty, as a container
   man-nelanaan empty it!
   man-nelanaan tin ieh ‘Empty that can!’
kelanien thin, slender, of people (= kelangan)
kelasun stuck in the throat, of food that will not go down
   nih kelasun tulaay putaa ‘He has a fishbone stuck in his throat’
kelataat paper (< Malay kertas)
kelatet k.o. very small banana (cf. puttay, kaliŋ, tanduk, ucit)
kelecih work, occupation (< Malay kerja)
   anew pay kelecih nih ‘What is his occupation?’
   nih kelecih pulot ‘He taps rubber (for a living)’
   nih kelecih pulot ‘He has gone to work tapping rubber’
jelecih to go to work
   nih jelecih pulot ‘He has gone to work tapping rubber’
kelep leap from a high place
   nih kelep ate’ucwe kacew ‘He jumped from the top of the tree’
/kelep/
  k-en-elep was wiped by someone
  mije’ ieh k-en-elep nîh ‘He wiped that table’
  ñelep to wipe
  nîh ñelep mije ‘He is wiping the table’
kelepêt a bird, the rice sparrow
keleput was spit out, was ejected from the mouth
  daglî ieh keleput nîh ‘He spit out the meat’
  ñeleput to spit out, eject from the mouth
  nîh ñeleput daglî ieh ‘He spits/spitting out the meat’
kelét small insectivorous bat, cave bat (cf. pafiet)
kelin sleeping area, bedroom
ekelpaan centipede (cf. buiè)
keliteh to forget; to be forgotten (= kaliteh)
  kaw keliteh kup kaw ‘I forgot my book’
  kup kaw keliteh kaw ‘I forgot my book’
kelitet small white louse, possibly nit (cf. kutew, lieh)
kelufì ginger
kemamaan uncle, FB, MB (cf. keminaan)
kematek leech (= kematak)
keminaan aunt, FZ, MZ (cf. kemamaan)
kena vegetable
keneh correct (cf. lurUt)
keneu’ like, similar to (cf. keran)
/kepaat/ k-en-epaat was tapped, was extracted, of rubber, etc.
  anew pay k-en-epaat nîh ‘What did he tap/extract?’
  pulot k-en-epaat nîh ‘He tapped rubber’ (answer to the preceding question)
  ñepaat to tap rubber (cf. naruk)
  nîh ñepaat pulot ‘He is tapping rubber’
kepen (1) coffin (< English ‘coffin’)
kepen (2) invulnerable (< Malay kebal)
keren like, similar to (cf. keneu’)
kerubuñ shell
kerusI’ chair (< Malay kursi)
/kesay/ k-en-esay was sliced by someone
  baka ieh k-en-esay nîh ‘He sliced up the pig’
  ñesay to slice
  nîh ñesay baka ieh ‘He sliced/is slicing up the pig’
man-ñesay slice it!
  man-ñesay baka ieh ‘Slice up that pig!’
kesén  
strong, forceful, as a kick, a behavioral pattern, or one's efforts
nih ieh kesén nikup 'He is a strong smoker' (i.e. he smokes a lot)

/kesét/  
kiset  
was pressed, was squeezed
bareh kaw kiset nih 'He squeezed my arm'

kusét  
to press, to squeeze, as juice from a fruit
nih kusét bareh kaw 'He squeezed/is squeezing my arm'

ma-kuset  
pressed, squeezed
ηaaan nih ma-kuset 'He arm was squeezed/pressed (as when caught in a machine)'

se-kuset  
to squeeze one another
djih se-kuset bareh 'They are squeezing each other's arms'

/ketaan/  
k-en-etaan  
seêt nih k-en-etaan nih 'He is able to endure his pain'

tenetaan  
to stand, bear, suffer, endure, as pain
nih adi' tenetaan seêt nih 'He is able to endure his pain'

ketet  
k. amen  
ridgepole of a longhouse

kéén  
clothing (< Malay kain)

kéew  
vetative, don't

kibih  
long four-sided carrying basket worn on the back (cf. bakUn, lage')

kicet  
lightning

/kidep/  
k-en-idep  
was blinked (voluntary action), was turned on and off, of a light source
mateh nih k-en-idep nih 'He blinked his eyes (deliberately)'
lapuŋ pict nih k-en-idep nih 'He flashed his flashlight on and off'

kidep2  
to blink (involuntarily); to flicker, of flames
mateh nih kidep-kidep 'His eyes are blinking' (as when emerging into bright sunlight, or when smoke blows into one's face)

ηidep  
to blink (deliberately)
nih ηidep mateh nih 'He blinked his eyes'

kifih  
(cf. kafih)

kikén  
wood file (< Malay kikir)

killaw  
(cf. illaw, kallaw)

kini  
K.O. large, sweet mango (cf. lunon, palam)

/kiñim/  
(cf. añim)

k-en-iñim  
as tasted by someone
kan-en ieh ge 'k-en-iñim nih 'She has tasted her rice already'

kiñim2  
to pick at one's food, to taste a little of this and a little of that
nih k-um-aan kiñim-kiñim 'She is picking at her food, eating a little of this and a little of that'

ηiñim  
to taste, as food
nih piñim kan-en ieh 'He tasted/is tasting the rice'

kiraay  
eyebrow (cf. bulew)
Chapter 2

**kire’**
to think, to want or intend (< Malay kira; cf. pikén)

**be-kire’**
to think

**kire’2**
calculations, arithmetic; I think

**kiteh**
(cf. kamay)

**kiten**
to know

**kucew**
small freshwater crab sp. (cf. kataam)

**kucit**
vegetable

**kude’**
horse (< Malay kuda)

**kudih**
how much/how many? (cf. sekudih)

**kudun**
a plant, k.o. creeper

**kufeh**
owl

**kufiē**
flat, level (cf. lata’)

**kufit**
length (cf. fit)

**kukot**
well, source of water

**kulaat**
mushroom

**kulaaw**
to measure

**kulaay**
the clouded leopard; mottled pattern on leopard skin

**kule’**
hiccups

**kulé’t**
skin, bark of a tree

**k. kacew**
bark of a tree

**k. munoē**
lip

**k-en-ulē’t**
was skinned, was removed, of tree bark

**kacew ieh k-en-ulē’t nīh**
‘He removed the bark from that tree’

**man-nulē’t**
remove the bark!

**nulē’t**
to remove the bark from a tree, ring a tree

**nīh nulē’t kacew**
‘He is removing the bark from a tree’

**ne-le’ gaye’**

**nīh nulē’t kacew ieh**
‘Look at the way he is removing the bark from that tree’

**kun**
low rumbling thunder (cf. setén)

**kuniē**
yellow (< Malay kuning)

**kuṇit**
turmeric (< Malay kunyit)

**kupi**
coffee (< English ‘coffee’ or Malay kupi)

**kuraaŋ**
insufficient (< Malay kurang)

**kura’u**
to sit

**nīh kurau’ anaak ieh** ‘She put/is putting the child down to sit’

**k-en-uraau’**
was put down to sit

**anaak ieh k-en-uraau’ nīh** ‘She put the child down to sit’

**kutew**
hair louse (kelitet, lieh)

**kuttīlī**
cutting with scissors (< Malay gunting; cf. guttlī)

**kuttīlī nīh saat** ‘Her cutting is bad’ (e.g. of someone who is not skillful at handling scissors)
### Kiput–English vocabulary

**k-en-uttly** was cut by someone with scissors

*talay ieh k-en-uttly nih* 'He cut the rope with scissors'

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### L

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>laat</em></td>
<td>blowpipe dart (cf. <em>seput, tacem</em>)</td>
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<td><em>laay</em></td>
<td>male, of humans, man (cf. <em>manaay</em>)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>labet</em></td>
<td>loincloth</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ke-labet</em></td>
<td>was made to wear a loincloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ne-labet</em></td>
<td>to wear a loincloth; to make someone wear a loincloth</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>labeu</em></td>
<td>pumpkin (cf. <em>lujon</em>)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>labie</em></td>
<td>running</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pe-labie</em></td>
<td>to run</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>labue</em></td>
<td>prow of a boat</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>lacun</em></td>
<td>poison (&lt; Malay <em>racun</em>)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ke-lacun</em></td>
<td>was poisoned by someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ne-lacun</em></td>
<td>to poison someone or something</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ladei</em></td>
<td>swampy forest, boggy ground in the rainforest</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ladiet</em></td>
<td>bald</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ladiw</em></td>
<td>voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ne-ladiw</em></td>
<td>to call out, to shout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lafiën</em></td>
<td>rice paddy, wet rice field (cf. <em>padië</em>)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>lage</em></td>
<td>small tapering or conical carrying basket worn on the back (cf. <em>bakUn, kibih</em>)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>lagU'</em></td>
<td>song (&lt; Malay <em>lagu</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>be-lagU'</em></td>
<td>to sing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*nh nih ke-labet nih* 'He made me wear a loincloth'

*nh ne-labet* 'He is wearing a loincloth'

*nh ne-labet kaw* 'He is making me wear a loincloth'

*labie nih ndeh kesen* 'His running isn’t strong' (= he isn’t a fast runner)

*nh ieh pe-labie* 'He ran/is running'

*pe-labie kesen* 'Run fast!'

*nh subei tirëh ron idihi pe-labie* 'He tried to run with them' (as of someone trying to join in a race with faster runners)

*nh be-lagU' lagU'* 'She is singing a song' (cannot be passivized)
lajen < Malay lajang; cf. kafie> copper or iron cooking pot used for rice
lalet housefly
l. akaen bluebottle, horsefly (lit. ‘ghost fly’)
lalun big? (cf. dalaan)
lamaay lively, bustling (< Malay ramai)
lamaat finger
l. miceu’ index finger
lamut (1) root
lamut (2) yeast
lanaa’ pus
/laneh/
ke-laneh was made to wither, was withered by someone
dun ieh ke-laneh nih ‘He made the leaves wither’
me-laneh withered
dun ieh ne’me-laneh ‘The leaves are withered already’
ne-laneh to make something wither
nih ne-laneh dun ieh ‘He made/is making the leaves wither’
lanek relative, kinsman
lanna rapids
lanjet sky
lapiet casting net (cf. puet)
ke-lapiet was caught with a casting net by someone
putaa’ ieh ke-lapiet nih ‘He caught the fish with a casting net’
ne-lapiet to cast a casting net, to catch with a casting net
lew pullau’ ne-lapiet ‘They are going to cast a casting net’
nih ne-lapiet putaa’ ieh ‘They caught/are catching the fish with a casting net’
lappiaw k.o. fish trap (= Malay selambau)
lappu lamp, light (< Malay lampu)
l. picit flashlight (< Malay lampu pijit)
laput cloud
/l’e’/ ne-le’ was seen by someone
turay ieh ne-le’ kaw ‘I saw that girl’
ne-le’ to see
kaw ne-le’ turay ieh ‘I see that girl’
lasau’ hot
ke-lasau’ was heated by someone
sei’ ieh ke-lasau’ nih ‘She heated/boiled the water’
man-ne-lasau’ heat it!
man-ne-lasau’ sei’ ieh ‘Heat up the water!’
sei’ ieh ke-lasau’ nih ‘She heated the water’
m-asau’ hot
Ye-lasau'  to heat, to boil water
ñih ye-lasau' sei' ieh ‘She heated/boiled the water’

lata  milk (cf. sei’)
lataak  flat, as land (cf. kufiè, lataa’)
lataa’  flat, level, as land (cf. lataak, kufiè)

man-ye-lataa’  flatten it! level it!
man-ye-lataa’ tanaa’ ieh ‘Level off that land!’

Ye-lataa’  to flatten something or make it more level
lew ye-lataa’ tanaa’ ieh ‘They leveled the land’

lataw  hundred
me-lataw  one hundred
dufih lataw  two hundred

lattaay  chain (< Malay rantai)
ke-lattaay  was tied with a chain by someone
asaw ieh ke-lattaay ñih ‘He tied the dog with a chain’

Ye-lattaay  to tie something with a chain
ñih ye-lattaay asaw ieh ‘He tied/is tying the dog with a chain’

lattIIj  raft (< Malay lanting)
lay  dry season

lebelem  morning (cf. li’ may)
sagiè2 l.  early in the morning

leciih  ginger
lecin  a fruit, the durian (cf. luçon)
lekih  price (< Malay harga)
kudih lekih bup teh ‘How much does this book cost?’

lem  night
lemaw  fat, grease
me-lemaw  to be fat, corpulent; to be fatty or greasy, as meat (= ma-lemaw)
turay ieh me-lemaw ‘That woman is fat’

leñei’h  current
lepuè  inner part of the rattan
leréé’  cutting, as of grass; partially cleared farmland, swidden land that has
been prepared for planting but not yet planted
leréé’ ñih saat ‘His cutting his bad’ (i.e. he didn’t do a good job of

cutting)
ñey pun leréé’ ieh ‘Whose prepared swidden is this?’

l-i-réé’  was cut by someone, as grass
umeh ieh l-i-réé’ ñih ‘He cut the grass’
l-u-réé’  to cut, as grass
ñih l-u-réé’ umeh ‘He cut/is cutting the grass’

man-l-u-réé’ cut it!
man-l-u-réé’ umeh ieh ‘Cut the grass!’
lesét to exit, leave a place
  *teh ne*’ lesét nawi ‘Where did you exit from?’ (e.g. asking someone what path he took to come out of the jungle)

l-i-sét was released, was allowed to go
  aan ieh l-i-sét nih ‘He let the chicken go’

l-u-sét to go out, to exit
  aan ieh l-u-sét ‘The chicken went out’

man-pa-lesét let it go!
  man-pa-lesét aan ieh ‘Let the chicken go!’

pa-lesét to release, to let something go
  nih pa-lesét aan ieh ‘He let the chicken go’

let mountain (= lat)

/lew/
  l. telaw2 3p paucal
  semu’ lew 3pl (cf. idih)
  léeép whole leg or whole arm, limb of the body
  libew thousand
    me-libew one thousand (= ma-libew)
    dufih libew two thousand
  libin site, location (cf. dibin, nen)
    l. li’ cut behind
  libu’ a fruit, the mountain apple or jambu (cf. lu’jon)
  lido’ dappled, of sunlight (as when the sun is shining but there are many scattered clouds)
  lieh nit, louse egg (cf. kelitet, kute)
  /liem/
  man-pe-liem darken it, make it dark(er)!
    man-pe-liem alem amin ieh ‘Make the inside of the house darker’ (as by lowering the flame of a lamp)
  me-liem dark
    lanjet me-liem ‘The sky is dark’
  pe-liem to make something dark, to obscure the light
    kéeéw pe-liem te’ ieh ‘Don’t get in the way of the light’ (said, e.g. to someone who is standing between a person who is reading and the source of light)
  /lilaat/
  ke-lilaat was stuck out at someone, of the tongue
    anaak ieh ke-lilaat nih ‘He stuck out this tongue at the child’
  ńe-lilaat to stick out the tongue at someone
    nih ńe-lilaat ńan anaak ieh ‘He stuck out/is sticking out his tongue at the child’
  limeh five
  linay son-in-law, daughter-in-law (cf. anaak)
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lipeh
  snake
  *l. tuew*
  python
lipen
  tooth (= lipan)
/liraw/
  *ke-liraw*
  was put near a fire to warm up
  *anaak ieh ke-liraw tineh nih* ‘The child’s mother put it near the fire to keep warm’
  *ye-liraw*
  to sit near a fire to keep warm
  *turay ieh ye-liraw* ‘The woman is sitting near a fire to keep warm’
liray
  scale of fish or reptile
li’
  to come, to go
  *li’ cuy*
  go there!
  *li’ may*
  evening (cf. lebelem)
  *li’ nay*
  come here!
  *li’ seu’*
  to go down, descend
  *li’ sié’*
  to go down to the river
  *li’ soot*
  to go upriver
  *li’ teh*
  come here!
lisaa'y
  fishing pole, line and hook
  *ke-lisaa'y*
  was caught with line and hook, of a fish
  *putaa' ieh ke-lisaa'y nih* ‘He caught that fish with line and hook’
  *ye-lisaa'y*
  to fish with line and hook
  *nih ye-lisaa'y* ‘He is fishing with line and hook’
lisoë
  whirlpool, eddy in the river (cf. kebulih)
lite'
  earthworm
/litep/ (1)
  *ke-litep*
  be heard, be listened to; be understood by someone
  *new manoë' be-lagU' kelitep nih* ‘He listened to the birds singing’
  *ye-litep*
  to hear, to listen to; to understand
  *nih ye-litep new manoë' be-lagU'* ‘He listened to the birds singing’
  *nih ye-litep new tamah nih* ‘He listened to what his father said’
  *adi’ naw ye-litep new kaw* ‘Can you understand what I said?’
/litep/ (2)
  *litep2*
  partially submerged, as wood in the river
liut
  dust
loë
  opening
  *l. cew*
  river mouth, estuary
  *l. ubek*
  door
lubië
  hole (cf. ubië)
  *ke-lubië*
  to be perforated
  *kacew ke-lubië nih* ‘He made/is making a hole in the wood’
make a hole in it! perforate it!

*man-ge-lubi* 'Make a hole in that wood!'

*Ye-lubi* to make a hole, as in wood

*nih ye-lubi* 'He made/is making a hole in the wood'

*lubie* bend in a river

*lufie* tide, tidal rise in the river

*lufiey* a bird similar to the Argus pheasant (cf. *tebun*)

*lug* loss, as in a commercial transaction (< Malay *rugi*)

*ludot* shin (cf. *betti, pupun*)

*lumaa* playing

*lumaa* 'nih saat' 'His playing is bad (i.e. rough)'

*se-lumaa* to play (with one another)

*lumaaan* in front of (cf. *ibi*)

*ke-lumau* was softened by someone

*puttay ieh ke-lumau* 'nih She softened/is softening the banana' *man-

*ye-lumau* soften it!

*man-ye-lumau* 'puttay ieh' 'Soften that banana/make that banana

softer!'

*me-lumau* soft, as a ripe fruit (cf. *tui*')

*puttay ieh me-lumau* 'That banana is soft'

*ye-lumau* to soften something, make something softer

*nih ye-lumau* 'puttay ieh' 'She softened/is softening the banana' (as by

mashing it)

*lujon* fruit, nut, vegetable

1. *abi* ilipe nut

1. *belimbi* the star fruit: *Averrhoa carambola*

1. *kini* k.o. large sweet mango

1. *labeu* pumpkin

1. *lecin* durian

1. *libu* a fruit, the mountain apple or jambu

1. *medu* papaya

1. *metai* fruit with hairy rind, k.o. small rambutan

1. *pelem* k.o. small sweet and sour mango

1. *petabey* pineapple

1. *sibaw* fruit with hairy rind, k.o. large rambutan

1. *taka* jackfruit

1. *timun* cucumber

*lupaa* to overflow (cf. *matep*)

*lupay* a dream

*ye-lupay* to dream

*kaw ye-lupay lem une* 'I had a dream last night, I dreamt last night'

*lurUt* correct, accurate (< Malay *lurus*; cf. *kenah*)
lusoe  ringworm
lutée to float (cp. katoë)

M

maak shallow
maaj red
maa’ (1) Father (add.)
maa’ (2) to scale a fish, pluck a chicken
ne-maa’ 
kaw maa’ putaa’ ieh ‘I scaled/am scaling the fish’
was scaled/was plucked by someone
putaa’ ieh ne-maa’ kaw ‘I scaled the fish’

maa’ (3) to whet, to sharpen
nihmaa’ uppét ieh ‘He is sharpening that knife’
ʃeew maa’ uppét ieh ‘Don’t sharpen that knife!’

man-maa’ sharpen it!
man-maa’ uppét ieh ‘Sharpen that knife!’
NOTE: Possibly the same morpheme as maa’ ‘to scale a fish’

maat gold (< Malay emas)
macen to reflect, flash, as someone reflecting sunlight with a mirror
makaaw to walk (cf. pullau’, umaaw, useu’)
kaw makaaw ‘I’m walking’
makét eel
makin the more ... the more (<Malay makin...makin)
makin nupew makin buduh ‘The more you talk to him (i.e. give him advice) the stupider he becomes’
mameŋ mute
mammét to jump with surprise, to be startled
manaay male, of animals (cf. laay, tinah)
manítén to lift, raise up
manna’ to defecate (cf. taai’)
manoë’ bird
m. kaa’ a raucous black bird, the crow
m. sedadin a black, long-legged, long-necked water bird that feeds on fish
maŋ bumblebee (cf. mutét, nusuret)
maray eight
maren primary forest (= maran; cf. naw)
maron loose, not tight, of binding
masa to wipe with a damp cloth (cf. murot)
masem sour (= masam)
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<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>masén</td>
<td>sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masin</td>
<td>to faint, swoon, pass out (cf. melesih, pacey)</td>
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<tr>
<td>masot</td>
<td>to penetrate, as a knife or spear penetrating flesh or wood</td>
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<td>mataa’</td>
<td>raw, unripe</td>
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<tr>
<td>mataa’ (2)</td>
<td>crossbeam in a house</td>
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<tr>
<td>mateh</td>
<td>eye</td>
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<td>m. raaw</td>
<td>sun (lit. ‘eye of the day’)</td>
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<tr>
<td>matep</td>
<td>to flood (cf. lupaa’)</td>
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<td>mattay</td>
<td>a bird, the small blue-crested kingfisher (cf. kakak)</td>
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<td>may</td>
<td>(cf. li’)</td>
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<tr>
<td>meciië’</td>
<td>clever, skillful at doing something</td>
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<tr>
<td>medue’</td>
<td>papaya (cf. luJon)</td>
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<tr>
<td>melait</td>
<td>cold, as the weather</td>
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<tr>
<td>melehum</td>
<td>long ago, in ancient times (cf. itaaw, melefen, uneh)</td>
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<tr>
<td>melepey</td>
<td>lazy, indolent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melesey</td>
<td>to be loose, as a knot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melipay</td>
<td>‘The rope is coming loose’ (from being tied)</td>
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<tr>
<td>melesih</td>
<td>near death, in a condition where one is unable to eat, speak or move, comatose (cf. masin, pacey)</td>
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<td>meletaw</td>
<td>salty</td>
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<tr>
<td>ňih umaau ‘kan-en ieh meletaw ‘She made the food salty’</td>
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<tr>
<td>melipay</td>
<td>thin, of paper, cloth, etc. (cf. kelajen)</td>
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<tr>
<td>meluhen</td>
<td>old, of people (cf. itaaw, melehum, uneh; also heard as melefen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menaan</td>
<td>nephew, niece (cf. anaak)</td>
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<tr>
<td>menasaan</td>
<td>to regret (&lt; Malay menyesal)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ňih menasaan aki ňih ndéh belajen kesén ‘He regrets that he did not study hard’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>mejei’</td>
<td>to throw something away, discard something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-mejei’</td>
<td>throw it away!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meñit</td>
<td>to snag, to catch on something, as a fishhook or a net being drawn in</td>
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<td>lapiët kaw meñit ‘My casting net caught on something’</td>
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<tr>
<td>meriem</td>
<td>large cannon (Malay meriam; cf. battin)</td>
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<tr>
<td>metai’</td>
<td>fruit with hairy rind, k.o. small rambutan (cf. luJon; sibaw)</td>
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<td>méé’</td>
<td>goat</td>
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<tr>
<td>méh</td>
<td>gloss?</td>
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<tr>
<td>kudih s-en-ema’ naw méh ‘How much did you borrow?’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>mije’</td>
<td>table (&lt; Malay méja)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mitem</td>
<td>black (= mitam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moy</td>
<td>foolish (cf. paloy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muñiëw</td>
<td>to doubt, to disbelieve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulaa’</td>
<td>mad, insane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munén</td>
<td>civet cat (described as ‘fox’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munoe</td>
<td>mouth</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
mu'upaw
  m. naan  thumb
murot  to ebb, to recede, of a river
mutét  honeybee (cf. maŋ, nusuret)
  sei' mutét  honey
mutoē  edge, as of paper, a table, etc.

N

naan  to have (cf. pun)
  ŋih naan uppét seret 'He has a sharp knife'
  kaw naan lupay lem une' 'I had a dream last night'
nadih  no, nothing
naruk  to tap rubber (cf. kepaat)
  ŋih naruk pulot 'He is tapping rubber'
naw (1)  spinning? (cf. baroy)
  (2)  secondary forest (cf. maren)
  (3)  2sg., you; your
  mateh naw 'your eye'
nay  this, these; here (cf. cuy)
ndēh  no, not (= ndeh)
nem  six
nen  place (cf. libin)
ne'  which, which one?
new (1)  quotative particle, according to (someone)
  ŋih tirēh sekulah new ŋih 'He said that he wants to go to school'
new (2)  sound, noise
nibue  nibong palm
nin  to use; with (instrumental)
nipa'  nipa palm
nulaŋ  work (cf. pullau')
nusop  to pour
nusuret  k.o. bee (cf. maŋ, nusuret)
η

ηaan  hand
ηaa’  already
ηaay  ‘He has already turned the table around’
ηake’  to yawn
ηaay  ‘These leaves have already been burned’
ηata  to spread apart, of elongated objects joined at one end, as tweezers or
the legs
man-ηake’  spread it apart!
ηeleh  a shortcut
ηeleh  ‘He took/is taking a shortcut’
ηelaraat  monitor lizard (cf. tek)
ηelusaan  to go against, as a current, to oppose
ηeh  ‘He is going against the current’
ηen  at, to; marker of verbal complements (not locative or directional)
ηen  ‘He is talking to the girl’
ηetuë  deaf
ηilaw  unbearable sensation, as when hearing someone scratch his fingernails
on a blackboard, or a strange sensation in the teeth, as when eating
something very sour
ηii  to turn (body or head); rock a boat to empty it of water (η-ii?)
ηiet  cicada
ηim  cicada
ηim  to taste (cf. aîm)

ñ

ñeh  where? (cf. atak; also recorded as ñe’)
ñeh  ‘Where is he?’
ñet  a cough
ñey  who?
ñey  ‘Who turned that table around?’
ñet  to cough
ñet  to cough
ñi  other, different
ñii  3sg, he, she, it; his, her, its
ñi  ‘his/her/its eye’
ñii  bundle, package
ñi  ‘His/her/Its eye’
ñuë’  to bundle, wrap up
man-ñuë’  wrap it up!
paaw
fer
pacey
a heap, a pile
to heap, to pile up, as wood
teh macek ket te h piled/is piling up the firewood'
acek
was piled up by someone
teh n acek teh h piled up the firewood'
pacin
weak, exhausted from hunger; to faint, pass out (cf. masin, melesih)
padek
a bird: white egret or heron
padey
small bit of broken rice grain
padië
riceplant, rice in the field (cf. berey, kan-en)
padië
uncultivated field, meadowland (cf. lafiën)
pafét
wing
pafiën
to walk or talk in one’s sleep
pafiët
large, edible fructivorous bat, the flying fox (cf. kelët)
pai'
nine
/pakih/
makih
to knock something away, knock something out of one’s hand
teh makih guni te h h threw/is throwing unwanted things into that sack’
teh makih ulet gu te h a knoccked a caterpillar from his little brother’s hand’
nek
was knocked away by someone
guni te h makih teh h h threw unwanted things into that sack’
se-pakih
to knock something away from one another
difih se pakih aki ulet te h ‘They are knocking caterpillars off each other’
pakin
to fence in, to make a fence around something
neh makin amën teh h h fenced/is fencing in his house’
nakin
was fenced in by someone
kahew te h nakin teh h ‘He put a fence around that tree’
pakU'
iron nail (< Malay paku)
makU'
to nail something
neh makU kerušl teh h h nailed, is nailing his chair’ (i.e. to repair a loose chair leg, etc.)
n-akU'
was nailed by someone
kerušl teh n akU teh h ‘He nailed his chair’
palaang
cross-seat in a boat
paleh
a paddle
palay
footprint (cf. tesei’)

paloë’

to tell a lie
\( \text{n}\text{ih ieh selalu paloë’ ‘He is always telling lies’ (with maloë’ this sentence would be incomplete, as it would require an object or verbal complement)} \)

maloë’

to lie to someone
\( \text{n}\text{ih maloë’ ‘He lied/is lying to me’} \)

n-aloë’

was lied to by someone
\( \text{kaw n-aloë’ ‘He lied to me’} \)

paloy

stupid (cf. belakaan, moy)

pana

to cook (cannot mean ‘to boil water’); thing cooked
\( \text{upay a\text{nm} pana n\text{aw} une ‘How does the thing that you cooked just now taste?’} \)

mana

to boil, as water, meat or vegetables (cf. lasau’)
\( \text{n}\text{ih mana sei ‘She is boiling water’} \)

n-ana

\( \text{n}\text{ih mana kucit ieh ‘She boiled/is boiling the vegetables’} \)

man-mana

boil it!
\( \text{man-mana kucit ieh ‘Boil the vegetables!’} \)

papiim

beginning of weaving (cf. pasiw)
\( \text{paniim ni\text{h} saat ‘Her initial weaving is bad’ (i.e. the way she started her weaving is not skillful)} \)

mañim

to begin weaving something
\( \text{n}\text{ih mañim tepen ieh ‘She is beginning/has begun to weave the mat’} \)

n-añim

has been started by someone, of weaving
\( \text{tepaa\text{n} ieh n-añim ni\text{h} ‘She has begun to weave the mat’} \)

papaa’

bunch (of fruit), ear (of corn); numeral classifier for bunches of fruit
\( \text{telaw papaa’ lujon puttay ‘three bunches of bananas’} \)

/paraat/

maraat

to hit with the hand (vertical stroke)
\( \text{n}\text{ih maraat mije ‘He hit/is hitting the table’} \)

n-araat

was hit with the hand
\( \text{mije’ n-araat ni\text{h} ‘He hit the table’} \)

se-paraat

\( \text{difih se-paraat ‘The two of them pounded/are pounding each other’} \)

paraaw

scratching
\( \text{paraaw ni\text{h} saat ‘His scratching is bad’ (i.e. ‘He doesn’t know how to scratch’)} \)

maraaw

to scratch an itch
\( \text{n}\text{ih maraaw cut kaw ‘He scratched/is scratching my back’} \)

n-araaw

was scratched by someone
\( \text{cut kaw n-araaw ni\text{h} ‘He scratched my back’} \)

paroët

hoarse

paroy

sewing
\( \text{paroy ni\text{h} saat ‘Her sewing is bad’} \)
maroy  to sew  
\(\text{ni}h \text{ maroy pe}j \text{ kaw} \) ‘She sewed/is sewing my clothes’

n-aroy  was sewed by someone
\(\text{pe}j \text{ kaw n-aroy }\text{ ni}h \) ‘She sewed my clothes’

paséé’  wood chip, splinter; drop of splashing water
maséé’  to splash water
\(\text{ni}h \text{ maséé’ sei’ ieh pullau’ kaw} \) ‘He splashed the water on me’

n-aséé’  was splashed on someone, of water
\(\text{sei’ ieh n-aséé’ ni}h \text{ pullau’ kaw} \) ‘He splashed the water on me’

pasié’  splitting (evidently distinct from paséé’)
\(\text{pasie’ ni}h \text{ saat} \) ‘His splitting is bad’ (i.e. ‘He doesn’t know how to split things properly’)

masié’  to split, as firewood
\(\text{ni}h \text{ masié’ kacew} \) ‘He is splitting firewood’

n-asié’  was split by someone
\(\text{kacew n-asié’ ni}h \) ‘He split some firewood’

pasiw  weaving (cf. pañim)
\(\text{pasiw }\text{ ni}h \text{ saat} \) ‘Her weaving is bad’ (i.e. she is unskilful at weaving)

masiw  to weave
\(\text{ni}h \text{ masiw lage’} \) ‘She wove/is weaving a basket’

n-asiw  was woven by someone
\(\text{lage’ ieh n-asiw ni}h \) ‘She wove this basket’

paat  four
pataak  star
patai’  broken
\(\text{kacew ieh patai’} \) ‘This stick is broken’ (no reference to external agency)

k-atai’  to break something, as a branch (cf. puton)
matai’  to break, as a stick or a branch
\(\text{ni}h \text{ matai’ kacew ieh} \) ‘He broke/is breaking the stick’

n-atai’  was broken by someone, as a stick
\(\text{kacew ieh n-atai’ ni}h \) ‘He broke the stick’ (cf. anew, inaau’)

pay  umbrella (< Malay payung)
payuë  horsefly, bluebottle
pecet  to carry on the back
\(\text{ni}h \text{ pei’ yan kaw} \) ‘He carried me on his back’

pei’  was carried on the back by someone
\(\text{kaw ne-pei’ ni}h \) ‘He carried me on his back’

peken  to put someone to sleep, as a child
\(\text{ni}h \text{ peken anaak ieh} \) ‘She is putting the child to sleep’

man-peken  put him/her to sleep!
\(\text{man-peken anaak ieh} \) ‘Put the child to sleep!’
meken  to sleep
difih meken ‘The two of them are sleeping’
pullau’ meken ‘Go to sleep!’

n-eken  was put to sleep by someone
anaak ieh n-eken ŋih ‘She put the child to sleep’

pela  broom
man-mela  sweep it!
meta  to sweep
ŋih mela raat ‘She swept/is sweeping the floor’
pila  was swept by someone
raat ieh pila ŋih ‘She swept the floor’

peleh  throwing
peleh ŋih saat ‘His throwing is bad’ (i.e. he misses the mark, etc.)
to throw
ŋih meleh bataw ‘He threw/is throwing stones’
n-eleh  was thrown by someone
bataw n-eleh ŋih ‘He threw a stone’

se-peleh  to throw things at one another
difih se-peleh bataw ‘The two of them are throwing stones at each other’

pelakay  eagle
pelakep  spring-set cage trap for rats, squirrels and other small animals (cf.
belatée’, tesie’, ubie se’lirai’ = pelakep)
pelanoé’  mousedeer: Tragulus kanchil (cf. takay, telaaw)
pelanoy  to swim
pelem  k.o. small sweet and sour mango (cf. lujon; kini)
pelinay  a bird, the swallow
pelirey  housepost
peloé’  bladder; balloon
p. putaa’  fish bladder
penau’  full, as a container
pey  clothes, clothing, shirt (= pay)
peyadei’  glass; mirror
peyast  rice wine in a ceramic container with a straw for communal sipping
peylén  rudder of a boat (< Malay pengulin)
peñew  sea turtle, river turtle

/m-u-put/  to sting, as a bee
muté ieh m-u-put ŋen ŋih ‘A bee stung/is stinging him’

/n-i-put/  was stung, as by a bee
ŋih n-i-put muté ieh ‘A bee stung him’

peraa’  rain
/peron/

meron to blow, of a person or the wind
   \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{n}ih meron saap}}}} 'He blew/is blowing on the fire'

n-eron was blown on
   \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{saap n-eron \textit{n}ih}}} ‘He blew on the fire’

se-peron to blow on one another
   \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{difih se-peron}}} ‘The two of them blew on each other’

pesei’ stinging, smarting, of a wound, the eyes, etc.

pesek nasal mucus

peset (1) to cry so hard that the voice is lost, of a child

peset (2) to dive, to submerge (cf. \textit{\textit{\textit{ma\-n}et})
   \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{n}ih peset barej ieh}}} ‘He dived/is diving for the things’ (to retrieve
   the things)

n-eset was dived for by someone
   \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{barej ieh n-eset \textit{n}ih}}} ‘He dived for the things’

peseu’ bile, gall, gall bladder

pesé’ freshwater shrimp

pesih hitting (cf. \textit{\textit{\textit{pu\-pu\-e}})
   \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{pesih \textit{n}ih sandi\-tim}}} ‘His hitting is very hard’

ma-k-esih to be hit or knocked down by a blow
   \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{kaw ma-k-esih}}} ‘I was hit, knocked down (as by an accidental blow
   when trying to intercede between two other people who were
   fighting)’

man-musih hit him! hit it!
   \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{man-musih \textit{n}ih}}} ‘Hit him!’

mesih to hit
   \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{n}ih mesih kaw}}} ‘He hit/is hitting me’

misih to hit (TB)
   \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{n}ih misih \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{yen}kaw}}} ‘He hit/is hitting me’

musih to hit
   \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{n}ih musih kaw}}} ‘He hit/is hitting me’

n-esih was hit by someone
   \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{kaw n-esih \textit{n}ih}}} ‘He hit me’

n-i-sih was hit by someone
   \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{kaw n-i-sih \textit{n}ih}}} ‘He hit me’

pisih was hit by someone (TB)
   \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{kaw pisih \textit{n}ih}}} ‘He hit me’

se-pesih to hit one another
   \textit{\textit{\textit{\textit{difih se-pesih}}} ‘They hit/are hitting each other’

pesit to separate, divorce

petaam first cousin (cf. \textit{\textit{\textit{ta\-dey})

peu’ heart, heart of banana

péét bitter
borrowing

kudih piciem naw ‘How much did you borrow?’ (lit. ‘How much was your borrowing?’)

miciem
to borrow (same object returned, as a book; cf. sema’)

nih miciem bup kaw ‘He borrowed my book’

n-iciem
was borrowed by someone

bup kaw n-iciem nih ‘He borrowed my book’

piciem
(< Malay pijit; cf. lapuñ)

pideñ
upright, of a post

mideñ
to place upright, as a post

nih mideñ pelirey ieh ‘He placed/is placing the housepost upright’

n-ideñ
was placed upright by someone, as a post

pelirey ieh n-ideñ nih ‘He placed the housepost upright’

/pidië/

midië
to hang something up, as a picture

nih midië gamben ieh ‘He hung/is hanging the picture up’

n-idië
was hung up by someone, as a picture

gamben ieh n-idië nih ‘He hung the picture up’

se-pidië
to hang oneself, as in committing suicide

nih se-pidië gu’ kacew ieh ‘He hanged himself on the tree’

pië’
(cf. sei’)

pikaan
plate (< Malay pinggan)

piken
think (< Malay pikir; cf. kire’)
piken kaw ‘I think that…’

miken
to think

miken kaw uneh ‘Think first (before doing something)’

piñet
cheek

pirek
silver (< Malay pirak)

piren
to rest, take a break

pucew
request, command; ask someone to do something

nih pucew lew pullau ‘pa-kaan babuy ‘He asked/is asking them to go and feed the pigs’

n-ucew
was asked to do something

lew pullau ‘pa-kaan babuy n-ucew nih ‘He asked them to go and feed the pigs’

/pucut/

mucut
to pick up with the fingers

nih mucut beré ieh (a)te’ alem tln ‘He is picking the rice grains from the can’

n-ucut
was picked up with the fingers by someone

beré ieh n-ucut nih (a)te’ alem tln ‘He picked the rice grains from the can’
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<th>Kiput–English vocabulary</th>
<th>83</th>
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<td><strong>pudue</strong></td>
<td><em>pudue nih saat</em> ‘Her counting is bad (i.e. inaccurate)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mudue</strong></td>
<td>to count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>n-udue</strong></td>
<td><em>nih mudue butin ieh</em> ‘She counted/is counting the coconuts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>puedun</strong></td>
<td>was counted by someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mudun</strong></td>
<td><em>butin ieh n-udue nih</em> ‘He counted the coconuts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>n-udun</strong></td>
<td>to gather (intrans.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>puet</strong></td>
<td><em>lew ieh pudun nen</em> ‘They gathered/are gathering in one place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>puien</strong></td>
<td>to gather (trans.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>/pujI’/</strong></td>
<td><em>nih mudun kacew ieh silaan pasey</em> ‘He gathered/is gathering the wood into one pile’</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>mujl’</strong></td>
<td>was gathered by someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>n-ujl’</strong></td>
<td><em>kacew ieh n-udun nih silaan pasey</em> ‘He gathered the wood into one pile’</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>se-pujl’</strong></td>
<td>navel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>puket</strong></td>
<td>squirrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>muket</strong></td>
<td>to praise (&lt; Malay <em>me-muji</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>n-uket</strong></td>
<td><em>nih mujl’ kawen nih</em> ‘He praised/is praising his friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>se-pujl’</strong></td>
<td>was praised by someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>puket</strong></td>
<td><em>kawen nih n-ujl’ nih</em> ‘He praised his friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>muket</strong></td>
<td>to praise one another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>n-uket</strong></td>
<td><em>difih se-pujl’</em> ‘They praised/are praising each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>puken</strong></td>
<td>dragnet (probably &lt; Malay <em>pukar</em>, cf. <em>lapiet</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pulaaw</strong></td>
<td>to cast a dragnet, to catch with a dragnet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pulai’</strong></td>
<td><em>nih pullau’ muket</em> ‘He is going to cast a dragnet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pulau’</strong></td>
<td><em>nih muket putaa’ ieh</em> ‘He caught/is catching the fish with a dragnet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>p. silaay</strong></td>
<td>was cast by someone, of a dragnet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>p. pulau’</strong></td>
<td><em>putaa’ ieh n-uket nih</em> ‘He caught the fish with a dragnet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>p. se-lumaa’</strong></td>
<td>stump of a tree that has been cut down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>p. kelecih</strong></td>
<td>to carry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>p. nulaan</strong></td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>p. silaan</strong></td>
<td>eleven (never <strong>p. sih)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>p. pullau’</strong></td>
<td>to go; to, on (in serial verb constructions; cf. <em>makaaw, umaaw, useu’</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>p. nulaan</strong></td>
<td>to go to work (in town)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>p. se-lumaa’</strong></td>
<td>to go to work (traditional)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>se’ ieh nasée’ nih pullau’ kaw</strong></td>
<td>‘He splashed water on me’ (lit. ‘The water was splashed by him (and) went to me’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>/pulloë/</strong></td>
<td>to play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mulloë</strong></td>
<td>to hunt using weapons (cf. <em>η-asaw</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>n-ulloë</strong></td>
<td>*nih mulloë belufi‘He hunted/is hunting bears’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>n-ulloë</strong></td>
<td>was hunted using weapons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>belufi‘ n-ulloë nih</em> ‘He hunted a bear’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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se-pulloë  to hunt one another, hunt each other down
difih se-pulloë ‘They are hunting each other down (to kill each other)’

pulot  latex, rubber
p. terep  bird lime

mulot  to catch birds with bird lime
nih mulot manoë ‘He is catching birds with bird lime’

n-ulot  was caught with bird lime
manoë’ ieh n-ulot nih ‘He caught the bird with bird lime’
pun (1)  to have, to own
ney pun hup tah ‘Whose book is this?’
pun (2)  base, foundation, beginning, origin
p. kacew  base of a tree, place where a tree emerges from the ground

/puñeuf/  to push
muñeuf’  nih muñeuf’ kaw ‘he pushed/is pushing me’
n-uñeuf’  was pushed
kaw n-uñeuf’ nih ‘He pushed me’

se-puñeuf’  to push one another
difih se-puñeuf’ ‘The two of them are pushing each other’
pupuë’  hitting (cf. pesih)
pupuë’ nih sandi’ sandi’ tim ‘He hits very hard’ (lit. ‘His hitting is very hard’)

mupuë’  to hit
nih mupuë’ kaw ‘He hit/is hitting me’
n-upuë’  was hit by someone
kaw n-upuë’ nih ‘He hit me’
pupun  thigh, leg from knee to hip (cf. beti, lulot)
puraan  hearth, fireplace (cf. baleh)
puraa’  foam, suds, from churning water or from soap (cf. berih)
puron  to pay out rope
purot  rubbing
purot nih saat ‘His rubbing is not good (he cannot rub properly)’
rub it!

man-murot  man-murot akem nih ieh ‘Rub his leg!’ (as with liniment)

murot  to rub in, as ointment into the skin (cf. masa)
nih murot nnaa nih nin aüe ‘She is rubbing his hand with ointment’
ney murot nnaa nih ‘Who rubbed his hand?’
n-urot  was rubbed in, as ointment
nnaa nih n-urot kaw ‘I rubbed his hand’ (answer to preceding question)

pusin  turn something around (< Malay pusing)
upay gaye’ ilaw pusin atek lubuë ‘How did you (three or more) turn your boat around at the bend of the river?’
**musiŋ**

to turn something around

ȵih musiŋ mije ‘He is turning the table around’

**n-usiŋ**
to have been turned around, was turned around

mije’ iah n-usiŋ ųih ‘He turned that table around’

**put**

smoke

**putaa’**

fish

**putai’**

white

**puttay**

banana

p. abey

pineapple (often shortened to petabey; lit. ‘Brunei banana’; cf. lujon)

p. kalų

k.o. short, thick banana

p. kelatet

k.o. very small banana

p. tanduk

k.o. long banana (< Malay pisang tanduk)

p. ucit

smallest type of banana

**putiŋ**
nipple of the breast

**puton**

broken, as a bone or a branch (cf. matai’)

din kacew ieh puton ‘That tree branch is broken’

**muton**
to break, as a bone or a piece of wood (implies use of a parang or other
tool rather than the bare hands)

ȵih muton kacew ieh ‘He broke/is breaking the wood’

n-uton

was broken by someone

kacew ieh n-uton ųih ‘He broke the wood’

---

**R**

/raan/

**man-ye-raan**

make it lighter!

**me-raan**

light in weight; quick, fast

**ye-raan**
to make something lighter, as by removing part of a load

**raat**

floor

**raay**
direction (cf. ųeh)

**rajın**
hard-working, industrious (< Malay rajin)

**raw**

(cf. alem)

**réet**
sand

**roē**
nose

**roē’**

chest (anatomical)

**ron**

and; with
saaap  fire
   saaat  bad
   saaw (1)  anchor (< Malay sauh)
   saaw (2)  breath
   saaw (3)  small stinging ant-like insect
   saay  frog
   sabey  sister’s husband (add.); apparently both m.s. and w.s. (cf. balat, sabiēy)
   sabiēy  sister’s husband (ref.); apparently both m.s. and w.s. (cf. balat, sabey)
   sabip  because (< Malay sebap)
   sabUn  soap (< Malay sabun)
   ñabUn  to soap something, to wash something with soap
   tulew  ‘He soaped/is soaping his body’
   s-en-abUn  was soaped by someone, was washed with soap by someone
   tulew  ‘He soaped his body’
   sadei’  grandparent
   s. laay  grandfather
   s. turay  grandmother
   safeh  wife
   sagiē (1)  early
   sagiē (2)  very early
   sa’ (1)  seed
   s. bataw  kidney
   sa’ (2)  snail
   sakkau’  spoon, ladle
   ñakkau’  to spoon or ladle something out
   kena te’ alem pikaan  ‘She spooned/is spooning the vegetables from the plate’
   s-en-akkau’  was spooned out by someone, was ladled out by someone
   kena te’ alem pikaan  ‘She spooned the vegetables from the plate’
   sakon  hoe (< Malay caṇkul)
   ñakon  to hoe
   ñih  ‘He hoed/is hoeing the earth’
   s-en-akon  was hoed by someone
   pikaan  ‘He hoed the earth’
   sakop  to grasp, to take firm hold of, to embrace
   difih  ‘The two of them embraced/are embracing’
**nakop**
to grasp, to take firm hold of, to embrace

*niḥ nakop bataaŋ ieh jake* 'niḥ tiriēh maṇet 'He caught hold of the log when he was about to drown’

**s-en-akop**
was grasped by someone, was embraced by someone

*bataaŋ ieh s-en-akop niḥ 'He caught hold of the log’

**salaan**
glowing coal, ember (cf. areŋ)

**sallp**
cross (< Malay salip)

**nallp**
to cross, to put in a cross-shape

*niḥ nallp kacew ieh 'He crossed/is crossing the sticks’

**s-en-allp**
were crossed, were put in a cross-shape'

*kacew ieh s-en-allp niḥ 'He crossed the sticks’

**saloy**
transform, metamorphose, change state (= seloy)

**sanaan**
married couple

**silaaŋ sanaan**
husband and wife

**sandí’**
intensifier, very (cf. tu’unaw)

**sañey**
to tease, torment

**sapaaw**
roof

**man-ñaapaaw**
put a roof on it!

*man-ñaapaaw amēn ieh 'Put a roof on that house!’

**ñaapaaw**
to roof a house, put on a roof

*niḥ ñaapaaw amēn 'He put/is putting the roof on a house’

**s-en-apaaw**
was roofed by someone

*amēn ieh s-en-apaaw niḥ 'He put the roof on that house’

**sapétt**
to reach the opposite side (of a road, river, etc.)

**sapł**
cow (< Malay sapi)

**sattin**
to lean against

**ñaattin**
to lean something against

*niḥ ñaattin tepan ieh gu ‘kacew 'He leaned/is leaning the mat against a tree’

**s-en-attin**
was leaned against something by someone

*tepan ieh s-en-attin niḥ gu 'kacew 'He leaned the mat against a tree’

**say** (1)

**say beti**
calf muscle

**say** (2)
sago flour

**sèbuteu’**
penis

**sedadin**
k.o. water bird (cf. manoē’)

**sedirl’**
one: reflexive pronoun; one another: reciprocal pronoun (< Malay sendiri)

*diśih ye-sēē yēn diśih sedirl’ 'They are laughing at each other’

**sei’**
water

**k-en-e-sei’**
was watered by someone

*buśē’ ieh k-en-esei’ niḥ 'She watered the flowers’
Chapter 2

*yse* to sprinkle water on something

*nih yse* buie' ieh 'She is watering the flowers'

*nih ndeh mecie* *yse* buie' 'He is not good at watering flowers'

**man-ye-sei** sprinkle water on it/them!

*man-ye-sei* buie' teh 'Sprinkle some water on these flowers!'

*s. lata* mother's milk, breast milk (cf. tusu)

*s. m-tdai* a reverse current (as when there is a bend in the river that causes part of the current to flow back upstream)

*s. pi* urine

**sekadey** to lie down

**sekerit** pull-ups (as on a bar)

keew sekerit te' ieh 'Don't do pull-ups there'

**sekiie** tall, as a person or a tree

**sekin** a tree

**sekudih** when? (cf. kudih)

**sekuleh** school (< Malay sekolah, from Portuguese escola 'school')

**sekulett** k.o. small, gray, long-beaked bird that stays near the river bank

**selalu** always (< Malay selalu)

**selaraaw** placenta

**s. anaak** selfish, stingy, unwilling to share

ñelem to be selfish or possessive with someone, to act in a selfish way

*nih ñelem anaak nih* 'He is being selfish with his child' (as of someone who won't let another person adopt his child)

*nih ñelem bup nih* 'He is being selfish with his book' (i.e. won't lend it to someone who wants it, etc.)

**seliep** to whisper (cf. p-upew)

**seloy** beeswax

**seliuieen** shorts, trousers (< Malay seluar, from Persian)

**selutoe** a tree (= Malay jelutong)

**semaa** (1) blood

**semaa** (2) to borrow, of things returned in kind, as rice, money (cf. piciem)

ñemaa to borrow

bulih kaw ñemaa' berey naw 'May I borrow some rice from you?'

difih s-el-emaa' berey 'The two of them borrowed rice from each other'

s-en-emaa' was borrowed from someone

bery nay s-en-emaa' naw 'Whose rice did you borrow?'

bery nih s-en-emaa' kaw 'I borrowed his rice'

**semuie** all (< Malay semua)

**s. illaw** 2pl., all of you

**s. uie** 2pl., all of you

**sen** animal
Kiput–English vocabulary

1) sejirai'  

pitfall trap (cf. lubiè)

2) seepa' (1) 

betal quid

was chewed by someone, of betel nut

to chew betel

nih iah supa' 'He is chewing betel nut'

seepa' (2) 

cockscomb

seput 

blowpipe (cf. laat, tacem)

/serep/ 

sirep 

was burned by someone

dun kacew sirep nih 'He burned leaves'

surep 

to burn something

nih surep dun kacew 'He burned/is burning leaves'

seret 

sharp

ndéh seret 

dull, blunt

seru' 

a snore

nej-seru' 

to snore

setelay 

vulva, vagina (cf. téén)

setén 

thunderclap (cf. kun)

seu' 

short in height; underneath (cf. cuè, dipi')

séé 

a laugh

séé niìh dacih new 'His laugh is very loud'

k-en-e-séé 

was laughed at

kaw k-en-e-séé nih 'He laughed at me'

nej-séé 

to laugh at someone

nih nej-séé yen kaw 'He is laughing at me'

sééti 

pain

anew pay sééti 'What is the pain/what pain are you feeling?'

sibaw 

(scf. lujon)

sidut 

sipping

sidut nih keneu' sidut babuy 'He sips like a pig' (lit. 'His sipping is like a pig's sipping')

nídut 

to sip, suck

nih nídut penyasi 'He is sipping rice wine'

s-en-idut 

was sipped or sucked by someone

penyasi s-en-idut nih 'He sipped rice wine'

sié' 

(cf. li')

síh 

one (in serial counting, but not with higher numerals; cf. silaŋ)

sikoë' 

gibbon

sikup 

tobacco, cigarette

pe-níkup 

a smoker, someone who smokes a lot

sekip-in 

smoking pipe

silaŋ 

one (in expressions of quantity; cf. sìh)

s. toon 

one year
silaap  
/hsilaa/  
lick it!

nilaa'  
to lick

asaw ieh nilaa' alem pikaan ‘That dog licked/is licking out the plate’

s-en-nilaa'  
was licked by someone

pikaan ieh s-en-nilaa' asaw ‘That dog licked out the plate’

sileh  
dazzling, dancing with light

silaw  
fingernail, toenail

silei'  
to split (intrans.; cp. bilei’, ilei’)

buleu’ ieh silei’ ‘The bamboo is splitting (by itself)’

-niliei’  
to split something, as wood or bamboo

nih niliei’ buleu’ ieh ‘He split/is splitting that bamboo’

s-en-ilieli’  
was split by someone

buleu’ ieh s-en-ilieli’ nih ‘He split that bamboo’

sipek  
to kick (< Malay sépak)

sipek nih kesën ‘His kick is strong/forceful’

man-nilipek  
kick it!

-nilipek  
to kick

nih nilipek bun ieh ‘He kicked/is kicking that ball’

s-en-iipek  
was kicked by someone

bun ieh s-en-iipek nih ‘He kicked that ball’

sipin (1)  
side, as of the body

sipin (2)  
both sides (of the body, etc.)

soë  
rice mortar (cf. tepah)

soot  
upriver (cf. ta sei’)

subei’  
to taste, to try (< Malay coba)

subu  
to cover, as food that has been put away for storage

nih subu kan-enieh ‘She covered/is covering the food’

s-en-ubu  
was covered by someone

kan-en ieh s-en-ubu nih ‘She covered the food’

sudut  
a comb

man-niludut  
comb it!

-niludut  
to comb

nih niludut sue’ nih ‘She combed/is combing her hair’

s-en-niludut  
to be combed by someone

sue’ nih s-en-niludut nih ‘She combed her hair’

suë’  
head hair (cf. buluw)

/suët/ (1)  
(=suët (2) ?; cf. teppey)

-niluët  
to try to fell, try to cut down, as trees

nih niluët kacew ieh ‘He tried/is trying to cut the tree down’

s-en-niluët  
kacew ieh s-en-niluët nih ‘He tried to cut the tree down’
suiët (2) a wound
ñuiët to wound
ñih ñuiët baka ieh ‘He wounded the wild boar’
s-en-uiët was wounded by someone
baka ieh s-en-uiët ñih ‘He wounded the wild boar’
sulië cockfight (cf. bulië)
ge-sulië to fight cocks
sumaat to climb, as a ladder (also recorded as sumaak; cf. m-inaat)
ñih sumaat asin ‘She climbed/is climbing a ladder’
s-en-umaat was climbed by someone
asin ieh s-en-umaat ñih ‘She climbed a ladder’
sunai’ spinning top
suraat letter; writing (< Malay surat)
man-ñuraat write it!
ñuraat to write
ñih ñuraat suraat ieh ‘He wrote/is writing the letter’
s-en-uraat was written by someone
suraat ieh s-en-uraat ñih ‘He wrote that letter’
surei’ to wash dishes, to clean, as a house (cf. madu’, nusot)
ñih surei’ amin ‘She is cleaning the house’
surei’ amin ‘Clean the house!’

s-en-urei’ was cleaned by someone
amin s-en-urei’ ñih ‘She cleaned the house’
suruë’ to be swamped by a wave, as someone in a small boat
sutuë to carry on the shoulders between two people, as in hauling a log
difih sutuë pulai’ kacew ieh ‘The two of them carried/ are carrying the
log on their shoulders’ (of two people carrying a log, one person at
either end)
s-en-utuë was carried by two people working together, as a log being hauled
kacew ieh s-en-utuë difih ‘The two of them carried the log on their shoulders’

NOTE: sutuë reportedly cannot be used without pulai’, although
s-en-utuë can.
sutun mock battle before leaving on war expedition (old custom)

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T

(a = te”)?
t, sei’ downriver (cf. soot)
taa’ feces, excrement
taan  

bamboo basket trap for fish

tabun  
a quarrel; to quarrel with someone

nih tabun yen tameh nih ‘He quarreled/is quarreling with his father’

nabun  
to make people quarrel with one another

nih selalu nabun kamay ‘He is always making us quarrel with each other’

t-en-abun  
was quarreled with, was the object of quarrelsome behavior

tameh nih t-en-abun nih ‘He quarreled with his father’

tacem  
blowpipe poison (cf. laat, seput)

tade’  
to deny

nih tade’ gu’ anew inaau’ nih ‘He denied what he had done’

tadey  
younger sibling (cf. tukah)

t. petaam  
first cousin, FBC, FZC, MBC, MZC

tadih  
natural cockspur (cf. buliē)

takaa’  
jackfruit (cf. lunjon)

takay  
the largest type of deer in Borneo, Cervus equinus (cf. pelanoē’, telaaw)

takey  
traditional haircut, made by cutting around an inverted bowl placed over the head

talay  
string, rope

nalay  
to make string or rope

nih nalay talay sunai ‘He is making string for spinning tops’

was made by someone, of string or rope

talay t-en-alay nih ‘He made some string/rope’

talom  
deep

nalom  
to make something deeper, to deepen

nih nalom ubiē ieh ‘He made/is making the hole deeper’

tameh  
father

tamben  
a patch (< Malay tambal)

namben  
to patch, as tattered clothing

tineh namben penj kaw ‘Mother patched/is patching my shirt’

was patched by someone

penj kaw t-en-amben tineh ‘Mother patched my shirt’

tanaa’  
earth

tanduk  
k.o. long banana (cf. puttay; kaling, kelatet, ucit)

tanai’  
eclipse of the sun or moon

tanjay  
cry, weep

tanjay nih sandi’ dacih new ‘His cry is very loud’

nanjay  
to cry, to weep

anaak ieh nanjay ‘That child is crying’

tapaan  
winnowing basket

napaan  
to winnow rice

nih napaan berey ieh ‘She winnowed/is winnowing the rice’
t-en-apaan was winnowed by someone, of rice
  berey ieh t-en-apaan ŋih ‘She winnowed the rice’
tapaay (1) beehive
tapaay (2) fermented rice, used in making traditional rice wine
taréė tusk of a wild boar	
tasaa’ blacksmithing, ironworking (cf. tukey)
  nasa’a’ to forge, of iron
  ŋih nasa’a’ abit ‘He worked/is working iron’ (e.g. to make a parang)
  t-en-asaa’ was worked by someone, of iron
  abit ieh t-en-asaa’ ŋih ‘He worked/forged the iron’
tasay a piece of something, as meat, a plank, etc.
tebanaan scale, instrument for weighing (< Malay timbang-an; cf. tipiē)
tebun a bird, the Argus pheasant (cf. lufiē)
tegeriē rib (cf. tulaay)
teh this, these (cf. li’, nay)
tek gecko, house lizard (= tak; cf. nyelaat)
tekien thread (< Malay gentian)
telaaw smaller type of deer, the kijang or barking deer (cf. pelanoē’, takay)
telaay young shoots
telaw three
temesu the Bornean rhinoceros: Rhinoceros sundaicus
tenai’ intestines (cf. taai’)
t. dacih large intestine (cf. tufiē)
t. inn small intestine
tenaa’ a call, a shout
tenaaw ŋih dacih new ‘His call is very loud’
  man-tenaaaw ŋih ‘Call him!’
se-tenaaaw to call one another
tenaaaw was called by someone
  kaw tenaaaw lew ieh ‘They called me’
tuñaaw to call out to someone (to come)
  lew ieh tuñaaw kaw ‘They called/are calling me’
  kēw tuñaaw ŋih ‘Don’t call him!’
/teñen/
  man-tu-ñen swallow it!
  man-tu-ñen kan-en kaw ‘Swallow your food!’
t-i-ñen was swallowed by someone
  kan-en ieh t-i-ñen ŋih ‘He swallowed his food’
t-u-ñen to swallow
  ŋih t-u-ñen kan-en ŋih ‘He swallowed/is swallowing his food’
tepaan mat
t. baken sleeping mat
tepanay  the first time
tepeh  rice pestle (cf. loë)
    man-tupeh  pound it!
        man-tupeh padey teh 'Pound the rice!'
tipeh  was pounded by someone, as rice
        padey ieh ne' tipeh nih 'She has pounded the rice already'
tupeh  to pound, as rice
        nih tupeh padey 'She pounded/is pounding the rice'
tepek  stabbed, pricked, pierced
        akem kaw tepek durey 'My leg was pricked by a thorn'
    man-tupek  stab it!
        man-tupek baka ieh 'Stab that boar!'
    se-tepek  to stab each other
        difih se-tepek 'They stabbed each other'
tipek  was stabbed by someone
        baka ieh tipek nih 'He stabbed the boar'
tupek  to stab
        nih tupek baka 'He stabbed/is stabbing a boar'
        kew tupek baka ieh 'Don't stab that boar!'
tepen  lid, as of a basket or box
        t. loë ubek  door
    man-tupen  cover it!
        man-tupen tln ieh 'cover that can!'
tipen  was closed by someone
        mateh nih tipen nih 'She closed her eyes'
tupen  to close
        nih tupen mateh 'She closed/is closing her eyes'
        nih tupen tln ieh 'He covered the can'
        tina-n nih umaau' anaak nih tupen mateh 'The child's mother made
            him close his eyes'
        tupen mateh 'close your eyes!'
tepen  felling of trees
    man-tuppen  fell it!cut it down!
        man-tuppen kacew ieh 'Cut down that tree!'
tippen  was felled by someone
        kacew tippen nih 'He felled some trees'
        anew pay tippen naw 'What did you cut down?'
tuppen  to fell trees
        nihuppen kacew 'He is felling trees'
        kewuppen kacew ieh 'Don't cut down that tree!'
        neyuppen kacew ieh 'Who cut down that tree?'
te’ at
‘te’ ieh there
tera ironwood tree
terei’ pregnant
terep tree with fruit similar to breadfruit and a sticky sap used as birdlime
to be knocked or pinned down by a falling tree

tesaa’ laay ieh tesaa’ kacew ‘That man was knocked down by a falling tree’
to knock someone down, of a falling tree

nesaa’ kacew ieh nesaa’ laay ieh ‘That tree knocked the man down’ (i.e. when it toppled)
tesei’ mark made by stepping, footprint (cf. palay)

se-tesei’ to step on one another
difih se-tesei’ akem ‘They stepped on one another’s feet’
tisei’ was stepped on by someone
akem kaw tisei’ ni[h ‘he stepped on my foot’
tusei’ to step on
ni[h tusei’ akem kaw ‘he stepped on my foot’ (answer to the question ‘Who stepped on your foot?’)
tesek to enter the ground (as a javelin that lands sticking in the ground)
teseew sugarcane
tesië’ noose trap, used for birds and small game (cf. belatée’, pelakep, ubie sejirai’)
tesue’ cape of land, peninsula
tetek cut, as rope or wood (= tetak)

man-tutek talay ieh tetek ‘The rope/string is cut/broken’
cut it! break it!
man-tutek talay (iah) ‘Break the string!’
netek to cut, break, as wood or rope
ni[h netek talay ieh ‘He broke the string’
titek was cut/broken by someone
talay ieh titek ni[h ‘He broke the string’
tutek to cut, break, as wood or rope
ney tutek talay ieh ‘Who cut the rope/who broke the string?’
kaw tutek talay ‘I cut/am cutting the rope’
téen vulva, vagina (cf. setelai’)
ticeu’ egg

‘ticeu’ to pass something to someone
ni[h ‘ticeu’ bisin yen kaw ‘He passed/is passing the container to me’
was passed to someone
bisin ‘ticeu’ ni[h yen kaw ‘He passed the container to me’
pointing
‘niceu’
ticeu’ to point out or at, to indicate
ni[h ‘niceu’ bilun ieh ‘He pointed out/is pointing out the airplane’
i[h ‘niceu’ yen kaw ‘He pointed/is pointing at me’
t-en-iceu’ was pointed out by someone
kaw t-en-iceu’ ťih ‘He pointed at me’
ticew elbow
ticin belly, abdomen
ticip a fan	
tilam mattress (< Malay tilam)
tim hard, with reference to the force of a punch or other blow
timun cucumber (cf. *lopun*)
tineh mother; female, of animals

/tipiën/
tipiën to weigh
niipiën ťih niipiën putaa’ ieh ‘He weighed/is weighing the fish’
t-en-ipiën was weighed by someone
putaa’ ieh t-en-ipiën ťih ‘He weighed the fish’

/tipu’/
tipu’ to play a trick on someone, deceive
niipu’ ťih niipu’ ieh kaw ‘He played/is playing a trick on me’
t-en-ipu’ was tricked by someone, was deceived
kaw t-en-ipu’ ťih ‘He played a trick on me/he deceived me’
tiraaay vine, creeper
tirêh to want, desire, will (future, or intended action)
kaw tirêh umaw ‘I want to go’
asaw ieh tirêh mataay ‘That dog is about to die’ (lit. ‘That dog wants to die’)
tisêê finger ring
titai’ female breast
tln tin can, metal container (< English ‘tin’)
tolot to fly (= tulot)

nolot manoê’ ieh tolot ‘That bird flew/is flying’
t-en-olot was allowed to fly, was made to fly
manoê’ ieh t-en-olot ťih ‘He let the bird fly (free)’
toon year
toot sewing needle
tot (1) fart
tot (1) ŭe-tot to fart
tot (2) kneecap?
tukau’ tot knee (lit. ‘head of the knee’)
tubih fish poison, *Derris elliptica*
nubih to stun fish by spreading pulverized *Derris* root in the river
lew nubih cew ieh ‘They poisoned/are poisoning the river with *Derris* root’
were stunned by poison, of fish

t-en-ubih

cew ieh t-en-ubih lew 'They poisoned the river with Derris root'

tuceu'

ten

tudey

to drop dead on the spot, as an animal when shot

tuew (1)

python (cf. lipah)

tuew (2)

right side (cf. abie)

tufih

large intestine (cf. tenaai', dacih)

tuguk

beak, bill

tuię'

hard, of substances (cf. me-lumau')

nuie'

to harden something

lew nuie' pulot ieh 'They let/are letting the rubber harden'

man-nuie'

harden it!

man-nuie' pulot ieh 'Harden the rubber/let the rubber harden!'

was hardened by someone

pulot ieh t-en-uię' lew 'They let the rubber harden'

tuju'

goal, course

tukaan

grave

tukeh

elder sibling (cf. tadey)

t. laay

elder brother

t. turay

elder sister

tukej

craftsman (< Malay tukang)

t. tasaa'

blacksmith

tuket

walking stick, prop, support (= tukat)

man-nuket

prop it up!

nuket

to prop something up

nių nuket kacew ieh 'He propped/is propping up the tree'

t-en-uket

was propped up by someone

kacew ieh t-en-uket nių 'He propped up the tree'

tukin

dibble stick

tulaaŋ

bone

t. tegerię

rib

tulaa'

cataract of the eye (cf. bule')

tulet

to come to grief because of disrespect toward one's elders

tulew

body; numeral classifier for people

paat tulew anaak 'four children'

dufih tulew turay 'two girls, two women'

tulit

writing

tulit nių saat 'His handwriting is bad/illegible'

nulit

to write

nių nulit suraat ieh 'He wrote/is writing the letter'

kaw nulit suraat yen nių 'I wrote/am writing a letter to her'
t-en-ulit was written by someone
  \textit{anew pay t-en-ulit nay \textit{yen} \textit{niih}} ‘What did you write to her?’
  \textit{suraat ieht-en-ulit niih} ‘He wrote the letter’
  \textit{suraat t-en-ulit kaw \textit{yen} \textit{niih}} ‘I wrote a letter to her’ (answer to the preceding question)

tuloë helping efforts, attempts to help
  \textit{tuloë niih saat} ‘His efforts to help were not good (bungled)’
  \textit{tuloë niih} ‘He helped me’

\textit{tuloe} was helped by someone
\textit{kaw t-en-uloë niih} ‘He helped me’

\textit{tumët} heel
\textit{tunaan} to hold on to something, refuse to let something go
  \textit{niih tunaan barej ieh} ‘He is holding on to those things’ (i.e. doesn’t want to give them to anyone else)

\textit{tu’unaw} truth; intensifier, very, really (often shortened to \textit{tunaw}; \textit{cf. sandi’})
\textit{tu’unuk} small, young (= \textit{iti’unuk})

\textit{anaak t.} young child

\textit{turay} female, woman

\textit{/tusot/}
\textit{man-nusot} wash them!
  \textit{man-nusot pe\textit{yn} kaw} ‘Wash my clothes!’
\textit{nusot} to wash clothes (\textit{cf. madu’, surei’})
  \textit{niih nusot pe\textit{yn}} ‘She is washing clothes’
\textit{t-en-usot} was washed, were washed
  \textit{pe\textit{yn} niih t-en-usot niih} ‘She washed her clothes’

\textit{tusu} store-bought milk, cow’s milk (< Malay \textit{susu}; \textit{cf. lata, sei’})

\textit{tusun} to jump or leap up and down
  \textit{niih tusun} ‘He is jumping up and down’ (as in excitement or joy)

\begin{center}
\textbf{U}
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\textit{ubek (1)} room, space
\textit{lu\textit{e\textit{b}} ubek} doorway (often shortened to \textit{lobek})
\textit{ubek (2)} popped rice, roasted rice
\textit{ubey} manioc, tapioca (< Malay \textit{ubi kayu})
\textit{ubië} hole (\textit{cf. lubië})
\textit{u. buen} anus
\textit{u. seji\textit{ra}’} pitfall, used to catch large animals such as wild boars
ubit medicine (< Malay ubat)
ubut palm cabbage, as the tips of the nibong palm
ucit (1) smallest type of banana (cf. puttay; kaliñ, kelatet, tanduk)
ucit (2) small dark-colored long-tailed monkey, probably langur (cf. besue’)
ucue extremity, tip, top, as of a tree (cf. cué)
udo’ carved wooden design, as a canoe prow ornament
uei’ salt
/uek/ m-uek to enter
lew m-uek alem amin ‘They entered/are entering the house’
lew umau’ bulun ieh m-uek alemjin ‘They put/are putting that person in jail’
n-uek was entered by someone
amin ieh n-uek lew ‘They entered the house’
bulun ieh n-uek lew alemjin ‘They put that person in jail’
ukau’ head
ukeñ horn, as of a deer or buffalo (< Long Terawan Berawan ukeñ)
ukon luck (< Malay ukur)
ukkon tie rope for a boat
ulaat rattan hand guard on a parang
/ulaI’/ man-m-ulai’ go back home!
m-ulai’ to return, go home, go back the way one has come
sek-ulai’ to go to and fro from one’s home
/uleI’/ sei’ ulei’ saliva
m-ulei’ to spit
sel-ulei’ to spit at one another
difih sel-ulei’ ‘The two of them are spitting at each other’
ulet maggot, caterpillar (= ular)
ulon life
man-p-ulon man-p-ulon saap ‘Light a fire!’
m-ulon to live; living, alive
se-p-ulon to live by oneself
s. sedirl’‘ to make, to do
umeh grass
umaau’ ŋih umaau’ kaw m-adek turay ieh ‘He made me kiss that girl’
ŋih umaau’ seluiën ŋih mitem ‘He made his shorts black’ (i.e. dyed them)

NOTE: Possibly the active counterpart of inaau’, from a common base aau’, and fossilization of earlier shapes of the infixes *-um- and *-in-.
umaaw  to go (cf. makaaw, pulau’, useu’)
unaan  pillow
uneh  old, of things; before, earlier, first (cf. itaal, melefen, melehum)
une’  just now (apparently distinct from uneh)
unew  2p. pl. (cf. semuë’)
/m-unun/  to grub or root in the dirt, as a pig
babay ieh m-unun tanaa’  ‘The pig rooted/is rooting in the earth’
/nu-nun/  was grubbed in, as dirt when a pig is rooting about
 tanaa’ ieh n-unun babay  ‘A pig rooted in the earth’
upaan  bait
upaa’  yam
upay  how? (often heard as pay)
 u. gaye’  how? in what way?
upew  talk
ūh mufiēw new upew idih  ‘He doesn’t believe what other people say’
p-upew  to say, to tell, to talk to
ūh pupew yen turay ieh  ‘He talked to/is talking to the girl’
pupew yen ūh  ‘Talk to her!’
p. selēp  to whisper
n-upew  be talked to
makin n-upew makin buduh  ‘The more you talk to him the stupider he becomes’
uppaw  tiger cat (cf. uséē)
uppēt  knife
uraam  rice straw
ure’  to stay, dwell, live in a place (= ura’)
ūh puceu’ anaak ūh ure’  ‘He asked his son to stay’
useu’  to come (cf. makaaw, pulau’, umaaw)
ūh be-jaccei’ tirēh useu’  ‘He promised to come’
uséē  domestic cat (cf. uppaw)
usoy  straight
 k-isoy  was straightened by someone
talay ieh kisoy ūh  ‘He straightened the rope’
η-usoy  to straighten something
ūh η-usoy talay  ‘He straightened/is straightening the rope’
utaan  debt (< Malay utang)
utaap  shield
utta’  vomit, vomitus
 k-en-utta’  was vomited up
kan-en k-en-utta’ ūh  ‘He vomited up the rice’
η-utta’  to vomit
ūh η-utta’  ‘He is vomiting’
ūh η-utta’ kan-en  ‘He vomited up the rice’
uteŋ

- taut, as a rope that is stretched to its limit (cf. eloē')

η-uteŋ

to straighten, as a rope that is slack or curled

nih η-uteŋ talay ieh 'He straightened/is straightening the rope'

k-en-uteŋ

was straightened by someone
talay ien k-en-uteŋ nih 'He straightened the rope'

utek

brain; soft inner part of wood (= utak)
References

— To appear, Thao-English dictionary.


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