A NOTE ON TEHIT (BIRD'S HEAD - IRIAN JAYA)

DON A.L. FLASSY AND W.A.L. STOKHOF

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* * *
1. Introduction

The present paper deals mainly with the phonemics and phonetics of the language. It is meant as a preliminary survey to set the direction of research rather than as a definitive statement. Further investigation may modify present results.

1.1

About Tehit [tehi\textsuperscript{1}] and its speakers relatively little is known. Wurm 1975: 635 states that: "on the Vogelkop Peninsula and the small islands west, northwest and east of it, no additional Papuan language can, with any measure of certainty, be said to be located." Voorhoeve 1975b lists the language in the so-called West Papuan phylum. Together with Kalabra, Seget, Moi, Moraid, and Kuwani it is considered to constitute the West Bird's Head family (see map I). Kalabra, Tehit and Kuwani form together a subgroup within this family. Kuwani is not mentioned in Voorhoeve 1975a and the name is not familiar to us. He states that: "The exact location of the language is not known but [it] should be in the South-Eastern corner of the family's territory, near the phylum border with Konda" (p.718). Probably /qoa/, a small village in that area, is meant. The only form furnished is tetike, presumably a corruption of /teT qa\textsuperscript{1}/ 'I am the one who'.

The inhabitants of this village have been resettled in Keyen (district Teminabuan) in the neighbourhood of the road which connects Teminabuan and Ayamaru.

Voorhoeve and Wurm mention as their main source of information on these languages: Galis 1955-1956. In addition, there are Anceaux's unpublished notebooks and Cowan 1953, 1960, 1963, and 1965 (especially on the West Papuan Phylum).

1.2

Tehit is spoken in the regency of Sorong in the districts Teminabuan, Ayamaru Selatan and Wasurian Timur. The number of speakers is around 8,500. Below a table is given showing the main dialects and their distribution over the districts, the desas and villages (see maps II and III).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Sub-dialect</th>
<th>Kampong</th>
<th>Desa</th>
<th>Regency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I /tehidy\textsuperscript{2}/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Teminabu-&lt;br&gt;A barat or Kampong&lt;br&gt;A and Kampong B Seribau\textsuperscript{1}</td>
<td>Kohoin</td>
<td>Teminabuan</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>Keyen</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>IIb /nsya/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mbariat</td>
<td>Konda</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III /sary\textsuperscript{1}/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sekendi</td>
<td>Kohoin</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV /im\textsuperscript{1}/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Haha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V /saw\textsuperscript{1}/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sauf&lt;br&gt;Sorowar&lt;br&gt;Sembur</td>
<td>Sauf&lt;br&gt;Ayamaru&lt;br&gt;Karta-pura</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI /f\textsuperscript{1}/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Pasir puth&lt;br&gt;Wenslolo&lt;br&gt;Wiek&lt;br&gt;Mkusw</td>
<td>Pasir puth&lt;br&gt;Teminabuan</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII /s\textsuperscript{1}fi/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Manggro-holo&lt;br&gt;Sayal&lt;br&gt;Mlaswat</td>
<td>Manggro-holo&lt;br&gt;Saremuk&lt;br&gt;Manggro-holo</td>
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<tr>
<td>VIII /k\textsuperscript{1}ny\textsuperscript{1}/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sisir</td>
<td>Saremuk</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>IX /sam\textsuperscript{2}/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ndiwi&lt;br&gt;Kakas</td>
<td>Ndiwi&lt;br&gt;Wanorian</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X /yaT\textsuperscript{1}/&lt;br&gt;(l\textsuperscript{1}b\textsuperscript{1}T)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Brianlo&lt;br&gt;Klabot&lt;br&gt;Serafoto-lo</td>
<td>Brianlo&lt;br&gt;Beraur</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI /q\textsuperscript{2}/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Wanorian&lt;br&gt;Buk</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1

Commentary

(1) In Seribau /tehidy\textsuperscript{2}/, /s\textsuperscript{1}fi/, subdialect /sr\textsuperscript{1}/ and the Ogit language are spoken.
(2) In Konda /mbölfl\textsuperscript{2}/ (subdialects IIa and IIb) and the Ogit language are used.
(3) In Sasenek and Weloin /im\textsuperscript{1}/ and /yaT\textsuperscript{1}/ are spoken.
(4) The speakers of /saw\textsuperscript{1}/ also use the Mebrat language.
(5) /k\textsuperscript{1}ny\textsuperscript{1}/ speakers also use the Ogit language.
(6) /sam\textsuperscript{2}/ speakers also use /q\textsuperscript{2}/.
(7) The list of villages given for /q\textsuperscript{2}/ is not complete.
Map I: Tehit and neighbouring languages

Bird's Head peninsula, Irian Jaya

I. Biak  VII. Seget
II. Karon  VIII. Ogit (Konda, Yahadian, Mugim and Kampung Baru)
III. Moi  IX. Miraga (Inanwatan, Puragi, Yamarema and Saga)
IV. Meibrat  X. Tarof (Negeribesar, Kasueri and Udagaga)
V. Tehit
VI. Klabra
Map II: Tehit area

28. Sisir
29. Ndiwi
30. Kakas
31. Brianlo
32. Klabot
33. Serafoholo
34. Wanorian
35. Buk
Map III: Tehit Area Dialect Distribution

I. /tehidyiT/     VII. /sàIfi/(a)/sàIfi/
II. /mbölifle/(a)/gëmna/     b)/srer/
    b)/âfsya/,/hnqa/)     VIII. /konyôK/
III. /sfaryère/     IX. /salmeIT/
IV. /imyän/     X. /yàTfe/(/lòbaT/)
V. /sawyàT/     XI. /qlàbra/  
VI. /fgar/
1.3 Below some of the main sound correspondences between the Tehit dialects are given. A blank space indicates that the /tehitéyí/ form is used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I /tehitéyí/</th>
<th>II /mbólélé/</th>
<th>III /sfaryere/</th>
<th>IV /imyán/</th>
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<td>/'ásfya/, /'nzqa/</td>
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<td>[fíngen]</td>
<td>[fungán]</td>
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<td>[tsálítʰ]</td>
<td>[tsárutʰ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>[módukʰ]</td>
<td>[mat'kʰ]</td>
</tr>
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<td>[detʰ]</td>
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<td>[déstr']</td>
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<td>[sul]</td>
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<td>[jsárj'o']</td>
<td>[tqátatʰ]</td>
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<td>[mábróm]</td>
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<td>[go]</td>
<td>[qor]</td>
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</tr>
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<td>VI /fqar/</td>
<td>VII /sàff/</td>
<td>VIII /konyok/</td>
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<td>[tsədʒir]</td>
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<td>[madʒbrom]</td>
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<td>[ʔo]</td>
<td>[ʔo]</td>
<td>[ʔo]</td>
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<tr>
<td>'I stab them'</td>
<td>[tsəj]</td>
<td>[tsəj]</td>
<td>[tsəj]</td>
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</table>
1.4

In interethnic contacts a variant of Eastern Malay is used, called [mbrariri'] by the Tehit. This language functions as a lingua franca in the whole Bird's Head Peninsula and its environments. It is our impression that almost all Tehit speakers are bilingual or plurilingual: all know Mbrariri, some Indonesian and very few Dutch. In official situations Indonesian is used, Mbrariri is spoken in Church and in the first classes of primary school. The language shows quite a considerable number of loanwords from Dutch which slipped into the language via Mbrariri. This must be explained by the fact that as early as 1927 Dutch and Moluccan missionaries started to operate in Teminabuan, Konda, Wersar and Seribau. Appendix III gives a short list of the most common words.

Mbrariri and Indonesian lexical items are abundantly used by the younger, educated people especially in administration and in technical fields.

1.5

Don Fassy, now 31 years old, is a native speaker of the /tehidjiT/ dialect. He was born in the village of Saribau, five kilometers from the administrative and cultural centre of the area: Teminabuan. Besides his native language he speaks Mbrariri, Indonesian and understands Meibrat. He has a working knowledge of Dutch and English. He left his village when he was twelve years old to go to boarding school in Teminabuan where Mbrariri and Dutch were used. Thereafter he lived for several years in Fak-Fak, Merauke and Jayapura and finally came to Java to finish his studies. His knowledge of the language seems good although he occasionally appeared to hesitate in distinguishing between certain sets of long vs. non-long vowels and he sometimes seemed to be uncertain about the meaning of some words. Since no other Tehit speakers were available in Jakarta, further investigation is necessary.
2. Consonant phonemes: realizations

2.0.1 General non-functional modification of consonants: occlusives have a clearly audible aspirated off-glide in word final position (a kind of murmured h).

<table>
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<th>lip-</th>
<th>alveo-</th>
<th>palato-</th>
<th>velar-</th>
<th>uvular-</th>
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<td>T</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>q</td>
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<td>s</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<td>Laterals</td>
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<td>w</td>
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</table>

Table 3 Tehit consonant phonemes

2.0.2 Commentary:

(a) /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/ and /k/, /g/ are neutralized to /P/, /T/, /K/, respectively in the following environments:

(1) [V-#]: /sõp/ 'slipper'
/hõUK/ 'earwax'
/ùbãT/ 'Carambola (Averrhoa car-
ambola or Averrhoa bilimbi)'

(2) [V-C#] where [C] stand for [M, W, Û, J, Í]:
/sõPm/ 'the big slipper'
/sõnPw/ 'the small slipper, the slippers'
/sloPy/ 'slippers'

(3) [V-Fv1.(C)V]:
/mqàPset/ 'she makes a bilabial click with the right side of her mouth to express irritation'

(b) /w/, /u/ and /y/, /i/ are neutralized to /U/, /I/, respectively, in:
(1) [V-#]: /wõU/ 'he'
/hãI/ 'it does not matter'
(2) [V-C]: /hõUK/ 'earwax'
/fêIT/ 'we (incl.) eat'
/IrôIT/ 'they melt'
(3) [# -"C]: /Usqãyhoq#m/ 'he reminds her'

N.B. There is a difference between [#-"C] and [#-C], e.g.:
/ùbãT/ kind of fruit (monomorphemic)
/UbãdeT/ 'he sows' (bimorphemic)
/wqõIT/ 'wood, tree' (monomorphemic)
/UgõIT/ 'he pushes' (bimorphemic)

(c) Unstressed /i/ and /u/ may always be replaced by /y/ and /w/, respectively, in [C-V], but the converse does not hold true, e.g.: /tẽia, tẽya/ family name: /i/ and /u/ are heavy phonemes, /j/ and /w/ are their basic counterparts.

(d) Any stem-final tautosyllabic cluster /Vsy/ can be replaced by /VIs/ but the converse does not hold true:

[qaĝ ṇaŋs.qâi̇s] 'chopstick' /qasy/, /qâIs/ [qaĝ ṇaŋsM.qâi̇sM] 'a big chopstick' /qasyM/, /qâIsM/

But:

[sís] 'pupil' /sis/
[sís] 'pupils' /sís/ not */sîs/
[tais-tãis] 'I go down' /tãis/ not */tasy/

The relative ordering of /sy/ is heavy with regard to /Is/ (for J, Û, W, see tablo 2, fnt.3).

2.1 Labials

2.1.1 /p/

2.1.1.1 [p̂] in [-0 vol.1.]:
[mrõp̂ ka] 'to make noises' /mrõpka/
[põp̂ ta] 'toy' /pt̂a/
2.1.1.2 [p] everywhere else except in the instances mentioned in 2.1.3.

[pitîs] 'money' /pitîs/
[pîmpôn] 'table tennis' /pîmpôn/
[pûki] 'vagina' /pûki/
[tpàlr] 'I pay' /tpàlr/
[pîmôpôn] 'dock' /pîmôpôn/
[sìpîr] 'fairy who lives in the sago plantations' /sìpîr/

2.1.1.3 [-C#] where [C] stands for [N, W, U, J, I] and [V-P-vcl. (C)V):

[p] 'b':
[sloête_sloûtM] 'a big pillow case' /sloêteM/
[fostôp-fostôb] 'we (incl.) stop them' /fostôb/
[mqûpset_b-mqûpset] 'she reacts directly' /mqûpset/
[jqûps³ot³-jqûbs³ot³] 'they are cowards' /jqûps³ot³/  

2.1.1.4 /m/  

2.1.2 /b/  

[b] in all positions except in the instances mentioned in 2.1.3  

[balt³] 'Is that so?' /balt³/
[bâbà] 'side course esp. fish (children's language)' /bâbà/
[bàbreq] 'fast' /bàbreq/
[bêlt] 'tin' /bêlt/
[br³] kind of small crab /br³/
[brem] idem (fem.) /brem/
[bôbot³] 'a rich man' /bôbot³/
[buv³bôbq³] 'a child for whom the supplementary brid price has not been paid' /buv³bôbq³/

[weq³bôbq³] 'he got loose' /weq³bôbq³/
[mblît³] 'fly' /mblît³/
[mblîty] 'flies' /mblîty/
[mboî] 'house' /mboî/
[qmît³'t³] kind of fish trap /qmît³'t³/  

2.1.3 /p/ (archiphoneme of /p/ and /b/) in  

2.1.3.1 [- #]  

[p] 'p - b':
[sloêt²-sloêt-àtM] 'pillow-case' /sloêt/
[slop²-slop-àtM] 'a small boat' /slop/
[spu²-spu] 'soup' /spu/
[tatîp²-tatîp-tatîp] 'I entrust' /tati³p/
[fostôp²-fostôp-fostôb] 'we (incl.) stop' /fostôp/  

2.1.5 /f/  

2.1.5.1 [g] in [#-V(rounded)]:
[ço³] 'and then' /ço³/
[gôn] 'wind' /gôn/
[gômî] 'soil, earth' /gômî/
[gôx] 'spot, speck on skin' /gôx/
[gôto³] 'photograph, picture' /gôto³/
2.2 Alveolars

2.2.1 /t/  

2.2.1.1 [t] in [-Fvl.]

[t-sà'] 'my head' /tsä/

2.2.1.2 [t] everywhere else except in the instances mentioned in 2.2.3:

[téb'] 'I speak; I want' /tébó/
[fàtär] 'bridge' /fàtär/
[jàtör] 'they organize' /jàtör/
[q̩bàtì] 'tobacco' /q̩bàtì/

2.2.2 /d/  

2.2.2.1 [d] in [-j]:

d̩àm] 'time; watch' /d̩am/
d̩àreq] 'the teaching' /d̩àreq/
[ld̩àd̩oc̩h] 'not yet' /l̩dyót/
[Msq̩d̩oq̩h] 'she makes a hole' /msq̩dyót/
[t̩h̩nd̩ar] 'I stumble' /th̩nd̩ar/

2.2.2.2 [d] in all other positions except in the instances mentioned in 2.2.3:

d̩mbr] 'tortoise, turtle' /d̩mbir/
d̩nda] 'fine' /d̩nda/
m̩la:] 'its seed' /m̩laa/
[nd̩aw] 'the husband' /nd̩aw/
[nd̩sc] 'fence' /nd̩se/
[q̩f̩d̩a] 'grubs found in palmtrees' /q̩f̩d̩a/

2.2.3 /t/ archiphoneme of /t/ and /d/ in  

2.2.3.1 [-#]  

t̩t̩ . . t̩ d̩:  
[qwat, qwat, qwa] 'first of bride price installment' /q̩wat/
[qlat, qlat, qlad] 'a fine' /q̩lat/
[q̩jat,q̩jat,q̩jad] 'sign' /q̩lat/
[w̩t̩, w̩t, w̩d̩] 'he feels hot' /w̩ot/
[j̩f̩t̩, j̩f̩t, j̩f̩d̩] 'they finished' /j̩f̩t/
[q̩md̩r̩, q̩md̩r̩, q̩md̩r̩] 'Diplazium esculentum' /q̩md̩r̩/

2.2.3.2 [-C #] where [C] stands for [M, W Æ ] and in [ V - Fvc1. (C) V ]

[t̩-d]:
[bot̩l̩bd̩m] 'a big sailing boat' /bot̩lm/
f̩l̩tw̩, f̩l̩tw̩ 'we (incl.), fine him' /f̩l̩tw̩/
[q̩t̩f̩t̩, q̩t̩d̩t̩] 'spittle' /q̩tf̩t̩/

2.2.3.3 [-C #] where [C] stands for [J I]

[t̩ - d]:
[t̩s̩t̩j̩, t̩s̩d̩j] 'I cut them' /t̩s̩t̩j̩/
[p̩r̩t̩j̩, p̩r̩d̩j] 'graters' /p̩r̩t̩j̩/
[h̩t̩j̩, h̩d̩j] 'there are four of them' /h̩t̩j̩/

2.2.4 /n/  

2.2.4.1 [n] in [-j] and [-J I]

[n̩n] 'in, inside' /n̩n/
[m̩n̩n] 'machete' /m̩n̩n/
[q̩n̩n] 'worm in faeces' /q̩n̩n/
[t̩n̩t̩] 'misidentification' /t̩n̩t̩/
[m̩n̩t̩] 'he is visible' /m̩n̩t̩/

2.2.4.2 [n] everywhere else:

[n̩] 'you (sing.)' /n̩/
[n̩] 'you (plur.)' /n̩/
[t̩̪ln̩] 'I come/go to' /t̩̪ln̩/
[s̩m̩w̩] 'moon; month' /s̩m̩w̩/  
[rd̩m̩] 'he feeds her' /rd̩m̩/
[n̩s̩] 'you are tired' /n̩s̩/
[t̩q̩md̩r̩] 'I am flabbergasted' /t̩q̩md̩r̩/

2.2.5 /s/  

2.2.5.1 [s] in [-j] and [-J I]

[s̩t̩] 'who?' /s̩t̩/  
[M̩s̩] 'she breast-feeds her breast' /M̩s̩/
[s̩a̩] 'shellfish, snail' /s̩a̩/
[q\textsuperscript{X}q\textsubscript{X}\textsuperscript{Y}q\textsuperscript{X}]
'yongu taro
leaves used
as a vegeta-
ble' /q\textsuperscript{syoq}/

[\textsuperscript{X}\textsuperscript{Y}\textsuperscript{Z}q\textsuperscript{X}]
'he starts
back, he
recoils' /Uq\textsuperscript{syoq}/

[q\textsuperscript{X}q\textsuperscript{X}]
'chopstick,
chopsticks' /qasy/

[q\textsuperscript{X}g\textsuperscript{X}w]\n'the small
chopstick,
the chop-
sticks' /qasyw/

[q\textsuperscript{X}g\textsuperscript{X}m]\n'the big
chopstick' /qasym/

[s\textsuperscript{X}s\textsuperscript{Y}s\textsuperscript{Z}]
'young man
who is being
taught in the
traditional
lore' /sisy/

2.2.5.2 [s - z] in [V - V]:

[p\textsuperscript{X}s\textsuperscript{Y}p\textsuperscript{X}]
'rice' /p\textsuperscript{sya}/

[l\textsuperscript{s}a\textsuperscript{X}l\textsuperscript{s}a]\n'sugar cane;
sugar' /\textsuperscript{lsa}/

[f\textsuperscript{X}f\textsuperscript{s}k\textsuperscript{X}f\textsuperscript{s}k\textsuperscript{X}]
'kind of
fish' /\textsuperscript{fisii}/

[t\textsuperscript{X}s\textsuperscript{Y}k\textsuperscript{X}t\textsuperscript{X}k\textsuperscript{X}m]\n'I love
her; my
love (f)' /t\textsuperscript{t}e\textsuperscript{s}i\textsuperscript{km}/

2.2.5.3 [s] everywhere else:

[s\textsuperscript{X}u\textsuperscript{X}]
'fire' /\textsuperscript{sala}/

[s\textsuperscript{X}s\textsuperscript{X}]
'mouse' /\textsuperscript{sris}/

[\textsuperscript{X}s\textsuperscript{Y}s\textsuperscript{Y}s\textsuperscript{Y}]
'he gives a
love gift' /Us\textsuperscript{ers}/

[t\textsuperscript{X}s\textsuperscript{Y}a\textsuperscript{X}a\textsuperscript{X}]
'I spray' /\textsuperscript{tfas}/

[m\textsuperscript{X}s\textsuperscript{Y}s\textsuperscript{Z}s\textsuperscript{Z}]
'she wears a
sarong' /\textsuperscript{msis}/

[m\textsuperscript{X}s\textsuperscript{X}s\textsuperscript{X}s\textsuperscript{X}]
'she walks
along the
road, the
river' /\textsuperscript{msis}/

[\textsuperscript{X}\textsuperscript{X}\textsuperscript{X}\textsuperscript{X}\textsuperscript{X}\textsuperscript{X}]
'they whis-
tle to her' /Iq\textsuperscript{asm} /

[q\textsuperscript{X}s\textsuperscript{Y}m\textsuperscript{X}q\textsuperscript{X}q\textsuperscript{X}]
'a small
string' /qmb\textsuperscript{asw}/

[M\textsuperscript{X}n\textsuperscript{X}q\textsuperscript{X}]
'she has a
flat nose' /\textsuperscript{msngo}/

[M\textsuperscript{X}d\textsuperscript{X}q\textsuperscript{X}]
'she has a
flat nose' /\textsuperscript{msndyq}/

2.2.6 /\textsuperscript{I} /

2.2.6.1 [\textsuperscript{I}] in [V(non-front) - ]:

[m\textsuperscript{X}\textsuperscript{X}m]
'a big house' /\textsuperscript{mbolm}/

[q\textsuperscript{X}q\textsuperscript{X}]
'animal' /\textsuperscript{qol}/

[\textsuperscript{X}\textsuperscript{Z}\textsuperscript{s}\textsuperscript{p}\textsuperscript{M}]
'he slaps her face' /U\textsuperscript{lapm}/

['t\textsuperscript{O}s\textsuperscript{O}]
'tide' /\textsuperscript{tolo}/

[j\textsuperscript{m\textsuperscript{R}}\textsuperscript{M}]
'their tongue(s)' /\textsuperscript{I\textsuperscript{mal}}/
2.3 Palatals

2.3.1 /γ/

2.3.1.1 [J] ~ [γ] in [C" - #]:
[qleŋJ.qleŋI] 'birds' /qleny/
[teŋ̠eŋJ.teŋ̠eŋI] 'I make them' /tseyoŋy/
[sor̠iŋJ.sor̠iŋI] 'mice' /srisy/
[sor̠iŋJ.sor̠iŋI] 'plantation' /sorsy/
[ʁiŋkI.ʁiŋkI] 'they sing or speak in an irritating way' /IsriKy/
[mboŋJ.mboŋI] 'houses' /mboly/
[bɔjɔJ.botI] 'sailing ships' /boty/
[supJ.supI] 'soups' /supy/
[ŋ̠amJ.ŋ̠amI] 'watches' /dyamy/
[hɔŋJ.haŋI] 'louse;lice' /hánty/

2.3.1.2 [ŋ] in [C - V] and in [C - #]:
[ŋasI.aI] 'shell' /'asya/
[ŋ̠aŋI.cm] 'I do not recognize her' /tônyem/
[ŋ̠aŋI.ʃ] 'ant' /'lâly/
[ŋ̠ambI.ʃ] 'fish-trap' /qmbye/
[ŋ̠emI.ʃ] 'it festers, suppurates' /mendye/
[ŋ̠enI.cn] 'he catches fish with a net' /'ufyên/
[ŋ̠aŋI.ʃ] 'germ' /ągye/
[ŋ̠am̠aŋI.ŋ̠aŋI] 'the big bag' /qyam/
[ŋ̠akI.ʃ] 'I do not know' /ąkî/
[qasI.g] 'chopstick' /qasy/

2.3.1.3 [ŋ] everywhere else except in
[# = "CV"] and [V - #]:
[jas] 'they invite' /jas/
[jɛɾI] 'ten' /yəhar/
[ŋ̠joŋI] 'arts' /ąyos/
[mir̠aŋI] 'kind of tree hard wood' /mîya/
[ŋ̠ajI.շ] 'kind of rattan' /qêyi/

2.3.2 /I/ archiphonemes of /γ/ and unstressed /i/ in

2.3.2.1 [V - #] —————— >
[j - "γ - "]:
[nuŋI.ŋ̠aŋI]'do not' /hâl/
[ŋasI.ŋ̠aŋI] 'there are two of them' /aI/

2.3.2.2 [V = C] —————— >
[j - "γ - "]:
[fəʃb.ʃəʃb]'we (incl.) eat' /feIT/
[mqðeṇJ.mqðeṇI]'her pouch (of kangaroo)' /mqbeIn/

2.3.2.3 [# = "Cvcl."] —————— >
[j - "γ - "]:
[ŋsl̠aŋJ.ŋsl̠aŋI]'they are sharp!' /Isłaa/
[ŋkajɔtʃJ.ŋkajɔtʃI]'they are well' /IkajɔT/

2.3.2.4 [# = "Ccvd."] —————— >
[j - "γ - "]:
[ŋʃʃjɔtʃJ.ŋʃʃjɔtʃI]'they sleep' /IrôIT/
[jm̠aŋJ.ʃmaŋI] 'their tongues' /Imâl/

2.4 Velars

2.4.1 /k/ —————— >
[k] in all positions except in the instances mentioned in 2.4.3
[kokɔk] 'chicken' /koK/
[kdï] 'adventurer' /kdi/
[koʃa]'stock; soup' /koʃa/
[kbɔrɔ]'percussion instrument with strings' /kboro/
[kdɛɾa]'chair' /kâda/
[kɔʃk] 'I do not know' /akye/
[tqâki]'I bind' /tqâki/
[kjɛɾ]'sleeping-mat' /kler/
[sika]'cat' /ska/
[mkɔndə]'she ties her hair into a knot' /mkônde/
[jkâla]'they lose; they give in' /Ikâla/
[krɔdJ.a]'activity; work' /krôya/

2.4.2 /g/ —————— >
[g] in all positions except in the instances mentioned in 2.4.3
[takɔ]'I make a dry field for cultivation' /taK/
[nagow]'God; he who is in heaven' /nagow-
[nangI] 'woman' /nângi/
[gıha]'cough' (noun) /gíha/
[girik] 'joy' /girik/
[mqlag] 'she informs against s.b.' /mqlag/
2.4.3 [K] (archiphonemes of /k/ and /g/) in

2.4.3.1 [-#] >

[kʰ - k - g]:

[gikʰ]-gikʰ 'scabies' /gik/
[lgikʰ-lgikku-lgikʰ] 'attic' /lgik/
[thohkʰ-thohkku-thohkʰ] 'I replace him' /thohk/
[Mqlakʰ-Mqlakku-Mqlakʰ] 'cost' /mqlak/

2.4.3.2 [-C#] (where [C] stands for
[M, W, J, I]) and in [V - FVCl. (C) V]

[k - g]:

[gi-kM-lgM] 'a serious case
of scabies' /gikM/
[lgikJ-lgiku-lgiku-lgik³] 'attics' /lgiky/
[thokʰ-thokku-thokku] 'I replace him' /thokw/
[tpa-kasaj-tpa-kasaj³] 'I force
'I force them' /tpaKsaI/

2.4.4 [n/]

[njej-njej³] 'male participant in puberty
rites/initiations' /njeI/
[ngan-q³] 'hilt, handle' /nganI/
[ųngaqx] 'advisor/instructor of partic-
ipants during the puberty
rites' /ųngaq/
[singə'] 'presently; today' /singo/
[lnq'] 'fibres made from the Gnetum-
gnemur Lina' /lnqi/
[snq̃t³] 'fern (Asplinuniun aditus)' /snqat/
[tmg̃b³] 'I have the hiccups' /tmg̃bo/
[mnq̃q³] kind of nutmeg tree /mnq̃ko/
[bānkā³] 'seat, desk' /bānkə/
[būnk³] 'bank' /būnk/
[sēnk³] 'iron rooftrees' /sēnk/

2.5 Uvular /q/

2.5.1 [qʰ - q] in [V - #]:

[saqʰ-saq] 'knife' /saq/
[haqʰ-haq] 'utensils for the
preparation of sago' /haq/
[mahâq̃-mahâ-q³] 'she is bright,
clear' /mhaq/
[?mėq̃-mėq] 'to root up' /mėq̃/
[tsg̃q̃-tsg̃q̃] 'I scrape' /tsg̃q̃/
[mşq̃q̃-mşq̃q̃] 'she likes/loves' /mşq̃q̃/
[wng̃q̃-wng̃q̃] 'he is shining' /wng̃q̃oq/

2.5.2 [qʰ - q] in [ # - V]:

[qʰakm-qakm³] 'corpse (of woman)' /qaKm/
[qʰadikʰ-qadikʰ³] kind of mat (used
for several purposes - sleeping
mat, umbrella, etc.) /qadik/
[qʰ-ej-qe³] 'these here' /qeI/
[qʰsmqna³] 'kind of foodcon-
tainer' /qmngə/

2.5.3 [G - R] in [V - V]:

[tsg̃q̃-tsg̃q̃³] 'I come' /tsg̃q̃/
[maj-g'adj-maj-q³] 'she drinks' /majaq̃/
[wq̃q̃-wq̃q̃³] 'he digs' /wq̃q̃/
[tadg̃q̃-tadg̃q̃³] 'I twist (ropes,
estc.)' /tadg̃q̃/

2.5.4 [q - G] in [C - C]:

[mqla:-mqla:] 'she is attached
to' /mqlaa/
[mqlakʰ-mqlakʰ³] 'she is lost' /mqlak/
[wq̃WW-q̃WW³] 'she stands' /wq̃WW/
[ŋqndn-ŋqndn³] 'we (incl.) plan' /ŋqndn/

2.5.5 [q] in [C - V]:

[dari dunk] 'teacher in reli-
gious affairs' /dari dunk/}
[tsqaat³] 'I comb' /tsqaat/
[tsqat³] 'I dig' /tsqat/
[mq̃n³] 'she bears fruit' /mq̃n/
[sq̃m³] 'big torch' /sq̃m/
[fqa:] 'a kind of Ophi-
cephalus striatus
(fresh water animal)' /fqa/
[fq̃mngə³] 'we (incl.) put food in
a (kind of) food con-
tainer' /fq̃mngə/

2.5.6 [q] everywhere else:

[mngə³] 'kind of food container' /qmngə/
[magmngə³] 'she puts into a (kind
of) food container' /mgmngə/
[tfq̃aq] term of reference for
a woman who has lost one
or both of her parents /tfq̃a/

2.6 Glottal /h/

[h]:

[ha:jn] 'louse' /haIn/
[hine³] 'snare, lasso' /hine/
[himpaj³] 'good for you' /himpəI/
(2) ływ and ƚ (glides); are not distinctive in [u/ů/wę] and [i/ɨ/ę], respectively:
[wiwda] 'he is gentle' /Ulua/
[liwa] 'scoundrel' /Liwa/
[Msl:jeć] 'she has scars in her face' /Msliyet/
[Msl:ječ] 'rapid' /Msliyet/

(3)  The difference between W, U, and J, I, respectively, is that C+ [W/J] often only results in a kind of velarization or palatalization of the preceding consonant, whereas [C+u/i] combination give the auditory impression of a very short relatively more voiced vowel-like sound. Both possibilities are ad libitum and are not functionally distinct from [C#] or *[C#]. However, they are in opposition to "full fledged" C+[u/i] in that position; compare: [sis] /sis/ 'pupil'
[sis'j] /sisi/ 'together'
[sis'-sisJ] /sisy/ 'pupils'

3. Vowel phonemes: realizations

3.0 General non-functional modification of vowels:
1. After a pause vowels may have an abrupt onset indicated by [ʔ].
2. Before a pause non-long vowels may show an abrupt off-glide indicated by [‘](but relatively weaker than [ʔ]).
3. Vowels may be slightly nasalized in front or after nasals consonants.
4. A slight breathiness has been attested in vowels after (voiced or voiceless) dorso-uvular fricative or trill.

Table 2
Phonetic chart: Consonants

Notes:
(1) Both [ʔ] and [‘] stand for a glottal stop.
   The former indicates an abrupt onset to a word-initial vowel, the latter an abrupt offglide in a prepausal vowel. [‘] is weaker than [ʔ].
   Both are subphonemic
3.1 [?i-.i] in [# -]:

3.1.1 [?i-.i] in [# -]:
- ['the whole day' /i/, 'heaven' /i/]
- ['kind of red parrot' /i/]
- ['banyan tree' /i/]

3.1.2 [?i-.i] in [C - #]:

3.1.3 [?i-.i] in [N -], [-N]:

3.1.4 [?i-.i] in [G/R -]:
- ['I disappear' /tqleq/]
- ['it has many fruits' /mdq/]

3.1.5 [?i-.i] everywhere else (see also 2.3.2):
- ['young man who is being taught the traditional lore' /sis/]
- ['squirrel' /wiq/]
- ['I am free' /tqleq/]
- ['sleepingroom' /sit/]

3.2 /ii/}

3.2.1 [?i-.i] in [# -]:

3.2.2 [I-.i] in [N -] and [-N]:
- ['he lies flat on his stomach' /wsn/]
- ['skin shed by snake' /niin/]
- ['he sheds his skin' /niin/]

3.3 /e/}

3.3.1 [?e-.e] in [# -]:

3.3.2 [?e-.e] in [- #]:
- ['I throw' /tse/]
- ['I keep under my arm' /tse/]
- ['she flies' /msen/]
- ['a case of adultery' /sme/]
- ['crop' /qad/]

3.3.3 [?e-.e] in [N -] and [-N]:

3.3.4 [?e-.e] in [- j/i]:
- ['a demand' /hile/]
- ['her pouch (of kangaroo)' /mgb/]
- ['they eat' /ye/]

3.4 [?e-.e] in [+ i]:

3.4.1 [?e-.e] in [G/R -]:
- ['I polish' /tqir/]
- ['it (fem.) is delicious, tasteful' /mqi/]

3.4.2 [?e-.e] everywhere else:
- ['it (fem.) shines, it glitters (fem.)' /mqri/]
- ['I have an appetite' /tqri/]
- ['he smokes/dries (food)' /nui/]
- ['she has scars in her face' /msli/]
- ['they smoke (intr.)' /jm/]
- ['she is dusty, full of dust' /mmb/]
- ['pith of the sago palm' /sir/]

3.4.3 [?e-.e] in [G - R -]:
- ['he:esque oriang used for fishing' /wrl/]
- ['sand' /kl/]
- ['pounded poissonusianis' /wrl/]

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3.3.5 [ε ~ ε] in [G/R-]

3.3.6 [ε ~ ε ~ g ~ e] in [G/R- j/i]:

3.3.7 [ε] everywhere else:

3.4 /ee/

3.4.1 [ε ~ ε] in [# -]:

3.4.2 [ε ~ ε] in [ - #/j/i]:

3.4.3 [ε ~ ε] in [G/R-]

3.4.4 [ε ~ ε] in [ - N],[N -]

3.5 [ε ~ ε ~ ε: ~ e] in [G/R- N];

3.6 [ε:] everywhere else:

3.5.1 [u ~ u] in [# -]:

3.5.2 [u ~ u] in [C - #]:

3.5.3 [œ ~ œ] in [N -], [ - N]:

3.5.4 [œ ~ œ] [G/R-]:

3.5.5 [œ] in all other cases (see also 2.1.7):
3.6 /uu/ (in loans only)  
[u:];  
[tːurʊs] 'I organize' /tːurʊs/  
[mkːʊrʊs] 'she is skinny' /mkːʊrʊs/  
[ɡːrʊː] 'teacher' /ɡːrʊː/  
[tsːrʊː] 'they give orders' /tsːrʊː/  
[suːsʊ] 'milk' /suːsʊ/  

3.7 /ʊ/ and /ʊʊ/ are marginal phonemes. They occur only in the speech of people older than 65 years and whose language is relatively little influenced by Indonesian. These realizations occur instead of those of /u/ and /uu/ in the speech of the younger, educated people (see 6.5):  
[ʊpəs,əpəs] 'police' /ʊpəs/  
[qɔmbũ'-qɔmbũ] 'shut side of the roof' /qɔmbũ/  
[ɡũːrũ'-ɡũːrũ] 'teacher' /ɡũːrũ/  
[moːɡũas,məɡũas] 'she comforts' /məɡũas/  

3.8 /o/  

3.8.1 [ɔ - o] in [# -]:  
[ɔdɪn,ɔdɪn] 'good advice' /ɔdɪn/  
[ɔɡɑr,ɔɡɑr] 'the place where the sago pith is pounded' /ɔɡɑr/  
[ɔtɪn,ɔtɪn] 'palm' /ɔtɪn/  

3.8.2 [ɔ - o] in [- #]:  
[səło,səło] 'language; voice' /səło/  
[msəło,msəło] 'she is dry' /msəło/  

3.8.3 [ɔ - o] in [N-], [N-]:  
[hɔmbɔr,hɔmbɔr] 'packet' /hɔmbɔr/  
[hɔŋɡi'hɔŋɡi'] a kind of Ophiocephalus striatus (fresh water animal) /hɔŋɡi/  
[mrɔnɔm,mrɔnɔm] 'her mother in law' /mənɔm/  
[hɔŋgɔ'hɔŋgɔ'] 'tower' /hɔŋgɔ/  

3.8.4 [ɔ - o] in [-W/U]:  
[ɔːɡo] 'small banana' /ɔːɡo/  
[sələw,sələw] 'little voice' /sələw/  
[qɔw,ŋwɔ,ŋwɔ,ŋwɔ] 'this one (m)' /ŋwɔ/  
[wɔw,wɔw,wɔw,wɔw] 'he' /wɔw/  
[təhɔw,k,təhɔw,k] 'I replace' /tʰɔw/k/  

3.8.5 [ɔ - o] in [G/R-]:  
[wɔɡɔ,ŋwɔɡɔ] 'he is ill' /wɔɡɔ/  
[teŋɔ,ŋteŋɔ,ŋteŋɔ] 'I slaughter' /tŋo/  
[qɔɡɔ,qɔɡɔ,qɔɡɔ] 'frog' /qɔɡɔ/  

3.8.6 [ɔ] everywhere else:  
[kʊkʊkɔ] 'chickens' /kʊkʊkɔ/  
[dˠɔrɔs] 'disease' /dˠɔrɔs/  
[θɔhɔ̊] 'I build' /θɔhɔ̊/  
[kɔtɔktɔ] 'small boat (without outriggers)' /kɔtɔktɔ/  
[tiɔq] 'palm wine' /tiɔq/  
[mʊŋq] 'he/it is bent, crooked' /mʊŋq/  

3.9 /oo/  

3.9.1 [ɔː - oː] in [#{-}]:  
[ɔɡɔ,-ɔɡɔ] 'banana' /ɔɡɔ/  
[ɔɡɔsren,ɔɡɔsren] 'pawpaw' /ɔɡɔsren/  
[ŋɔŋɔ,ŋɔŋɔ] 'wooden frame of standing fishing net/ fire place' /ŋɔŋɔ/  

3.9.2 [ɔː - oː] in [-#/w/ʊ]  
[mlo,-mlo] 'she is hanging' /mlo/  
[msaɪ,msaɪ] 'it (f.) is not enough' /msaɪ/  
[whɔmʊ,whɔmʊ] 'he works slowly' /whɔmʊ/  
[sə,ʃə] 'what does it concern?' /ʃə/  
[ŋlɔw,ŋlɔw] 'kind of small cork-tree' /ŋlɔw/  

3.9.3 [ɡː - oː] 'in [G/R-]:  
[wɔɡɔ,-wɔɡɔ] 'he is o.k.' /wɔɡɔ/  
[mfɔɡɔ,mfɔɡɔ] 'she is not wet' /mfɔɡɔ/  

3.9.4 [ɔː - oː] in [-N], [-N-]:  
[jʊŋɡɔ,ʒʊŋɡo] 'they catch fish with their hands touching in the water' /jʊŋɡɔ/  
[siəlm,sləm] 'the morning star' /sləm/  

3.9.5 [ɔː] everywhere else:  
[mək,t] 'she looks at' /mək/  
[tloj,tloj] 'I go/come through' /tloj/  
[jɔː,ʃ] 'their wing' /ʃɔː/  
[ʃfɔ,ʃfɔ] 'we (incl.) cross over' /ʃfɔ/  

3.10 /a/  

3.10.1 [a - a] in [#-]:  
[ad³,a,ad³,a] 'champion' /ad³,a/  
[əɡ,əɡ] 'jack' /əɡ/
3.11.4 [ʔɪrəːs] 'they are not ashamed' /Irəːs/
            [raːt̚-qləlo] 'examination' /raat̚qləlo/

Table 6 Auditory vowel quadrilateral: Tehit main vowel allophones.

3.12.0 [ə] does not have a phonemic status. It may be inserted between almost any two consonants provided that they do not occur in the postnuclear margin of the final syllable of the word, or, that they do not belong to the tautomorphemic clusters: /mb, ng, nd/ and /Cy/:
            /tqmnədɔː/ 'I hanker after' may be realized as:
            [taqəməndɔː, tqəmnədɔː, tqəmnədɔː, tqmnədɔː] or [taqəməndɔː] but not *[taqəməndɔː]*
            /təfaq/ 'I am wounded' ————> [təfaqə, təfaqə]
            /syom/ 'breast (fem.)' ————> *[syom]* but [syəm]
            /təsyaatm̩/ 'I point at it (f.)' ————> *[təsyaatm̩] but [təsyaatm̩]
            /təfə/ 'I touch' ————> [təfə], [təfə], [təfə] or [təfə]
            /mbədət̚/ 'she sows' ————> [mbədət̚], [mbədət̚], [mbədət̚] but
            /mbolə/ 'houses' ————> [mbolə] not *[mbolə]*

3.12.1 [ə - ə] in [N - ], [-N]:
            [nədə, nədə] 'you want; you say' /ndo/
            [nəndər, nəndər] 'you knocks o.s.' /nəndər/
            [wənغو o, wənغو o] 'his neck' /wəŋغو o/

3.12.2 [ə] everywhere else:
            [tədə̰] 'I say, I want' /tdə/
            [fəɡət̚] 'our mouth' /fəɡət̚/
4. Oppositions

4.1 Consonant phonemes: oppositions

4.1.1 /p/

vs. /b/ /mpraŋ/ 'it (f.) cracks'
  /mbraŋ/ 'she is quiet'
  /Iqapraŋ/ 'they spread everywhere'
  /IQabraŋ/ 'they told'

vs. /m/ /sɪpaTm/ 'boundary'
  /sɪmaT/ 'casuary'
  /pasa/ 'rice'
  /masa/ 'its (fem.) upper side'

vs. /f/ /tpaer/ 'I pay'
  /tfær/ 'I sail'
  /Uropaŋ/ 'it (m.) snaps'
  /Urofaŋ/ 'he cuts down the sago palm'

vs. /w/ /kāpur/ 'chalk'
  /kawur/ 'slave'
  /tpaqy/ 'I wrap them up'
  /twagy/ 'I give them a name'

vs. /t/ /mropaŋ/ 'it (f.) snaps'
  /mrōtaŋ/ 'it (f.) explodes; burst out'
  /spaT/ 'Trichogaster' (fresh water fish)
  /staT/ 'town'

vs. /d/ /mpraq/ 'it (f.) cracks'
  /mdraq/ 'she tears off'
  /tpaqm/ 'I pack it (f.) up'
  /tdaqm/ 'I cut it (f.) into pieces'

vs. /n/ /mqapraŋ/ 'we (excl.) spread everywhere'
  /mqanraŋ/ 'with our (excl.) full consciousness'

vs. /r/ /Upaqm/ 'he packs it (f.) up'
  /urqam/ 'he tears it off'
  /Urēpe/ 'it (m) becomes a new waterway'
  /Urēre/ 'he is generous, liberal'

vs. /s/ /sɪpaTm/ 'boundary'
  /sɪsɪm/ 'a kind of big shell'
  /pɑq/ 'a big pack'
  /sɑq/ 'a big knife'

vs. /l/ /Ipaq/ 'they pack'
  /Ilq/ 'they draw up'
  /mpēpem/ 'her vagina (f.)'
  /mpēlem/ 'she stops her'

vs. /y/ /spaT/ 'Trichogaster'
  /syaŋ/ 'paint'
  /poT/ 'pot'
  /yoT/ 'they are warm'

vs. /k/ /wapur/ 'Massocia aromatica'
  (kind of wood)
  /wakur/ 'he agrees'
  /pokoK/ 'problem; the main thing'
  /kokoK/ 'chicken'

vs. /ŋ/ /mrēpe/ 'it (f.) becomes a water way'
  /mrēge/ 'it (f.) contends'
  /pēpem/ 'a big vagina'
  /gēpem/ 'a big hair pin'

vs. /h/ /mropaŋ/ 'it (f.) snaps'
  /mrohaŋ/ 'it (f.) becomes calm, quiet'
  /tpaq/ 'I wrap up s.m.t.'
  /thaŋ/ 'I am free'
4.1.2

```
vs. /m/ /mrug/ 'she tears up'
/braug/ 'quick'
/mot/ 'its (f) motif, its (f) colour'
/bot/ 'sail ship'

vs. /f/ /mbar/ 'midrib of palmfrond'
/mfar/ 'its (f) motif, its (f) colour'
/msbal/ 'it (f) is tasteless'
/msfal/ 'she feels hot/bad'

vs. /w/ /mbareI/ 'outriggers'
/mwari/ 'she washes them'
/mbyele/ 'dry field (used for cultivation)'
/mwyele/ 'she floats in the air (esp. eagles)'

vs. /t/ /taba/ 'side-dish esp. fish and meat' (infant's speech; also used by grown-ups in contact with infants)
/taba/ 'date; calender'
/bot/ 'sail ship'
/to/ 'I feel hot'

vs. /d/ /Ubrin/ 'he circumcizes/he is circumcized'
/Udri/ 'he demands; he claims'
/mbraq/ 'she is quick'
/mdraq/ 'she cuts open (esp. shells and belly of game)

vs. /n/ /bot/ 'sail ship'
/not/ 'cloth'
/mbareT/ 'floor-covering'
/mnareT/ 'she copes with many problems'

vs. /r/ /mbet/ 'soil; land'
/mreT/ 'she is weighed down (with cares, labour)'
/mbyas/ 'mist, haze'
/mryas/ 'she decorates'

vs. /s/ /bre/ 'crab (small sort)'
/so/ (kind of) 'fragrant grass' (used for cooking)
/mbol/ 'house, home'
/msol/ 'she is restless'

vs. /l/ /mbi/ 'smoke'
/ml/ 'she is swinging'
/mboK/ (kind of) 'mushroom'
/mlon/ 'she picks up'

vs. /l/ /braq/ 'quick'
/lraq/ 'they tore off'

vs. /I/ /bri/ 'the middle one'
/Iri/ 'they are yellow'

vs. /k/ /beret/ 'wart'
/keret/ 'clan'
/mqabar/ 'it (f) disintegrates; rots'
/mqakru/ 'she calls the chickens'

vs. /g/ /bot/ 'sail ship'
/goT/ 'ditch'
/mbeT/ 'soil'
/mgeT/ 'her mouth'

vs. /n/ /mbet/ 'soil'

*/mneT/

vs. /q/ /bleq/ 'a tin'
/qleq/ 'hole'
/mbri/ 'the middle one (f)'
/mqri/ 'it (f) shines, glitters'

vs. /h/ /Ublét/ 'it (m) jingles'
/Uhlét/ 'he overcomes'
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4.1.3

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vs. /f/ /uqamar/ 'he snarls at s.b.'
/uqamra/ 'he is nervous'
/mraq/ 'she tears'
/fraq/ 'travel expenses'

vs. /w/ /maaln/ 'she goes'
/waln/ 'he goes'

vs. /u/ /ram/ 'woman'
/noun/ 'man'

vs. /t/ /mleli/ 'she does not participate'
/tleli/ 'I do not participate'
/mlëi/ 'she goes'
/tali/ 'I go'

vs. /d/ /nmor/ 'you are still young'
/nndor/ 'you knock'
/qomo/ 'floor'
/qodo/ 'bamboo'

vs. /n/ /mot/ 'she feels hot'
/not/ 'cloth'
/msor/ 'she sews'
/nsor/ 'you sew'

vs. /r/ /fmaq/ 'we (incl.) wear on the neck'
/fraq/ 'travel expenses'
/mdma/ 'it (f) is short'
/mdra/ 'it (f) is melted'
```
4.1.4 vs. /n/ /tsåliT/ 'we (incl.) return'  
/ndåliT/ 'you return'  
/ndtfye/ 'I sharpen; I whet'
/tqenyé/ 'my lap'

4.1.4 vs. /l/ /tqafå/ 'they guess'  
/łqarå/ 'they stay'
/mftå/ 'she gives a baby its name'
/mraT/ 'it (f.) is sharp'

4.1.4 vs. /s/ /fe/ 'about; because'  
/se/ 'water'
/mfoT/ 'it (f.) is finished'
/msoT/ 'she looks at'

4.1.4 vs. /l/ /Ufå/ 'it (m.) is full'
/Uln/ 'he boasts'
/fôfo/ 'belt'
/fôn/ 'dry field no longer used for cultivation'

4.1.4 vs. /l/ /flèli/ 'we (inc.) sit'  
/Ilèli/ 'they sit'
/lam/ 'we (excl.) two'
/lâl/ 'they two'

4.1.4 vs. /g/ /Uflåq/ 'his penis'
/Uglåq/ 'his reports'
/fôfo/ 'belt'
/fôgo/ 'we (incl.) make have a field/garden'

4.1.4 vs. /k/ /flìdi/ 'we (incl.) have a different place of origin'
/kìdì/ 'wanderer'
/tfìri/ 'I speed up'
/tkìri/ 'I am annoyed'

4.1.4 vs. /h/ /fåguna/ 'all of us (incl.)'
/ngyan/ 'the future'

4.1.4 /f/

4.1.4 vs. /w/ /fåfoq/ 'we (incl.) are swelling'
/wåfoq/ 'he is swelling'
/fåroq/ 'we (incl.) are glad'
/wårq/ 'he is glad'

4.1.4 vs. /t/ /tfåna/ 'I make a dam'
/tqåna/ 'my anus'
/fårq/ 'cork'
/qårq/ 'kind of parrot'

4.1.4 vs. /h/ /tfå/ 'I give a baby its name'
/thå/ 'I am angry with s.b.'
/kìfa/ 'stick for fishing-rod'
/kìhå/ 'cough'

4.1.5 /w/

4.1.5 /w/ /wåIn/ 'he goes'
/taain/ 'I go'
/wet/ 'child'
/teT/ 'I; me'
vs. /d/ /Uwálo/ 'he hides'
   /Událo/ 'he plaits'
   /wáwa/ 'he cries'
   /wáda/ 'its (m.) front'

vs. /n/ /woT/ 'he feels hot'
   /noT/ 'you feel hot'
   /Mbaít/ 'he plays'
   /nmbáit/ 'you play'

vs. /r/ /mwané/ 'she asks for'
   /mráné/ 'her footprints'

vs. /s/ /wen/ 'area for hunting and sago preparation'
   /sen/ 'cent'

vs. /l/ /wát/ 'the left'
   /lát/ 'magician; witch'
   /lwàa/ 'her spirit'
   /mlua/ 'she is soft, gentle, kind'

vs. /y/ /wafát/ 'he repairs; he binds st.
   together'
   /yafát/ 'they repair'

vs. /k/ /kóko/ kind of beetle (esp. in palm trees)
   /koko/ 'chicken'
   /wàdzi/ 'he has a different place of origin'
   /kídi/ 'wanderer'

vs. /g/ /mgett/ 'she is still young; it (f.) is small'
   /mgett/ 'its (f.) opening (of door) mouth (of river)'
   /wëlit/ 'he waves'
   /gélit/ 'slaver, slobber (n.)'

vs. /ã/ /kóko/ kind of beetle
   /<owo/ vs. /j/ /kóko/ kind of beetle

vs. /h/ /waãi/ 'he goes'
   /hàái/ 'louse'
   /wàt/ 'he eats'
   /hàt/ 'four'

4.1.6 /t/

vs. /d/ /toto/ 'pure'
   /tödo/ 'I swing; I shake'
   /täsí/ 'ocean, sea'
   /dási/ 'tie'

vs. /n/ /tní/ 'I make them; napkins'
   /mní/ 'you make them'
   /tòsi/ 'I point out'
   /nòsi/ 'you point out'

4.1.7 /d/

vs. /n/ /tdóT/ See Appendix II
   /tnóT/ 'I know'
   /tdi/ 'I fall'
   /tní/ 'napkins for hygienical purposes'
vs. /r/ /mdoro/ 'it (f.) smarts'
    /mrórô/ 'we (excl.) walk together'
    /UdíríaK/ 'it (m) is finished'
    /UríríK/ 'it (m) is pale, yellow
    (of skin)'
vs. /s/ /tdàIn/ 'I give way; I go way'
    /tsàIn/ 'I wrap food in leaves to
    roast it in the ashes'
    /mda/ 'her nose'
    /msa/ 'her head'
vs. /l/ /mdo/ 'she says'
    /mlo/ 'she hangs'
    /mdéIT/ 'her foot'
    /mleIT/ 'kind of kangaroo living
    in the trees'
vs. /y/ /tdeqe/ 'I withdraw from'
    /tyèqe/ 'I have a rest'
    /tdir/ 'wall'
    /tyr/ 'I grind'
vs. /k/ /fdírí/ 'we (inc.) are to late to
    be present at the funeral'
    /fklírí/ 'we (inc.) annoyed'
    /máyóT/ 'we (excl.) are separated'
    /mkáyóT/ 'we (excl.) are rich'
vs. /g/ /tldím/ 'I untie it (f)'
    /tgím/ 'I detest it (f)'
    / mdi/ 'she falls'
    /mgí/ 'she struggles'
vs. /n/ /tdge/ 'I give way'
    /tnge/ 'I ask for help'
vs. /q/ /mdáfáq/ 'she is an outsider'
    /mqáfáq/ 'she is in a hurry'
    /UdíqàoK/ 'his nose bridge'
    /UqáfqóK/ 'his knuckle'
vs. /h/ /tándbem/ 'I wake her up'
    /thambil/ 'I pursue her'
    /hádaT/ 'custom'
    /háhàT/ 'tattoo'

4.18 /n/

vs. /r/ /tnem/ 'I make it (f) pointed'
    /tremm/ 'I run after her'
    /qònön/ 'name giving ceremony (8
days after the birth of
the child)'
    /qòron/ 'string of a bow'
vs. /s/ /nèye/ 'you press heavily'
    /sèye/ 'lasso used for catching
    birds'
    /mála/ 'you pay back'
    /sàla/ 'fire'
vs. /l/ /nèmai/ 'you test them'
    /lèmai/ 'they are the persons
    who'
    /nan/ 'you (plur.)'
    /lán/ 'you two, the two of you'
vs. /y/ /nena/ 'your hands'
    /yéna/ 'their hands'
vs. /k/ /nàmbin/ 'you appropriate'
    /bàmbin/ 'goat'
    /nàfír/ 'angel'
    /kàfír/ 'heathen'
vs. /g/ /mání/ 'she lulls (a child);
    lullaby'
    /mágí/ 'she is dead'
    /yònó/ 'their father'
    /yògo/ 'they establish a field'
vs. /n/ /nàgàris/ 'you make a line'
    /nághís/ kind of tree
    /nyan/ 'all of you; you'
    /nyog/ 'the future'
vs. /q/ /nàdàl/ 'they let loose'
    /Iqàdla/ 'they become dented'
    /ñàfàk/ 'you make a knot'
    /qàfuk/ 'scrotum (testicles)'
vs. /h/ /nàa/ 'you go'
    /nàaIn/ 'louse'
    /nàyán/ 'eagle'
    /náyàr/ 'forty'

/r/

vs. /s/ /mrat/ 'it (f) is sharp'
    /msat/ 'it (f) is torn out'
    /trôr/ 'I feed'
    /tsor/ 'I sew'
vs. /l/ /wxron/ 'he is still alive'
    /wlon/ 'he makes a joke'
    /IríIt/ 'they burn'
    /IlíIt/ 'they are far away'
vs. /g/ /yéwère/ 'they pass'
    /mèwère/ 'she passes'
vs. /l/ /Igí/ 'they forced'
    /régí/ 'thunder'
vs. /k/ /rápór/ 'report (esp. at school)'
    /kápor/ 'chalk'
4.1.10 /i/  

vs. /i/ /lài/ 'insect'  
/yài/ 'they are sour'  
/lasy/ 'sheets'  
/yasy/ 'they invite them'  

vs. /k/ /lùwa/ 'reptiles; scoundrel'  
/kùwa/ 'broth'  
/lòwo/ 'to combine'  
/kòwo/ 'bumble-bee; beetle'  

4.1.9 /s/  

vs. /l/ /msis/ 'she wears a sarong'  
/mlis/ 'it (f) is far away'  
/msas/ 'she touches'  
/mlas/ 'its (f) sheet; its (f) leaf'  

vs. /γ/ /siT/ 'sleeping room'  
/yiT/ 'they'  
/msósó/ 'she puts under seal'  
/myósó/ 'she is in the direction of'  

vs. /k/ /sris/ 'mouse'  
/kris/ 'dagger'  
/sábél/ 'sword'  
/kâbel/ 'cable, nylon string'  
/sisi/ 'together'  
/klsí/ 'lath work, lathing'  

4.1.11 /γ/  

vs. /k/ /làyiT/ 'they two'  

vs. /g/ /msyঊ T/ 'it (f) is broken'  
/mgyaT/ 'she demands'  
/IsìriK/ 'they are altogether wrong'  
/IgliriK/ 'they shout'  

vs. /n/ /tsge/ 'I lead'  
/tnge/ 'I need your help'  
/sgyeT/ 'door'  
/ntyet/ 'prohibition'  

vs. /g/ /Usärleq/ 'he already has a wound on his head'  
/Uqärleq/ 'he becomes dented'  
/msóli/ 'she goes quickly'  
/mqóli/ 'she is mad'  

vs. /h/ /saq/ 'knife'  
/haq/ 'container used for extraction of sago flower from the pith'  
/mseq/ 'it (f) is smooth'  
/mheq/ 'her tooth'  

4.1.10 /l/  

vs. /n/ /Urgın/ 'he falls forward'  
/Ungın/ 'he rubs his nose making a sound'  

vs. /g/ /tsyölon/ 'I insert'  
/tsyögon/ 'I suck'  
/laK/ 'two'  
/qal/ 'corpse'  

vs. /h/ /lài/ 'they two'  
/häi/ 'oh, now; nothing, don't worry'  
/mloK/ 'she picks up'  
/mhóK/ 'she replaces'  

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4.1.12 /k/
  vs. /g/ /kyeT/ 'rumours'
      /gyeT/ 'mouth'
      /tkiri/ 'I am annoyed'
      /tgiri/ 'I stay without food'
  vs. /n/ /tkiri/ 'I am annoyed'
      /tniri/ 'I am annoyed'
      /mlōK/ 'she picks up'
      /mlōq/ 'it (f) is unstable'
      /kāfir/ 'heathen'
      /qāfir/ 'a serious case'
  vs. /h/ /lkāmbar/ 'they are twins'
      /lhāmbar/ 'they are together'
      /bāaIn/ 'louse'
      /kāaIn/ 'cloth'

4.1.13 /g/
  vs. /ŋ/ /sīgo/ 'kind of snail'
      /sīno/ 'snail'
  vs. /q/ /gāda/ 'preserved fish or meat'
      /qāda/ 'cudgel'
      /UgyēT/ 'his mouth'
      /UqyēT/ 'he makes a sign'
  vs. /h/ /mgīri/ 'its (f) branch'
      /mhiri/ 'she climbs; she goes upstairs'
      /mgāra/ 'she stayed'
      /mharā/ 'she goes till a certain point and not further'

4.1.14 /ŋ/
  vs. /q/ /ōgoU/ 'that (m., near Addr.)'
      /ōnōU/ 'that (f.)'
  vs. /h/ /mnaq/ /mhaq/ 'it (f) is shining'

4.1.15 /q/ /
  vs. /h/ /mqaq/ 'he digs'
      /mhaq/ 'it is shining'
  vs. /q/ /theneI/ 'I lasso them'
      /theneq/ 'I search'

4.1.17 /t/
  vs. /K/ /teP/ 'tape'
      /teT/ 'I'
  vs. /U/ /tsōoP/ 'I stop'
      /tsōU/ 'I want'
  vs. /I/ /koP/ 'direction'
      /koI/ 'bed'

4.2 Vowel phonemes: oppositions

4.2.1 /i/
  vs. /ii/ /Usī/ 'his face'
      /Usīi/ 'he sinks'
      /līng/ 'ring'
      /līngin/ 'rattan frame with handle (of net)'
  vs. /e/ /tāasi/ 'I am fit'
      /tāase/ 'I sleep'
      /tsīiT/ 'I dive'
      /tsēT/ 'I am wet'
  vs. /o/ /erīm/ 'only her'
      /erīm/ 'sin'
      /tfdīnm/ 'I knock against something (f.)'
      /tfdōnm/ 'I print batik'
  vs. /a/ /msi/ 'her face'
      /msā/ 'her head'
      /tdi/ 'I fall'
      /tda/ 'my nose'
  vs. /y/ /sūpi/ 'kind of alcoholic drink'
      /sōpy/ 'a lot of soup'
      /sīsi/ 'belonging to our group; together'
      /sīsy/ 'pupils/participants in traditional educational system'

4.2.2 /e/
  vs. /ee/ /tsele/ 'I throw away'
      /tsēele/ 'I am in a dilemma'
      /mēle/ 'she selects'
      /mēele/ 'she peeps'
  vs. /v/ /twēoq/ 'I curl up my lip'
      /twōq/ 'palm wine'
4.2.3 /u/

4.2.4 /o/

4.2.5 /a/

4.2.6 /aa/

4.3 The place of the stress is distinctive:
5. Distribution of phonemes

5.1 Two place vowel clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V1</th>
<th>V2</th>
<th>u</th>
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</table>

Table 7: Vowel clusters in Tehit

/aU/  /haU/  'I do not know'
/sqäU/  'a small torch'
/täUr/  'bow'

/eo/  /qëo/  'vitamins'
/mlëoq/  'it (f) is unstable'

/ea/  /fëaq/  'to bribe'
/mqëaq/  'she picks out'

/eI/  /toëI/  'I send'
/qëI/  'they here'

/eU/  /tsëleU/  'I throw him'
/selëU/  'a kind of small black bird'

/io/  /mbëion/  'landscape; sightseeing'
/mlëo/  'she catches fish with a small net especially used by women'

/ia/  /mbiIan/  'operating'
/mqliI/  'she is floating'

/ie/  /mbiien/  'shells'

/iI/  /tglI/  'I force them'
/taI/  'days'

/iU/  /tslillI/  'I walk on the side of it (m)'
/niI/  'thing (m), things'

/ooI/  /mqëoIT/  'she pushes'
/socI/  'side-dish'

/ooU/  /sqëoU/  'whom does it concern?'

/aaI/  /haaIn/  'louse'
/mbæaIT/  kind of yeast made from bark, used in manufacture of palm-wine

/aU/  /tsqaaU/  'I stab him'
/ngaaU/  'the pitiful'

/eeI/  /qeëI/  kind of rattan

/eeU/  /selëeU/  'small wooden crowbar'
/sreëU/  'fragrant grass used for cooking'

/iI/  /tslillI/  'I caress him'
/qmiI/  'a lot of dust'
5.2 Two place consonant clusters

| p | b | P | f|m | w | U | d | t| R | n | s | l | y | I | k | G | n | q | h | # |
| + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
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Table 8

/pt/ /ptāpta/ 'to play soldier', /pr/ /prēman/ 'I am a free man'.

/bd/ /bdq/ 'powder', /br/ /brq/ 'fast; quick', /bn/ /qābneT/ 'local government', /bl/ /mqābleT/ 'it (f) is empty.

/Fm/ /FtstBm/ 'I stop her', /Fw/ /FtlaF/ 'I hit him on the ears', /Fs/ /kāPser/ 'echo', /Py/ /ulāPy/ 'he hits them on the ears', /P#/ /suP/ 'soup'

/fp/ /FpaeT/ 'we (incl.) pay', /Fb/ /fhāmer/ 'we white-wash', /ff/ /ffāda/ 'our (incl.) colour', /fm/ /fmal/ 'our (incl.) tongue', /fw/ /fwet/ 'we are small', /ft/ /ftōma/ 'we are against', /tf/ /tfēdit/ 'our (incl.) ear(s)', /fr/ /fra/ 'leave', /fn/ /fnoqT/ 'we (incl.) know', /fs/ /fase/ 'our head', /fy/ /fyāFqT/ 'we have a wound, we are wounded' /Fl/ /Flis/ 'we are far away',

/fk/ /fkuuris/ 'we are skinny', /fg/ /Fgyet/ 'our mouth', /f/ /fmaT/ 'our stomach', /fh/ /fhen/ 'we are with blood', /f#/ /faf/ 'we'.

/mp/ /mpeT/ 'she pays', /mb/ /mbādet/ 'we (excl.) sow', /mf/ /mfl/ 'we (excl.) are big', /mm/ /mmbi/ 'it (f) is smoky', /mw/ /mwwe/ 'she asks for', /mt/ /mtāmre/ 'six', /md/ /mdo/ 'we (excl.) say', /md/ /mdyan/ 'we are heavy', /mr/ /mrōn/ 'her mother in law', /mn/ /mnoof/ 'she knows', /ms/ /msāla/ 'we quarrel', /ml/ /Usimlaq/ 'she is still awake', /my/ /myāf/ 'she has a wound', /mK/ /mkaFir/ 'she is a heathen', /mq/ /mqhāq/ 'she tears off', /mq/ /mqlaK/ 'she is lost', /mh/ /mhān/ 'she shoots', /m#/ /sadm/ 'a big knife'.

/wn/ /wniT/ 'container for burning charcoal', /wl/ /wlIn/ 'stairs', /wy/ /wyar/ 'crocodile', /wg/ /wgqIT/ 'tree'.

/up/ /Upäer/ 'he pays', /Ub/ /Ubādet/ 'he sows', /UT/ /UtFāyar/ 'he sails', /Um/ /UmbāIT/ 'he plays', /Uw/ /UwēT/ 'he is small', /Ut/ /Utāhor/ 'he doesn't have enough', /Ud/ /Udāl/ 'he/it has holes', /bāUT/ 'bolt', /Ur/ /Urāna/ 'he tells', /U/ /Unōof/ 'he knows', /Us/ /Uslon/ 'he catches', /Ul/ /Ulāle/ 'he (is) below', /Uy/ /UyāFt/ 'he has a wound', /Uk/ /Ukīr/ 'he hates', /Uq/ /Uqyt/ 'his mouth', /Un/ /Ungōngo/ 'he catches fishes with his hands', /Uq/ /Uqami/ 'he remembers', /U#/ /tseleU/ 'I throw him'.


/tf/ /tfTfa/ 'I touch', /Tm/ /Tqwm/ 'the instalment of the brideprice', /Tw/ /Tmawf/ 'she cuts him', /Tq/ /mqTsi/ 'she does not allow sb. to participate', /Ty/ /TgyēTy/ 'their mouths', /T#/ /weT/ 'child'.

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6. The syllable

6.1 The syllable structure can be summarized as: \( C_1 \) \((C_2)\) \((C_3)\) \((C_4)\) \((C_5)\) \((C_7)\) \((C_9)\). Whenever one or more consonants occur in intervocalic position they are prenuclear.

\[ V \] \(\text{:/a/}'don't'\n
\[ VC \] \(\text{:/af/}'we two'\n
\[ VCC \] \(\text{:/aɛT/}'white cockatoo (f)'\n
\[ VCCC \] \(\text{:/osyM/}'a great guidance'\n
\[ CV \] \(\text{:/sala/}'fire'\n
\[ CCV \] \(\text{:/tlo/}'I bring sb. to bed'\n
\[ CCCV \] \(\text{:/mbi/}'it is smoky'\n
\[ CCCCV \] \(\text{:/tgdaʃa/}'I make preparations'\n
\[ CCCCVCC \] \(\text{:/tmgho/}'I choke'\n
\[ CCCVC \] \(\text{:/mam/}'we (excl.)'\n
\[ CVCC \] \(\text{:/fisy/}'form'\n
\[ CVCCCC \] \(\text{:/qasym/}'a big chopstick'\n
\[ CCVC \] \(\text{:/msam/}'her head'\n
\[ CCVCC \] \(\text{:/mbɛTm/}'soil (f)'\n
\[ CCVCCCV \] \(\text{:/mhanym/}'it (f) is her own'

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6.2
In Tehit words of one to six syllables occur:

1. Syllable /mbol/ 'home'
2. Syllables /tmbember/ 'I smear'
3. " /tityoqa/ 'coconut'
4. " /tsalowani/ 'I speak on behalf of s.o. else'
5. " /tityoqaqa/ 'all kinds of coconuts'
6. " /tsalowaniwan/ 'I only speak on behalf of s.o. else'

7. Text

7.1 Text: phonetic transcription

1 [nirâna femrâs]
2 nâ màdi màti qôhoin.
3 mbîjas uqjût seyâda ùù urât wângît[h].
4 nà màdî om merû wûfûn ûqûnû ngäuìj Yqûqoûtis, jîzîgî mbîjas wàqembenrit ow.
5 jejn sebaqaua waq, wî mângô[2]: nà re jnòt ngäuîj[2], qawaqande râng qëj.
6 mndêwanik[h], jnôt amî ûdô jejn ûatê, jêin sebà matân.
7 nà moolià magiçejûn, tàti màzên màînîn sebà smîl, ùrînde saûn ûti, tàti mmlîja ngäuîj[h].
9 'amôwqava wàri safarîl ûmbûla wî wûrûq û ûrët[h], sàgû sàta jejî', nà ej ûqûmîn.
11 mâmê nà jàl qëlen nàjår ûù wàsën wàri sebàdrûâ', ùrînde qen ow wëjûtisîlqû.
13 tàti mû ûti go flâq[3]a wàdrar ûù ûdû: "ma:, qen âwêt nên, nsên nàîn ja.'
14 qlen avêt om màsîn ûmbàwûwû màînîn sebàdrûâ màî sebàdrûqo, måq mànà sejàda hûv'.
17 mâmê qlen avêt om màsîn màqsa', nà màdî om mûtâlimë àrowàjûn mànà', mâmê Vàdrô donès sejàda ûûv'.
18 jënì wû nà ûdô sûrenîmbô go ûsôt ûtàla ram mombô'.
19 "mbo nà më jëze amô jeq që[2]'" nà om mësângir måwawin.
21 nà ra: jëze qëmbëdît raì Isàât ûdû: "tët cì, qæ[3]/ot têth, tàdi tàîîn fe ânmîn, ra: g[3]o'mà nânô;?
24 që[3]/ot wàqjëj hëjlën mâmê wàrî nû mànôs ëgej jërinmû nûsi'.
25 flâq[3]a wêmû ûmbàwûwû wàsêm warhënmû, na màróq om mëmûnìb sëns qëwaqande wàsà ûgo go jëze nûs iëtre kikisow.'

7.2 Text: Phonemic transcription

1 /nirâna femrâs.
2 na màdi màli qôhoIn.
3 mbîjas uqjût seyâda ûù urât wângît.
7.3 Text: Interlinear English translation

1 /nirâna fe-mrâs.
story the-first

2 na m- âdi m- âli
human-being they who are escaped they—
to gohoîn
Kohoin

3 mbas U- qâif se yâda ò- U-
mist it(m) ties water mouth those they—
raT wângît.
covered completely

4 na m- âdi o-
human being they— who are escaped those—
m mrê- U U- sfûon I- qânas
(plur.) one—(m) his eyes they—strong
ngâît I- qâso lis, j- èsikgi mbas
not they—look far, they—penetrate mist
w- à- qemben- rît ò- U
he-who—covers closely this—(m)

5 y- èIn se— dâdo— qâwâq,
they—from water— the other side—continuous
wi månô— syoo-
country across the sea, place another— who
na mre I- nôot ngâît, qâwâq
human being some they—know not, continuous
nde rangeq ëI
still today this—(pl.)

6 mnaweñikî, I- nôot Âmo I- òô y-
although, then—know also they—say they—
eIn âle,
come from overthere (rel. lower than the S)
y- èIn sëbra matân.
they—come from stream south.

7 na m- qlÎ- m- qroîqîn, tàli
human being they—float they—wait, sun
m- âsen m- âIn sèbra smil,
it(f)—arises it(f)—comes stream east
bird white - cockatoo this- (f) it (f)- flies
m- mbaduwí m- áIn sebra-U-di
it (f)- passes it (f)- goes West
m- áll sebra- U- qro,
it (f)- goes stream-it (m)- stands (>East),
mlaq m- ána se y'ada
it (f)- brings-itself it (f)- to water mouth
hoU.

extensive.

bird white cockatoo this- (f) it (f)- flies
m- áli- olí m- yal m- do;
it (f)- to- again it (f)- shouts it (f)- says:
"t- sene t- mbaduwí, t- sene t- syála,
"I- fly I- pass, I- fly I- soar,
se- dado- gwaó, se wí- dit
country- across- the sea, water place- or-
safar fle, mbínsa
dinary (>place of origin) storm big, mist
U- qembengí t- sa m- dòdor
it (m)- covers closely, my- head it (f)- goes
t- áli ágo, t- drík se
straight I- to- upstream, I- penetrate water
yada, se fle t- áli ágo.
mouth, water big, I- to- upstream."

they- listen (prom. marker) they- as that
fo, flasýa w- á drar ó- U- and, Flasýa he- who- is old this- (m) he
do: "yo! n- dríe
(m)- says: "come on! you(plur.)- pull-out
mbíers see n- qa f-
anchor (pole) sothat you(plur.)- come we-
orímbí- ee!"
sail upstream- (exclamation)!

thereupon bird white cockatoo this(f)it(f)-
sene m- áqsa, na-
m- flies it(f)- leads-the-way, human being they-
di o-m- álIen qrowá
who- are escaped these they- paddle follow
m- ána, mseyí drixí
dnes
they- to, then then- penetrate and-then
se yáda ó- U.
water mouth this- (m).

they- in/on place human being they- say
Flasyao w- å draró- Ù w- \ëefìTsi
Flasyao he- who-is old this- (m) he- asks Ù- do: "syooma nân- oo?"
he- says: "who you- (excl. marker)?"

human being who they- live land- foot
ra- I- saliT
(mainland) overthere- they they- answer
I- do: "teT ee, qondyol
they- say: "I (excl. marker) Khondyol
tT di t- âain fe å Onim,
I, I- escape I- come via (cape) Onim,
raa syooma nê- oo?
but/and who you- (excl. marker)."

"Flasyao teT, t- åri wëmban, tésia,
"Flasyao I, I- together Wambah, Tesia,
na sâgo lëma qo-m n- Sya
human being also that-are these, you- give
sâla fe teT see f- òrëmbi
fire to I so that we- go up stream
sisi- ee."
together- (excl. marker)."

Khondyol he- gives fire to human being
o-m, têsya w- åsen fo Ù-syå-
these, Tesya he- stands up and he-gives-
hoK qôdo-see m-âna qondyol
in return bamboo-water it(f)-to Khondyol
fe Ù- qâIn ngâIT ni mre m-
because he- has not thing a it(f)-
nde ågo- m.

as that- (f).

Khondyol he- pack-up things and he-
to-
na mâno ège-I y-
gether human being other those they-
òrëmbi sisi.
go upstream together.

Flasyao he- turned [to the left] he-passes
w- åse wheren- m, na m-
he- lives Wheren- (f), human being they-
àroq o-m m- àrëmbi sros
many these they- upstream straight ahead
qâwag nde se w-à sa
through as far as water it(f) that- is head
ago fo y- ëse sisi ryere
upstream then they- live together hill
kikiso- Ù./
Kikiso- (m).

7.4 Free English translation

1 The first story
2 The refugees 1) go to Khooin. 2)
3 Mist covered the mouths of the rivers 3) completely.
4 None of the refugees had eyes strong enough
to penetrate the thick mist.
5 They came from the other side of the ocean
but until today nobody knows exactly from
which place.
6 Though they know that they came from somewhere
South.
7 They floated and were waiting for the sun
to rise in the East but the next morning
the sun did not appear.
8 Their children were crying because they
were hungry and the adults spoke with sorrow
about the absence of food.
9 The waves and the wind besieged them and
all their possessions became wet, their
fire went out and they were cold.
10 The following day the old Flasyao 4) drew
lots, and they picked the eagle.
11 So, the people sent the eagle to the West
but it came back without result.
12 Thereafter the people sent out every animal
aboard, but in vain; they too came back
without result.
13 Another time the old Flasyao said: "Well,
white cockatoo, it is your turn to fly now."
14 The white cockatoo flew to the West than
turned to the East and arrived at an open river mouth.\(^5\)

The white cockatoo flew back and cried:
"I have been flying and soaring
I, who come from across the sea,
from our homeland.
Through violent storms and thick mists
I found my way to the mouth of
the big river and I went upstream."

When they had heard this, the old Flasyao said: "Come on, pull out the anchorpole, come and let's sail upstream!"

The white cockatoo led the way and the refugees paddled after it and entered the estuary.

When they came near a place called Sere-nombo\(^6\) they saw the smoke of a fire.

"Somebody probably lives here," they said to each other.

The old Flasyao asked: "Who are you?"

The people who lived there on the banks answered: "I, I am Khondyol, I fled via Cape Omim\(^7\), but who are you?"

"I am Flasyao, and here are also Wamban
and Tesia and all the others. Give me
fire and let us sail upstream together."

Khondyol gave them fire and Tesia gave
Khondyol a bamboo water container in return, because he did not have a thing like that.

Khondyol packed his things and went up-stream together with the others.

Flasyao turned [to the left] and settled
in Whren\(^8\). The others went straight up
to the upper part of the estuary and set-tled on the hill Kikiso\(^9\).

Notes
(1) It is not known what caused them to fly.
(2) Original name for Teminabuan.
(3) Meant are the rivers Kaibus, Beraur,
Keyen and Seremuk.
(4) The leader of the group.
(5) The river Kaibus.
(6) Serenombo is located on the left bank
of the estuary, a few kilometers
from the coast.
(7) Fak-fak.
(8) Whren lies approximately 2 kilometers
as the crow flies from Teminabuan.
Flasyao ascended the left branch of
the Kaibus, the Seribau.
(9) The hill Kikiso lies in Teminabuan.

7.5 Text: Free Indonesian translation

1 Ceritera pertama
2 Perpindahan manusia ke Khohoin
3 Kabut rapat menyelimuti muara-muara sungai itu dengan sempurnanya.
4 Para pengungsi itu tak satupun kuat mata-
nya menatap jauh mengatasi kabut tebal itu.
5 Mereka datang dari seberang samudera, ne-
geri mana itu sebenarnya tak seorangpun
dapat mengatakannya hingga sekarang.
6 Meskipun demikian mereka tahu pasti keda-
tangan mereka dari sana, dari sebelah se-
latan.
7 Mereka, para pengungsi itu mengapung samb-
il menantikan matahari bangkit dari sebelah timur, namun hingga hari berikutnya
pun matahari tak menampakkan diri.
8 Anak-anak kecil merengek lapar, para pe-
rempuan dan lelaki sangat kuatir karena
tidak ada lagi sesuatu untuk dimakan.
9 Amukan ombak dan angin ribut membasahi
segala sesuatu yang ada, begitu pula api yang dibawa menjadi padam sehingga orang-
orang itu menjadi kedinginan.
10 Keesokan harinya Flasyao tua bangkit me-
lepas undi, dan undian jatuh pada burung elang.
11 Lalu diutus oranglah burung elang itu ke
arah barat namun burung itu ternyata kembali dengan hampa.
12 Kemudian diutus pula binatang-binatang lainnya, namun mereka pun tetap kembali
dengan tak berhasil pula.
13 Dan pada kesempatan lainnya Flasyao tua
berkata: "Kakatua putih, sekarang giliran-
u, terbanglah pula."
Bunung kakatua putih itu terbang dari arah barat melintas ke arah utara, tibalah ia pada muara sungai besar.

Bunung kakatua putih itu terbang pulang, sambil berkata:
"Aku terbang melintas, aku terbang melayah seberang samudera, tanah asal.
Angin ribut, kabut selimuti kepalaku menegak, tujuku ke atas aku masuki muara, sungai besar tujuanku"

Setelah mendengar demikian, Flasyao tua itu pun berkata: "Ayolah, cabut tiang penyangga supaya kita mudik"

Lalu bunung kakatua putih itu pun terbang mendahului dan para pengungsi itu berdayung mengikutinya kemudian barulah mereka memasuki muara sungai itu.

Tiba pada suatu tempat yang dinamakan Serenombo tampak oleh mereka asap api mengepul.

"Mungkin tempat ini telah dihuni orang lain." kata mereka satu sama lain.

Flasyao tua itu lalu menyapa: "Siapakah kamu?"

Orang yang berdiri di daratan itu kembali membalas: "Aku, akulah Khonjol, aku mengungsi dengan melewati (tanjung) Onim; sedang kau siapa?"

"Aku ini Flasyao, aku bersama Wamban, Tesia dan semuanya orang ada di sini. Berikan aku api supaya kita mudik bersama."

Khonjol memberikan orang-orang itu api, Tesia lalu menggantikannya dengan bambu air (tabung air) karena Khonjol tidak memiliki sesuatu seperti itu.

Khonjol, setelah mengemasi barang-barangnya ia pun turut mudik bersama orang-orang itu.

Flasyao membelok ke kanan dan pergi memampat When, sedang orang lainnya terus memudik ke hulu sungai lalu bersama-sama menempati bukit Kikiso.

8. Orthography

8.1 For obvious reasons the orthography is

8.2 Text: in the proposed orthography

1 Nirana femres.

2 Na madi mali Khohoin.

3 Mbias wkhaits seyda ow wrat wanggit.

4 Na madi om mrew wsfuon ykahans nggait ykhaso lis, yesikgi mbias wakhembenrit ow.

5 yein sedadokhawakh, wimanosyoo na mre ynoot nggait, khawakhnde rangge khey.

6 Mndewanik, ynoot amo ydo yein ale yein sebra matan.
7 Na mkhilia mkhrokhein, tali masen maa
sebra smil, erinde saun oli, tali mbmilakh
nngait.
8 Wet hen nyan yewa fe ykhadot, nangi yori
nandla nyan na mdodrar fe ernite ymbosi.
9 Aloukhafa wari safar fle wmba ni warokh
ow wsret, sago sala yegi, na ei ykhomin.
10 Tali oli fo Flasyao wadrar ow wsindik
wflan hele, hele mali mana khlen naryw.
11 Mase na ydik khlen nayar ow wsene wali
sebraudi, erinde khlen ow walioli slokh.
12 Mase na ymbahe wanggit nikhol warokh nyan,
samakh eri yeloli slokh sago.
13 Tali mre oli fo Flasyao wadrar ow wdo:"maa,
khlen awet nen, nsene naain ya."
14 Khlen awet om msee mmbaduwi mmmain sebrandi
mali sebraukhro, mlakh mana seyada how.
15 Khlen awet om msee malioli myal mdo:
"Tsene tmbaduwi, tsene tsyala, sed أكدaka-
wakh, se widit, safer fle, mbias wkhem-
bengit, tsa mdodor tali ago, tdrik seyada,
se fle, tali ago."
16 Yosole mnde okho fo, Flasyao wadrar ow wdo:
"Yo! Ndiri mberes see nkha forinmbi ee!"
17 Mase khlen awet om msee maksha, na madi om
msalien khrowain mana, mase ydrik dnes
seyada ow.
18 Yine wi na ydo Sorenombo fo yso salvation ram
mbbi.
19 "Mbo na mre yese amo yekh kho." na om
msanggir mawain.
20 Flasyao wadrar ow weefitsi wdo: "Syooma
nan oo?"
21 Na raa yeve fombideit rai ysalit ydo:"Tet
ee, Khonydol tet, tdi taain fe Onim, raa
syooma nen oo?"
22 "Flasyao tet, tari Wamban, Tesia, ba sago
lema khom, nsya sala fe tet see forinmbi
sisi ee."
23 Khonydol wsysa sala fe na om, Tesia wasen
fo wsysahok khodose mana Khonydol fe wkhain
nggait ni mre mnde okhom.
24 Khonydol wkhoyo hrien mase wara na mano
24 ekhey yorinmbi sisi.
25 Flasyao wambi wmbaduwi wase Wrenn, na
marokh om marinmbi sros khawakh nde se
wasa ago fo yese sisi ryere Kikisow.

Footnotes

1) The following symbols have been used:
  C consonant
  v vowel
  c unreleased
  ~ nasalization
  ~ shortened
  < breathiness
  V, V: length
  ~ rounded

is realized as
# presence of wordboundary
" syllable boundary or morpheme boundary
/ or
- in free variation with
- relevant position in the syllable/word
[',"/' prominence peak
F fricative
O occlusive
N nasal
vcl voiceless
vcd voiced
[MWJIU] voiceless sounds

2) Before Mbrariri (also: Mariri) became into
use as lingua franca, another language
functioned as means of interethnic commu-
nication, the Onim language (in Tehit called
[qsa']). Onim was spoken in Kaiman, the
Onim peninsula (Fakfak), along the coast
of the Maccluer Gulf, in the northern, south-
eastern and western part of the Bird's Head
Peninsula and in the northern part of Raja
Ampat. Tradition has it that this language
was also used in commercial contacts with the
Portuguese. It was eventually replaced by
Mbrariri since the relations with the inhabi-
tants of the Vogelkop became more intensive
with Ternate and Tidore. Onim is still known
in the Tehit area by people of sixty years
and older.

3) According to Simon Tesia (53 y.) and Anton
H. Flassy (52 y.)
4) As framework for the description the theories of Trubetzkoy and Ebeling have been chosen; see also Stokhof 1979.

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Appendix I

Some observations on Tehit grammar

The language shows two noun classes: those which occur with possession marking prefixes and those which do not. The former class consists of nouns denoting parts of a (greater) whole such as body parts, parts of a tree or house and those denoting kinship relations and similar notions. The latter class includes all other nouns.

Column A in matrix I shows all possessive prefixes occurring with class 1 nouns, column B the free possessive pronouns which precede class 2 nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sing.</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tēda tēfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plur.</td>
<td>incl. f</td>
<td>fāfi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>excl. m</td>
<td>māmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>incl. (l)af</td>
<td>(l)afāfi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>excl. (l)am</td>
<td>(l)āmāmi (l)āmefe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing.</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nēna nēfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>nāni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>(l)an</td>
<td>(l)ānāni (l)ānēfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing.</td>
<td>masc. w</td>
<td>wowa wefe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem. m</td>
<td>mōma mefe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plur.</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>yēdi yēfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>(l)ay</td>
<td>(l)ayēdi (l)ayēfe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Matrix I

There is no difference between 2nd. pers. sing. and plur. in Col. A and in the second variant of Col. B.
The same holds true for 1st. pers. pl. excl. and 3rd. pers. sing. fem.

Below a few examples are given:

Class 1 nouns

w-āfo *) 'his older sister'
m-ono 'her father, our (excl.) father'
y-āmon 'their older brother'
t-hāno 'my sister'
f-ōlo 'our (incl.) origins'
t-dēit 'my foot'
n-gri 'your branch (sing. and plur.)'
n-gyen 'your hair' (idem)

*) In this appendix a simplified notation is used.

Class 2 nouns

mōma wọbit 'her tree'
wowa būku 'his book'
yēdi asāy 'their sugar'
fāfi gbati 'our (incl.) tobacco'
māmi mbol 'our (excl.) house'

The possessives used with class 2 nouns function attributively as well as predicatively:

būku wōwa 'the book(s) is/are his'

In class 1 nouns with an initial stem vowel the possessive prefix is obligatory. Nouns with an initial stem consonant occur also without a possession marker but then they have
(a) a generic reference:
\[ t\-ëna \quad 'my \ hand' \]
* ena
\[ m\-fëli \quad 'her \ vagina' \]
fëli 'vaginas, the vagina, a vagina'
or (in combination with another noun)

(b) an indefinite reference:
\[ wqöit \quad déit \quad '(a) \ tree \ root(s)' \]
tree root
\[ vs. \ wqöit \ m\-dëit \quad 'roots \ of \ the \ tree(s)' \]
tree its\( f\)-root

N.B. A similar effect is also obtained with all class 1 nouns by replacing the poss. suff. by na- for humans and ni- for non-humans:
\[ na \quad - \quad òno \quad 'father; \ fatherhood' \]
man - father
\[ ni \quad - \quad òlo \quad 'origins' \]
thing-origin
\[ ni \quad - \quad fëli \quad 'things \ pertaining \ to/in \ connection \ with \ the \ vagina, \ etc.' \]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{s.} & \text{pl.} & \text{du.} \\
1 & t\-òno & f\-òno (l) a\-f\-òno \\
 & & m\-òno (l) a\-m\-òno \\
2 & n\-òno & (l) a\-n\-òno \\
3 & w\-òno & y\-òno (l) a\-y\-òno \\
 & m\-òno & \\
\end{array}
\]

**Matrix II:** Class 1 nouns in initial stem vowel:
- òno 'father'

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{s.} & \text{pl.} & \text{du.} \\
1 & tsi\-tësi & fsi\-fësi (l) åfsi \\
 & & msi\-mësi (l) åmsi \\
2 & msi\-nësi & (l) ånsi \\
3 & wsi\-wësi & ysi\-yësi (l) åisi \\
 & msi\-mesi & \\
\end{array}
\]

**Matrix III:** Class 1 nouns in initial stem consonant: - si-esi 'face'

The possession markers from Matrix I show a great similarity with the independent personal pronouns:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{sing.} & \text{plur.} & \text{dual} \\
1 & \text{incl.} & \text{tet} & \text{fåf} (l) åfåf\-låf \\
 & \text{excl.} & & \text{måm} (l) ånåm\-låm \\
2 & nen & nan & (l) ånån\-lån \\
3 & \text{masc.} & \text{wow} & \text{yit} *) \\
 & \text{fem.} & \text{mom} & (l) åyåt\-låy \\
\end{array}
\]

*) also yìy, yêy and iit.

**Matrix IV**

The pronouns distinguish between 1st, 2nd and 3rd person in singular, plural and dual. In the third pers. sing. there is an opposition masc. vs. fem., which is neutralized in the third pers. plur. and dual. In the first pers. plur. and dual the pronoun distinguishes between 'inclusive we' and 'exclusive we'.

The third person pronouns show a stemvowel alternation between non-front-vowel (singular) and front-vowel (non-singular). In all other persons an alternation in the opposite direction is demonstrable.

The free prs. pronouns are used as (optional) subject forms as well as object forms:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
(tet) & t\- & \text{so} \text{t} \text{m} \text{om} \quad 'I \ text{see} \ text{her}' \\
I & I\- & \text{see} \text{her} \\
(yit) & y\- & \text{so} \text{t} \text{l} \text{a}\- \text{n} \text{an} \text{t} \text{'text{they} see \ text{you} \ text{two}' \text{they}} \text{they} \text{see} \text{two-} \text{you} \\
(fåf) & f\- & \text{so} \text{t} \text{yit} \quad 'we \ text{see} \ text{them}' \text{we} \text{(incl.) \text{we}} \text{-} \text{see} \text{them} \\
\end{array}
\]

**Matrix V**

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{1st} \text{pers.} & \text{sing.} & \text{t} \\
1 & \text{plur.} & \text{incl.} \quad f \\
 & \text{excl.} & m \\
 & \text{dual} & \text{incl.} (l) a\-f \\
 & & (l) a\-m \\
2 & \text{2nd} \text{pers.} & \text{sing.} \quad n *) \\
 & \text{plur.} & \text{incl.} \quad (l) a\-f \\
 & \text{dual} & (l) a\-m \\
3 & \text{3rd} \text{pers.} & \text{sing.} \quad \text{masc.} \quad \text{w} \\
 & \text{plur.} & \text{def.} \text{+} \text{H} \text{(human)} \quad m \\
 & \text{dual} & \text{indef.} \quad \text{w} \\
\end{array}
\]

Matrix V
*) In addressing a person/persons a Tehit speaker often uses the third pers. form instead of the second pers. form. This usage indicates the speaker's irritation and/or anger with the addressee or his respect for him; it suggests "distantness", compare:

- ngwen 'lazy' : m-ngwen-m! 'you (f.s.) are lazy!' w-ngwen-w! 'you (m.s.) are lazy!' y-ngwen-y! 'you (plur.) are lazy!' instead of: *n-ngwen 'you (s. and plur.) are lazy!' m-mdloq-m! 'you (f.s.) are a whore!' etc.

Matrix V shows prefixes which function as obligatory subject markers with the verb and with predicatively used adjectives. The third person non-dual markers occur also as suffixes with verbs and nouns. In the former case they function as object markers. Again, no difference is made between 2nd pers. sing. and plur. However, in several cases alternation of the stem vowel (s) in singular vs. non-singular forms prevents ambiguity, e.g.

náin 'you go' vs. néin 'you (plur.) go' nat 'you eat' vs. néit 'you (plur.) eat' nása 'you sleep' vs. nése 'you (plur.) sleep' násuk 'you faecate' vs. nősik 'you (plur.) faecate' námbe 'you become' vs. nimbe 'you (plur.) become' nádik 'you carry' vs. nódik 'you (plur.) carry' náaço 'you drink' vs. náoço 'you (plur.) drink' see also Matrix I, IV, VII and VIII for other cases with two different stem vowels depending on singularity or non-singularity.

In the third person prefixes which function as subject markers there is an opposition demonstrable between masculine vs. feminine in the singular. The plural falls into two classes: definite vs. indefinite (or neutral). The indefinite 3rd pers. plur. is expressed by y, the definite 3rd pers. plur. by m for +H nouns (thus coinciding with 3rd pers. sing. fem.), and by w for -H nouns (coinciding with 3rd p. sing. masc.)

verb with alternating stem vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>stem vowel</th>
<th>to go</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

verb without alternating stem vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>stem vowel</th>
<th>to see</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The w, m and y suffixes function as object markers with the verb. However, then the reduced system of oppositions as indicated in matrix I and IV holds true:

w "masc. sing." vs. m "fem. sing." vs. y "plur."

(tet) t- sot- m 'I see her'
(1) 1- see- her
(yit) y- sot- w 'they see him'
(they) they- see- him
(nen) n- sot- y 'you see them'
(you) you- see- them

Nouns occurring with the suffixes m, w or y are marked versus those with s which are unmarked for number and gender and which often have a generic reference (see matrix VI). We have categorized the Tehit nouns provisionally into two main classes: Human vs. non-Human. Non-Human nouns are divided into two subcategories: Animate vs. non-animate. Non-animate nouns in turn fall into two subclasses: big things, units, wholes vs. small things, parts of a whole.

In +H nouns and +A nouns w and m indicate "sing. masc." and "sing. fem.", respectively:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mqsan-m</td>
<td>'dog (female), bitch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mqsan-w</td>
<td>'dog (male)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vs. mqsan</td>
<td>'dogs, dog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-m</td>
<td>'woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-w</td>
<td>'man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vs. na</td>
<td>'human being, people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sma-m</td>
<td>'wife'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sma-w 'husband'
vs. sma 'spouse, married people'
wet-m 'girl'
wet-w 'boy'
vs. wet 'child, children'

In nouns representing male or female beings w and m often have a definite reference:
ndla 'husband'
ndla-w 'the husband'

Needless to say, possession markers give the phrase a definite specific reference too:
têda mQan-m 'my bitch'
t-sma-m 'my wife'

At this stage of our investigation it is difficult to say which suffix has to be assigned to -A nouns. There is a group which allow both of them and where w stands for "smallness" "being part of a whole" and m for "bigness" being an unit" and "definiteness":
wqoit 'tree, trees'
mbol 'house, houses'
mbol-m 'the big house'
wqoit-m 'the small tree, the trees'
mbol-w 'the small house, the houses'

t-ëna 'my hand, my hands'
t-ëna-m 'my hand, my whole hand'
t-ëna-w 'my hand, part of my hand'

But in other cases the choice is unpredictable and should be indicated in the dictionary. Examples are:
w-sna w 'moon'
m:sfombim 'land, mainland'
mâruw 'lake'
tâlîm 'sun'
tâliv 'day'
ronîm 'life'
qâdotw 'famine'
qâsimk 'love'
tâmbrâw 'jungle'
ogîm 'death'
qôqow 'illness'
qolim 'bad and wild spirit'
qâhew 'torrent, flood'

When m occurs with +H nouns and w with -H nouns they may also have a plural definite reference:
a-n w 'the people; the men; the women'
sma-n 'the married couple; the wives; the husbands'

ndla-m 'the husbands'
wet-m 'the children'
mqan-m 'the dogs'
mboîw 'the houses'
sika-w 'the cats'
wqoit-w 'the trees'

Plural indefinite reference is designated by y if the stem is not preceded by a possession marker:
sma-y 'marriage'
na-y 'people'
ndla-y 'husbands'
mqan-y 'dogs'
mboîy 'houses'
wqoit-y 'trees'

Words such as sugar, sand normally take -y:
kindî-y 'sand'
asây 'sugar'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sing. (def.)</th>
<th>fem. (def.)</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>indef.</th>
<th>unmarked/generic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marked</th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
<th>plur.</th>
<th>indef.</th>
<th>unmarked/generic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Matrix VI**

examples: qôrik 'pig, pigs'
qôrikw '(1) the boar, (2) the pigs'
qôrikm 'the sow'
qôriky 'pigs'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>t-qain</th>
<th>kindi</th>
<th>kindiy</th>
<th>kindim</th>
<th>kindiw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'I buy sand'</td>
<td>'I buy sand; several kinds of sand'</td>
<td>'I buy the heap of sand'</td>
<td>'I buy part of the sand, I buy the heaps of sand'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Compare the meaning of the following SV clauses:

wet(-w) w-àain the boy goes (+H)
gòrik(-w) w-àain (1) the boar goes (+A)
(2) the pigs go (+A)
kapal(-w) w-àain (1) the small ship goes (-A)
(2) the ships go (-A)
wet(-m) m-àain (1) the girl goes (+H)
(2) the children go (+H)
gòrik(-m) m-àain 'the female pig goes' (+A)
kàpàl(-m) m-àain 'the big ship goes' (-A)
wet(-y) y-èin 'children go' (+H)
gòrik(-y) y-èin 'pigs go' (+A)
kàpàl(-y) y-èin 'ships go' (-A)

w, m, y function as phrase boundary markers:

wet-m but wet-ògu-m 'that child (near addr.)'
(tet) t-sya sirot 'I give letters'
(tet) t-sya sirot tòliky 'I give three letters'

Reduplication with the noun indicates plurality too; there are two types:

(1) with stem vowel alternation, signalling: variation, diversity,
(2) without stem vowel alternation, indicating: distributivity, grouping, e.g.:

wóqüt-wóqüt '(several) clusters of trees, trees dispersed over the area'
wóqüt-qat 'all kinds of trees'

vs. wóqüt-w 'the trees'
wóqüt-y 'trees'
wóqüt 'tree, trees'
wét-wét 'several (little) groups of children'
wét-at 'all kinds of children'
mból-mbol 'several clusters of houses'
mbol-mbal 'all kinds of houses'
gógo-gógo 'serious illness/diseases, appearing frequently'
gógo-gaga 'all sorts of diseases'
sápù-sapu 'several clusters of broom'
sápù-sapa 'all sorts of brooms'

Semantic functions such as recipient, beneficiary, instrument, direction, time, location, etc. are expressed by prepositional phrases. When used with transitive verbs the prepositions show agreement with the preceding object. Some have stem vowel alternation between sing. and non-singular forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>non-singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-aq</td>
<td>-eq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ali</td>
<td>-oli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aain</td>
<td>-ein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ana</td>
<td>-ine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Matrix VII

Examples are:

(tet) t-sya siròt-m
I  I-give letter-fem. 'I give the letter'

(tet) t-sya siròt(m) m-àanàn 'I give the letter to/to you'

(tet) t-sya siròt(m) m-àanàt 'I give the letter to/to them'

(tet) t-sya siròt(y) y-ìne wow/mom/yit/nen, etc.  'I give the letters to him, her, them, etc.'

plur-to he/she/to you

'(I give the letters to him, her, them, etc.'

(mom) m- mba (tet) t-àri hamer
she she-hits I  I-with hammer 'she hits me with a hammer'

(mom) m-mba (tet) t-àri hamer t-aq-pàsar
I in marketplace

'she hits me with a hammer in the marketplace'

(faf) f-mba (mom) m-àri hamer m-aq-pàsar m-àri ngrón we we(incl.)  yesterday

'we hit her yesterday with a hammer in the marketplace'

sirot m- àain (tet) t-aq
letter she-from I  I-in/at 'the letter comes from me'

(mom) m- sya bùku(y) y- èin pàsar y-(she) she-gives book(-plur) they-from market they-ine f- ème- m
to our(incl.)-mother-fem. 'she gives books from the market to our mother'

(tet) t- sya bùku m- ìna wet hnyo- w
I  I-give book fem-to child nice-male

'I give the (big) book to the nice boy'

Tenses are not indicated with the verb,
but must be inferred from the context (modal auxiliaries and/or lexical clues).

\[ m \text{do/mam} \quad m \text{-sroin sirôty.} \]

\[ \text{She will/plans to write letters} \]

\[ \text{Yesterday} \]

\[ \text{She will/wants to finish the writing of the book.} \]

\[ m \text{-do} \quad m \text{-sroin wâle bûku-m} \]

\[ \text{She will/plans to finish the writing of the book.} \]

\[ \text{Yesterday} \]

\[ \text{she will/plans to write letters} \]

\[ \text{she plans to write letters} \]

\[ \text{She will/wants to finish the writing of the book.} \]

\[ \text{Yesterday} \]

\[ \text{She will/plans to finish the writing of the book.} \]

Examples are:

1. /fan qom/ 'this road (near S)'
2. /fan çqom/ 'that road (near A)'
3. /fan anâm/ '(1) that road over there (not near S or A)'
4. /fan alêm/ 'the/that road (which we are planning to take)'
5. /fan mûqom/ 'the/that road (which we have taken)'
6. /fan ram/ 'that road outside (relatively higher than S or A)'
7. /fan qoîtm/ 'that road over there (slightly sloping), (either) end of the road'
8. /fan om/ 'the road you know; known to us'

\[ \text{qom and qow may be combined with sets 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, to indicate 'a high degree of proximity' in the literal as well as in the metaphonical sense.} \]

\[ \text{qom occurs with masc. and plur. forms, qow with the fem. form, e.g.:} \]

\[ \text{qomqom 'this very near to me (f)'} \]
\[ \text{qowqow idem (m)} \]
\[ \text{qomqey 'these very near to me'} \]
\[ \text{qomoqom 'that very near to you (f)'} \]
\[ \text{qowqow idem (m)} \]
\[ \text{qomeqey 'those very near to you'} \]
\[ \text{qomaqom 'that what just happened to me (f)'} \]
\[ \text{qowqow idem (m)} \]
\[ \text{qomqoitm 'that over there at the end of the road (f)'} \]
\[ \text{qowqoitm idem (m)} \]
\[ \text{qomqeyity idem (plur.)} \]

\[ \text{Deictics in combination with the independent personal pronouns occur in the plur. form (in'y) only, though the pronoun may designate one person:} \]

\[ \text{tet qey 'I, here'} \]
\[ \text{fak qey 'we, we here (incl.)'}} \]
\[ \text{yit qey 'they over there'}} \]
\[ \text{yit qey 'they here'}} \]
\[ \text{nem qey 'you here' (sing.)}} \]
\[ \text{nem qey 'you there' (plur.)} \]

**Matrix VIII**

Deictic words
Appendix II

Tehit Kinship Terms

Superscript * indicates "For Female ego"; an asterisk stands for "For Male ego" and + means "deceased"

/tólwineU/  F, M (F), HF(riend's)F,

/tólwineM/  M, MBD, FMD (#M), HF(riend's)M

/táamuw/k/  MB, MFBS, MFZS, MMBS, MMZS, FMBS

/táamukun/  FZ, FPBD, FMBD, FFDZ, FMMD

/tónbél/  FBD, FBD, FMBoS, FMZOS, MZOH, FFBOS, FMZOZ

/tónbélom/  MZO, MBOD, MMBD, MMZOD, FBOW, FMBD, FMZOD, FMD (#M)

/tápézim/  MZY, MFByD, MFZD, MMYD, FBYW

/táodu/  FFBYS, FMZYS, MZYH, FBY, FFBYS, FMBY, MH (#F)

/táryem/  MBW

/táryolu/  MBS

/táryolom/  MBMD

/táfas/  FZH, WBS

/táfasm/  WBD, WBSW,

/tádeu/  FF, MF, BBS, BDD, SSS, ZDS, MFB, MMB, FB, FMB, WBD, WBSW, WZDS, WSSS, HBSW, HBS, HZDS, HZSS, SD, SS

/táden/  FM, MM, BSD, BDD, ZDD, ZDD, MFZ, MMZ, FZ, FMZ, WBD, WBD, WZDD, WZDD, HD, HSD, HDSS, ZDD, DD, SD

/táqowol/  FFF, FMM, MFF, SSS, SDS, DDS, DOD

/táqowos/  FFF, FMF, MFF, MMM, SSS, SD, DDD

/táqowosm/  FFF, MFM, MMM, SSS, DDS, SDD, DDD

/táwínw/  FFFF, FMFF, MFFM, MMMF, etc., SSSS etc.

/táwínm/  FFFM, FMMM, MMFM, etc., DDDDD etc.

/tábálw/  FFFFM, MMMMF, MMMMF, etc., FFFFFF, etc., SSSSS etc.

/tábálm/  FFFFM, MMMMM, etc., MMMMMetc., DDDDDD etc.

/támonw/  bo, MBS, MZOZ, MZYS, FBOZ, FBYS, FZS, FWSO (#M), FWSO (#M), MISO (#M), MISO (#M), FSYS (#BY), FSYS (#BY), M/SO (#M), M/SO (#M), HF(riend's)BO

/tálwineTw/  FBY, BY, MZYS*, FSYS*, FSZ*, FWSY (#M), MYS (#M), FSY (#BY), MH (#BY), HF(riend's)BY,

/tálwineTw/  HFS (#BY), HYS (#BY)
Appendix III

Some Dutch loanwords

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>Tehit</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aannemer</td>
<td>'anemer/</td>
<td>'contractor'</td>
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<tr>
<td>aanval</td>
<td>'maanfal teT/</td>
<td>'I have an attack'</td>
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<tr>
<td>afkeuren</td>
<td>'tafker/</td>
<td>'I condemn, I declare unfit'</td>
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<tr>
<td>album</td>
<td>'album/</td>
<td>'album'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ambachtschool</td>
<td>'hambaksxol/</td>
<td>'technical school'</td>
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<td>'aqker/</td>
<td>'anchor'</td>
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<tr>
<td>atlas</td>
<td>'atlas/</td>
<td>'atlas'</td>
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<td>auto</td>
<td>'oto/</td>
<td>'car'</td>
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<td>bak</td>
<td>'bak/</td>
<td>'container'</td>
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<td>'ban/</td>
<td>'belt, tires'</td>
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<td>bank</td>
<td>'banK/, /banK/</td>
<td>'bank'</td>
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<td>'bąńko/</td>
<td>'bench'</td>
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<td>'bátreI/</td>
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<td>behandel</td>
<td>'tbaňandel/</td>
<td>'I handle'</td>
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<td>'bir/</td>
<td>'beer'</td>
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<td>'fėfaq/</td>
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<td>'bleq/</td>
<td>'tin'</td>
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<td>blok</td>
<td>'blooK/</td>
<td>1) 'block' (noun)</td>
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<td>2) 'block' (verb)</td>
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<td>'bolt'</td>
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<td>breien</td>
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<td>'she knits'</td>
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<td>'kind of civil servant'</td>
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<td>rekenen</td>
<td>/ˈtreken/</td>
<td>'I calculate'</td>
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<td>ring</td>
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<td>tekort</td>
<td>/teˈkoːr/</td>
<td>'shortage'</td>
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Jakarta 1979

* * *

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