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LONG CONSONANTS IN PATTANI MALAY:
THE RESULT OF WORD AND PHRASE SHORTENING

วิทยานิพนธ์การ

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บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้นำเสนอผลการศึกษายัญชนะเสียงยาวในภาษามลายูถิ่นปัตตานี ซึ่งปรากฏในตำแหน่งต้นของคำ อันเป็นผลจากการลดรูปคำและวลี อาจจะถูกดูได้ว่าคำที่มีพยัญชนะเสียงยาวทุกคำเกิดจากคำเดิมซึ่งเป็นคำเต็มรูป พยัญชนะเสียงยาวเป็นลักษณะที่ใช้แทนพยางค์ต้นของคำหลายพยางค์หรือคำที่มีอุปสรรคปัจจัย หรือหน่วยคำแรกในคำประสมและในบางวลี โดยหลักการแล้วพยัญชนะเสียงยาวในภาษามลายูถิ่นปัตตานีเป็นผลจากการลดรูปคำหลายพยางค์เพื่อให้เป็นคำสองพยางค์ นอกจากนี้ยังมีคำพยางค์เดียวที่มีพยัญชนะเสียงยาว ซึ่งเกิดจากคำสองพยางค์ อย่างไรก็ตามกรณีนี้ไม่สำคัญมากนักเพราะคำพยางค์เดียวที่มีพยัญชนะเสียงยาวมีความหมายเหมือนกับคู่คำที่มีพยัญชนะเสียงสั้น

การลดรูปคำและวลี โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งการลดรูปซึ่งทำให้เกิดพยัญชนะเสียงยาวมีผลกระทบต่อภาษามลายูถิ่นปัตตานีในระดับหน่วยเสียง หน่วยคำ และไวยากรณ์ อาจจะถูกกล่าวได้ว่า การกลายเสียงเกิดขึ้นเป็นระบบและระบบของการกลายเสียงก็ถูกกล่าวถึงในวิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้

การลดรูปคำและวลีในภาษามลายูถิ่นปัตตานีไม่เพียงแต่ทำให้เกิดคำย่อที่มีพยัญชนะเสียงยาวเท่านั้น แต่ยังทำให้เกิดคำย่อที่ไม่มีพยัญชนะเสียงยาวด้วย วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ยังกล่าวถึงการลดรูปคำและวลีที่ไม่เกิดพยัญชนะเสียงยาวด้วย

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to present the information on long consonants in Pattani which occur in word initial position as the result of word and phrase shortening. It may be said that every word with long consonants was derived from an original full form. Long consonants may be substitutes for initial syllables of full polysyllabic stems or affixed words, or for the whole preceding words in compound words and some phrases. As a general principle, long consonants in Pattani Malay are mainly the result of the shortening of polysyllabic words to disyllabic words. Besides, there are also monosyllabic words with long consonants which were derived from disyllabic words, but this case is not significant because they fluctuate with their counterparts without long consonants.

Word and phrase shortening, especially the shortening with long consonants affects Pattani Malay at phonological, morphological and syntactical levels. It

may be said that the changes occur systematically, and the systems of change are discussed in this thesis.

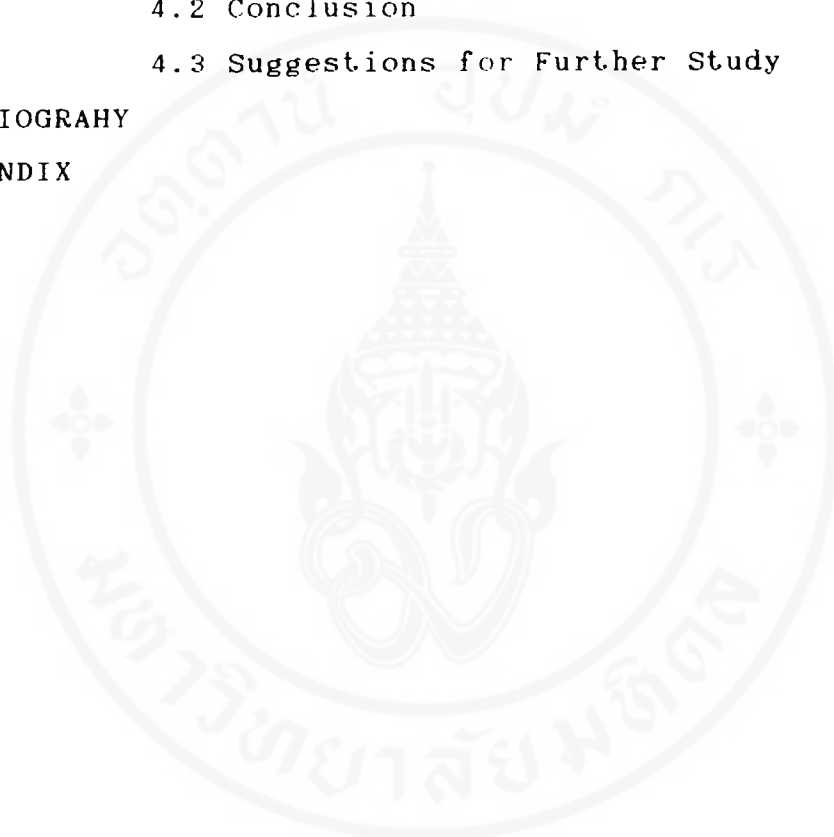
Word and phrase shortening in Pattani Malay does not produce only shortened words with long consonants but also shortened words without long consonants. This thesis also discusses word and phrase shortening without long consonants.



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ABBREVIATIONS

A.D.	=	Anno Domini
adj.	=	adjective
adv.	=	adverb
C	=	consonant
e.g.	=	for example
i.e.	=	that is
prep.	=	preposition
prep.p.	=	preposition phrase
V	=	vowel, verb
vd.	=	voiced
V.int	=	intransitive verb
vl.	=	voiceless
v.tran	=	transitive verb
...	=	extra primary stress
...	=	primary stress
~	=	fluctuate with
>	=	become
--->	=	change to
<	=	derived from
[...]	=	phonetic bracket
/.../	=	phonemic bracket
{...}	=	morphophonemic bracket

INTRODUCTION

0.1 Rationale

First, Pattani Malay is a dialect used by Muslim people of the Malay ethnic group in Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and some parts of Songkla, but there are very few linguistic books or theses on Pattani Malay. I myself as a native speaker think that there should be more books on Pattani Malay.

Second, long consonants are an important linguistic feature in Pattani Malay, but this feature is neglected by non-native speakers and they consider words with long consonants the same as their counterparts without long consonants. This causes misunderstanding in interpreting Pattani Malay messages. In this case some information on long consonants would be useful to create better understanding between Pattani Malay native speakers and non-native speakers when using Pattani Malay.

Third, in some cases it is hard to find the relationship between words with long consonants in Pattani Malay and words in Standard Malay which correspond to them. But when we trace back the full forms of those words with long consonants, we can see a closer relationship between them, for example, /apa/ in Standard Malay and /nnamɔ/ in Pattani Malay which mean "what". Considering their surface form, we can find no relation between them but when the full form of /nnamɔ/ is presented we can find closer relationship between them as follows:

Pattani Malay**Standard Malay**

/nnaṃ/ < /punaṃ/ < /ʔaṃ naṃ/ /apa/ (/apa nama/ may be
 "what" "what" "name" "what" used in some cases)

For the reasons above I decided to do my study on this topic.

0.2 Objective of the Study

The objective of this study is to describe the source of words with long consonants in Pattani Malay, including the processes of change and the general rules, and to provide some linguistic data for scholars who are interested in this language.

0.3 Scope of the Study

This study is concerned with the result of word shortening in Pattani Malay, focusing on word shortening which leads the occurrence of long consonants. It mainly describes the source of long consonants and the steps of change: lists of words with long consonants, their former forms, types of change and the results of change are presented in this study.

0.4 Methods of Study

The idea to write a thesis on this topic came into my head when I was writing a term paper for a subject of my course work, Introduction to Syntax, where I tried to describe the grammar of my own dialect, Pattani Malay. In doing this paper I found that there is,

in my dialect, a special linguistic feature that can change the class of words. That feature is long consonants. After that I tried to look for literature concerning long consonants in Pattani Malay, and I found a Pattani Malay-Thai dictionary written by Christopher Court, which contains a number of Pattani Malay words with long consonants.

Words with long consonants in the dictionary were used as the basic data of the study, but they were not used as data uncritically. I, as a native speaker of Pattani Malay, checked them myself, and then checked them with other native speakers. After being sure that those words really exist in Pattani Malay and are correct, they were used as a part of the data for this study.

However, there are still many more words with long consonants that were not recorded in the dictionary, yet they are used by native speakers. I found this sort of words through my own knowledge of the dialect, and then I checked them with other native speakers through natural conversation: as I was carrying on a conversation I tried to lead them to such words, and the words would be unconsciously poured out. And from my daily life conversation, I was able to get a lot of words with long consonants.

In tracing back for former forms of words with long consonants, again, I looked up some of them in the dictionary. But only long consonant words which are derived from prefixed words occur in the dictionary. Moreover,

in the dictionary there are a large number of words with long consonants which are not given their former forms. So the former forms of those words had to be traced back with other native speakers. In addition, the words in the dictionary were also checked with native speakers.

Besides, former forms of words with long consonants which do not occur in the dictionary were traced back through direct investigation and indirectly from daily-life conversation. In direct investigation, informants were explained the basic concept of long consonant, i.e. words with long consonants are new shortened forms of their full former forms. Then they were asked to say the former forms of some words. From my field work experience, I found that this worked better with native speakers at the age of over forty, but younger native speakers have a high tendency not to know the former forms of such words.

Moreover, there is a large number of words with long consonants which do not occur in the dictionary, and their full forms can be found in making daily-life conversation with other native speakers.

Some doubtful words can be found in a Bahasa Malaysia dictionary by looking for Kelantan forms. From this I checked the words with some aged native speakers. This was another fruitful way to trace back former forms of words and their transition to becoming words with long consonants. For example, the word /guywtɔʔ/ "a bridge". In my daily-life conversation, I could not find

its former form. But when I found "gertak" (Kelantan) in a Bahasa Malaysia dictionary, I made a hypothesis that the word in Pattani Malay should be /gɛmʏtɔʔ/. Then I checked this word with native speakers of Pattani Malay. As a result, I found that some old native speakers could recall that word, whereas the younger ones did not know its former form.

0.5 Source of Data

The data used in this study is based primarily on the speech of people in Muang district, Pattani province, which is accepted as the Iler variety, the Standard Pattani Malay. The data was collected through conversation with native speakers. A Pattani Malay-Thai dictionary and other documents relating to long consonants in Pattani Malay were used as secondary sources of data. Moreover, Pattani Malay songs, badikir barat (a kind of entertainment which is equivalent to Thai "Lamtat") and Pattani Malay radio programs are also used as sources of data. Generally, aged native speakers and native speakers who know Standard Malay provided more useful data for this thesis.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INFORMATION ON PATTANI AND PATTANI MALAY

1.1 General Information on Pattani

1.1.1 Geography and Population

1.1.1.1 Geographical Location

Pattani is one of the five southern border provinces of Thailand along with Yala, Narathiwat, Satun and Songkhla. Pattani is the second smallest province, in area, in the South. It is located between Latitude $6^{\circ}56'$ and $6^{\circ}32'48''$ N., and longitude $101^{\circ}45'15''$ and $101^{\circ}1'8''$ E, with the area of 2,108 square kilometers (Pattani Provincial Office, 1988:1-2). It is about 1009 kilometers from Bangkok. The borders of Pattani are the following:

- a. In the north, it borders on Songkhla and the Gulf of Siam.
- b. In the south, it borders on Narathiwat and Yala.
- c. In the east, it borders on the Gulf of Siam.
- d. In the west, it borders on Yala and Songkhla.

1.1.1.2 Physical Geography

In general, Pattani is a "Lowland Tropical Forest" area which is usually flooded in rainy season. There are also some parts that are "Hill Forest" area, with a few mountains. Sai Khao mountain is an important mountain in the Sankala Kiri Mountains.

Besides Sai Khao mountain, there are some small mountains along the seashore. The Pattani River, 120 Kilometers long, is the main river of Pattani. It flows from the mountains in the south of Betong district of Yala province to the sea in Muang district of Pattani province. The Saiburi River comes from the mountains in Waeng district of Narathiwat province and flows to the sea in Saiburi district of Pattani province. Besides these two rivers there are other small streams such as the Nong Chik and Yaring streams.

1.1.1.3 Weather

The weather of Pattani is warm throughout the whole year. The average temperature is 27.5° C . There are two seasons in Pattani; rainy season and summer. The rainfall is caused or influenced by the Southwesterly and Northeasterly Monsoons. Summer begins in February and lasts until July, while the rainy season lasts from August to January. The average amount of rainfall is 1,663 mm/year or about 138.5 mm/month. (Pattani Provincial Office, 1988:1-2)

1.1.1.4 Population

Despite its second smallest size in the South, Pattani is the fourth largest in population. Among the five southern border provinces, Pattani is the most crowded: the average population being 127 per square kilometer. From the data at the end of December 1987, the total population of Pattani is 500,484; 247,190 females and 253,294 males. The majority of the population of Pattani is Muslim, with the figure of

375,298 or 74.99 percent. The number of Buddhists is 124,206 or 24 percent, while the number of the people of other religions is 980 or 0.20 percent.

1.1.1.5 Administration

Pattani is divided into 8 districts (amphur) and 4 sub districts (king-amphur). The eight districts are Muang District, Saiburi District, Khok Pho District, Yaring District, Yarang District, Nong Chik District, Mayo District and Panareh District. The four sub-districts are Mai Kaen Sub-district, Toong Yang Daeng Sub-district, Kaphor Sub-district and Mae Lan Sub-district.

There is local administration in the form of the Provincial Administration Organisation. The Pattani Provincial Administration consists of two Tesabans (organisations for local administration in bigger towns) and eight Sukhaphibans (organisations for local administration in smaller towns or big villages).

1.1.2 Historical Background

"Pattani" refers to the area of "Pattani" province as identified by the Thai government according to the provincial system of administration in 2476 B.E.. On the other hand, "Petani" or "Patani" was referred to as a particular area under Malay governments in the past. It included the area of Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and some part of Songkhla. Sometimes it also included Kelantan and Terengganu, states of Malaysia nowadays.

Patani evidently existed before the government of Melaka which began at the beginning of the 15th century A.D. At that time, Patani was a very important trading port on the Malay Peninsula. The Patani government governed an area of 5,446 square miles including Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, Chana and Thepa. (Suara Siswa, 1970:47).

Patani was so wealthy that it tempted many other powerful states to invade it. In 1605 the Johor government suggested that the Dutch government, who had invaded Melaka, should attack Patani and include it into the state of Johor. (Suara Siswa, 1970:47)

Before the 15th century A.D., Patani was known as "Langkasuka". Many historians and historical researchers agree that Lankasuka was located on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, between Kelantan and Songkhla. Its capital was in the present Pattani province. (Chirawat, 1968:8, and Senee, 1974: 12-28).

Langkasuka was among the first Malayu governments which achieved civilisation and wealth on the Malay Peninsula.

Langkasuka is not recorded in Thai history, but it was recorded by many other historians such as the Chinese and Arabians. Those historians mentioned that Langkasuka was established in the first century, between 80-100 A.D. (Sheppard, 1972:5 in A. Bangnara, 1980:2-3). Brahmanism entered Patani in 200 A.D., then later Srivijaya's power spread' over Patani

together with the spreading of the Malay language and Buddhism. (A. Bangnara, 1980:4)

It was recorded in a Chinese archive written in the early 7th century that

"...The kingdom of Lang-Ya Hsui was located by the South Sea. The boundary of Lang-Ya Hsui was thirty days' walk from East to West, and twenty days' walk from North to South. It was 24,000 Lis (Chinese measuring unit) from Canton...people of Lang-Ya Hsui wore sleeveless shirts made of cotton. The king and his noblemen had pieces of cloth on their shoulders. ... The capital was surrounded by walls with two main gates. ...The king went out of the palace on an elephant, with the white state umbrella above, accompanied by drum and flag parades with a number of soldiers. ... This kingdom was founded more than 400 years ago... After the king died, his minister ruled the kingdom and became a king. Twenty years after that, during the reign of Tien Chien (515 A.D.), he died. Phakkatat, his son, became a king. The new king had a good relationship with China..." (Wheatly, 1966:253-254)

D.G.E. Hall believed that the boundary of Langkasuka ended on both coasts: in the east it bordered on the Gulf of Siam at Pattani town, while in the west it bordered on the Gulf of Bengal to the north of Kedah. And he suggested that because Langkasuka had both coasts it could control shipping routes to the Malay Peninsula. (Hall, 1955:28)

Langkasuka was mentioned in historical documents of many countries until the beginning of the 15th century. After that it was never mentioned again. This indicates that Langkasuka had disappeared from the map of the world by that time. (A. Bangnara, 1980:5)

According to Thai history, the relationship between Ayudhya and Patani was first mentioned in 1563, with an accusation against Sultan Madzaffar Shah as a rebel against Ayudhya, but Thai history itself does not have any documents about Langkasuka. (Worawit, 1990:3)

However, Chureerat says that in the 13th century, when the power of Srivijaya on the Malay Peninsula became weak, the Sukhothai army which had been settled in Nakorn Srithammarat since the reign of King Ramkamhaeng, in cooperation with the Nakorn Srithammarat army, took this chance to attack the Malay States and was able to conquer them as far as the end of the Malay Peninsula in 1258 A.D. (Chureerat, 1987:49)

Moreover, It was recorded on King Ramkamhaeng's historical inscription number 1 that

"...เบื้องหัวนอน รอดคนที พระบาง แพรก สุวรรณภูมิ
ราชบุรี เพชรบุรี ศรีธรรมราช ผังสมุทรเป็นที่แล้ว..." which may be
literally translated as follow:

"...In the South Rodkonthi, Prabang, Praek, Suwannaphoom, Rachburi, Petchburi, Srithammarat the ocean coast as the end." (Damnern, 1978:169 in Chureerat, 1987:49)

From that inscription it might be interpreted that the Sukhothai Kingdom in the reign of King Ramkhamhaeng was able to conquer all the states on the Malay Peninsula. But some historians disagree with such an idea. They argue that "...ศรีธรรมราชฝั่งสมุทรเป็นที่แล้ว..." ("...Srithammarat the ocean bank as the end") indicates that the border of Sukhothai ended at Nakorn Srithammarat which is by the sea. Thus there is no evidence to prove that the Sukhothai Kingdom was able to conquer the whole Malay Peninsula (Chureerat, 1987:49).

The Golden Age of Patani had begun after 1516, during the reign of Raja Hijau. Manuel Falcao, a Portuguese merchant, came to Patani and established a Portuguese trading agent there. Fernao Mendrs Pinto, a Portuguese traveller who travelled along Southeast Asia at the time, wrote a book called "Peregrinacaes". In his book, he wrote that in 1538 there were about 300 Portuguese merchants in Patani (Rong and Wilatsawong, 1971:22-26). At that time, travellers and merchants who wanted to travel to the Malay Peninsula or Southeast Asia needed to study the Malay language.

Beside Europeans, there were also people from Japan, China, India, Persia and Arab countries who came to establish diplomatic relations and to trade with Patani. According to a document of the Japanese government, in 1592 the Japanese government sent a group of diplomats to Patani, and the Patani government sent its diplomats to Japan in 1599 and 1606 (A. Bangnara, 1980:30-31).

English merchants arrived in Patani in 1611 and established the "East Indian Company" in Patani. Peter Floris, in his diary, mentioned the situation of Patani at the time. He described the civilisation, the status of the Patani government, the wedding ceremony of the Patani people and the royal wedding ceremony between Princess Ungu of Patani and Sultan Abdul Ghafur Muhyiddin Shah of Pahang (Worawit, 1990:5).

In 1603, King Naresuan, the great emperor of Ayudhya (the equal of the reign of Raja Hijau of Patani) made the first attack against Patani. Patani was supported, both in material and morale by foreigners who were in Patani then, especially the Portuguese and Dutch. This time the Ayudhya army was defeated by Patani (Worawit, 1990:5).

Hendrik Jansen, a Dutch merchant who was in Patani reported that Raja Hijau died on 28 August 1616 after she had ruled Patani for 32 years (Teew and Wyatt, 1970:14). Then Raja Biru, Raja Ungu and Raja Kuning ruled Patani in succession.

After the failure of the first attack against Patani, there was always the rumor of another attack from Siam. In 1630 Raja Ungu attacked Phattalung and Nakorn Srithammarat before facing the second attack from Ayudhya. Phattalung, Nakorn Srithammarat and Songkhla had usually been used as Ayudhya army bases in attacking Patani (Saroop, 1986:96).

The second attack of Ayudhya on Patani took place when King Prasat Thong sent his army to Patani in 1632. Coincidentally, at that time the Prince of Johor together with his 3,000 soldiers were in Patani to attend the wedding ceremony between Princess Kuning and the Prince of Johor. Patani soldiers and the soldiers of Johor succeeded in defending Patani from the attack of Ayudhya. The Ayudhya army went back to Ayudhya with a second failure.

Raja Kuning died in 1688, and this was the end of the Sri Mahawangsa dynasty in Patani. Patani history then was known as "the Era of Troubles" (Saroop, 1986:97). Patani ministers or noblemen chose Raja Bakar, a descendant of a raja of Kelantan, as the Raja of Patani. Not so long after that, Raja Bakar died. After the death of Raja Bakar, there were other rajas chosen by the ministers to rule Patani. Patani during this period was very weak. The weakness of Patani was known by its neighbouring states, which then attacked Patani such as Songkhla, Nakorn Srithammarat and Phattalung (Worawit, 1990:8).

In 1786, during the reign of Sultan Muhammad, at the beginning of the Ratanakosin Era of Siam, Siam made another attack against Patani, with a well prepared army led by Praya Klahom Rajasena. This time Patani was unable to protect its sovereignty, and it has been under the control of Siam since then. Then Siam chose Tengku Lamiddin a raja of Malay race, as the raja of Patani.

Later, in 1791, Tengku Lamiddin rebelled against Siam. The Patani army attacked Songkhla, and Songkhla was defeated by Patani. The governor of Songkhla fled to Phattalung. He asked some soldiers from Nakorn Srithammarat and Bangkok to help him fight against Patani. Patani was defeated by the Siamese army, and Tengku Lamiddin was captured and taken to Bangkok (Chureerat, 1987:54). A number of Patani people were taken to Bangkok as captives, and Siam settled about 300 Siamese people from the neighbouring states in Patani. Moreover, Siam also sent a number of its soldiers to control Patani. Then Siam chose Datu Pengkalan to be the raja of Patani, together with a Siamese supervisor. There were often clashes on political issues between them (Worawit, 1990:9).

In 1809, during the reign of King Rama I, Datu Pengkalan expelled the Siamese people from Patani. This caused another war between Siam and Patani. And again Patani was defeated, and a number of Patani people were taken to Bangkok. (Captives from Patani are the ancestors of the people in Malay speaking communities on the outskirts of Bangkok, such as Klong Nung Keonimit and Ban Bang Pho in Pathumthani, and Ban Tha It in Nonthaburi).

Afer the rebellion of Datu Pengkalan, Siam chose "Plad Chana" of Songkhla as a governor of Patani. Plad Chana was the first Siamese ruler of Patani. Siam moved 500 Siamese families into Patani according to the "Assimilation Policy" of King Rama I (Chureerat, 1987:55). (A policy of assimilation is still used in the five southern border provinces up to the

present.)

After the death of Plad Chana, his brother, Nai Pai, became the new governor of Patani. There were often clashes between the Siamese ruler and the ruled Patani people. So King Rama II decided to use a "Divide and Rule" policy to weaken the power of Patani (Nanthawan Phusawang, 1978:4 and Chureerat, 1987:55-56).

In 1816, Patani was divided into 7 provincial sections: Tani, Nong Chik, Yaring, Saiburi, Yala (Jalor), Raman and Rangae. Each of them had its own administration unit, all of them had Malay rulers chosen by Siam, except Yaring which had a Siamese ruler.

In 1906, during the reign of King Rama V, the Patani Precinct with 7 provincial sections was reduced to four as follows:

1. Jalor and Raman became Yala.
2. Tani, Nong Chik and Yaring became Pattani.
3. Sai Buri
4. Rangae became Bangnara. (Bangnara was changed to Narathiwat on 10 June 1915) (Daranee, 1985:8, and Worawit, 1990:12).

Each of them had a Siamese governor.

The Thai administration system changed again: the four provincial sections of Patani were changed into "Changwat" on 19 May 1916. Thus those provincial sections existed as Changwat Pattani, Changwat Yala, Changwat Narathiwat, and Changwat Saiburi.

After the transformation from absolute Monarchy to Democracy in 1932, Saiburi which used to be a changwat was included in changwat Pattani, as an amphur (district) (Nanthawan, 1978:9).



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Figure 1. Thailand

Source: การปกครอง, กรม. บันทึกกรมการปกครอง. กรุงเทพฯ: ม.ป.ท., 2533

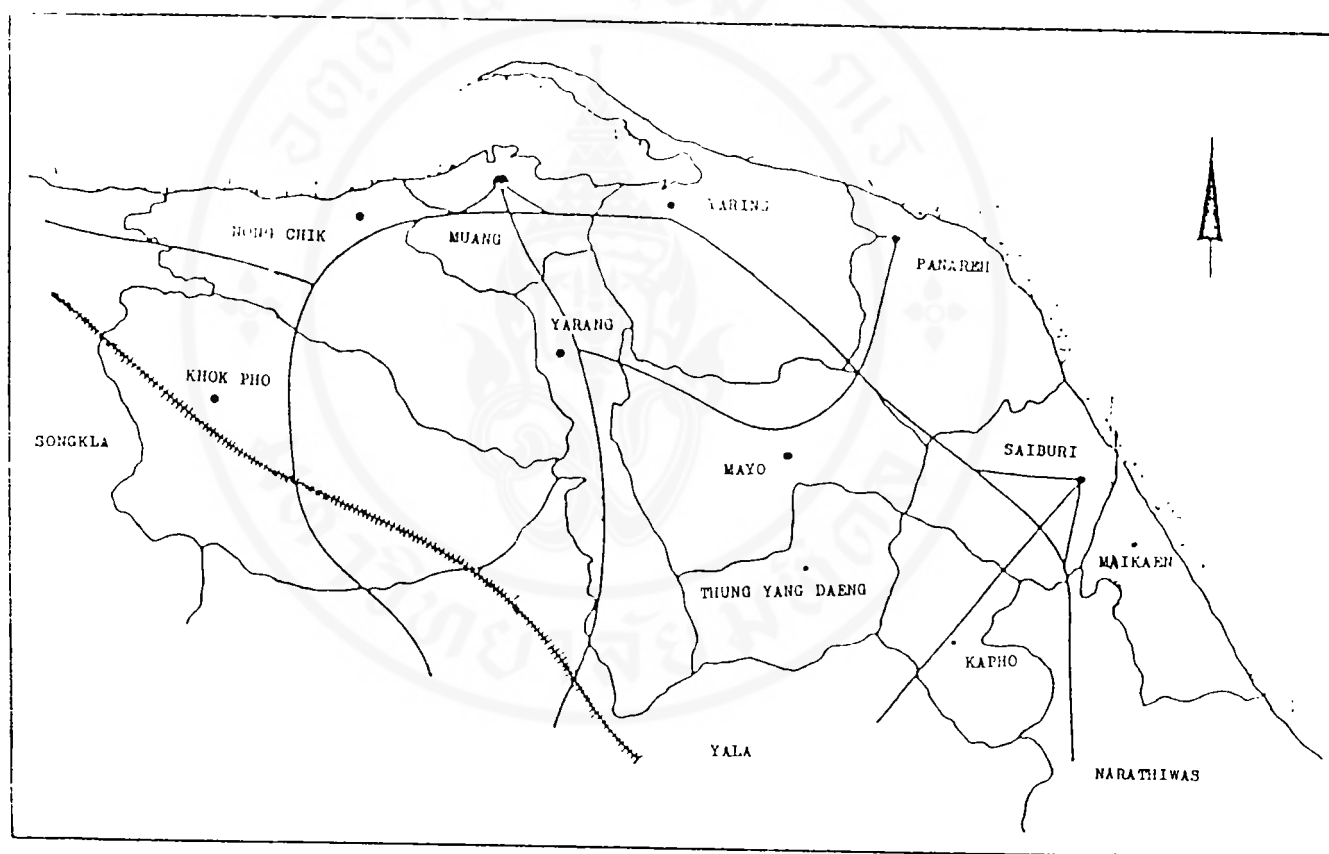


Figure 2. Pattani Province

Source: สถิติแห่งชาติ, สำนักงาน. แผนที่แสดงเขตอำเภอ ตำบล เทศบาลและข้อมูลพื้นฐานของจังหวัด. กรุงเทพมหานคร: สำนักงานสถิติแห่งชาติ, 2527.



Figure 3. The pool in the palace of Muang Boran (Ancient City) in Prawae village, Yarang, Pattani.



Figure 4. Some antique and parts of ancient remains discovered at Muang Boran in Prawae village, Yarang, Pattani.

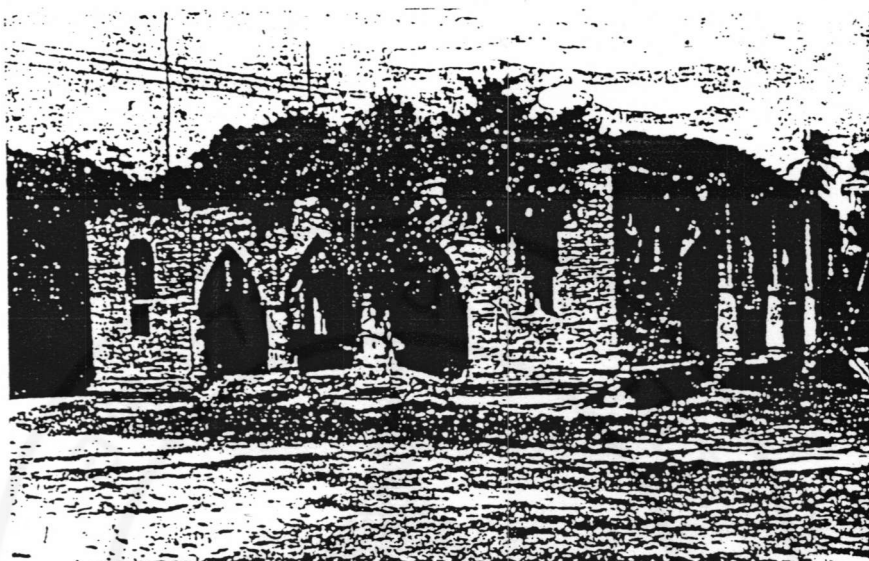


Figure 5. The historical mosque in Kruseh, Muang district, Pattani.

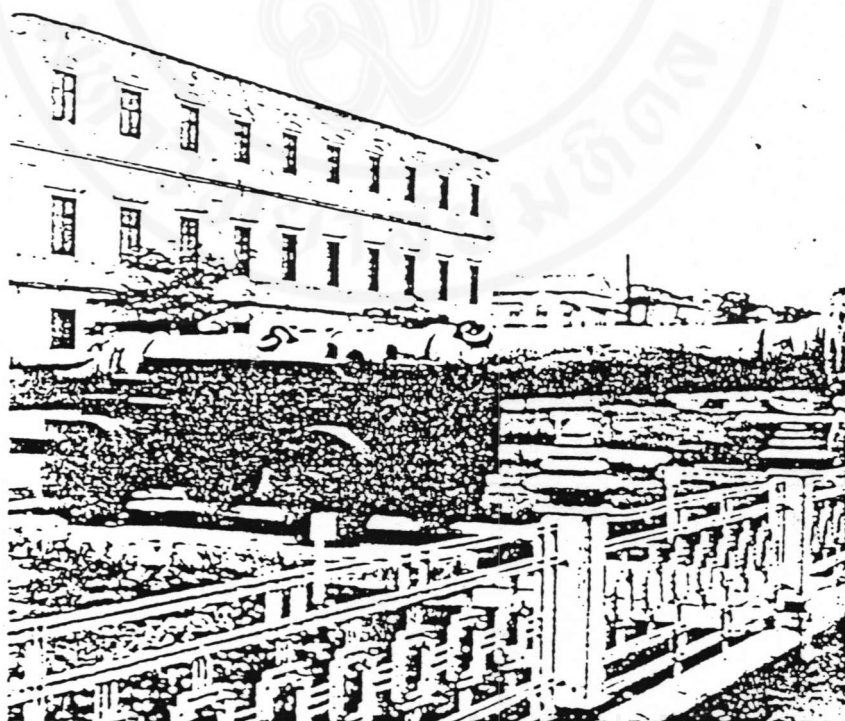


Figure 6. The cannon "Phaya Tani" of Patani, which was taken to Bangkok, is now in front of the Defence Ministry.

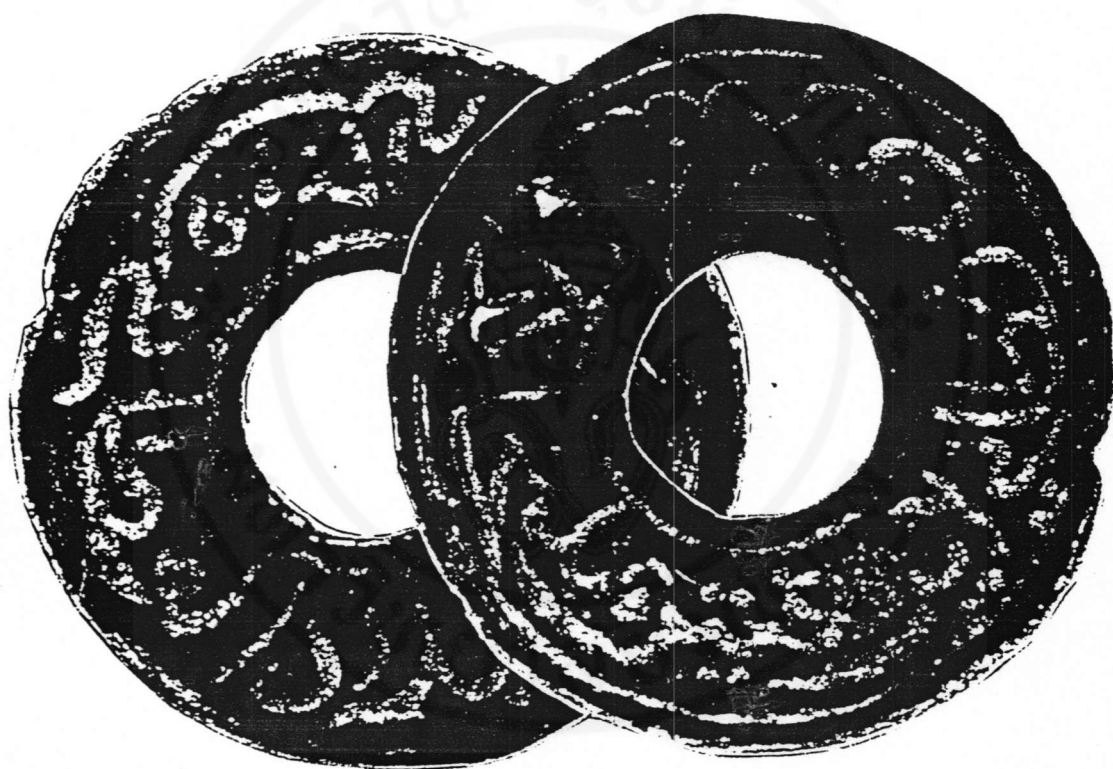


Figure 7. The coins used in Patani in the old time, with Arabic words for "The State of Fatoni (Patani)" on one side (A) and Malay words in Jawi script for "This money is payable in the State of Patani." on the other side (B).

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1.1.3 Socio-Cultural Background

1.1.3.1 Population Structure

The majority of the population in four southern border provinces of Thailand is Muslim, i.e. 77.53% in Pattani, 78.48% in Narathiwat, 65.99% in Satun, and 62.79% in Yala (The Center for Administrative Direction of Southern Border Provinces, 1985:4). The figure for the Pattani Muslim people decreased to 74.99% by the end of 1987. Most Muslims live in the outskirts of Pattani town and in the rural areas, while people of other religions, especially of the Chinese ethnic group, are the majority in the town.

In comparison to Buddhist people, in Pattani the Muslim people are the majority, but at the national level the Muslims in the Southern border provinces are a "Minority" group with a figure which is far less than the Buddhists (Surin, 1982:3).

Most of the Muslim people in the Southern border provinces speak the Malay language in their daily lives. They call themselves "Melayu" or "nnayu" people. The word "Melayu", to them, does not refer just to their race and their language. It contains more deeper meaning relating to Islam and their Melayu culture. "Melayu People" (Orang Melayu) refers to the people who speak Malay, believe in Islam, and live with Malay culture.

On the contrary they call Thai people who believe in Buddhism /ʔɔʏɛ siyɛ/ (Siamese people) which includes the meaning of Buddhist.

1.1.3.2 Religion

According to d'Eredia's diary written in 1618, Islam entered Patani in the 10th century. Islam entered Patani and Pahang, then Melaka (Teew and Wyatt, 1970:75). But Phanngam Ngauthamman said that during the reign of Pra Barom Rachathirat I (1370-1396 A.D.) Patani had not yet been Islamised (Phanngam, 1981:26-28).

The Islamisation of Patani had been recorded in Kelantan history saying that in 1150 there was a Muslim missionary from Patani who went to spread Islam in Kelantan (Hj. Dasuki, 1974:521). This shows that Islam entered Patani two centuries before Melaka, and about a century before the government of King Ramkhamhaeng.

Islam was greatly welcomed by the people of Patani, then about 300 years after that the Patani royal families converted to Islam in 1457 (A. Bangnara, 1980:11).

Historically, Patani or Patani was an important Islamic center of the Malay Peninsula (Saroop, 1986:77) and it used to be the "Cradle of Islam" (Surin, 1983:34) in Southeast Asia. Patani produced a number of Islamic intellectuals, such as Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah bin Idris Al-Fatoni (better known as Syeikh Daud Patani), Syeikh Ahmad Muhammad Zein Al-Fatoni, Syeikh Zainal Abidin Al-Fatoni, and Syeikh Ismail Duad Al-Fatoni (Abdul Latif, 1985:3-4). A large number of Islamic books were written in the Malay and Arabic languages by those Islamic intellectuals. Many of them were published and

sold in Malaysia and Singapore, and they were widely used all over the Malay Peninsula.

Even nowadays, Pattani does not neglect its responsibility in spreading Islam. It still plays a role as the center of Islamic knowledge in Thailand. A lot of Muslim youths from the South and other regions of Thailand such as Ayudhya, Chachoengsao, Nonthaburi, Pathum Thani and Bangkok go to search for Islamic knowledge in Pattani.

In general, all the people of the Malayu ethnic group in Pattani are Muslims, and almost all of them belong to the Sunni Path which is a branch of Islam widely practiced over the Malay Peninsula.

1.1.3.3 Leadership

Beside the leaders or administrators legally appointed by Thai government, Pattani Muslims have their own religious leaders who are highly respected by Muslims, especially in the rural areas. Every village has its own religious leader called the "Imam" who runs Islamic religious affairs within the village. At the provincial level, there is a judge of Islamic affairs called the "Kadi". An imam is usually elected by villagers or committees of a mosque. A kadi is elected by the imams of the whole province. There is an organisation to administrate Islamic affairs at provincial level called "The Provincial Islamic Committee".

1.1.3.4 Dress

The dress of Pattani Muslims is like the Malayu people in Malaysia especially the Kelantan people. Men wear "Sarong Pelikats" and shirts. Women wear "Sarong Batiks", blouses, and use "Kain Lepases" to cover their heads and shoulders. Even Thai government officers dress in Malayu style when they are at home. This situation is a little bit different in urban areas. Young men usually wear trousers when they go down town, while young women tend to wear long skirts. At religious ceremonies such as at Friday prayer, on Eidil Fitr and Eidil Adha days, and at a wedding ceremony, the sight of men in "Baju Teluk Belanga", and women in "Baju Kurung" and "Baju Bandung" can be seen.

Strict Muslim men wear beards and some also wear "Kupiahs" on their heads. Strict Muslim women wear clothes that cover all parts of their bodies except their hands and faces. Some of them, the strictest, are dressed in black clothes covering all parts of their bodies except their eyes. Their hands are covered with gloves, and feet are covered with stockings.

Women covered by white clothes, except hands, feet and faces, and men wearing "Kupiahs" walking to mosques are usually seen at prayer times.

However, some westernized youths, especially in urban areas dress in westernized style like people of other religions.

1.1.3.5 Food

Generally, Pattani Muslim traditional foods are like the ones of Melayu people in Kelantan, Malaysia, such as "Nasi Kerabu", "Nasi Dagang", "Ayam Golek", "Satay", "Pulut Sambal", "Ketumpat Dakat", "Tepung Apam" and so on. But now Thai foods are available in the kitchens of the Pattani Malay people: for instance "Tom Yam", "Som Tam", "Kaeng Pet", "Kaeng Som" and so on.

Pork is forbidden for Muslims. Food that is permitted for Muslims must be prepared in specific ways according to Islamic rules. That is why Muslim people do not eat food cooked by people of other religions, especially animals that must be slaughtered before cooking such as cows, chickens, ducks and so on.

1.1.3.6 Education

Pattani belongs to Educational Region II, according to Thailand's educational region division, which is composed of Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, and Satun. It seems that these provinces are included in the same educational region by the reason that the majority of the people in these provinces are Muslim and they are from the same ethnic group with the same cultural background: they believe in the same religion, have the same culture and speak the same language, except Satun. (Muslims in Satun used to speak Malay, but nowadays the status of Malay language in Satun is very weak, most young Satun Muslims cannot speak Malay. Satun Malay is different from Pattani Malay). So the syllabus used in

this educational region is a little bit different from others. At present Muslim students at primary and secondary school levels do not have to study Buddhism, which is not their religion, but they can study Islamic subjects as their electives.

The education of the people in this region is at a lower standard. In general, the illiteracy of the people is given as 34.4 percent (Pattani Office of Education, 1985:2-3).

To Muslims in Pattani, as well as Yala and Narathiwat, education may be divided into 3 kinds as follows:

1. General Education

General education here refers to education in the form of the general school system run by the government or private people. This system of education may be divided into 4 levels:

1.1 Pre-school Level

The pre-school level of education refers to education before primary school. Education of this level provides readiness for small children before they go to primary schools.

In 1985 the average number of Pattani children (of all ethnic groups) who attended schools at pre-school level was 35.39/ while the target was only 30.00/ (Pattani Office of Education, 1985:3-5). Small children who entered such schools were mostly

children in urban areas, and most of them are of other ethnic groups, not of the Malayu ethnic group.

But nowadays there are many Islamic kindergarten schools run by Muslims graduated from universities in Thailand and foreign countries especially from the Middle East and Pakistan. Many small Muslim children enter such schools.

1.2 Primary School Level

Since education at primary school level is obligatory in Thailand, nearly all Pattani Muslim children are educated at this level. Most Muslim parents regard education at this level necessary. The figure in 1985 shows that 93.09% of the Pattani children finished their primary education, while the target figure is 100% (Pattani Office of Education, 1985:3-5).

1.3 Secondary School Level

There are 17 secondary schools run by the government in Pattani. There is at least one government lower secondary school in each district and sub-district. Some big tambons (villages) have government lower secondary schools. There are two government upper secondary schools in Muang district and three others in Khok Pho, Saiburi and Panareh. So a lot of Muslim youths study at this level.

1.4 College and University

Pattani has two government colleges in Pattani town: they are "Pattani Vocational College" (Wittayalai Achiwasuksa Pattani) and "Pattani Technical College" (Witayalai Technic Pattani). These two colleges provide 2 certificates: Lower Certificate of Vocational Education and Higher Certificate of Vocational Education.

Besides the government colleges, there is a private college which provides the same certificates as the former.

The only university in Pattani is "Prince of Songkhla University" which produces graduates and post-graduates. Although the university is in Pattani, there are very few Muslim students from the southern border provinces in the university. The number of Muslim students becomes less at higher levels.

2. Islamic Private School

Islamic private schools are schools that teach both Islamic knowledge and general academic knowledge. Most Islamic private schools are those that have changed their status from "pondok". To Pattani Muslims, in general, general academic subjects are collectively referred to as /siyε/ knowledge (the knowledge of Siamese). Whereas Islamic subjects may be referred to as /ʔugamo/, /ʔaraʔ/ or /nnayu/ knowledge which literally mean "religious" knowledge, "Arabic" knowledge and "Malayu" knowledge respectively.

For students in the general academic stream this kind of school provides certificates of Matayomsuksa 3 and, for some schools Matayomsuksa 6. General academic subjects are usually taught in the afternoon using Thai language as the medium. On the other hand the Islamic stream provides certificates at the level of "Ibtidai", "Mutawassitah" and "Sanawi" which are equivalent to grade 3, 6 and 10. Islamic subjects are usually taught in the morning using Malay language as the medium.

Islamic subjects are usually obligatory for students of Islamic private schools, but they may or may not study /siyε/ subjects. Recently, Muslim parents in Pattani are tending to send their children to Islamic private schools rather than to general secondary schools. This is because they think that their children will learn both general academic knowledge which is useful for their living, and Islamic knowledge which is necessary for Muslims in order to practice their religion well. However, it is noticeable that the standard of general academic knowledge of students from Islamic private schools is a little bit lower when compared with the standard of students from government general secondary schools.

3. Pondok /pɔn^dɔʔ/

Pondok, here, refers to a traditional private Islamic school which provide purely Islamic knowledge for students, run by "toʔ guʔus", Islamic teachers. This kind of education is purely religious. There is no time limitation, no educational

fee and no certificate in this kind of education. The general objective of such an education is to enable students to practice their religion correctly. One who wishes to become a "to? guyu" will continue his studies until he reaches a satisfactory level recognized by his "to? guyu".

A Pondok is a religious institute which has influence upon Muslim society: it is the center of religion (Islam), culture and conservatism which leads to the world of Malay culture in this region. To the government, the Pondok is a negative institution which obstructs the "Assimilation Policy". In the opinion of the Commission on National Stability of Thailand, every minority group must have Thai identity despite their different religions and cultures. It has a negative attitude towards the Pondok: it claims that a Pondok establishes Malayness rather than helping the assimilation policy. The government does not want to protect the Pondok, so it desires to destroy the Pondok system (Surin, 1984:33).

1.1.3.7 Names of Person and Place

1. Name of Person

In former times Pattani people were named after names of fruits, flowers, vegetables, colors, tastes etc. Even now there are still some people named like that, although they have changed to Muslim names which are in Arabic, for example:

bunō	"flower"
mulo	"jasmine"
timun	"cucumber"
manih	"sweet"

After the Islamisation of Pattani, Muslim names have been used instead of the former ones. Sources of Muslim names are as follows:

Characteristics of God

The 99 names of God which identify his characteristics are used as Muslim people's names. Usually, this kind of name is preceded by the word "Abdul" which means "servant" (of God). For example.

Abdullah	"the servant of Allah"
Abdul Ghaffar	"the servant of the Forgiver"
Abdul Rahim	"the servant of the Merciful"

Name of Prophets

The names of 25 great prophets, from Adam to Muhammad are also used to name Muslim people. Here are some examples:

Yusuf	which is equivalent to Joseph
Duad	which is equivalent to David
Yakub	which is equivalent to Jacob
Sulaiman	which is equivalent to Solomon
Ibrahim	which is equivalent to Abraham

Names of the Members of Muhammad's Family and his Great Followers

The names of Muhammad's great followers commonly used by Muslim men are: Abu Bakr, Ali Usman, Hussein and so on. The names of Muhammad's wives can be easily found all over Pattani, for example, Aishah, Asiyah, Khadijah, Habsah and so on.

Arabic Words with Good Meanings

Nowadays more and more Pattani Muslim people are named by using Arabic words with good meanings, and many are related to Islam, for example:

Noordin	"the light of religion (Islam)"
Kamaruddin	"the moon of religion"
Nasiruddin	"helper of religion"
Nooriman	"the light of faith"

When used by Pattani people, those names are Pattanianized according to Pattani Malay's sound system: for example:

Hussein	becomes	/ʔusen/
Rashid	becomes	/roseʔ/
Haroon	becomes	/ʔaron/
Adam	becomes	/ʔadε/
Daud	becomes	/daʔʔ/
Aishah	becomes	/ʔεsoh/
Mariam	becomes	/mariyε/

2. Names of Places

Almost all names of places in Pattani are in the Malay language. They are usually named after trees or some particular remarkable things, for example:

yu sumilɛ	"nine pine trees"
pohon diyɛ	"durian tree"
kwɪiseʔ	"white sand"
basaa	"A's hut"
ban ^d a	"town"



Figure 8. Silat: Pattani Malay's fighting art.

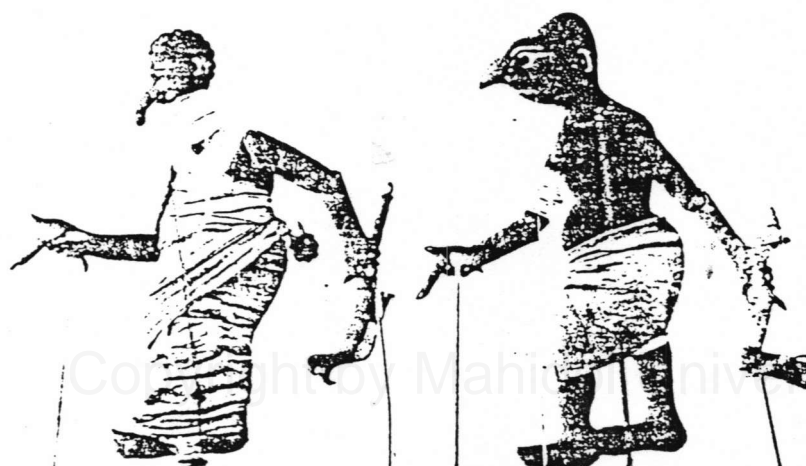


Figure 9. Wayang Kulit: Pattani Malay's shadow movie.

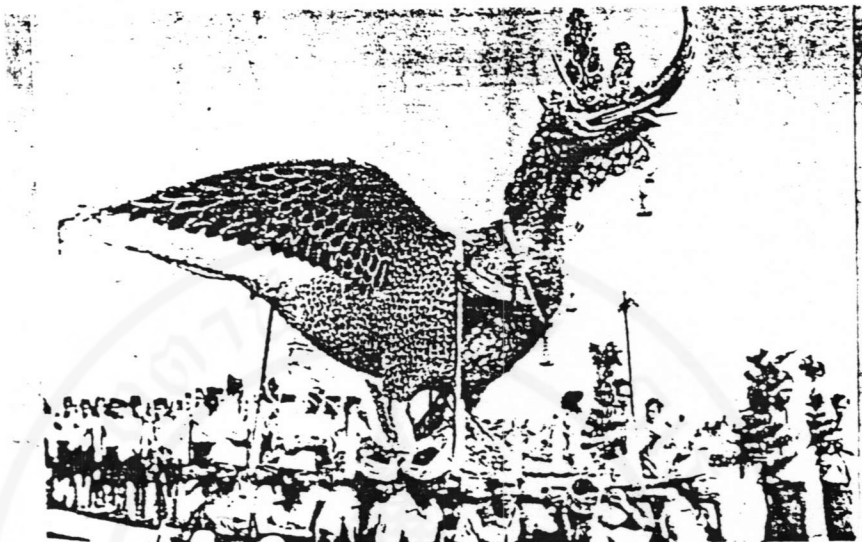


Figure 10. Bird Parade Festival of Pattani.



Figure 11. Bird Parade Festival of Pattani.

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Figure 12. Reaction against the assimilation policy.



Figure 13. Reaction against the assimilation policy.

The Thai government tried to change names of villages in Pattani from Patani Malay into Thai under the Assimilation Policy. The pictures show the reaction against the policy, the Thai words "บ.กะพ้อ" in Figure 12 and "บ.นกลบ" in Figure 13. were painted black.

رومه دوا بواه

عيسى كات، كنف ۲ اورغ هق دغر
 فجاجران كو، فس دي راجين بوات
 توروت، اورغ تو جادي سروف اورغ
 بيچسان، هق راجين بوات رومه
 دي اتس فلافيق باتو. بيلا هوجن
 تورو، اير سوغي مليغه، اغين ريبوت
 قواة فوفوت فون، رومه تو تا ۱۰ ار اف ۲
 دغن كران توان بوات اتس بلتو.
 تافي كنف ۲ اورغ هق دغر فجاجران



3

سموا اورغ هق دوق دغر عيسى
 هاري تو، براس لكت دهاتي فس دي
 حيران كران عيسى فندي برشرح بالس
 تو.

(لوقس 4: 22)

عيسى كات: لاغيت دغن بومي نق
 هيلغ، تافي فركتان كو بق ككل سلام ۲۰.
 (لوقس 21: 33)

فرهاتيله باءيك ۲ هق اكونق رويت
 ني، عيسى كات. اورغ هق دغر
 فركتان كو، فس فرچاي كا توهن باف
 هق سوروه اكو ماري كا دنيا، اورغ
 توله بوليه ده هيدوف چارا بارو هق
 توهن.

(يحيى 5: 24)

2

Figure 14. A booklet about Christianity written
 in Pattani Malay using Jawi script.



1.2 General Information on Pattani Malay

1.2.1 Speaking Area

Pattani Malay is a dialect of the Malay language spoken by over 1,000,000 people in Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and some parts of Songkhla (Chana, Thepa and Sabayoi). De Queljoe stated that "Petani is the means of communication among the Malay race who reside in the provinces of Narathiwat, Pattani and Yala, South Thailand (De Queljoe 1971:IX).

Moreover, it appears that Pattani Malay is also spoken in Muslim villages on the outskirts of Bangkok such as, Klong 1 Keonimit and Bang Pho in Pathum Thani, and Ban Tha It in Nonthaburi. This is because the ancestors of those people were Malayu captives from Pattani who were captured and taken to Bangkok by the Thai army in the early Ratanakosin period. No matter how small a group they are they still speak their dialect.

In addition, Pattani Malay is found spoken by Pattani immigrants who originated from Pattani and settled in interior of Kedah and Northeastern Perak (Farid, 1980:72).

1.2.2 Language Classification

The Malay language is a member of the Western Branch of the Malayopolynesian or Austronesian family of languages, while the language of Pattani is undoubtedly classified as a dialect of the Malay language. Farid includes Pattani Malay in the North-

Eastern group along with the Kelantan and Trengganu dialects (Farid, 1980:72).

Ismail (1973) said in his article "The Malay Dialects in Peninsular Malaysia" that

"Penggolongan dialek Melayu di Semenanjung Malaysia boleh dibahagikan kepada dua golongan yang besar.

1. Golongan yang ter-sebar dari Pattani, Selatan Thailand
2. Golongan yang ter-sebar dari daerah Johore"

This may be translated as:

"Malay dialects in Peninsular Malaysia can be classified into two main groups.

1. The group which spreads out from Pattani, Southern Thailand.
2. The group which spreads out from Johore"

Farid (1981) considered the Pattani dialect to be closer to the Trengganu dialect than to the Kelantan dialect. This is based on word final nasals which are realized as /ŋ/. Furthermore, he mentioned that the Pattani dialect has developed initial consonant aspiration which does not exist in other Malay dialects: /bohoŋ/ > /bhoŋ/ > /b^hoŋ/ "a lie", /tahoŋ/ > /thoŋ/ > /t^hoŋ/ "year", etc.

Most linguists, as well as the Pattani people themselves, consider the Pattani dialect to be closer to the Kelantan dialect than to the Trengganu dialect.

Maneerat (1981:2), Lakhana (1984:2) and Daranee (1985:28) found the Pattani dialect to be closer to the Kelantan dialect than to the Trengganu one. Daranee remarked on the same characteristics of Kelantan Malay and Pattani Malay:

1. Both dialects have the same three final consonant /ʔ/, /ŋ/, and /h/.
2. In comparison to Standard Malay, both dialects change "vowel+nasal consonant" to [ɛ] / [ẽ].
3. Both dialects lose nasals in nasal plosive clusters such as: [hantu] > [hatu] "ghost".

De Queljoe (1971) remarked in his "A Preliminary Study of Some Phonetic Features of Pattani with Glossaries" that

"It might further be mentioned that the boundary separating Kelantan from Narathiwat, Pattani and Yala is not a linguistic one".

This indicates that Pattani Malay is similar to Kelantan Malay.

Frasher (1962) mentioned in "Rusembilan: A Malay Fishing Village" that

"In its phonology, morphology, as well as in vocabulary (except in case of loans from the Thai language), the Pattani dialect is similar to that spoken in Kelantan, Malaya. In many instances, however, the changes from Standard Malay found in the Kelantan dialect are carried even further in Pattani."

I, myself, as a native speaker of the Pattani dialect who have some relatives in Kelantan and a few friends from Trengganu, with all my soul support

the idea that Pattani Malay is closer to the Kelantan dialect rather than to Trengganu, considering the same characteristics mentioned by Daranee Krisnapan (1985).

On the other hand, the Pattani dialect is judged by Farid to be closer to Trengganu dialect than Kelantan dialect also by using phonological evidence (Farid, 1980:72). The similarity presented by him is that word-final nasals are realized as velar [ŋ]. But some of the words of the Kelantan and Trengganu dialects presented by him imply that the Pattani dialect is closer to the Kelantan dialect than to the Trengganu dialect, as shown below.

Standard	Trengganu	Kelantan	(Pattani)	
kətam	kətaŋ	kətɛ	kʉtɛ	"crab"
ikan	ikaŋ	ikɛ	ʔikɛ	"fish"

It can therefore be adequately concluded that the Pattani dialect is a dialect of Malay which is in the Northeastern group of the Malay language, which belongs to the Western Branch of the Austronesian family of language.

1.2.3 Varieties of Pattani Malay

"Pattani Malay is the mother tongue of the Pattani people and it is the priceless property of the Pattani people. We must accept that Pattani Malay was rooted in Pattani even before King Ramkhamhaeng invented the Thai alphabet." (Arong, 1982:31)

Pattani Malay may be roughly divided into two main varieties: the Ulu variety and the Iler

variety. Literally "ulu" means "upstream". The Ulu variety may also be called the "Darat" variety (or [daya?] as spoken by Pattani Malay native speakers). The word "darat" means "land". Therefore, the Ulu or Darat variety of Pattani Malay refers to a variety of Pattani Malay spoken by people who originated in upstream or inland area. This variety of Pattani Malay is generally considered interior. On the other hand, the "Iler" [?ile] means "down stream") variety refers to a variety of Pattani Malay spoken by people in town and its outskirts. It is considered superior and accepted as the Standard variety of Pattani Malay.

There are at least four features to identify whether it is the Ulu or the Iler variety.

1. Aspiration of Consonants

There are more aspirated consonants in Ulu than there are in Iler. In Iler, words with aspirated consonants are usually loans from Thai and English, e.g. [c^hɔ?] "(of electricity) short circuit", [c^hu?] "shoot", [p^ha?] "(political) party", [k^hə?] "area" etc. But in Ulu aspiration may be caused by word shortening, i.e., when the second syllable begins with [h], the vowel of the first syllable will be deleted and the initial consonant of the first syllable will be aspirated.

Standard	Iler	Ulu	
pahat	paha?	p ^h a?	"chisel"
pohon	pohon	p ^h on	"tree"
tahit	tahi?	t ^h i?	"excrement"

2. With Initial [h] or [ʔ]

In comparison to Standard Malay, the Iler variety tends to substitute [ʔ] for initial [h], while the Ulu variety prefers [h] to [ʔ] and in many words [h] is substituted for initial [ʔ].

For example:

Standard Malay	Ulu	Iler	
hati	hati	ʔati	"heart"
hidon	hidon	ʔidon	"nose"
haḡat	haḡaʔ	ʔaḡaʔ	"hot"
hijau	hija	ʔija	"green"
ayam	hayε	ʔayε	"hen"
ulu	hulu	ʔulu	"upstream"
iler	hile	ʔile	"downstream"
jahit	jaheʔ	ja ^o ʔ	"sew"
hilan	hile	hile	"lose"
harap	hayaʔ	hayaʔ	"hope"
aḡin	ʔaḡin	ʔaḡin	"air"
akar	ʔaka	ʔaka	"root"

3. Change of Vowels

The glided vowels [a^o] and [a^e] in Iler become [o] and [e] in Ulu respectively.

Standard Malay	Ulu	Iler	
paoh	poh/p ^h oh	pa ^o h	"mango"
jaoh	joh	ja ^o h	"far"
kain	k ^h en	ka ^e ŋ	"cloth"
lain	len	la ^e ŋ	"other"
air	ʔe	ʔa ^o /ʔa ^e ʔ	"water"

Word final [-ai] in Standard Malay usually becomes [-a] in Iler but [-ε] in Ulu.

Standard Malay	Ulu	Iler	
pətai	putɛ	puta	"Parkia (plant)"
səmai	sumɛ	suma	"rice sprout"
ramai	ɣamɛ	ɣama	"many (people)"
suŋai	suŋɛ	suŋa	"river"

4. Nasality of Nasal-Plosive

Homorganic Clusters

In comparison with Standard Malay, the plosive of a plosive nasal homorganic cluster in Standard Malay words will be dropped out in Ulu. Thus the nasal plosive homorganic cluster will become just a nasal in Ulu.

Standard Malay	Ulu	Iler	
bəndaŋ	bunɛ	bun ^d ɛ	"rice field"
kandaŋ	kanɛ	kan ^d ɛ	"barn"
ləmbu	lumɛ	lum ^b u	"cow"
pangaŋ	paŋɛ	paŋ ^g ɛ	"bake"

Warawit (1990) divided Pattani Malay into five varieties:

1. The Iler variety is spoken in Muang district of Pattani province.

2. The Ulu variety is spoken in inland and mountainous areas.

3. The Taluban variety is spoken by people of Taluban (Saiburi district).

4. The Western variety is spoken by people in Khok Pho district of Pattani province, Thepa, Sabayoi, and Chana districts of Songkhla province.

5. The Narathiwat variety is spoken by people in towns in Narathiwat.

The Taluban variety is a little bit different from Iler, the standard variety of Pattani Malay. It is likely to be placed in between Iler and Ulu for the reason that it has a lot of similarities to Iler but it has the feature of [h] like Ulu.

The Western variety, which is spoken in towns of khok Pho, Thepa, Sabayoi, and Chana, has its own distinctive feature. It has adopted tone from Thai (Rattiya, 1986:4), and some vocabulary items are different from Iler. However, tone is not phonemic.

The Narathiwat variety is different from Iler in accent and some vocabulary items especially in Takbai and Sungai Kolok. This variety of Pattani Malay is more similar to Kelantan Malay than Iler is. This is because it is geographically and culturally close to the State of Kelantan, Malaysia.

1.2.4 General Characteristics of Pattani Malay

Pattani Malay is a spoken language, without written form. In writing the native speakers of Pattani Malay use Standard Malay with either "Jawi Script" or "Rumi Script". Jawi script refers to the Arabic alphabet used in writing Malay whereas Rumi script refers to the Roman alphabet used in writing Malay. Most Pattani Malay base words are disyllabic (Navanit, 1989:4) like words in other Austronesian languages. There are no tones, and stress is not a distinctive unit in Pattani Malay (Rattiya, 1986:4). Prefixes are not as significant as they are in Standard Malay (Anat, 1985). Prefixes may be substituted for by the feature of consonant lengthening.

Length of vowels is not used phonologically. Vowels in open syllables, except /u/, are relatively a little bit longer than those in closed syllables. The only three consonants occurring in word-final position are /ŋ, h, and ʔ/. There are a great number of loan words in Pattani Malay: the four main donor languages are Sanskrit, Arabic, English and Thai. The sounds of those loan words are usually changed according to the sound system of Pattani Malay.

1.2.5 Roles of Pattani Malay in the Community

Pattani Malay plays a role as a means of communication among Thai Muslim people of the Malay ethnic group in three southern border provinces of Thailand (Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat) and some parts of Songkhla. It is used in daily-life conversation, while Standard Malay is used mainly in writing e.g. religious books, letters, newspapers and so on. Moreover, in performing a khutbah (Islamic religious speech on Friday) they usually use Standard Malay. Kitabs (Islamic books) are read in Standard Malay and then explained in Pattani Malay. It is also used as the medium in religious sessions in Islamic private schools (Seynee, 1988:92).

At offices, Pattani Malay native speakers tend to speak Pattani Malay with their other Pattani Malay native speakers, but Thai with Thai native speakers. At home they usually speak Pattani Malay. Pattani Malay is also used in the mass media, i.e., radio programs. Each of the three southern border provinces has radio programs which broadcast news, commercials and song programs for entertainment.

1.2.6 Phonemes of Pattani Malay

This thesis is not directly on Pattani Malay phonology, and it will mainly refer to Paitoon's and Rattiya's works when mentioning Pattani Malay phonemes.

1.2.6.1 Vowel Phonemes

There are 12 single vowels in Pattani Malay, they are /i, u, e, ε, ẽ, a, ã, ɔ, ɔ̃, o, u, ã̃/, and 5 glided vowels: they are /a¹, a^o, a^ẽ, a^o, a^u/.

Tongue position Tongue height		Front	Central	Back
		High	i	u
Mid	e		o	
Low	ε ẽ	a ã	ɔ ɔ̃	
Glided Vowel			a ¹ a ^u a ^o a ^o a ^ẽ	

Chart I: Vowel Phonemes (adapted from Paitoon (1983) and Rattiya (1986)).

1.2.6.2 Consonant Phonemes

Different opinions have been given on Pattani Malay consonant phonemes. This thesis combines Paitoon (1983) and Rattiya (1986) together. Pattani Malay

consonant phonemes may be adequately classified into two classes: primary consonant phonemes and secondary consonant phonemes.

Primary consonant phonemes are the consonant phonemes which occur in native Pattani Malay words (Rattiya, 1986:7), they are: /p, t, k, b, d, g, ʔ¹, c, j, s, v, h, l, m, n, ŋ, w, y, (m^b, n^d, ŋ^j, ŋ^ʔ)/.²

Secondary consonant phonemes are the consonant phonemes which occur in other varieties (or sub-dialects) of the same standard variety, or the loans from other languages (Rattiya, 1986:77), or new consonant phonemes which appeared after a certain type of sound change. They are /r, f, z, x, (p^h, t^h, k^h, c^h)/.³ Moreover, Asmah Haji Omar noted that the Malay languages cannot claim to possess f, v, z, and x as autochthonous phonemes because they are proved to be loaned from Arabic and English (Asmah, 1980:28).

¹ Some authors neglect /ʔ/ in initial position. In this case a vowel can occur word initially.

² Some thesis consider them homorganic consonant cluster phonemically.

³ Paitoon also included /p^h, t^h, k^h, c^h/ in his phoneme chart, but Rattiya did not include them in her phoneme chart.

Manners of articulation	Points of Articulation					
	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
unasp. vl. Plosives asp.vl. vd.	p (p ^h) b		t (t ^h) d		k (k ^h) g	ʔ
Fricatives vl. vd.		(f)	s (z)		(x) y	h
unasp. vl. Affricates asp. vd.				c (c ^h) j		
Nasals	m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
Semi-nasals	m ^b		n ^d	ɲ ^j	ŋ ^g	
Lateral			l			
Trill			(r)			
Semi-vowels	w			y		

Chart II: Consonant Phonemes (adapted from Paitoon (1983) and Rattiya (1986)). Secondary phonemes are shown in brackets.

Manners of articulation	Points of Articulation					
	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
unasp. vl. Plosives asp.vl. vd.	p p ^h b		t t ^h d	c c ^h j	k k ^h g	ʔ
Fricatives vl. vd.		f	s z		ɣ	h
Nasals	m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
Semi-nasals	m ^b		n ^d	ɲ ^j	ŋ ^g	
Lateral			l			
Trill			r			
Semi-vowels	w			y		

Chart III: Paitoon's (1983) Pattani Malay Consonant Phonemes.

Manners of articulation	Points of Articulation					
	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
unasp. vl. Plosives vd.	p b	t d			k g	ʔ
Fricatives vl. vd.		(f)	s (z)		(x) ɣ	h
unasp. vl. Affricates vd.				c j		
Nasals	m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
Semi-nasals	mb		nd	ɲj	ŋg	
Lateral			l			
Trill			(r)			
Semi-vowels	w			y		

Chart IV: Rattiya's (1986) Pattani Malay Consonant Phonemes.
Secondary consonants are in brackets.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON LONG CONSONANTS

2.1 Definition of Terms Related to Long Consonants

There are a few terms that have close relation with long consonants. The following are the definitions of some of them.

2.1.1 Long Consonant

"A sound is said to be "long" if its characteristic articulatory posture is maintained for a relatively long time, or (since few sounds involve absolutely "steady-state" articulation) if its characteristic sound is maintained for a relatively long time." (Catford, 1977:196).

2.1.2 Duration

"Duration is the length of time given to the articulation of a speech sound...Duration is a phonetic concept, but it is exploited phonologically in many languages where it is referred to as length, e.g. German uses the distinction between long and short vowels to distinguish Rum "run" from Ruhm "glory". ... The duration of a long segment is restricted to a single syllable, whereas the duration of a double segment extends over two syllables..." (Hartmann and Stork, 1972:73).

2.1.3 Geminate/Double Consonant

"A geminate can be defined phonetically as a sequence of identical articulations. On the phonological level, i.e., with reference to specific language, it usually refers to the lengthening of consonants. If the geminate is a stop consonant, the period of complete closure before the release is lengthened. The term "doubling" is sometimes used to refer to this phenomenon." (Hartmann and Stork, 1972:93)

2.2 Literature Related to Long Consonants in Pattani Malay

2.2.1 Articulatory Characteristics

Christopher A. Court mentioned the characteristic of long consonants in Pattani Malay in his working copy for Pattani Malay-Thai Dictionary that the pronunciation of [kk] in [kkuyɔ] is like [k] but it is twice as long.

Rattiya (1986) stated about this feature that it is the characteristic of "sound lengthening" which occurs in the first syllables of words.

This is supported by Paitoon (1983) who said that there is in Pattani Malay a suprafix of consonant lengthening. The consonants which are lengthened are the first consonants of the stems or their morpho-phonemes.

Therefore, it may be concluded that in Pattani Malay, in producing consonants with such a feature, long consonants, its characteristic articulatory posture is maintained for a relatively long time.

2.2.2 Acoustic Characteristics

Acoustic studies on long consonants in Pattani Malay have not yet been done, except the one by Abramson, "Distinctive Length in Initial Consonants: Pattani Malay" a paper given at the 11th Meeting of the Acoustic Society of America, Ohio, on May 12-16, 1986. Abramson stated that Pattani Malay has a length distinction for all consonants in word-initial position.

In Abramson's paper, in Figure 1, some sample word-pairs of short and long consonants are given. He showed that for all consonants with acoustic excitation of any kind during the closure or constriction, it is clear that closure duration can differentiate the members of such pairs in speech production. The first three pairs of examples are of that type, while the fourth pair with voiceless unaspirated stops is not.

In Figure 2, duration values for the constrictions are measured on waveforms of short and long /l/. The waveforms obviously differentiate the long from short /l/. However, as claimed by him, for the voiceless unaspirated stops and affricates, acoustic measurements can only be made in word medial position. Nasals and laterals with high-amplitude radiation of sound would be

as well distinguished by listeners in initial position as in inter-vocalic position.

He experimented on the voiced stops in /bulɛ/ and /b:ulɛ/. The result was that there is audible glottal pulsing during the closures, but its amplitude is too low for completely reliable differentiation based solely on two values of voicing lead. On the other hand, voiceless unaspirates have no acoustic excitation in the closure. They must be differentiated in initial position by other cues that are themselves a function of the temporal articulatory feature. There might be intensity of stop-release burst, rapidity of formant transitions, or fundamental-frequency perturbations. In disyllabic words, there could also be rhythmic factors.

In another experiment, he tested native speakers' ability to recognise naturally spoken isolated words. He recorded sample words with both long and short consonants, let 21 native speakers listen to them, and then labeled them whether they were words with long or short consonants. As the result, they did well (labeled them correctly) with nasals, laterals and fricatives, whereas they did less well with voiced stops and voiceless stops, and the worst with affricates especially the voiceless ones. The details of the experiment can be read from Figure 3.

His next experiment was done with long /l/. He shortened the initial lateral resonance from its original 183 msec to 63 msec in 12 steps of 10 msec

each. So the shortest variant was shorter than the original short /l/ or 72 msec. The words were played to the native speakers, then they were asked to label the words they heard whether they were ones with long or short consonants. The word with short /l/ was also done for contrast. From Figure 4, we can see that, for long consonants, the longer the resonance is the higher the percentage of correct labeling is. Abramson concluded that duration is a sufficient and powerful cue to the distinction.

In conclusion he claimed that the word-initial consonants of Pattani Malay, except for voiceless affricates, are well identified as to length in utterance initial position. In production, closure duration is a reliable differentiator of long and short consonants. In addition, perceptual experiment also reveals the power of closure duration as a cue.

Pattani Malay

Word-initial short vs. long consonants

Examples:

labo	"to make a profit"	vs.	l:abo	"spider"
sije	"Thai"		s:ije	"pitiful"
bule	"moon"		b:ule	"many months"
katoʔ	"to strike"		k:atoʔ	"frog"

Voiceless unaspirated

Figure 15: Word initial short vs. long consonants

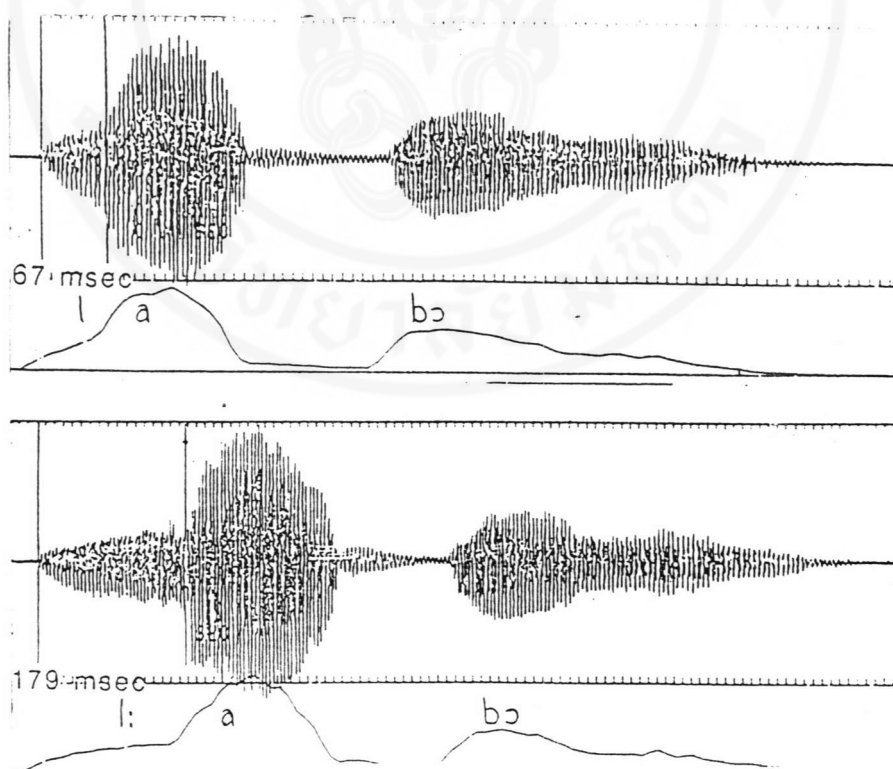


Figure 16: Acoustic characteristic of short and long /l/

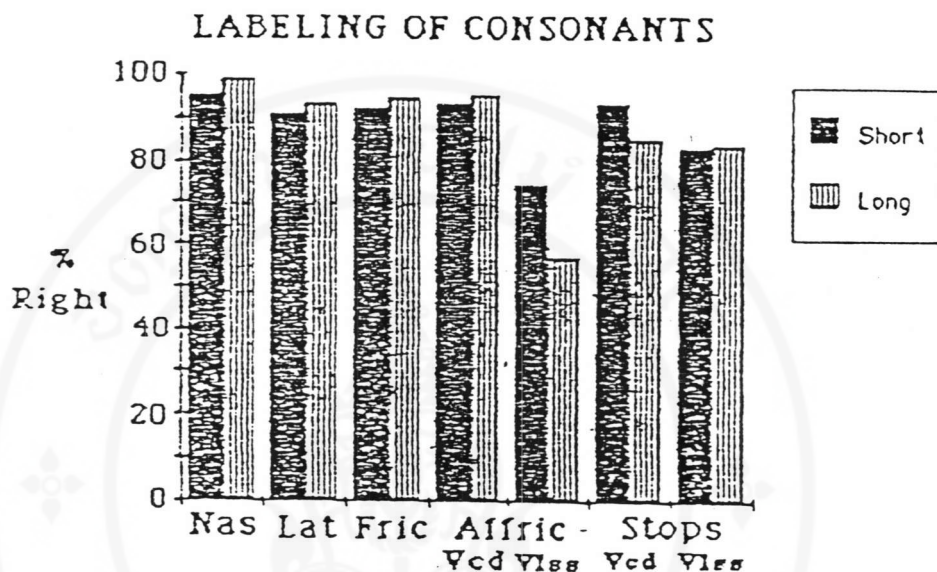


Figure 17. Labeling of Consonants

Native speakers did well in labeling naturally spoken isolated words with long and short consonants which are nasals, laterals, fricative and stops, but they did the worst with affricates, especially the voiceless ones.

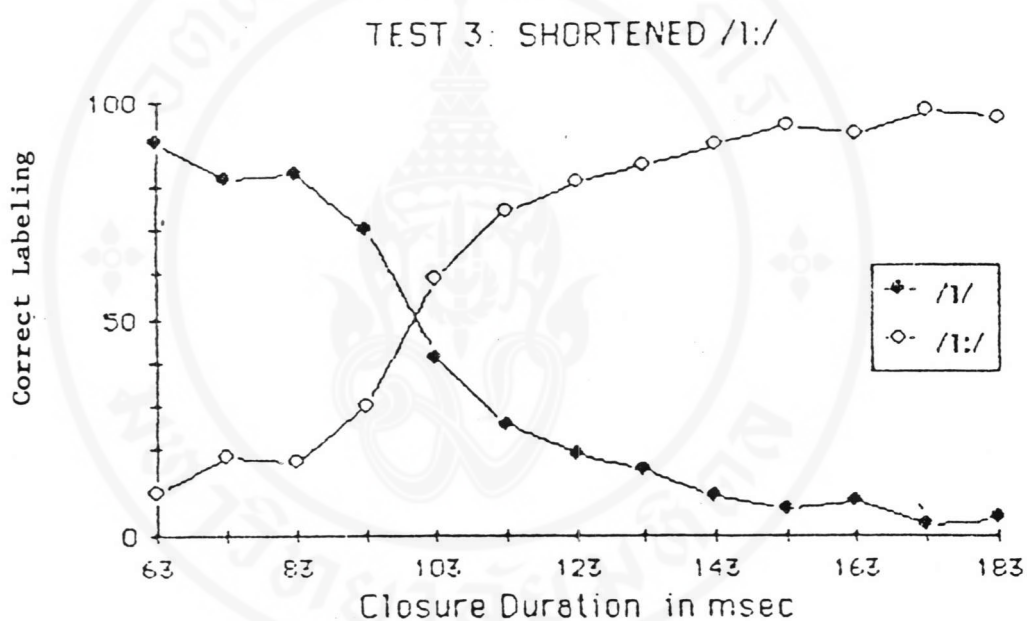


Figure 18. Shortened /l:/

For long /l:/, the longer duration it has the higher percentage of correct labeling is. The shorter duration it has the lower the percentage of correct labeling is. The result of labeling short /l/ was the opposite.

2.2.3 Other Data Related to Long Consonants in Pattani Malay

There is a particular feature in Pattani Malay which can change the meaning of base words, yet it has been treated in two ways: some have treated it as stress and others have treated it as a long consonant.

Since Pattani Malay is only the language of the Malay minority in southern Thailand, there is not much literature on Pattani Malay, and less concerning long consonants in Pattani Malay. However, there is a little literature on Pattani Malay phonology, morphology and syntax with a little data related to this feature.

Maneerat (1981) mentioned the primary stress in Pattani Malay that:

"In other words, it may be said that the primary stress is a contrastive unit in Pattani Malay. That is the alternation of the position of the primary stress in disyllabic words will change the syntactic meaning of the words..."

Here are some examples for her above statement.

[di'yi]	"body"	['diyi] ~ ['ddiyi]	"to stand"
[bu'woh]	"fruit"	['buwoh] ~ ['bbuwoh]	"to give fruit"
[tm'lo]	"egg"	['tmlo] ~ ['ttmlo]	"to lay eggs"

(Maneerat, 1981:68)

On the other hand, Maneerat said concerning double consonants:

"Double consonants occur in Pattani Malay when the particular words are shortened from reduplicated forms in Standard Malay, most of the resultant double consonants fluctuate with single consonants." (Maneerat, 1981:72)

The examples given to support the above statement are [ggasi] and [kkuyɔ] which are equivalent to the Standard Malay [gergasi] and [kura-kura] respectively.

From this, it may be implied that the shifting of primary stress, and the double consonant are regarded as two different features in Pattani Malay. However, double consonants are not significant, not a contrastive unit, since they fluctuate with single consonants.

In "Word Classes in Pattani Malay" Anat (1985) did not mention about long consonants, but from his data, there exist some words with long consonants.

"Major stress (primary stress) is usually on the last syllable of the words. But when the primary stress is shifted to the first syllable, the meaning is changed but related. The functions are also changed."

The following are examples presented by him

da'yaʔ "land" 'dayaʔ ~ 'ddayaʔ "to land, to shore"
 bu'loh "bamboo" 'buloh ~ 'bbuloh "like bamboo"
 pu'tɛ "afternoon" 'pɛtɛ ~ 'ppɛtɛ "since the afternoon"
 (Anat, 1985:26-27)

Moreover, there are some more words with long consonants from his data, without saying anything about long consonants, such as, 'ddosɔ "sin", 'bbirin "sheep", 'ggasi "giant" etc.

Daranee, in her M.A. thesis "The Phonology of Taba Malay", treated long consonants in Taba Malay, which is undoubtedly a sub-dialect of Pattani Malay, as the result of the extra primary stress.

"...It has the characteristic of giving extra force to the primary stress which results in the lengthening of the initial consonant duration. So it is called "the extra primary stress", and that initial consonant is considered a "long consonant"...The segment that bears this extra primary stress will be pronounced with a longer duration than the ordinary one. We may call it a long segment phonetically. In Taba Malay, the duration occurs on the initial consonant. So the extra primary stressed syllable initial will always be a long consonant." (Daranee, 1985:67-68)

This indicates that, in her opinion, the long consonant in this dialect is nothing but a feature that phonetically results from the extra primary stress,

and it is not a significant segment.

In contradiction, Rattiya (1986) stated that stress is not a significant feature of Pattani Malay, therefore, misstressing does not change the meaning of words. That is, the word [buŋɔ] will retain the meaning "flower" no matter where or how the stress is, for instance, [buŋò] or [bùŋó], and [mákenè], [màkené] or [makɛnɛ] do mean "food". But sound lengthening changes the meaning of words in Pattani Malay and it is a particular characteristic of Pattani Malay.

For example:

[jalɛ]	"road, way"	[jjalɛ]	"to walk"
[manih]	"sweet"	[mmanih]	"to sweeten"
[buŋɔ]	"flower"	[bbuŋɔ]	"to flower"

(Rattiya, 1986:46-49)

Concerning this matter, I agree with Rattiya. That is, stress is not significant in Pattani Malay, whereas consonant lengthening is used phonemically.

Paitoon (1983) did not mention stress in Pattani Malay, but he discussed long consonants under the heading of suprafixes.

"In Pattani Malay, there is a suprafix of consonant lengthening. Consonants which are lengthened [long consonants-the author] are the first consonants of the stems or their morphophonemes....Consonant lengthening can identify and change classes of words,

and stems which bear long consonants are of transitive verbs, in transitive verbs, nouns and adverbs. And all consonants in Pattani Malay can be lengthened."

For example:

/bəsa/	"big"	/bbəsa/	"to enlarge"
/mati/	"die"	/mmati/	"to kill"
/tiŋ ^h a/	"to leave"	/ttiŋ ^h a/	"to leave unintentionally"

(Paitoon, 1983:97-98)

It is obvious that the long consonant or the so-called "suprafix" occurs at the same position as Daranee's extra primary stress and Maneerat's shifted primary stress. i.e., on the first syllable. Both Daranee and Maneerat gave the significance to stress, whereas Paitoon put aside the stress and gave the significance to the long consonant.

Manoong (1990:58) did not say anything about stress and long consonants, but there are some words with long consonants in his data.

For examples:

Pattani Malay	Standard Malay	
/kkεεεʔ/	/bərcakap/	"to talk"
/jjalε/	/bərcjalan/	"to walk"
/paʔ ssəgi/	/əmpat səgi/	"a square"
/ccayoʔ/	/pərcaya/	"to believe"

Navanit (1989 a) opposed the idea of using Pattani Malay primary stress phonemically. She claimed

that the primary stress is conditioned by initial geminate consonants, i.e., geminate consonants automatically receive the primary stress on the initial syllable. Furthermore, geminate consonants are treated phonemically as a cluster of identical consonants even though they may be phonetically realized as a single long consonant.

In studying the stress in Pattani Malay, it might be better to relate it to the same feature in Standard Malay, its sister language.

Navanit (1989 b) said about the stress in Standard Malay in her "Pronunciation of Bahasa Malaysia with Romanized Script and the Phonology of Bahasa Malaysia" (topics translated from Thai) that:

"Stress in Bahasa Malaysia is a controversial issue because nobody has studied this feature seriously.

Words in Bahasa Malaysia bear different stress in each syllable. Although the stress is not important, it is a feature that foreigners must study in order to be heard speaking like the native speakers. In general, we can notice that base words in Bahasa Malaysia have primary stress, secondary stress or unstress which is according to the forms that we can predict. That is, every base word has a primary stress: monosyllable words bear the primary stress,... Generally, the last syllable bears the primary stress." (Navanit, 1989b:19)

It is clearly stated by Navanit that the stress in Standard Malay is not a significant feature. So it should not be labeled as a contrastive unit, and it is, in general, predictable.

The predictability of the primary stress in Taba Malay, which is a sub-dialect of Pattani Malay, is mentioned by Daranee in her thesis.

"Each stress group has one primary stress on the last syllable as its nucleus (except in the special case)." (Daranee, 1985:56)

Prapon (1984) concluded that Pattani Malay deletes unimportant prefixes, thus the Standard Malay "berjalan" becomes [jjalɛ] in Pattani Malay (Prapon, 1984:218). Christopher A. Court, an Australian linguist, stated about long consonants in Pattani Malay in his working copy for "Pattani Malay-Thai dictionary that the sound that has been written doubled, as in [kkuɣɔ], is not pronounced as it would be in Thai: that is, Thai กุกุ is pronounced [kaku], while the Pattani Malay กุกุ [kku] does not have [a] between the two [k]s, but it is lengthened twice as long as [k].

Kelantan Malay is a dialect of Malay which is so close to Pattani Malay that it may be regarded as a sister language of Pattani Malay. Therefore, it is quite reasonable to refer to it in studying Pattani Malay. In "Warisan Kelantan III", Nik Mohamad (1984), mentioned words with long or double consonants in Kelantan Malay. But since it is not a book on linguistics, he did not

classify the feature linguistically. The only obvious thing is the typed double letters at the beginning of such words. This occurred when he stated about "kkasa", the name of a village in Kelantan:

"Di kampung saya dekat kota Pasir Mas ada sebuah sekolah dinamakan Sekolah Kebangsaan Makasar, nama ini diberi demikian kirakira 25 tahun yang lalu dari perkataan nama kampung sebenarnya bernama Kkasa, tekanan pada huruf k pertama." (Nik Mohammad, 1984:68) which may be freely translated as follows:

"In my village near Kota Pasir Mas, there is a school named Sekolah Kebangsaan Makasar which was so named only about 25 years ago from the real name of the village "Kkasa", stressed on the first k."

Then he gave more detail in his footnote.

"kata Khasa mungkin sekali dari perkataan Makasar, sebab dalam ucapan Kelantan banyak sekali kata-kata yang bermula dengan dihilangkan bunyinya, misalnya "Majlis" diucap "jjelis", "masjid"-ssejid, Melayu-Nnayu, Mufti-Ffeti." (Nik Homhammad, 1984:69)

Here is my English translation for the above statement:

"The word kkasa quite possibly comes from the word "Makasar", because in Kelantan speech, in many words which begin with m, m is not pronounced, for instances "Majlis" is pronounced "jjelis", masjid-ssejid, Melayu-Nnayu, Mufti-Ffti."

According to my knowledge of the Kelantan dialect, the word which is written "jjelis" is not

actually pronounced [jjelis] by the natives, but it is pronounced [jjələh], and similarly [ssejeʔ] for "ssejid" and [ffəti] for "Ffeti".

Moreover, Farid (1980) presented an example of a Kelantan word with a long consonant, i.e., the Standard Malay /kə-bəsar-an/ "grand" is realized as "bbsarɛ" in Kelantan type.

As a conclusion, the above quotation implies that in the Kelantan dialect, a sister dialect of Pattani Malay, there is a feature of long consonants which is the result of word shortening.

Long consonants in Pattani Malay exist as a result of word and phrase shortening. Consonant lengthening can occur with all consonant phonemes except /ʔ/ and /h/.

2.3 Literature on Long Consonants in Other Languages

2.3.1 Languages with Long Consonants in Intervocalic Position

Words with long consonants in intervocalic position are easily found in many languages of various language families. Italian and Estonian are such languages which have been focused on, and best known, in discussions on long consonant in intervocalic position (Abramson, 1986:1, and Heffner, 1960:210).

Ladefoged wrote that languages may differ in variations in length of segments, and length may be shown by [:] placed after the symbol or by doubling the symbols. Long consonants (or vowels) that can be analyzed as double consonants (or vowels) are called geminates.

2.3.1.1 Italian

Ladefoged (1973) used [:] after consonants to identify length in exemplifying some Italian words with long consonants.

For example:

/fato/	"fate"	/fat:o/	"do"
/kade/	"he falls"	/kad:e/	"he fell"
/fola/	"fable"	/fol:a/	"crowed"
/nono/	"ninth"	/non:o/	"grandfather"

(Ladefoged 1973:82)

Ladefoged (1975) remarked that contrast between long and short consonants is not common, but it does occur e.g. in Luganda and Italian. Following are some examples of word with long consonants in Italian.

/nono/	['nono]	"ninth"	/nonno/	['nonno]	"grandfather"
/fola/	['fola]	"fable"	/folla/	['folla]	"crowd"
/papa/	['papa]	"father"	/pappa/	['pappa]	"food"

(Ladefoged, 1975:223-224)

2.3.1.2 Luganda

In Luganda, a language spoken in Uganda, long consonants are used as distinctive units. Long consonants in this language can occur both in intervocalic position and word-initial position. Ladefoged (1975) gave a minimal pair of words with short and long consonants in initial position, i.e., [kula] "grow up" [kkula] "treasure". From my personal communication, with Jane F. Alowo, a native speaker of Luganda, in Sydney, I found one more minimal pair of words with short and long consonants in intervocalic position, i.e. [mute] "to let someone free" and [mutte] "to kill".

2.3.1.3 Spanish

Spanish does not have syllables in which the vowel is followed by more than two consonants. Syllables with two consonants after the vowel appear in Spanish only in medial position. There are not in Spanish today words that end in more than one consonant (Novarro, 1968:42).

Lehiste said about long consonants in Spanish that there are no other distinctive durations in consonants and vowels except the only pair of /r/ and /rr/ e.g., /pero/ "but" - /perro/ "dog" (Lehiste, 1970:43).

2.3.1.4 Finnish

In Finnish both vowel and consonant lengths are distinctive units as shown by O'Conner (1973).

For example:

/tule:/	"comes"	/tu:le:/	"blows"
/tulle:/	"ought to come"	/tu:lle:/	"ought to blow"

Since in native Finnish words there are no clusters in word-initial and word-final position, therefore long consonants could be treated as clusters. Lehiste decided to use the term "geminate" for Finnish intervocalic long consonants by the reason that they, at least at an earlier stage of the language, have been true geminates and have contained a syllable boundary (Lehiste, 1970:44-45). Itkonen, as referred to by Lehiste (1970), in describing the development of the alternation of the so-called strong and weak degrees in stems in Lappish and Finnish, mentioned that length of consonant affects the strong and weak degrees, i.e., if there is a simple consonant between the second and third syllable, the stem consonant appears in the strong degree, whereas a long consonant between the second and third syllable causes the appearance of weak degree.

2.3.1.5 Estonian

Estonian is another well known language with intervocalic long consonants. Moreover, Lehiste (1970) claimed that Estonian is, among others, a

language in which more than two contrastive durations have been observed, and there is a sample transcription, in the Principles of the International Phonetic Association (1949), of Estonian in which overlong sounds are written with three repeated phonetic symbols. This occurs not only with vowels but also with consonants which are referred to as overlong vowels and overlong consonants (Lehiste, 1970:45-46).

In a preliminary study of intervocalic /p/ and /pp/ in Estonian Lehiste found that intervocalic /pp/ shows two clear maxima in electromyographic recording of activity of the orbicularis oris muscles, while Hegedus (1959) as referred to by Lehiste (1970:44), similarly studied long consonants in Hungarian and found no such evidence for their geminate nature.

2.3.1.6 Arabic

Arabic is another language which has the feature of consonant and vowel lengthening which is used phonemically: there is a difference (distinction) in Arabic between single and double consonants, mostly in intervocalic position. Any consonant can be doubled, that is, prolonged in its pronunciation. Arabic has double consonants in a very great number of words of all types. The consonant doubling is called in Arabic "iddingə:m" ("contraction") or "taʃdi:d" ("reinforcement"). A double consonant is indicated by the sign "w" (shadda) written above (Abboud, 1968:177). The following are some examples of words with double (or long) consonants

danat	"it approached"	dannat	"it buzzed"
tawwa:b	"swift to repeat"	robba	"Lord"
inna	"in fact"	muhammad	"Mohammed"

Minimal pairs of all Arabic short and long consonant phonemes in intervocalic position verify the phonemic use of long consonants in Arabic as exemplified by Giardner (1925:60).

Moreover, the number of words with long consonants in Arabic becomes greater by the use of the definite article, where complete assimilation occurs. The best known and most common instance of complete assimilation is that of the /l/ of the definite article, which becomes like the following so-called "šamsijja" ("solar") consonants which consist of

ن, ل, ظ, ط, ض, ص, ش, س, ز, ر, ذ, د, ث, ت,

(t, θ, d, ð, r, z, s, ʃ, ʂ, ð̣, ṭ, ẓ, l, n respectively): i.e., the "l" of the definite article becomes t before initial t, s before initial s and so on (Giardner, 1925:79).

For example:

nu:r	"light"	an nu:r	"the light" (for al nu:r)
tibn	"straw"	at tibn	"the straw" (for al tibn)
di:n	"religion"	ad di:n	"the religion" (for al di:n)
roṣu:l	"prophet"	ar roṣu:l	"the prophet" (for al roṣu:l)
bajtu t tilmi:z	"the house of the pupil"		
nati:jatuttu:ṣa	"the result of obedience"		
majdu n ni:l	"the glory of the Nile"		

To these, colloquial speech adds occasionally g, as in ʔig gabal (the mountain) (for ʔil gabal), and, very seldom, k, as in ʔik kursi (the chair) (for ʔil kursi)

Other examples of complete assimilation in Egyptian colloquial Arabic are the following:

t is assimilated to the succeeding consonant in certain verb combination: e.g. ʔiggawwiz ("he got married") (for ʔit gawwiz), jissouwar ("he imagines) for jit sowwar.

n>t in kutt "I was" (for kunt)

n>r in mir rohmatik "of thy mercy" (for min rohmatik)

(Giardner, 1925:56-57)

In colloquial Egyptian the first part of a double consonant may be considered to belong to the preceding syllable, while the second one belongs to the preceded syllable.

2.3.2 Languages with Long Consonant in Word-Initial Position

Word-medial long consonants can be found in many languages, but languages with initial long consonants are very rare and uncommon (Abramson, 1986:1). Beside Pattani Malay, there are a few other languages with word-initial long consonant.

In Luganda, long consonants can occur word-initially as well as word-medially. In the discussion on long consonants, Ladefoged (1975) gave a pair of phonemically distinctive short and long consonants in word-initial position in Luganda, i.e., /kula/ "grow up" and /kkula/ "treasure". In addition, I myself obtained some more such minimal pairs from personal communication with Jane F. Alowo, my Ugandan colleague who is a native speaker of Lugandan. For instance,

/ka/	"home"	/kka/	"to get down"
/ba/	"they"	/bba/	"husband"

Lehiste (1970) in referring to Falc'hun (1951) remarked that in Celtic languages, the contrast between short and long consonants occurs even in initial position (Lehiste, 1970:45), however, examples of such words were not given. Similarly, Ladefoged (1972) reported, without any example, that in Ugandan Bantu languages, long consonants do occur in initial position.

In his observation on the so-called "strong" and "weak" consonants, Catford claimed that in Avar, an east Caucasian language, strong velar and uvular stops are strongly affricated. The matter related to this thesis is that in his example of a minimal pair there exists the doubling of a consonant in phonemic brackets, i.e., /k'al/ "mouth" and /kk'al/ "ravine" (Catford, 1977:202). This indicates the existence of initial long consonants in Avar.

2.3.3 Languages with Long Consonants in Word-Final Position

Despite its uncommonness, long consonants can occur word-finally in some languages. It is reported that in Estonian and Hungarian the contrast between short and long consonants can also be found in word-final position (Lehiste, 1970:42).

Giardner said that in Arabic double consonants can occur at the end of words. In colloquial Arabic, a word-final short consonant preceded by a short vowel is rarely found. He added that special care must be taken in distinguishing long and short consonants occurring at the end of a sentence. The following are some examples of words ending with long consonants (Giardner 1925:59).

sitt	"lady"	sɒff	"row"
batt	"he decided"	gɒmm	"he grieved"
hatt	"he loosed"	qɒll	"was little"
toll	"dew"	robb	"Lord"
ɒnn	"grudge"	ɒtt	"shore"
zonn	"surmise"	la:zz	"blazing"

It may be said that a long consonant in word final position is rarely found, yet it does occur in some languages e.g., Arabic, but not in Pattani Malay.

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENT OF LONG CONSONANTS AS A RESULT OF WORD AND PHRASE SHORTENING

3.1 General Discussion on Word and Phrase Shortening

Word and phrase shortening is a source of sound change in Malay languages: it occurs not only in Pattani Malay, but also Standard Malay, Urak Lawoi' and Kelantan Malay: however, Pattani Malay seems to use word shortening more frequently, in more cases, and in more different characteristics than the other three. Kelantan Malay is claimed to reduce disyllabic words to monosyllabic words as influenced from Thai (Ismail 1973:75). In Pattani Malay a large number of polysyllabic words, mainly trisyllabic, are shortened to disyllabic ones, and in many cases disyllabic words are shortened to monosyllabic ones, which is not the usual syllable structure of words in Pattani Malay since most Pattani Malay words consist of two syllables.

The shortening in Pattani Malay occurs not only in single morphemes but also in compounded words, and at phrase level. The result of word and phrase shortening in Pattani Malay may be here divided into two main classes: non-long consonant words and long consonant words. In addition, the situation is similar to Kelantan Malay, whereas word shortening in Standard Malay and Urak Lawoi' does not result in long consonants.

Shortening in Standard Malay can be found mainly with compound morphemes and reduplicated words, whereas in Urak Lawoi', limited to the data provided in Amon (1979), it occurs mainly with reduplicated words. The following are some examples of shortened words in Standard Malay and Urak Lawoi'.

Shortened words in Standard Malay.

laki-laki		lelaki	"men"
husband	husband		
daun-daun		dedaun	"leaves"
leaf	leaf		
biri-biri		bebiri	"sheep"
sheep			
kerana	apa	kenapa	"why"
because	what		
kereta	api	keretapi	"train"
car	fire		
jantan	betina	jantina	"sex"
male	female		
apa	bila	pabila	"when"
what	when		

Shortened words in Urak Lawoi' :

kilaki "men" which may be derived from laki-laki
 radara "girl" which may be derived from dara-dara
 ɲɛʔlanɛʔ "palate" which may be derived from lanɛʔ-lanɛʔ
 pahɾɛpah "spice" which may be derived from ɾɛpah-ɾɛpah
 ribari "cockroach" which may be derived from bari-bari

Moreover, in colloquial Indonesian the first syllables of a prefixed verb may be deleted, for instance:

stem	prefixed verb	shortened form	
/tulis/	/mənulis/	/nulis/	"write"
/karaŋ/	/məŋaraŋ/	/ŋaraŋ/	"compose"

as in /dia nulis buku itu/ "He wrote that book".
 /siapa ŋaraŋ carita ini/ "Who composes this story?"

Most words with long consonants in Pattani Malay are those which are derived from prefixed words. As a general principle, word shortening in Pattani Malay is the deletion of the first syllable in polysyllabic words to make them disyllabic.

On the other hand, disyllabic stems in Pattani Malay may be reduced to being monosyllabic. Monosyllabic words that are derived from disyllabic words may bear long consonants in word initial position. However long consonants in this case are not significant because no matter how such a word is pronounced (with or without long consonants) it does not affect the meaning of the word, i.e., monosyllabic words with long consonants fluctuate with their counterparts as shown in following examples:

/buwaʔ/	>	/wwaʔ/	~	/waʔ/	"do"
/buwi/	>	/wwi/	~	/wi/	"give"
/pəgi/	>	/ggi/	~	/gi/	"go"

Since word and phrase shortening results in not only words with long consonants, but also shortened

words without long consonants; and as affixed words are the biggest source of shortened words with long consonants, it would be better to present a general discussion on word shortening without long consonants and affixes.

3.1.1 Affixes

The affixes discussed here are the ones which may relate to or lead to shortened words with long consonants.

3.1.1.1 Prefixes

Prefixes seem to be the most important source of shortened words with long consonants in Pattani Malay, most long consonant words are derived from prefixes.

Before presenting prefixed words which become long consonant words, it would be better to discuss the main prefixes themselves. Prefixes in Pattani Malay are {mu-}, {bu-}, {pu-}, {tu-}, {ku-}, and {su-}.

3.1.1.1.1 Prefix {mu-}

The prefix {mu-} consists of the following allomorphs: /mu-/, /mum-/, /mun-/, /mup-/, /munj-/, and /munju-/. {mu-} can be put in front of a verb and adjective.

{mu-} + v. gives the meaning "do or perform"

For example:

{mu-} + /tayi/ "dance" /munayɪ/ "dance"
 {mu-} + /tanɔʔ/ "cook" /munanɔʔ/ "cook rice"
 {mu-} + /piko/ "carry" /mumiko/ "carry something
 (on the shoulder)"
 {mu-} + /tupoʔ/ "point" /munupoʔ/ "express, show"
 {mu-} + adj. gives the meaning of "become" or
 "make+adj."

For example:

{mu-} + /kunɪŋ/ "yellow" /mununɪŋ/ "become yellow"
 {mu-} + /puteh/ "white" /mumuteh/ "become white"
 {mu-} + /paŋ^jɛ/ "long" /muman^jɛ/ "become long"
 {mu-} + /paŋ^dɔʔ/ "short" /muman^dɔʔ/ "become short,
 hopeless"

(i) Allomorph /mu-/ is put in front of stems beginning with /l/, /m/, /n/, /p/ and /ŋ/ as in following examples:

/lukih/ "draw" /mulukih/ "draw something"
 /man^di/ "take a bath" /muman^di/ "bathe someone"
 /nujoŋ/ "forecast" /munujoŋ/ "forecast"
 /ŋaŋɔ/ "open (mouth)" /munŋaŋɔ/ "open (mouth)"
 /paŋɪŋ/ "sing" /mupaŋɪŋ/ "sing"

(ii) Allomorph /mum-/

Allomorph /mum-/ is put in front of stems beginning with /p/, and when such stems bear this

allomorph, the initial /p/ is dropped out, as in following examples:

/pike/	"think"	/mumike/	"think"
/putuh/	"broken"	/mumutuh/	"cut"
/piko/	"carry"	/mumiko/	"carry"
/puji/	"praise"	/mumuji/	"praise"

(iii) Allomorph /mun-/

Allomorph /mun-/ is put in front of stems beginning with /t/. When such stems bear this allomorph the initial /t/ is dropped out, as in following examples:

/tanɔʔ/	"cook, boil"	/munanɔʔ/	"cook (rice)"
/tapon/	"patch"	/munapon/	"patch something"
/tumoʔ/	"to pound"	/munumoʔ/	"pound something"
/tɛkaʔ/	"level"	/munɛkaʔ/	"raise"

(iv) Allomorph /munɲ-/

Allomorph /munɲ-/ is put in front of stems beginning with /ʔ/, /k/ and /h/. When such stems bear this allomorph, the initial consonants are dropped out, as in following examples:

/kuteʔ/	"to pick"	/munɲuteʔ/	"pick up, collect sth."
/ʔigaʔ/	"to catch"	/munɲigaʔ/	"catch, arrest someone"
/hidɛ/	"dish of food"	/munɲidɛ/	"serve (food)"

(v) Allomorph /munɲu-/

Allomorph /munɲu-/ is used only with some certain words which consist of only one syllable, as in the following examples:

/suʔ/	"last"	/mʊŋʊsuʔ/	"last"
/sɔh/	"legal"	/mʊŋʊsɔh/	"legalize"

(vi) Allomorph /mʊŋ-/

Allomorph /mʊŋ-/ is put in front of stems beginning with /c/ and /s/. When such stems bear this allomorph, the initial /c/ and /s/ are dropped out, as in the following examples:

/susu/	"milk"	/mʊŋʊsusu/	"feed (milk)"
/supɔh/	"curse"	/mʊŋʊpɔh/	"curse someone"
/cabuʔ/	"pull out"	/mʊŋʊabuʔ/	"pull out rice sprout"
/cuʔi/	"steal"	/mʊŋʊuʔi/	"steal something"

3.1.1.1.2 Prefix {pʊ-}

The prefix {pʊ-} can be put in front of stems of transitive verbs, intransitive verbs and some cardinal numbers. The new words can be human nouns or concrete nouns and verbs. Prefix {pʊ-} has the following allomorphs: /pʊ-/, /pʊl-/, /pʊm-/, pʊn-/, pʊŋ-/, /pʊŋ-/ and /pʊŋ-/.

(i) Allomorph /pʊ-/

Allomorph /pʊ-/ can be put in front of stems beginning with all consonants, especially nasals, except /h/, as in the following examples:

/lakɔŋ/	"act"	/pʊlakɔŋ/	"actor"
/ʔubɔh/	"fall"	/pʊʔubɔh/	"make fall"
/minaʔ/	"like"	/pʊminaʔ/	"fan (of entertainment)"
/sakeʔ/	"painful"	/pʊsakeʔ/	"patient"

(ii) Allomorph /pul-/

Allomorph /pul-/ may be used only with the word /ʔaja/ "teach".

/ʔaja/	"teach"	/pulaja/	"a learner"
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(iii) Allomorph /pun-/

Allomorph /pun-) is used in front of stems beginning with /t/. When such stems bear this allomorph, the initial /t/ is dropped out, as in the following examples:

/takoʔ/	"afraid"	/punakoʔ/	"coward"
/tumoʔ/	"to punch"	/punumoʔ/	"punch"
/tim ^b ε/	"to weigh"	/punim ^b ε/	"arbitrator"
/tam ^b ε/	"pay (bus fare)"	/punam ^b ε/	"passenger"

(iv) Allomorph /pʉŋ-/

Allomorph /pʉŋ-/) is used in front of stems beginning with /k/ and /ʔ/. When such stems bear this allomorph, the initial consonants are dropped out, as in the following examples:

/kapeʔ/	"press"	/pʉŋapeʔ/	"bamboo supporter for roasting fish"
/kɔci/	"lock"	/pʉŋɔci/	"padlock"
/ʔikoʔ/	"follow"	/pʉŋikoʔ/	"follower"
/ʔuko/	"measure"	/pʉŋuko/	"instrument used in measuring"

(v) Allomorph /pʉŋ-/

Allomorph /pʉŋ-/) is used in front of stems beginning with /s/ and /c/. When such stems bear

this allomorph, initial /s/ and /c/ are dropped out as in the following examples:

/sapuh/	"sweep"	/pʰapuh/	"broom"
/sɛpaʔ/	"to kick"	/pʰɛpaʔ/	"kick"
/sakoʔ/	"hang"	/pʰakoʔ/	"hanger"
/catuŋ/	"fasten together"	/pʰatuŋ/	"bag"
/cicoʰ/	"dip"	/pʰicoʰ/	"sauce"

(vi) Allomorph /pʰy-/

Allomorph /pʰy-/ is used in front of stems beginning with /h/ and /ʔ/. When such stems bear this allomorph, the initial /h/ is dropped out, as in the following examples:

/habih/	"finish"	/pʰyabih/	"make finish"
/hapuʔ/	"float"	/pʰyapuʔ/	"float something"
/haŋaʔ/	"hot"	/pʰyanaʔ/	"to heat"
/ʔa ^o /	"water"	/pʰya ^o /	"give water to boxers, refreshen"

3.1.1.1.3 Prefix {bm-}

Verbs with prefix {bm-} are mostly intransitive. Stems which bear this prefix can be nouns or verbs. Prefix {bm-} has the following allomorphs: /bm-/, /bʰy-/ and /bʰl-/.

(i) Allomorph /bʰy-/

Allomorph /bʰy-/ is used with stems beginning with all consonants except /h/ and /ʔ/, as in

the following examples:

/layi/	"run"	/bɔlayi/	"run together"
/gɔcɔh/	"punch"	/bɔgɔcɔh/	"punch one another"
/jagɔ/	"awake"	/bɔjagɔ/	"watch, to guard"
/kɔbɔŋ/	"garden"	/bɔkɔbɔŋ/	"work in a garden"
/sɔkɔʔ/	"cap"	/bɔsɔkɔʔ/	"wear a cap"

(ii) Allomorph /bɔy-/

Allomorph /bɔy-/ is used with stems beginning with /ʔ/ and/or /h/. When such stems bear this allomorph, the initial /ʔ/ and /h/ are dropped out, as in the following examples:

/ʔa°/	"water"	/bɔya°/	"watery, be like liquid"
/ʔapi/	"fire"	/bɔyapi/	"flaming, burning"
/hubɔŋ/	"join"	/bɔyubɔŋ/	"contact"
/hutɛ/	"debt"	/bɔyutɛ/	"borrow (money)"

(iii) Allomorph /bɔl-/

Allomorph /bɔl-/ is used only with the word /ʔaja/ "teach".

/ʔaja/	"teach"	/bɔlaja/	"practice"
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Words with prefix {bɔ-} can bear the following meanings

1) {bɔ-} + V gives the meaning of:

a. "to do with another person, reciprocal"

/ʔayɔŋ bɔgɔcɔh dɔŋa jusɔh/

"Arong fights with Jusoh."

/duwɔ ʔɔrɛ tu doʔ bɔsɛpaʔ/

"Those two persons are kicking each other."

b. "to do something to one's own self" Verbs of this kind are intransitive.

/diyo bmcuko le? pagi/

"He shaves in the morning."

/ʔaminoh busoleʔ soʔmo/

"Aminah always makes up (herself)."

c. "to act as a habit"

/moʔci? mah bujuwa ʔike/

"Aunt Mah sells fish."

/kakoʔ ʔam^bo buja^e? baju/

"My sister makes dresses."

2) {bm-} + N gives the meaning of:

a. "to result, to produce, to give, to have"

/ʔanoʔ/ "a child" /bmyanoʔ/ "give birth"

/tulo/ "an egg" /bmtulo/ "lay eggs"

/puloh/ "sweat" /bmpuloh/ "to sweat"

b. "to use, to wear"

/sokoʔ/ "a cap" /bmsokoʔ/ "wear a cap"

/tukaʔ/ "a walking stick" /bmtukaʔ/ "use a walking stick"

/kudo/ "a horse" /bukudo/ "ride a horse"

c. "to consider as, to have as"

/ʔime/ "an Imam" /bmyime/ "have someone as an Imam"

/laki/ "a husband" /bmlaki/ "have someone as a husband"

/yajo/ "a king" /bmyajo/ "have someone as a king"

d. "to work or to administrate"

/kubon/	"a garden"	/bukubon/	"work in or administrate a garden"
/kuda/	"a shop"	/bukuda/	"work in or administrate a shop"

3.1.1.1.4 Prefix {tɯ-}

The prefix {tɯ-} can be put in front of both transitive and intransitive verbs. It has the following allomorphs: /tɯ-/ and /tɯɣ-/

(i) Allomorph /tɯ-/

Allomorph /tɯ-/ is used with stems beginning with all consonants except /ʔ/ and /h/, as in the following examples:

/baka/	"burn"	/tɯbaka/	"be burned"
/bukɔ/	"open"	/tɯbukɔ/	"be open"
/jijɔʔ/	"step on"	/tɯjijɔʔ/	"step on (accidentally)"
/napɔʔ/	"see"	/tɯnapɔʔ/	"see accidentally"

(ii) Allomorph /tɯɣ-/

Allomorph /tɯɣ-/ can be put in front of stems beginning with /ʔ/ and /h/. When such stems bear this allomorph, the initial /ʔ/ and /h/ are dropped out, as in the following examples:

/ʔakaʔ/	"lift"	/tɯɣakaʔ/	"be lifted"
/hadaʔ/	"face"	/tɯɣadaʔ/	"toward"
/ʔinaʔ/	"remember"	/tɯɣinaʔ/	"remind"
/hatoʔ/	"knock"	/tɯɣatoʔ/	"knock accidentally"

Allomorph {*tu-*} has the following meanings:

a. the meaning of perfective or passive

Prefix {*tu-*} with this meaning is used with transitive verb stems, but they are not followed by nouns or noun phrases: on the other hand it can be followed by adverbs or adverbial phrases, for example:

/tahaŋ tu jatoh kapa tube tapi to? sapa kutanoŋ do? tugatoŋ ?atah poŋoŋ kayu/

"That soldier fell down from the plane, but (he) did not reach the ground: (he) was hung up in the tree."

/tukoh yibo? kuwa? mejo tu tuyaka? dale duwo me?/

"While the wind was strong, that table was lifted up about two meters."

b. The meaning of non-intention

Prefix {*tu-*} with this meaning can be used with both transitive and intransitive verb stems. This gives the meaning of doing something unintentionally or accidentally, as in the following examples:

/diyo tusepa? batu/

"He kicked the rock accidentally."

/?am^bo tukaci? lidoh/

"I bit my tongue accidentally."

c. The meaning of ability

Prefix {*tu-*} with this meaning can be used with transitive verb stems, as in the following examples:

/pitu niŋ punoŋ to? tukato?/

"This door is out of order, (it is) unclosable."

/baju niŋ tɔpaka lagi/

"This shirt is still usable."

3.1.1.1.5 Prefix {kɔ-}

The prefix {kɔ-} may be put in front of a transitive verb, adjective or cardinal number, as in the following examples:

/kaseh/	"love"	/kɔkaseh/	"lover"
/tuwɔ/	"old"	/kɔtuwɔ/	"leader"
/duwɔ/	"two"	/kɔduwɔ/	"both"

Prefix {kɔ-} before a transitive verb or adjective changes the verb or adjective to a noun, whereas {kɔ-} before a cardinal number changes the cardinal number to ordinal number. However, nouns which are derived from {kɔ-} + V and {kɔ-} + adj. are rare and {kɔ-} of this type is not very productive: but {kɔ-} + cardinal number is still productive and it is often preceded by /yɛ/ (relative pronoun).

3.1.1.1.6 Prefix {sɔ-}

Prefix {sɔ-} means "one". It is put in front of a noun or classifier as in the following examples:

/ʔa ^o sugulah/	"a glass of water"
water one glass"	
/minɔʔ suliʔ/	"a litre of oil"
oil one litre	

/ɣumoh subuwoh/ house one clf.	"a house"
/smtahon/ one year	"a year"

3.1.1.2 Suffixes

There are only two suffixes in Pattani Malay: {-ε-} and {-i}. {-ε} is used in more cases than {-i}, which is used with only very few words.

3.1.1.2.1 Suffix {-ε}

Suffix {-ε} is an original suffix of the Malay language (Asmah 1982:48). It can be used with transitive and intransitive verbs and some nouns. It is attached to the bound form of these verb and noun roots (the free form of these roots drops the final consonant (except h)).

<u>Free form</u>	<u>Bound form</u>		<u>Suffixed form</u>	
ʔato	ʔatoɣ-	"arrange"	ʔatoɣε	"procedure"
baya	bayaɣ-	"pay"	bayaɣε	"payment"
juwa	juwal-	"sell"	juwalε	"selling"
puŋε	puŋεŋ-	"hold"	puŋεŋε	"belief"
tumoh	tumoh-	"grow"	tumohε	"plants"
ʔasoh	ʔasoh-	"educate"	ʔasohε	"educating"

If the final consonant is a stop (p, t, k), or a front nasal (m, n), or an s, then an epenthetic consonant (ʔ, ŋ, or h, respectively) is inserted before the final consonant. (Note that these epenthetic

consonants, which are weakened forms of the final consonants, are also added to the free forms.)

ʔanoʔ	ʔanok-	"child"	ʔanoʔkɛ	"doll"
ʔɛsoʔ	ʔɛsok-	"yesterday"	ʔɛsoʔkɛ	"the next day"
ʔucaʔ	ʔucap-	"say"	ʔucaʔpɛ	"speech"
ʔikaʔ	ʔikat-	"fasten"	ʔikaʔtɛ	"fastening"
sukaʔ	sukat-	"measure"	sukaʔtɛ	"measurement"
minun	minum-	"drink"	minunmɛ	"drinks"
kiyən	kiyem-	"diliver"	kiyənɛ	"dilivering"
banun	banun-	"stand"	banunɛ	"building"
ma ¹ ŋ	ma ¹ n-	"play"	ma ¹ ŋɛ	"game, show"
tahon	tahon-	"year"	tahonɛ	"yearly"
lukih	lukis-	"draw"	lukihɛ	"drawing"
tuleh	tules-	"write"	lulehɛ	"writing"

If there is no final consonant in the bound root, an epenthetic, y, w, or ʔ is added after i, u, or o respectively.

bagi	bagi-	"divide"	bagiyɛ	"proportion"
cuyi	cuyi-	"steal"	cuyiyɛ	"stealing"
hayi	hayi-	"day"	hayiyɛ	"daily"
ʔaku	ʔaku-	"accept"	ʔakuwɛ	"acceptance"
tuju	tuju-	"go toward"	tujuwɛ	"destination, objective"
gan ² u	gan ² u-	"disturb"	gan ² uwɛ	"disturbance"
batu	batu-	"help"	batuwɛ	"assistance"
baco	baco-	"read"	bacoʔɛ	"reading"
jago	jago-	"guard"	jagoʔɛ	"guarding"
binɔ	binɔ-	"construct"	binɔʔɛ	"construction, building"

Suffix {ε-} provides the following meanings:

Noun + {-ε} means

a. "have", as in the following words

/duʔi/	"thorn"	/duʔiyε/	"durian" (thorny fruit)
/ʔamoʔ/	"hair"	/ʔamoʔtε/	"rambutan" (hairy fruit)

b. "every", as in the following words.

/bulε/	"month"	/bulεnε/	"monthly"
/haʔi/	"day"	/haʔiyε/	"daily"
/mεŋ ² u/	"week"	/mεŋ ² uwε/	"weekly"

c. "be alike", as in the following word

/ʔanoʔ/	"child"	/ʔanoʔkε/	"doll" (child-like thing)
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Verb + {-ε} means

a. "things or persons which are the result of the doing" as in the following examples:

/make/	"eat"	/makeε/	"food"
/buwaʔ/	"do, produce"	/buwaʔtε/	"product"
/pileh/	"choose"	/pilehε/	"chosen thing"
/piŋ ¹ ε/	"borrow"	/piŋ ¹ εmε/	"loans"

b. "equipment used to do something", as in the following examples:

/kuko/	"grate coconut"	/kukoʔε/	"grater"
/jumɔ/	"dry"	/jumɔʔε/	"place for drying"
/gutiŋ/	"cut with scissors"	/gutiŋε/	"scissors"

3.1.1.1.2 Suffix {-i}

Suffix {-i} is really not productive in Pattani Malay: it is very rarely used in current Pattani Malay. The only word with suffix {-i} found in the data is /bɛʔki/, /baʔ/ "good" /bɛʔki/ "repair".

The meaning of {-i} is "cause to be".

3.1.1.3 Complex Affixes

Complex affixes, here, refers to the combination of prefix and suffix. Complex affixes are not regularly used in daily conversation: they are usually used in academic affairs. They are {kɯ-ɛ} which is the combination of {kɯ-} and {-ɛ}, and {pɯ-ɛ} which is combination of {pɯ-} and {-ɛ}.

{kɯ-ɛ} and {pɯ-ɛ} are used with transitive and intransitive verbs, adjectives and certain nouns. Words with {kɯ-ɛ} and {pɯ-ɛ} are classified as abstract nouns. The allomorphs of {-ɛ} as a part of {kɯ-ɛ} and {pɯ-ɛ} are the same as the allomorphs of the suffix {-ɛ} in 3.1.1.2.1. The following are some examples of words with {kɯ-ɛ} and {pɯ-ɛ}:

/maju/	"developed"	/kɯmajuwɛ/	"development"
/susoh/	"struggle"	/kɯsusohɛ/	"struggling"
/panah/	"hot"	/kɯpanahsɛ/	"heat, trouble"
/mati/	"die"	/kɯmatiyɛ/	"death"
/laku/	"perform"	/kɯlakuwɛ/	"performance, manner"

/tanɛ/	"plant"	/pʰnanɛmɛ/	"planting"
/tam ^b oh/	"add"	/pʰnam ^b ohɛ/	"adding"
/ʔasoh/	"educate"	/pʰŋasohɛ/	"educating"
/ʔaja/	"teach"	/pʰŋajayɛ/	"teaching"
/sakeʔ/	"be ill"	/pʰpakeʔtɛ/	"illness"

3.1.2 Word and Phrase Shortening without Long Consonants

This kind of word and phrase shortening is merely the reduction of a syllable within a word. It does not result in the occurrence of long consonants. New shortened words without long consonants are usually disyllabic. The number of shortened words without long consonants is comparatively less than that of the shortened words with long consonants. Shortened words without long consonants may be derived from several sources of former full forms of which the categories are discussed below. (In the data, Pattani Malay words are in phonemic brackets and Standard Malay words are given under the Pattani Malay words.)

3.1.2.1 Trisyllabic Stems

Trisyllabic stems are shortened to disyllabic shortened words mostly by deleting the vowel of the first syllable and the initial consonant of the second syllable. However, in some cases trisyllabic stems are shortened by merely deleting the first syllable. The following is a list of some shortened words.

/pɯɣiyɛ/	>	/piyɛ/	"season" (fruit)
periam			
/pɯɣɯyaʔ/	>	/puyaʔ/	"deceitful, stingy"
periap			
/pɯɣɯyoʔ/	>	/puyoʔ/	"pot"
periuk			
/tɯɣɯbɛ/	>	/tɯɣɯbɛ/ > /tubɛ/	"fly"
terbang			
/tɯɣɯbɛʔ/	>	/tɯɣɯbɛʔ/ > /tubɛʔ/	"go out"
terbit			
/tɯɣɛn ^d ɔʔ/	>	/tɛn ^d ɔʔ/	"woven sun hat"
terendak			
/tɯɣiyɔʔ/	>	/tiyɔʔ/	"cry"
teryak			
/tɯɣaju/	>	/taju/	"collection of string joined by a knot on a kite"
teraju			
/tɯɣuboʔ/	>	/tuboʔ/	"herring (shed)"
terubuk			
/tɯɣunɔ/	>	/tunɔ/	"young (of male)"
teruna			
/tɯɣujun/	>	/tujun/	"jump down"
terjun			
/dɯɣiyɛ/	>	/diyɛ/	"durian"
durian			
/sɯɣɯbɔ > /sɯɣubr/	>	/subɔ/	"all kinds"
serba			
/sɯɣɯbɔʔ/	>	/subɔʔ/	"powder"
serbuk			
/sɯɣɯpɛh/	>	/sɯɣɯpɛh/ > /supɛh/	"broken at the edge"
serpih			

/swɣuliŋ/	>	/suliŋ/	"bamboo flute"
seruling			
/swɣuna/	>	/suna/	"clarinet"
serunai			
/swɣupɔ/	>	/supɔ/	"similar"
serupa			
/cwɣumaʔ/	>	/cwɣumaʔ/ > /cumaʔ/	"economize"
cermat			
/cwɣumiŋ/	>	/cwɣumiŋ/ > /cumiŋ/	"mirror"
cermin			
/cwɣuma/	>	/cwɣuma/ > /cuma/	"tree with a small acidic fruit"
cermai			
/cwɣanɔ/	>	/canɔ/	"bowl or tray for keeping articles used in betel chewing"
cerana			
/cwɣidiʔ/	>	/cidiʔ/	"intelligent, smart"
cerdik			
/cwɣito/	>	/cito/	"story"
cerita			
/cwɣukã/	>	/cukã/	"scratch"
cerkau			
/jwɣawaʔ/	>	/jawaʔ/	"pimple"
jerawat			
/jwɣuloʔ/	>	/juloʔ/	"deep bowl or cup"
jerelok			
/jwɣamɔŋ/	>	/jamɔŋ/	"lantern"
jeremang			
/jwɣukɔh/	>	/jukɔh/	"talk with loud noise rudely"
jerkah			
/jwɣuloh/	>	/jwɣuloh/ > /juloh/	"fall into (a hole)"
jerlus			

/jwɣwnih/	>	/jwnih/	"clear, pure"
jernih			
/jwɣuwɔh/	>	/juwɔh/	"shout, yell"
jerwah			
/jwɣamin/	>	/jamin/	"straw"
jerami			
/jwɣupɔʔ/	>	/jwɣupɔʔ/ > /jupɔʔ/	"meet suddenly"
jerempak			
/jwɣiya/	>	/jiya/	"bamboo lattice-work"
jeriau			
/mɣuba/	>	/mɣuba/ > /muba/	"Malacca teak"
merbau			
/mɣuboʔ/	>	/mɣuboʔ/ > /muboʔ/	"kind of bird"
merbuk			
/haliyɔ/	>	/liyɔ/	"ginger"
halia			
/halubɔ/	>	/lubɔ/	"fennel (herb)"
halba			
/hasutɔ/	>	/sutɔ/	"cubit"
hasta			
/haruŋgɔ/	>	/yugɔ/	"price"
harga			

3.1.2.2 Suffixed Words

Suffixed words which may be shortened to disyllabic shortened words without long consonants are disyllabic stems which bear the suffix {-ɛ}, so the new words become trisyllabic. These trisyllabic words are shortened to being disyllabic mostly by deleting

the first syllable. The shortened words of this class are very few.

/ɣamoʔtɛ/	>	/moʔtɛ/	"rambutan"
/duriyɛ/	>	/diyɛ/	"durian"
/hadaʔpɛ/	>	/daʔpɛ/	"in front of"
/humuhsɛ/	>	/musɛ/	"bellows" (of blacksmiths)

3.1.2.3 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases which may be shortened without long consonants are those which begin with prepositions /kɯ/ and /di/, especially those which are followed by words beginning with the consonant phoneme /ʔ/. The following are some examples of such words.

/kɯmanɔ/	>	/kanɔ/	"(to) where"
/dɛmɔ nɔʔ gi kanɔ/			"Where are you going to?"
/di manɔ/	>	/danɔ/	"(at) where"
/suɣaʔ doʔ danɔ/			"Where is the book?"
/kɯ ʔatah/	>	/katah/	"upward"
/dɛmɔ kɯnɔ na ¹ ʔ katah/			"You must go upward."
/di ʔatah/	>	/datah/	"on"
/moʔ doʔ datah/			"Mother is upstairs."

/di/ which functions as passive voice marker preceding nouns beginning with /ʔ/ is also included in this kind of phrase shortening as shown in the following examples:

/di ʔula/	>	/dula/	"by a snake"
/diyɔ kɯnɔ kuteʔ dula/			"He is bitten by a snake."
/di ʔikɛ/	>	/dikɛ/	"by a fish"

/ʔulaʔ kuno make dike/	"A worm is eaten by a fish."
/di ʔulaʔ/ > /dulaʔ/	"by a worm"
/gigi kuno make dulaʔ/	"A tooth is eaten by a worm."
/di ʔoye/ > /doye/	"by a man (person)"
/jusoh kuno sepaʔ doye/	"Yusof was kicked by a man."

3.1.2.4 Prefix {sm-}

Prefix {sm-} is the marker for the numeral "one". When it is followed by a classifier beginning with /ʔ/, a shortening process without a long consonant may take place, as in the following examples:

/smʔoye/ > /soye/	"one person"
/diyo ʔado ʔanoʔ soye/	"He has a child."
/smʔeko/ > /seko/	"one animal"
/ʔam ^b ʔ buli lum ^b u seko/	"I buy a cow."
/smʔute/ > /sute/	"one (fruit etc.)"
/dεmo make woh topoh sute/	"You eat an apple."
/smʔoyaʔ/ > /soyaʔ/	"one (string etc.)"
/moʔ noʔ buli tali tukʔ soyaʔ/	"Mother will buy a necklace."
/smʔutah/ > /sutah/	
/diyo ʔado jalʔ sutah/	"He has a fish net."
/smʔayi/ > /sayi/	"one day"
/diyo bmyadu ssiniŋ sayi/	"He stayed here for one day."
/smʔutiŋ/ > /sutiŋ/	"a bunch"
/nuriyah buli buŋʔ sutiŋ/	"Nuriyah bought a bunch of flowers."
/sm ʔulah/ > /sulah/	"one seed (of fruit)"
/mitoʔ woh diye sulah/	"Please give me a seed of durian."

3.1.2.5 Compound Morphemes

Two morphemes may be shortened to a single morpheme without long consonants by retaining one part, usually the second syllable, of each original morphemes as follows:

/lagu manɔ/	>	/gumanɔ/ > /ganɔ/	"how"
way		which	
/lagu ʔinin/	>	/ginin/	"(by) this way"
way		this	
/lagu ʔitu/	>	/gitu/	"(by) that way"
way		that	
/sapɔ diyɔ/	>	/pɔdiyɔ/ > /piyɔ/	"who"
who		he	
/sabaʔ ʔapɔ/	>	/baʔpɔ/	"why"
reason		what	
/bɔwɔh ʔumɔh/	>	/bɔwɔh/	"under the house"
under		house	
/ʔatah ʔumɔh/	>	/tɔmɔh/	"on the house"
on		house	
/balah manɔ/	>	/lahnɔ/	"how"
way		which	
/bɛʔ manɔ/	>	/bɛʔnɔ/	"how"
style		which	

3.2 Detailed Listing of Words with Long Consonants

3.2.1 Categories of Original Forms and

New Shortened Forms

Every shortened word with long consonants is derived from a full original form. The following are

categories of the full original forms which are the sources of shortened words with long consonants. (In the data, Pattani Malay words are in phonemic brackets and Standard Malay words are given below the Pattani Malay words.)

3.2.1.1 Trisyllabic Stems

Trisyllabic stems have a high tendency to be shortened to disyllabic words with long consonants. The following are some trisyllabic stems and their shortened forms.

/pɯjajɔ/	>	/jjajɔ/	"jail"
penjara			
/pɯkakah/	>	/kkakah/	"equipment, apparatus"
perkakas			
/pɯkajɔ/	>	/kkajɔ/	"matter"
perkara			
/pɯkalɛ/	>	/kkalɛ/	"jetty"
pengkalan			
/pɯsakɔ/	>	/ssakɔ/	"property inheritance"
pesaka			
/pɯsɯgi/	>	/ssɯgi/	"square"
persegi			
/pɯɣigi/	>	/ffigi/	"well"
perigi			
/pɯɣɛkaʔ/	>	/ffɛkaʔ/	"stage, grade"
peringkat			
/pɯɣɛha/	>	/ffɛha/	"situation, about"
perihal			

/pʷyakaʔ/	>	/ffakaʔ/	"trap"
perangkap			
/pʷyaŋɛ/	>	/ffanŋɛ/	"bamboo stick used to support fish or meat (for roasting)"
perangan			
/pʷyaŋa/	>	/ffana/	"habit"
perangai			
/pʷmato/	>	/mmato/	"gems"
permata			
/pʷmaŋ ^ɛ /	>	/mmaŋ ^ɛ /	"instrument used to roast"
pemanggang			
/pʷnamo/	>	/nnamo/	"full (moon)"
pernama			
/pʷlapon/	>	/llapon/	"drift-wood, raft"
telampong			
/basika/	>	/busika/ > /ssika/	"bicycle"
basikal			
/bʷdɛyɔ/	>	/ddɛyɔ/	"flag"
bendera			
/bʷdayɔ/	>	/ddayɔ/	"Chinese dates"
bidara			
/bʷcayɔ/	>	/ccayɔ/	"trial, look after"
bicara			
/bʷkayon/	>	/kkayon/	"skink"
bengkarung			
/bʷsukuʔ/	>	/ssukuʔ/	"biscuit"
biskut			
/bʷyiyɛ/	>	/yyiyɛ/	"large monitor lizard"
beriang			
/bʷwapɔ/	>	/wwapɔ/	"how many"
berapa			

/buʔaŋɛ/	>	/wʔaŋɛ/	"barnacle (plant)"
berangan			
/buʔʊkəh/	>	/wʊkəh/	"bunch"
berkas			
/buʔʊnɛ/	>	/wʊnɛ/	"swim"
bernang			
/buʔʊnəh/	>	/wʊnəh/	"reasonable (of speech)"
bernas			
/buʔʊtəŋ/	>	/wʊtəŋ/	"lucky"
beruntung			
/buʔʊwɛ/	>	/bbuwɛ/	"bear"
beruang			
/bʊnətɛ/	>	/nnətɛ/	"animal"
binatang			
/tʊpɪyāh/	>	/ppɪyāh/	"sand-tick"
tumpiras			
/tʊpʊləh/	>	/ppʊləh/	"kind of climbing plant"
tempelas			
/tʊpəyɛ/	>	/ppəyɛ/	"jar"
tempayan			
/tʊpɔyɔʔ/	>	/ppɔyɔʔ/	"preserved durian"
tempoyak			
/tʊpʊyŋ/	>	/ppʊyŋ/	"coconut shell"
tempurong			
/tʊbəkə/	>	/bbəkə/	"tobacco"
tembakau			
/tʊbəkə/	>	/bbəkə/	"kind of sea fish"
tembakul			
/tʊbʊnɪŋ/	>	/bbʊnɪŋ/	"placenta"
tembuni			

/tʉbulah/	>	/bbulah/	"improper (of manner)"
tebulah			
/tʉbuwɛ/	>	/bbuwɛ/	"wasp"
tebuan			
/tʉkɔʔ/	>	/kkɔʔ/	"skull"
tengkorak			
/tʉkuko/	>	/kkuko/	"large cuckoo-dove"
tekukur			
/tʉgiʔi/	>	/ggiʔi/	"Spanish mackerel (fish)"
tenggiri			
/tʉgilin/	>	/bugilin/ > /ggilin/	"scaly ant-eater, pangolin"
tenggiling			
/tʉyʉbe/	>	/ttube/	"slingshot"
terbil			
/tʉyʉkɛ/	>	/ttkɛ/	"overcharge grossing"
terkam			
/tʉyʉajɛ/	>	/ttajɛ/	"kind of plant"
terajam			
/tʉyʉɔpɔŋ/	>	/ttɔpɔŋ/	"bellow"
teropong			
/tʉmɪla/	>	/mmɪla/	"river fish trap"
tembilar			
/tʉmɛlon/	>	/mmɛlon/	"banana leaf wrapper"
temilung			
/tʉmʉyɛ/	>	/mmʉyɛ/	"river fish trap"
temberam			
/tʉmagɔ/	>	/mmagɔ/	"copper"
tembaga			
/tʉmucuʔ/	>	/mmucuʔ/	"love-grass"
temucut			

/tumusu/	>	/mmusu/	"kind of tree"
temusu			
/tulinɔ/	>	/llinɔ/	"ear"
telinga			
/tulap ^j ε/	>	/llap ^j ε/	"naked"
telanjang			
/tulasi/	>	/llagi/	"tamarind"
telagi			
/tulago/	>	/llago/	"well"
telaga			
/tasubɛh/	>	/ssubɛh/	"bead, extolling God"
tasbih			
/kumpiyɔh/	>	/ppiyɔh/	"untasseled fez"
kupiah			
/kupalɔ/	>	/ppalɔ/	"head"
kepala			
/kubasi/	>	/bbasi/	"gizzard shad (fish)"
kebasi			
/kwtite/	>	/ttite/	"singing dove"
ketitir			
/kwtiko/	>	/ttiko/	"while"
ketika			
/kwtim ^b e/	>	/ttim ^b e/	"swell (of eyes)"
ketimbir			
/kwtiyɔ [?] /	>	/tتيyɔ [?] /	"armpit"
ketiak			
/kwtεyε/	>	/tتيyε/	"cashew nut"
ketiri			
/kwtubɔh/	>	/ttubɔh/	"Islamic sermon"
khutbah			

/kwtɔlɔ/	>	/ttɔlɔ/	"gourd"
ketola			
/kwtupaʔ/	>	/ttupaʔ/	"rice-cake"
ketumpat			
/kwtuko/	>	/ttuko/	"ray fish"
ketuka			
/kwtum ^b a/	>	/ttum ^b a/	"coriander (spice)"
ketumbar			
/kwdukuʔ/	>	/ddukuʔ/	"stingy, miser"
kedekut			
/kwdukon/	>	/ddukon/	"intensifier for hard"
kedeking			
/kwdon ^d on/	>	/ddon ^d on/	"hog-plum"
kedondong			
/kwdudoʔ/	>	/ddudoʔ/	"kind of plant"
keduduk			
/kwduyi/	>	/dduyi/	"feast, religious meal"
kenduri			
/kwkabu/	>	/kkabu/	"kapok tree"
kekabu			
/kwkatu/	>	/kkatu/	"lamp-fly"
kekatu			
/kwsiyɛ/	>	/ssiyɛ/	"pity, sympathize"
kesian			
/kwɣipuʔ/	>	/xxipuʔ/	"shrivel, shrunk"
keriput			
/kwɣitin/	>	/xxitin/	"frizzled (of negroid hair)"
kerinting			
/kwɣijo/	>	/xxijo/	"work"
kerja			

/kʷɨsɨ/	>	/xxɨsɨ/	"chair"
kerusi			
/kʷɨsɨʔ/	>	/xxɨsɨʔ/	"fine sand, gravel"
kersik			
/kʷɨʔtɔ/	>	/xxʔtɔ/	"car"
kereta			
/kʷɨʔɨʔ/	>	/xxʔɨʔ/	"wink, furrow"
kerenyit			
/kʷɨʔpɔʔ/	>	/xxʔpɔʔ/	"crispy fish chips"
keropok			
/kʷɨʔtɑ/	>	/xxʔtɑ/	"mulberry tree"
kertau			
/kʷɨʔtɑh/	>	/xxʔtɑh/	"paper"
kertas			
/kʷɨʔtɔʔ/	>	/xxʔtɔʔ/	"wooden bell for buffalo"
keretuk			
/kʷɨʔdɑh/	>	/xxʔdɑh/	"kind of plant"
kerdas			
/kʷɨʔmʔ/	>	/xxʔmʔ/	"sedge"
kercut			
/kʷɨʔkã/	>	/xxʔkã/	"scratch"
kerkau			
/kʷɨʔkɔh/	>	/xxʔkɔh/	"crunch"
kerkah			
/kʷɨʔkɔŋ/	>	/xxʔkɔŋ/	"uvular, throat"
kerengkung			
/kʷɨʔn ^ʔ ɔ/	>	/xxʔn ^ʔ ɔ/	"red ant"
kerengga			
/kʷɨʔlɨŋ/	>	/xxʔlɨŋ/	"give a side-long glance"
kerling			

/kʷapɔh/	>	/xxapɔh/	"in disorder"
kerapah			
/kʷapu/	>	/xxapu/	"rough"
kerapu			
/kʷabaʔ/	>	/xxabaʔ/	"climb"
kerabat			
/kʷabu/	>	/xxabu/	"kind of salad"
kerabu			
/kʷamaʔ/	>	/xxamaʔ/	"magic"
keramat			
/kʷan ³ i/	>	/xxan ³ i/	"kind of plant"
keranji			
/kʷɔbɛʔ/	>	/xxɔbɛʔ/	"meddle, fidget"
kerobet			
/kumaya/	>	/mmya/	"drought"
kemarau			
/kumama/	>	/mmama/	"dizzy and muddled, blinking"
kemamar			
/kumutin/	>	/mmutin/	"rose-myrrh"
kemunting			
/kunalen/	>	/nnalen/	"shiver with fear"
kenaling			
/kunukuʔ/	>	/nnukuʔ/	"broken rice grain"
temukut			
/kulukɔh/	>	/llukɔh/	"locker"
kelkah			
/gugaji/	>	/ggaji/	"saw"
gergaji			
/gugasi/	>	/ggasi/	"giant"
gergasi			

/gwyiyõʔ/ keriok	>	/vyiyõʔ/ keriok	"plenty"
/gwyehɛ/ geraham	>	/vyehɛ/ geraham	"wisdom tooth"
/gwyutoʔ/ gertak	>	/vyutoʔ/ gertak	"bridge"
/gwyutoʔ/ gertuk	>	/vyutoʔ/ gertuk	"knock (on door)"
/gwyudo/ garuda	>	/vyudo/ garuda	"garuda"
/gwyule/ gerlang	>	/vyule/ gerlang	"cut into circular pieces (of objects)"
/gwyapoh/ gerapah	>	/vyapoh/ gerapah	"plentiful"
/gwyapu/ gerapu	>	/vyapu/ gerapu	"coarse, rough"
/gwyano/ gerhana	>	/ggano/ gerhana	"eclipse"
/gwyobõʔ/ gerobak	>	/vyobõʔ/ gerobak	"wagon"
/gwyohon/ gerohong	>	/vyohon/ gerohong	"having holes, hollows (of trees)"
/gwyõŋ ^๕ õŋ/ geronggong	>	/vyõŋ ^๕ õŋ/ geronggong	"hollow inside a tree"
/gwyutu/ geruntu	>	/vyutu/ geruntu	"grumble, rough"
/gwyupuʔ/ gerunyut	>	/vyupuʔ/ gerunyut	"shivering"
/gumuciʔ/ gemecit	>	/mmuciʔ/ gemecit	"spattering (water)"

/gumalo/	>	/mmalo/	"herdsman"
gembala			
/gumuloh/	>	/mmuloh/	"title before names of dead persons"
gemulah			
/guligi?/	>	/ggigi?/	"toothed (as a saw etc.)"
gerigi			
/gulugo?/	>	/llugo?/	"boil"
gelegak			
/gulupa/	>	/ggupa/	"cheeky, impudent (of girl)"
gerenyau			
/supila/	>	/ppila/	"kind of fresh-water fish"
sepilai			
/supana/	>	/ppana/	"spanner"
sepana			
/smtesen/	>	/ttesen/	"station"
stesen			
/smtelo/	>	/ttelo/	"sweet potato"
setela			
/smtuken/	>	/ttuken/	"stockings"
stokin			
/sukule/	>	/kkule/	"scabies of scrotum"
sengkelang			
/sukuwe/	>	/kkuwe/	"Dracontamelum mangiferum (plant)"
sekuang			
/susawi/	>	/ssawi/	"mustard"
sesawi			
/suyebeh/	>	/ssεbeh/	"untidy"
serebeh			
/suyube/	>	/ssube/	"benumbed"
serban			

/suyuka [?] /	>	/ssuka [?] /	"cone-shaped coop to catch fish"
serkap			
/suyukoh/	>	/ssukoh/	"broken off"
serkah			
/suyuko [?] /	>	/ssuko [?] /	"coop"
serkup			
/suyape/	>	/ssape/	"fork"
serampang			
/suyabu [?] /	>	/ssabu [?] /	"troublesome"
serabut			
/suyati/	>	/ssati/	"mandarin duck"
serati			
/suyaniŋ/	>	/ssaniŋ/	"kind of duck"
serani			
/sumile/	>	/mmile/	"sea fish with poisonous sting"
sembilang			
/sulen ^d a/	>	/llen ^d a/	"cylinder"
silindar			
/sulapu [?] /	>	/llapu [?] /	"membrane"
selaput			
/sulaseh/	>	/llaseh/	"basil (plant)"
selaseh			

3.2.1.2 Prefixed Words

Prefixed words seem to be the biggest source of shortened words with long consonants. Most prefixes in trisyllabic prefixed words are deleted and they are substituted by long consonants. The following is a list of some shortened words with long consonants

which are derived from prefixed words.

{pu-}

/pugεεεʔ/	>	/bugεεεʔ/	>	/ggεεεʔ/	"matches"
penggesek					
/pugabuh/	>	/bugabuh/	>	/ggabuh/	"rubber"
penggabus					
/pugɔʋεʔ/	>	/bugɔʋεʔ/	>	/ggɔʋεʔ/	"boring instrument"
pengkorek					
/puʋidoʔ/	>	/ffidoʔ/			"bring back to life"
menghidup					
/puʋabih/	>	/ffabih/			"finish up"
menghabiskan					
/purati/	>	/ffati/			"observe"
memperhati					
/puʋato/	>	/ffato/			"make flat (level)"
merata					
/puʋaco/	>	/ffaco/			"dissolve"
menghancurkan					
/puʋanaʔ/	>	/ffanaʔ/			"warm (food)"
perangat					
/pura ^e /	>	/ffa ^e /			"give water to boxer (refresh)"
memperairkan					
/puʋa ^e h/	>	/ffa ^e h/			"middle man"
perais					
/puʋuboh/	>	/ffuboh/			"make fall"
merebahkan					
/puʋumonʔ/	>	/ffumonʔ/			"expose to dew"
memperembunkan					

/puyuba [?] /	>	/ffuba [?] /	"cure"
perubat			
/pumayo [?] /	>	/mmayo [?] /	"grater, scraper (of papaya etc.)"
pemarut			
/pumalah/	>	/mmalah/	"lazy person"
pemalas			
/pumalu/	>	/mmalu/	"shy person"
pemalu			
/pumuko/	>	/mmuko/	"camera"
pemukul			
/pumulah/	>	/mmulah/	"corkscrew"
pemulas			
/punipu/	>	/nnipu/	"cheater"
penipu			
/punido/	>	/nnido/	"sleepyhead, sleeper"
penidur			
/punin ^d teh/	>	/nnin ^d eh/	"anything used for pressing"
penindih			
/punapeh/	>	/nnapeh/	"strainer, filter"
penapis			
/punapa/	>	/nnapa/	"slash, strike (by hand)"
penapar			
/punapon/	>	/nnapon/	"patch"
penampong			
/punadoh/	>	/nnadoh/	"interceptor of falling object"
penadah			
/punako [?] /	>	/nnako [?] /	"coward"
penakut			
/punam ^b ε/	>	/nnam ^b ε/	"bus fare"
penambang			

/pʷnam ^b oh/	>	/nnam ^b oh/	"addition, change"
penambah			
/pʷnan ^d o/	>	/nnan ^d o/	"anything used as indicator"
penanda			
/pʷnubo [?] /	>	/nnubo [?] /	"instrument for boring"
penebuk			
/pʷnubuh/	>	/nnubuh/	"redeemer"
penebus			
/pʷnɔlo [?] /	>	/nnɔlo [?] /	"plough, pusher instrument"
penolak			
/pʷnum ^b o [?] /	>	/nnum ^b o [?] /	"punch"
penumbuk			
/pʷpiku/	>	/npiku/	"jostle (elbowing action)"
penyiku			
/pʷpiyiq/	>	/npiyiq/	"outer pieces of a long thing"
penyiring			
/pʷpepa [?] /	>	/npepa [?] /	"kick"
penyepak			
/pʷpekeh/	>	/npekeh/	"rap on one's head with one's knuckles"
penyekeh			
/pʷpewa/	>	/npewa/	"rent"
penyewa			
/pʷpapuh/	>	/npapuh/	"broom"
penyapu			
/pʷpake [?] /	>	/npake [?] /	"disease"
penyakit			
/pʷpako [?] /	>	/npako [?] /	"hanger"
penyangkut			
/pʷpamuŋ/	>	/npamuŋ/	"robber"
penyamun			

/pɔpɔpɛʔ/	>	/pɔpɛʔ/	"pincher, claws (of crab)"
penyempit			
/pɔpɔtɔ/	>	/pɔtɔ/	"ruler"
penyetai			
/pɔpɔmbo/	>	/pɔm ^b o/	"sprayer"
penyembur			
/pɔpɔdɔʔ/	>	/pɔdɔʔ/	"scoop"
penyodak			
/pɔpɔkɛh/	>	/pɔkɛh/	"lever"
pencongkel			
/pɔpɔm ^b ɔŋ/	>	/pɔm ^b ɔŋ/	"boaster, swaggerer"
penyombong			
/pɔpɔlɛʔ/	>	/pɔlɛʔ/	"instrument to pick up something"
pencolek			
/pɔpɔkɔʔ/	>	/pɔkɔʔ/	"device for measuring"
penyukat			
/pɔpɔuko/	>	/pɔuko/	"shaver (instrument)"
penyukur			
/pɔpɔuʔi/	>	/pɔuʔi/	"thief"
pencuri			
/pɔpɔnɔmɔʔ/	>	/pɔnɔmɔʔ/	"cork"
penyumbat			
/pɔpɔŋikih/	>	/pɔŋikih/	"stirring stick"
pengikih			
/pɔpɔŋapeʔ/	>	/pɔŋapeʔ/	"forceps"
pengapit			
/pɔpɔŋade/	>	/pɔŋade/	"referee"
pengadil			
/pɔpɔŋaca/	>	/pɔŋaca/	"disturber"
pengacau			

/pwn̄asoh/	>	/n̄nasoh/	"maid, nanny"
pengasuh			
/pwn̄ayɔʔ/	>	/n̄nayɔʔ/	"filter"
pengayak			
/pwn̄ayoh/	>	/n̄nayoh/	"paddle"
pengayuh			
/pwn̄upoh/	>	/n̄nupoh/	"wage, payment."
pengupah			
/pwn̄uko/	>	/n̄nuko/	"measuring instrument"
pengukur			
/pwn̄ukuh/	>	/n̄nukuh/	"steamer"
pengukus			
/pwlapon̄/	>	/llapon̄/	"float used in fishing"
pelampung			
/puluwah/	>	/lluwah/	"widen"
memperluaskan			
		{bw-}	
/bwpipen̄/	>	/ppipen̄/	"going hand in hand"
berpimpin			
/bwpita/	>	/ppita/	"twisted"
perpintal			
/bwpisoh/	>	/ppisoh/	"part from one another"
berpisah			
/bwpin ^d oh/	>	/ppin ^d oh/	"move out"
perpindah			
/bwpuc̄oh/	>	/ppuc̄oh/	"be divided"
berpecah			
/bwpatiʔ/	>	/ppatiʔ/	"spotted"
berpatik			

/bupatiŋ/	>	/ppatiŋ/	"alternating quatrain"
berpantun			
/bupakaʔ/	>	/ppakaʔ/	"share, plan"
berpakat			
/bupase/	>	/ppase/	"sandy"
berpasir			
/bupayoʔ/	>	/pparoʔ/	"scarred, marked (on the body)"
berparut			
/bupanaɦ/	>	/ppanaɦ/	"make warm"
berpanas			
/bupan ^ɟ ε/	>	/ppan ^ɟ ε/	"lengthen"
memanjangkan			
/bupalenŋ/	>	/ppalenŋ/	"turn away"
berpaling			
/bupaloʔ/	>	/ppaloʔ/	"enwrapped, mixed up"
berpalut			
/bupayoŋ/	>	/ppayoŋ/	"using umbrella"
berpayung			
/bupɰɣε/	>	/ppɰɣε/	"fight in a war"
berperang			
/bupuloʔ/	>	/ppuloʔ/	"embrace"
berpeluk			
/buputiʔ/	>	/pputiʔ/	"produce young fruit"
berputik			
/buputu/	>	/pputu/	"eat light meal"
berputu			
/bupucoʔ/	>	/ppucoʔ/	"sprout"
berpucuk			
/bupulah/	>	/ppulah/	"twisted"
berpulas			

/bʉtiteʔ/	>	/ttiteʔ/	"drop"
bertitik			
/bʉtikeɛ/	>	/ttikeɛ/	"stabbing one another"
bertikam			
/bʉtin ^d eh/	>	/ttin ^d eh/	"lie on top of each other"
bertindih			
/bʉtiŋoŋ/	>	/ttiŋoŋ/	"squatting"
bertinggung			
/bʉtɛpɛʔ/	>	/ttɛpɛʔ/	"plastered, pelted with clods"
bertempek			
/bʉtɛkaʔ/	>	/ttɛkaʔ/	"storied"
bertingkat			
/bʉtɛʏaʔ/	>	/ttɛʏaʔ/	"lying face downward"
bertiarap			
/bʉtupeʔ/	>	/ttupeʔ/	"shout loudly"
bertempik			
/bʉtupoh/	>	/ttupoh/	"touch"
bertempuh			
/bʉtudoh/	>	/ttudoh/	"take shelter"
berteduh			
/bʉtukih/	>	/ttukih/	"having a clash"
bertekis			
/bʉtukɛŋ/	>	/ttukɛŋ/	"quarrel"
bertingkar			
/bʉtugo/	>	/ttugo/	"greeting one another"
bertegur			
/bʉtumun/	>	/ttumun/	"meet"
bertemu			
/bʉtun ^d ɛ/	>	/ttun ^d ɛ/	"kick one another"
bertendang			

/butuŋaʔ/	>	/ttuŋaʔ/	"economical, cautious"
bertengat			
/butulo/	>	/ttulo/	"lay eggs"
bertelur			
/butapoʔ/	>	/ttapoʔ/	"based"
bertapak			
/butapoʔ/	>	/ttapoʔ/	"congregate"
bertapuk			
/butapon/	>	/ttapon/	"patched"
bertampung			
/butabe/	>	/ttabe/	"furnish with curtains"
bertabir			
/butaje/	>	/ttaje/	"sharpen"
bertajam			
/butaka/	>	/ttaka/	"having handle, stem"
bertangkai			
/butakaʔ/	>	/ttakaʔ/	"catching one another"
bertangkap			
/butakoʔ/	>	/ttakoʔ/	"notched"
bertakuk			
/butayoh/	>	/ttayoh/	"betting"
bertaruh			
/butahon/	>	/ttahon/	"for a year long"
bertahum			
/butam ^b on/	>	/ttm ^b on/	"in heap"
bertambun			
/butan ^d en/	>	/ttan ^d en/	"contest"
bertanding			
/butan ^d oʔ/	>	/ttanoʔ/	"having horn"
bertanduk			

/bmtati/	>	/ttali/	"connected, related (by blood, marriage"
bertali			
/bmtawa/	>	/ttawa/	"offer"
bertawar			
/bmtoko/	>	/ttoko/	"become a chunk"
bertokol			
/bmtoloʔ/	>	/ttoloʔ/	"depart"
bertolak			
/bmtupu/	>	/ttupu/	"adjoin"
bertumpu			
/bmtukaʔ/	>	/ttukaʔ/	"having a walking stick, sustain"
bertungkat			
/bmtuyoʔ/	>	/ttuyoʔ/	"continuous"
berturut			
/bmtuyon/	>	/ttuyon/	"followed, adhere"
berturun			
/bmtum ^b oʔ/	>	/ttum ^b oʔ/	"fighting one another"
bertumbuk			
/bmtunε/	>	/ttunε/	"engaged"
bertunang			
/bmtun ^d o/	>	/ttun ^d o/	"dragged"
bertunda			
/bmtup ^j ε/	>	/ttu ^j ε/	"founded on"
bertunjang			
/bmtuwoh/	>	/ttuwoh/	"lucky"
bertuah			
/budiyi/	>	/ddiyi/	"stand"
berdiri			
/budiye/	>	/ddiye/	"keeping still"
berdiam			

/bʉdɛp̃ɛʔ/	>	/ddɛp̃ɛʔ/	"pressed together closely"
berdempet			
/bʉdɛɣɛʔ/	>	/ddɛɣɛʔ/	"in rows"
berderet			
/bʉdɛnɛ/	>	/ddɛnɛ/	"damp, moist"
berdener			
/bʉdɔpɔʔ/	>	/ddɔpɔʔ/	"meet with, encounter"
berdempak			
/bʉdɔbu/	>	/ddɔbu/	"dusty"
berdebu			
/bʉdɔki/	>	/ddɔki/	"jealous"
berdengki			
/bʉdɔkaʔ/	>	/ddɔkaʔ/	"be near"
berdekat			
/bʉdɔɣiŋ/	>	/ddɔɣiŋ/	"making sharp noises"
berdering			
/bʉda ^o ŋ/	>	/dda ^o ŋ/	"have leaves"
berdaun			
/bʉdɔkaʔ/	>	/ddɔkaʔ/	"hug one another"
derdakap			
/bʉdaɣɔh/	>	/ddaɣɔh/	"bleed"
berdarah			
/bʉdɔɣi/	>	/ddɔɣi/	"thorny"
burduri			
/bʉcɔdiŋ/	>	/ccɔdiŋ/	"branch out"
berceding			
/bʉcɔɣa/	>	/ccɔɣa/	"divorced"
bercerai			
/bʉcɔpɔ/	>	/ccɔpɔ/	"mixed"
bercampur			

/bucabε/	>	/ccabε/	"forking, branched out"
bercabang			
/bucabuʔ/	>	/ccabuʔ/	"drawn out"
bercabut			
/bucagɔʔ/	>	/ccagɔʔ/	"forked, supported"
bercagak			
/bucɔvɛŋ/	>	/ccɔvɛŋ/	"scrawled over"
bercoreng			
/bucuko/	>	/ccuko/	"shave oneself"
bercukur			
/bujiyuh/	>	/jjiyuh/	"water a tree"
menjirus			
/bujiŋɔʔ/	>	/jjiŋɔʔ/	"tame, domesticate"
menjinak			
/bujutaʔ/	>	/jjutaʔ/	"spring back"
menjentat			
/bujwɥiʔ/	>	/jjwɥiʔ/	"shriek"
menjerit			
/bujumɔ/	>	/jjumɔ/	"stay in the sun"
berjemur			
/bujulε/	>	/jjulε/	"sticking out (tongue)"
menjelir			
/bujatε/	>	/jjatε/	"intercourse"
berjantan			
/bujatoh/	>	/jjatoh/	"let fall, drop (of birth)"
menjatuhkan			
/bujaj ^o h/	>	/jjaj ^o h/	"make far apart"
menjauh			
/bujajɔ/	>	/jjajɔ/	"peddling"
berjaja			

/bujakeʔ/	>	/jjakeʔ/	"infectious"
berjangkit			
/bujakoh/	>	/jjakoh/	"step out"
berjakah			
/bujago/	>	/jjago/	"awake, on guard"
berjaga			
/bujayε/	>	/jjayε/	"bathe, wet areas around the head to ease a headache"
menjaram			
/bujamun/	>	/jjamun/	"give a feast"
berjamu			
/bujam ^b o/	>	/jjam ^b o/	"tufted (bird, horse)"
berjambul			
/bujan ^j i/	>	/jjan ^j i/	"promise"
berjanji			
/bujanʔ/	>	/jjanʔ/	"make up"
berjangak			
/bujalε/	>	/jjalε/	"walk"
berjalan			
/bujalo/	>	/jjalo/	"striped, lined"
berjalur			
/bujayo/	>	/jjayo/	"succeed"
berjaya			
/bujupʔ/	>	/jjupʔ/	"meet, come across"
berjumpa			
/bujuto/	>	/jjuto/	"millions and millions"
berjuta			
/bujun ^j on/	>	/jjun ^j on/	"carrying something on the head"
berjunjung			
/bujuwε/	>	/jjuwε/	"fight, struggle"
berjuang			

/bujuwa/	>	/jjuwa/	"sell"
berjual			
/bukutoʔ/	>	/kkutoʔ/	"fart"
berkentut			
/bukutuʔ/	>	/kkutuʔ/	"red and swollen (eyes)"
berketut			
/bukucuʔ/	>	/kkucuʔ/	"shrink"
berkecut			
/bukujaʔ/	>	/kkujaʔ/	"fit well, fasten"
mengejat			
/bukum ^b ε/	>	/kkum ^b ε/	"wearing a sarong but just tying it at the bosom level"
berkemban			
/bukumah/	>	/kkumah/	"tidy up"
berkemas			
/bukum ^b a/	>	/kkum ^b a/	"twin"
berkembar			
/bukunε/	>	/kkunε/	"like"
berkenan			
/bukuna/	>	/kkuna/	"get to know one another"
berkenal			
/bukuliʔ/	>	/kkuliʔ/	"twinkle"
berkelip			
/bukocoʔ/	>	/kkocoʔ/	"shaking"
berkocak			
/bukubε/	>	/kkubε/	"wallowing, playing in a small pond"
berkubang			
/bukubo/	>	/kkubo/	"buried"
berkubur			
/bukudo/	>	/kkudo/	"riding a horse"
berkuda			

/bukukoʔ/	>	/kkukoʔ/	"crowing (of cocks)"
berkokok			
/bukuyɛ/	>	/kkuyɛ/	"decrease"
mengurang			
/bukuyon/	>	/kkuyon/	"locked up"
berkurung			
/bukuleʔ/	>	/kkuleʔ/	"have skin"
berkulit			
/bukulaʔ/	>	/kkulaʔ/	"fungoid, mouldy"
berkulat			
/bukuluʔ/	>	/kkuluʔ/	"dirty (of skin)"
berkulut			
/bukuwɔh/	>	/kkuwɔh/	"with gravy (of food)"
berkuah			
/bugise/	>	/ggise/	"rub against"
bergeser			
/bugile/	>	/ggile/	"alternately, turn by turn"
bergilir			
/bugɛgɛ/	>	/ggɛgɛ/	"making too much noise"
bergeger			
/bugɛsɛʔ/	>	/ggɛsɛʔ/	"scrub"
bergesek			
/bugaton/	>	/ggaton/	"hanging (ownself)"
bergantung			
/bugadoh/	>	/ggadoh/	"be in hurry, take care of"
bergabuh			
/bugaga/	>	/ggaga/	"groping"
bergagar			
/bugayu/	>	/ggayu/	"scratching"
bergaru			

/bugaloʔ/	>	/ggaloʔ/	"play contentedly"
bergalak			
/bugayo/	>	/ggayo/	"having style"
bergaya			
/buga ^o /	>	/gga ^o /	"mixed, associated"
gergaul			
/buguta/	>	/gguta/	"shaking"
bergentar			
/bugutoh/	>	/ggutoh/	"sticky, sappy"
bergetah			
/buguduʔ/	>	/gguduʔ/	"wrinkled (of skin)"
berkedut			
/buguʔoʔ/	>	/gguʔoʔ/	"moving"
bergerak			
/bugula/	>	/ggula/	"confer title on"
menggelarkan			
/bugulaʔ/	>	/ggulaʔ/	"darken"
menggelapkan			
/bugocoh/	>	/ggocoh/	"fight one another"
bergcoh			
/bugosoʔ/	>	/ggosoʔ/	"rub, iron"
bergosak			
/bugohon/	>	/ggonhon/	"having holes"
bergohong			
/bugutin/	>	/ggutin/	"cutting with scissors"
bergunting			
/bugudih/	>	/ggudih/	"having itchy disease"
berkudis			
/buguguh/	>	/gguguh/	"bunched"
bergugus			

/bugusuʔ/	>	/ggusuʔ/	"interlinked, ruffled"
berkusut			
/buguyih/	>	/gguyih/	"scratched"
berguris			
/buguʔa/	>	/gguʔa/	"teasing"
bergurau			
/bugunɔ/	>	/ggunɔ/	"useful"
berguna			
/bugulin/	>	/ggulin/	"turn over, roll"
berguling			
/bugula/	>	/ggula/	"cook curry"
bergulai			
/buguwɛ/	>	/gguwɛ/	"dispute"
berguam			
/bmsukɔ/	>	/ssukɔ/	"ask a riddle"
berteka			
/bwyipɔn/	>	/wwipɔn/	"gather, assemble"
berhimpun			
/bwyisi/	>	/wwisi/	"fleshy"
berisi			
/bwyimɛ/	>	/wwimɛ/	"faithful"
beriman			
/bwyinaʔ/	>	/wwinaʔ/	"careful"
beringat-ingat			
/bwyinɔh/	>	/wwinɔh/	"having mucus"
berhingus			
/bwyinoʔ/	>	/wwinoʔ/	"shaking"
beringgut			
/bwyɛpẽʔ/	>	/wwɛpẽʔ/	"very close together"
berhimpit			

/bʏɛkɔ/	>	/wɛkɔ/	"by whole body (animal)"
berekor			
/bʏɯbuʔ/	>	/wɛbuʔ/	"fighting for something"
berebut			
/bʏɯti/	>	/wuti/	"stop"
berhenti			
/bʏɯtɛ/	>	/wutɛ/	"borrow (money)"
berhutang			
/bʏɯpi/	>	/wapi/	"flaming, sparking"
berapi			
/bʏɯpɔ/	>	/wapɔ/	"how many"
berapa			
/bʏɯtu/	>	/watu/	"haunted"
berhantu			
/bʏɯdaʔ/	>	/wadaʔ/	"facing toward"
berhadap			
/bʏɯka/	>	/waka/	"intelligent"
berakal			
/bʏɯka/	>	/waka/	"rooty, deeply rooted"
berakar			
/bʏɯkaʔ/	>	/wakaʔ/	"depart, leave"
berangkat			
/bʏɯkoʔ/	>	/wakoʔ/	"delivering"
berangkut			
/bʏɯsaʔ/	>	/wasaʔ/	"smoky"
berasap			
/bʏɯsɔ/	>	/wasɔ/	"feel"
berasa			
/bʏɯam ^b aʔ/	>	/wam ^b aʔ/	"chasing"
berhambat			

/buʔam ^b u/	>	/wwam ^b u/	"fringed"
berambu			
/buʔaŋiŋ/	>	/wwaŋiŋ/	"brave"
berani			
/buʔanaŋʔ/	>	/wwanaŋʔ/	"give birth to a child"
beranak			
/buʔanuʔ/	>	/wwanuʔ/	"floating away"
berhanyut			
/buʔaŋiŋ/	>	/wwaŋiŋ/	"windy"
berangin			
/buʔaleh/	>	/wwaleh/	"move"
beralih			
/buʔayoŋ/	>	/wwayoŋ/	"hanging and swaying"
berayun			
/buʔa ^o /	>	/wwa ^o /	"watery"
berair			
/buʔubaŋʔ/	>	/wwubaŋʔ/	"medical cure"
berubat			
/buʔuboh/	>	/wwuboh/	"changed"
berubah			
/buʔuboh/	>	/wwuboh/	"connected, contact"
berhubung			
/buʔulaŋʔ/	>	/wwulaŋʔ/	"having worms"
berulat			
/buʔumoh/	>	/wwumoh/	"get married"
berumah			
/bunanoŋ/	>	/nnanoŋ/	"suppurating"
bernanah			
/bunaza/	>	/nnaza/	"make a vow"
bernazar			

/buna ^u ŋ/	>	/nna ^u ŋ/	"take shelter"
bernaung			
/bɯŋpawõ/	>	/ŋpawõ/	"alive, animate"
bernyawa			
		{tɯ-}	
/tɯpaka/	>	/ppaka/	"usable"
terpakai			
/tɯpaʔsɔ/	>	/ppaʔsɔ/	"be forced"
terpaksa			
/tɯkɛhe/	>	/kkɛhe/	"twisted"
terkehel			
/tɯkwɛiŋ/	>	/kkwɛiŋ/	"urinate (accidentally)"
terkencing			
/tɯkiciʔ/	>	/kkiciʔ/	"slight diarrhoea"
terkicit			
/tɯkwtoʔ/	>	/kkwtoʔ/	"fart (accidentally)"
terkentut			
/tɯgatoŋ/	>	/ggatoŋ/	"hung up"
tergantung			
/tɯgamɔʔ/	>	/ggamɔʔ/	"manageable"
tergamak			
/tɯbuleʔ/	>	/bbuleʔ/	"twined"
terbelit			
/tɯbaka/	>	/bbaka/	"afire"
terbakar			
/tɯbaleʔ/	>	/bbaleʔ/	"upside down"
terbalik			
/tɯbayɛ/	>	/bbayɛ/	"(image) seen vaguely"
terbayang			

/tubuko/	>	/bbuko/	"be opened"
terbuka			
/tukatoʔ/	>	/kkatoʔ/	"be closed"
tertutup			
/tusepaʔ/	>	/ssepaʔ/	"kick (accidentally)"
tersepak			
/tusaloʰ/	>	/ssaloʰ/	"being wrong"
tersalah			
/tumasoʔ/	>	/mmasoʔ/	"included, suitable"
termasuk			
/tuŋaŋo/	>	/ŋŋaŋo/	"wide opened"
ternganga			
		{mu-}	
/munipu/	>	/nnipu/	"cheat"
menipu			
/muniti/	>	/nniti/	"pass over (along a bridge)"
meniti			
/munikoʰ/	>	/nnikoʰ/	"get married"
menikah			
/muniyu/	>	/nniyu/	"copy, imitate"
meniru			
/munim ^b o/	>	/nnim ^b o/	"floating"
menimbu			
/munin ^ʃ a/	>	/nnin ^ʃ a/	"leave, die"
meninggal			
/munεpeʔ/	>	/nnepeʔ/	"stick on, bill-stick"
menepek			
/munεvaʔ/	>	/nnevaʔ/	"lie face downward"
meniarap			

/munɛm ^b ɔʔ/	>	/nnɛm ^b ɔʔ/	"explode"
emenembak			
/munɛŋɔʔ/	>	/nnɛŋɔʔ/	"see (entertainment)"
menegok			
/munapi/	>	/nnapi/	"seft, winnow"
menapi			
/munapɔŋ/	>	/nnapɔŋ/	"patch"
menampung			
/munabo/	>	/nnabo/	"scatter, deposit (seeds)"
menabur			
/munaboh/	>	/nnaboh/	"beat a drum rythmically"
menabuh			
/munadɔh/	>	/nnadɔh/	"intercept falling object"
menadah			
/munakaʔ/	>	/nnakaʔ/	"jump (of fish)"
menangkap			
/munakɔʔ/	>	/nnakɔʔ/	"make a notch"
menakuk			
/munayɪ/	>	/nnayɪ/	"dance"
menari			
/munayɛʔ/	>	/nnayɛʔ/	"drag, pull"
menarik			
/munanɛ/	>	/nnanɛ/	"plant, grow"
menanam			
/munanɔʔ/	>	/nnanɔʔ/	"cook (rice)"
menanak			
/munanɔh/	>	/nnanɔh/	"suppurating"
menanah			
/muna ¹ ʔ/	>	/nna ¹ ʔ/	"move upward (of things)"
menaikkan			

/munamɔŋ/	>	/nnamɔŋ/	"pill up"
menambun			
/munam ^b ɔh/	>	/nnam ^b ɔh/	"increase"
menambah			
/munawa/	>	/nnawa/	"bargain"
menawar			
/munɔpɔ/	>	/nnɔpɔ/	"weld"
menempa			
/munɔbɛ/	>	/nnɔbɛ/	"cut down (tree)"
menebang			
/munɔbah/	>	/nnɔbah/	"cut down (shrub, bush)"
menebas			
/munɔboʔ/	>	/nnɔboʔ/	"drill, bore through"
menebuk			
/munɔtɛ/	>	/nnɔtɛ/	"oppose"
menentang			
/munɔtu/	>	/nnɔtu/	"for sure"
menentu			
/munɔkɛ/	>	/nnɔkɛ/	"intimidate, press"
menekan			
/munɔŋɔʔ/	>	/nnɔŋɔʔ/	"affirm, retain"
menegak			
/munɔpu/	>	/nnɔpu/	"lean on"
menumpu			
/munɔtoʔ/	>	/nnɔtoʔ/	"pursue (knowledge), study"
menumtut			
/munɔjɔŋ/	>	/nnɔjɔŋ/	"forecast"
menujun			
/munɔyoʔ/	>	/nnɔyoʔ/	"adhere, follow"
menurut			

//munuʔoŋ/	>	/nnuʔoŋ/	"descending"
menurun			
/munumih/	>	/nnumih/	"cook a kind of food"
menumis			
/munum ^b oʔ/	>	/nnum ^b oʔ/	"pound, crush to pieces"
menumbuk			
/munup ^j oʔ/	>	/nnup ^j oʔ/	"show off, indicate"
menunjuk			
/munuleh/	>	/nnuleh/	"write"
menulis			
/mupipe/	>	/npipe/	"picking up"
menyimpan			
/mupice/	>	/npice/	"chop of bits"
menyincang			
/mupise/	>	/npise/	"comb"
menyisir			
/mupin ^d e/	>	/npin ^d e/	"satirizing"
menyindir			
/mupεpaʔ/	>	/npεpaʔ/	"kicking"
menyepak			
/mupapuh/	>	/npapuh/	"sweep"
menyapu			
/mupaboŋ/	>	/npaboŋ/	"lather"
menybuni			
/mupabuʔ/	>	/npabuʔ/	"pull out (rice sprout for transplant)"
mencabut			

/mɯŋako/	>	/ŋŋako/	"dig"
mencakul			
/mɯŋamɯŋ/	>	/ŋŋamɯŋ/	"rob"
menyamun			
/mɯŋam ^b a/	>	/ŋŋam ^b a/	"prepare condiments"
menyambal			
/mɯŋam ^b oʔ/	>	/ŋŋam ^b oʔ/	"receive, welcome"
menyambut			
/mɯŋyala/	>	/ŋŋala/	"expose to heat"
menyalai			
/mɯŋalo/	>	/ŋŋalo/	"flaring, burning"
menyala			
/mɯŋa ^u ʔ/	>	/ŋŋa ^u ʔ/	"reply (the call)"
menyahut			
/mɯŋapɯŋ/	>	/ŋŋapɯŋ/	"sing"
menyanyi			
/mɯŋayo/	>	/ŋŋayo/	"prepare vegetable"
menyayur			
/mɯŋudɯŋ/	>	/ŋŋudɯŋ/	"transplant seedling"
mencedung			
/mɯŋum ^b o/	>	/ŋŋum ^b o/	"sprinkle, spittle"
menyembur			
/mɯŋum ^b oh/	>	/ŋŋum ^b oh/	"worship"
menyembah			
/mɯŋukaʔ/	>	/ŋŋukaʔ/	"measure"
menyukat			
/mɯŋuko/	>	/ŋŋuko/	"shave someone"
mencukur			
/mɯŋusu/	>	/ŋŋusu/	"milk feeding"
menyusu			

/munɣaʔ/	>	/nɣaʔ/	"write"
menyurat			
/munɣloh/	>	/nɣloh/	"illuminate"
menyuluh			
/munɣitɔŋ/	>	/nɣitɔŋ/	"calculating"
menghitung			
/munɣikih/	>	/nɣikih/	"stir gently"
mengikih			
/munɣisa/	>	/nɣisa/	"sift (rice)"
mengisa			
/munɣisaʔ/	>	/nɣisaʔ/	"smoking, sucking"
menghisap			
/munɣekɛŋ/	>	/nɣekɛŋ/	"walk with feet wide apart"
mengengkeng			
/munɣesõʔ/	>	/nɣesõʔ/	"move slowly and quietly"
mengesut			
/munɣenaʔ/	>	/nɣenaʔ/	"destroy"
mengkianati			
/munɣatoʔ/	>	/nɣatoʔ/	"sleepy"
mengantuk			
/munɣaca/	>	/nɣaca/	"disturb"
mengacau			
/munɣayoʔ/	>	/nɣayoʔ/	"dream"
mengarut			
/munɣɣi/	>	/nɣɣi/	"frightening"
mengeri			
/munɣɣɛ/	>	/nɣɣɛ/	"hatch"
mengeram			
/munɣuloh/	>	/nɣuloh/	"sigh"
mengeluh			

/mʉŋɔsɛʔ/	>	/ŋŋɔsɛʔ/	"disturb"
mengosek			
/mʉŋuteʔ/	>	/ŋŋuteʔ/	"collect (rubber latex etc.)"
mengutip			
/mʉŋudoh/	>	/ŋŋudoh/	"defame someone"
menghodoh			
/mʉŋukuh/	>	/ŋŋukuh/	"steaming (rice etc.)"
mengukus			
/mʉŋuniŋ/	>	/ŋŋuniŋ/	"ripe (of paddy)"
menguning			
/mʉŋuwãʔ/	>	/ŋŋuwãʔ/	"yawn"
menguap			
/mʉlɛtɛ/	>	/mʉnɛtɛ/ > /nnɛtɛ/	"stretching right across"
melintang			
/mʉlɛsɛʔ/	>	/mʉnɛsɛʔ/ > /nnɛsɛʔ/	"painting"
meleset			
/mʉlɛʏɛʔ/	>	/mʉnɛʏɛʔ/ > /nnɛʏɛʔ/	"draggles, lingering"
meleret			
/mʉlɛŋ ^ʔ ɔʔ/	>	/mʉnɛŋ ^ʔ ɔʔ/ > /nnɛŋ ^ʔ ɔʔ/	"swing"
melengguk			
/mʉlɛʏaʔ/	>	/mʉnɛʏaʔ/ > /nnɛʏaʔ/	"spreading"
melarat			
/mʉlɛʏaʔ/	>	/mʉnɛʏaʔ/ > /nnɛʏaʔ/	"visit"
melawat			
/mʉla ^o ŋ/	>	/mʉna ^o ŋ/ > /nna ^o ŋ/	"shout, yell"
melaung			
/mʉlɛtuʔ/	>	/mʉnɛtuʔ/ > /nnɛtuʔ/	"explode"
meletup			
/mʉlɔpaʔ/	>	/mʉnɔpaʔ/ > /nnɔpaʔ/	"jumping, leaping forward"
melompat			

/mʌlɔta/	>	/mʌnɔta/	>	/nɔta/	"throw at"
melontar					
/mʌlɔcaʔ/	>	/mʌnɔcaʔ/	>	/nɔcaʔ/	"jump up and down"
moloncat					

3.2.1.3 Suffixed Words

Suffixation is another way of word building in Pattani Malay. It enlarges words: therefore, trisyllabic words become tetrasyllabic words and disyllabic words become trisyllabic words. When a single word becomes longer than two syllables, it has a tendency to be shortened. The following are some suffixed words which are shortened to disyllabic words with long consonants.

/gugo/	>	/gugoʋɛ/	>	/ggɔʋɛ/	"abortion"
gugur		guguran			
"drop"					
/kuko/	>	/kukoʋɛ/	>	/kkɔʋɛ/	"coconut grater"
kukur		kukuran			
"grate"					
/puŋ ^ʃ a/	>	/puŋ ^ʃ alɛ/	>	/puŋnalɛ/	(/batɛ/)/ŋnalɛ/
punggal		punggalan			"throwing stick"
"throw"					
/kisa/	>	/kisaʋɛ/	>	/ssaʋɛ/	"grind stone"
kisar		kisaran			
"grind"					

/kan ^d a/	>	/kan ^d aγɛ/	>	/kunaγɛ/	>	/nnaγɛ/
kandar		kandaran				"stick for carrying "carry on shoulder" things"
/basɔh/	>	/basɔhɛ/	>	/bmsɛhɛ/	>	/ssɛhɛ/
basah		basahan				"a cloth worn when "wet" taking a bath"
/kɔtɛ/	>	/kɔtameɛ/	>	/ttameɛ/		"an instrument used ketam ketaman for harvesting paddy"
"cut (harvest)"						

3.2.1.4 Infixes

It may be said that the only infix found in current Pattani Malay is {-ml-}, and it is no longer productive. From the data collected, there are only two words with this infix. When the infix is added to a disyllabic basic word, the word becomes trisyllabic. Then the first letter of the word is deleted and the initial consonant of the second syllable is duplicated.

/tɔpɔʔ/	>	/tmlɔpɔʔ/	>	/llɔpɔʔ/
to point		a pointing stick		
/tɔpɔʔ/	>	/tmlɔpɔʔ/	>	/llɔpɔʔ/
palm (of hand or foot)		"foot print"		

3.1.2.5 Complex Affixed Words

Complex affixed words may be found shortened to shortened words with long consonants: however, words of this category are not frequently used

in daily conversation. The following are some complex affixed words which are shortened to words with long consonants.

/kuba ^o ʔkɛ/	>	/bba ^o ʔkɛ/	"goodness"
/kubajiʔkɛ/	>	/bbajiʔkɛ/	"charity"
/kubusayɛ/	>	/bbusayɛ/	"greatness"

3.2.1.6 Morpheme Compounding

Two free morphemes may be used together to refer to one thing. In Pattani Malay, two free morphemes may be compounded together and shortened to a single disyllabic word with long consonants. Two free morphemes are shortened to a trisyllabic word. Then the first syllable of the word is deleted and the initial consonant of the second syllable is duplicated. The following are some words with long consonants from this category.

/paka ʔayɔ/	>	/pmkayɔ/	>	/kkayɔ/	"the name of a village"
paka ara					
"higher land"		"a kind of plant"			

/busi jɛŋ/	>	/busijɛŋ/	>	/ssijɛŋ/	"zinc"
besi zen					
"iron zinc"					

/pata niŋ/	>	/putaniŋ/	>	/ttaniŋ/	"Pattani"
pantai ini					
"beach this"					

/ʔapɔ namɔ/ > /pɯnamɔ/ > /nnamɔ/ "what"
 apa nama (apa)
 "what name"

(/baleʔ/) /ttayi na^{1ʔ}/ > /tɯna^{1ʔ}/ > (/baleʔ/) /nna^{1ʔ}/
 sebelah matahari naik ("timur") "east"
 "side" "sun" "rise"

(/baleʔ/) /ttayi jatoh/ > /tɯjatoh/ > (/baleʔ/) /jjatoh/
 sebelah matahari jatuh (barat) "west"
 "side" "sun" "set"

/matɔ hayi/ > /mutayi/ > /butayi/ > /ttayi/ "sun"
 mata hari matari
 "eye" "day"

/mugɔ ʔapɔ/ > /bɯgapɔ/ > /ggapɔ/ "what"
 muga apa "apa"
 "thing" "what"

3.2.1.7 Preposition Phrase

Prepositions which are affected by shortening are /kɯ/ (or/kɔ/) "to" and /di/ "at" (or "by" in passive sentences). They may be deleted and the doubling of the next adjacent consonant will be substituted. For example:

/kɔ piyɔ/ > /ppiyɔ/ "to whom"
 "to who"

/muŋ noʔ muʔeh ppiyoʔ/		"Who are you angry with?"
/ko dɛmoʔ > /ddɛmoʔ/		"to you"
"to you"		
/diyo sʊpuŋ ddɛmoʔ/		"He/She smiles at you."
/kumanoʔ > /mmanoʔ/		"to where"
"to where"		
/ʔali noʔ gi mmanoʔ/		"Where will Ali go?"
/kujalaʔ > /jjalaʔ/		"to Yala"
"to Yala"		
/kumayɛŋ diyo gi jjalaʔ/		"Yesterday he went to Yala."
/di manɔʔ > /dumanɔʔ > /mmanoʔ/		"at where"
"at where"		
/sutuken to doʔ mmanoʔ/		"Where are those stockings?"
/di tupaʔ > /ttupaʔ/		"by a squirrel"
"by squirrel"		
/no tu kuno make ttupaʔ/		"That coconut was eaten by a squirrel."
/di naseʔ > /nnaseʔ/		"by Nasir"
"by Nase"		
/ʔadeʔ muŋ kuno sɛpaʔ nnaseʔ/		"Your brother was kicked by Nasir."

In the examples above /ku/ and /di/ are transitive prepositions, they need nouns after them. Moreover, there is another type of prepositional phrases which may be shortened to words with long consonants. This type of prepositional phrases consists of two prepositions where /ku/ or /di/ always take the first preposition place. This structure is used in specifying

position in detail. It is not necessary to put a noun after such a prepositional phrase, since the noun is assumed to be known. For example:

/di dale/ > /ddale/ "inside"

at in

/ʔaminoh tido ddale/ "Aminah sleeps inside."

/di bowoh/ > /bbowoh/ "beneath"

at under

/ʔadeʔ doʔ main bbowoh/ "Brother is playing downstairs."

/kuluwa/ > /lluwa/ "outside"

to out

/jaŋε tubeʔ lluwa/ "Don't go outside."

/kwtuŋoh/ > /ttuŋoh/ "to the middle"

to middle

/jaŋε gi ttuŋoh/ "Don't go to the middle."

3.2.1.8 Verb Phrase with Verbal Linker

/buwi/ or /wi/

Long consonants may occur as the result of the reduction of the verbal linker /buwi/ "to give" which is used in the functional sense to mean "so as to (be)" in the underlying verb phrase. /buwi/ is deleted, and is replaced by long consonants. (Navanit: 1989).

/kkɛɛʔ buwi dɯyah/	>	/kkɛɛʔ ddɯyah/	"speak aloud"
speak		give loud	
/kɯyabaʔ buwi tin ^ɛ i/	>	/kɯyabaʔ ttin ^ɛ i/	"climb up high"
climb		give high	
/makɛ...wi kɯɲɛ/	>	/makɛ...kkɯɲɛ/	"eat so as to be full"
eat		give full	
/basoh...wi cuci/	>	/basoh...ccuci/	"wash...clean"
wash		give clean	
/bude...wi mati/	>	/bude...mmati/	"shoot...dead"
shoot		give die	
/bɔwɔʔ...wi dɯyah/	>	/bɔwɔʔ ddɯyah/	"drive...fast"
drive		give fast	
/tayoh...wi masɔʔ/	>	/tayoh...mmasɔʔ/	"keep...ripe"
keep		give ripe	

3.2.1.9 Reduplicated Words

Words with long consonants which are the result of the reduction of full reduplicated words can be found in cases of full reduplicated adverbs. The first part of a reduplicated adverb is deleted, and it is replaced by a duplicate of the initial consonant of the stem.

/mɔlɛʔ mɔlɛʔ/	>	/mmɔlɛʔ/	"well"
molek		molek	

/ba ^o ? ba ^o ?/	>	/bbae?/	"well, good"
baik baik			
/dmyah dmyah/	>	/ddmyah/	"fast"
deras deras			
/koho koho/	>	/kkoho/	"slowly"
kohor kohor			
/cumpa? cumpa?/	>	/ccumpa?/	"quickly"
cepat cepat			

There are in Pattani Malay some words with long consonants which are equivalent to the Standard Malay full and/or partially reduplicated words, but they do not occur as fully reduplicated words, except /laki-laki/ which may be occasionally heard from really old people. Those words are:

/kayen kayen/	>	/kkayen/	"kind of river fish"
karing-karing			
/kuyɔ kuyɔ/	>	/kkuyɔ/	"tortoise"
kura-kura			
/puyu puyu/ or /kupuyu/	>	/ppuyu/	"climbing perch" (fish)
puyu-puyu or kepuyu			
/biyin-biyin/	>	/bbiyin/	"sheep"
biri-biri or bebiri			
/labi labi/	>	/llabi/	"mud turtle"
labi-labi or lelabi			
/layɛ layɛ/	>	/llayɛ/	"swallow" (bird)
layang-layang or lelayang			
/lanɪ? lanɪ?/	>	/llanɪ?/	"palate"
langit-langit or lelangit			

/kacɛ kacɛ/ > /kukacɛ/ > /kkacɛ/ "barracuda (fish)"
kekacang

3.2.1.10 Disyllabic Stems

Some disyllabic words can be reduced to monosyllabic words with long consonants by deleting the first syllable then doubling the initial consonant of the last syllable. However, monosyllabic shortened words with long consonants fluctuate with their unlengthened counterparts. For example:

/hulɛ/	>	/llɛ/ ~ /lɛ/	"eagle"
helang			
/huliʔ/	>	/lliʔ/ ~ /liʔ/	"step aside"
mengelakan			
/buwi/	>	/wwi/ ~ /wi/	"give"
beri			
/buwaʔ/	>	/wwaʔ/ ~ /waʔ/	"do"
buat			
/buwɛ/	>	/wwɛ/ ~ /wɛ/	"remove"
buang			
(/ʔikɛ/) /yuwɛ/	>	(/ʔikɛ/) /wwɛ/ ~ /wɛ/	"kind of fresh-water fish, Ophicephalus striatu"
(ikan) haruan			
/pugi/	>	/ggi/ ~ /gi/	"go"
pergi			

3.2.2 The Meaning of Long Consonants

Besides the change of their forms from words without long consonants to words with long consonants, the meaning of those words are also changed, but they are still related to the meaning of their counterparts. In fact, the meaning of words with long consonants depends on the prefixes attached to their former forms. A single word with long consonants may bear many meanings in the same stem. For instance, /ɲpawɔ/ can mean "to breathe" and "animate". It means "to breathe" if it is derived from /mɲpawɔ/, and "animate" if it is derived from /bɲpawɔ/ (for detail see 3.2.1.2).

In brief, the meaning of words with long consonants can be identified accurately through their former forms. The following are the meanings of words with long consonants in comparison to their counterparts:

1. To mean "produce, make, have":

/ɲawɔ/	"life"	/mɲpawɔ̃/	>	/ɲpawɔ̃/	"breathe"
/buŋɔ/	"flower"	/bubuŋɔ/	>	/bbuŋɔ/	"to flower"
/tɯlɔ/	"egg"	/bɯtɯlɔ/	>	/ttɯlɔ/	"to lay eggs"
/pɯloh/	"sweat"	/bɯpɯloh/	>	/ppɯloh/	"to sweat"

2. To mean "be like", or similar to":

/gɯtɔh/	"rubber"	/bɯgɯtɔh/	>	/ggɯtɔh/	"sticky, tough (like rubber)"
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/batu/ "rock" /kubatu/ > (/pise/) /bbatu/ "kind of banana
which is hard (like the rock)"

3. To mean "do the action reciprocally":

/takaʔ/ "hug" /butakaʔ/ > /ttakaʔ/ "hug one another"
/kute/ "pinch" /bukute/ > /kkute/ "pinch one another"
/kaseh/ "love" /bukaseh/ > /kkaseh/ "love one another"
/gocoh/ "punch" /bugocoh/ > /ggocoh/ "punch one another"

4. To mean "do something to one's ownself, reflexive:

/paleŋ/ "turn" /bupaleŋ/ > /ppaleŋ/ "turn one's ownself"
/guliŋ/ "roll" /buguliŋ/ > /gguliŋ/ "roll one's ownself"

5. To mean "do something to someone (or something), causative":

/tido/ "sleep" /bmtido/ > /ttido/ "make someone sleep"
/man^di/ "take a bath" /muman^di/ > /mman^di/ "bathe someone"

6. To mean "do as a habit":

/ja^o/ "sew" /bmja^o/ > /jja^o/ "sew (as a habit)"
/juwa/ "sell" /bmjuwa/ > /jjuwa/ "sell (as a habit)"

7. To mean "in the direction of, at/from":

/dayaʔ/ "land" /bmdaraʔ/ > /ddayaʔ/ "land, shore"
/jala/ "Yala" /kujala/ > /jjala/ "to Yala"
/bun^dε/ "field" /kubun^dε/ > /bbun^dε/ "to the field"

8. To mean "be in that manner":

/malu/ "shy" /pumalu/ > /mmalu/ "in a shy manner"
/malah/ "lazy" /pumalah/ > /mmalah/ "in a lazy manner"
/sunε/ "happy" /busunε/ > /ssunε/ "in a happy manner"

9. To mean "all of the number":

/duwɔ/ "two" /kɯduwɔ/ > /dduwɔ/ "all two"
 /tigo/ "three" /kɯtigo/ > /ttigo/ "all three"

10. To mean "make to that quality", causative:

/pan^dɔʔ/ "short" /bɯpan^dɔʔ/ > /ppan^dɔʔ/ "shorten"
 /jaŋɔʔ/ "beautiful" /bɯjaŋɔʔ/ > /jjaŋɔʔ/ "make up"
 /tajɛ/ "sharp" /bɯtajɛ/ > /ttajɛ/ "sharpen"
 /supeʔ/ "narrow" /bɯsupeʔ/ > /ssupeʔ/ "to narrow"

11. To mean "be able to":

/bukɔ/ "open" /tɯbukɔ/ > /bbukɔ/ "openable"
 /katoʔ/ "close" /tɯkatoʔ/ > /kkatoʔ/ "closable"

12. To mean "spend that time, do the action since then or for that long":

/malɛ/ "night" /bɯmalɛ/ > /mmalɛ/ "spend a night"
 /tahɔŋ/ "year" /bɯtahɔŋ/ > /ttahɔŋ/ "for a year"
 /pagi/ "morning" /yaʔdi pagi/ > /ppagi/ "since the morning"

13. To mean "do something accidentally":

/sɛpaʔ/ "kick" /tɯsɛpaʔ/ > /ssɛpaʔ/ "kick accidentally"
 /kike/ "bite" /tɯkike/ > /kkike/ "bite accidentally"
 /jijɔʔ/ "step on something" /tɯjijɔʔ/ > /jjijɔʔ/ "step on something accidentally"

3.3 Types of Change

The types of change discussed here include both shortening without long consonants and shortening with

long consonants, because, in many cases, shortening without long consonants is the transition between the original form and the new form with long consonants.

In the observation on the use of words between two different generations of the native speakers-old generation and young generation, a large number of old native speakers use the transitive form, moreover, they may be able to use the original form. On the other hand, young native speakers tend to use the shortened form, and a lot of them may not be able even to use the transition form.

3.3.1 Assimilation

Assimilation is the process or result of two sounds becoming identical or similar, due to the influence of one upon the other (Hartmann, 1973:21).

Both kinds of assimilation, progressive and regressive assimilation can occur in word and phrase shortening.

3.3.1.1 Progressive Consonant Assimilation

Progressive assimilation refers to the assimilation in which a sound is changed under the influence of a preceding sound. The following are some examples of progressive assimilation in Pattani Malay.

/mulayɛ/	>	/munayɛ/ (>/nnayɛ/)	"fly"
/mulayu/	>	/munayu/ (>/nnayu/)	"Malay"
(/mɯɣa ^o ʔ/)	>	/mɯŋa ^o ʔ/ (>ŋŋa ^o ʔ/)	"disappear"

3.3.1.2 Regressive Consonant Assimilation

Regressive consonant assimilation refers to assimilation in which a consonant is changed under the influence of a following consonant, as in the following examples.

/mugɔ ^o ʔapɔ/	>	(/mugapɔ/)	>	/bugapɔ/ (>/ggapɔ/)	"what"
/mayrib/	>	(/mugoreʔ/)	>	/bugoreʔ/ (>/ggoreʔ/)	"sunset" (time)

3.3.1.3 Regressive Vowel Assimilation

Regressive vowel assimilation refers to assimilation in which a vowel of one syllable is changed under the influence of a vowel of a following syllable, as in the following examples:

/basɔhɛ/	/busɛhɛ/ > /ssɛhɛ/	"clothes used for bathing in"
/kɯɣusi/	/kɯɣisi/ > /xxisi/	"chair"
/kukoyɛ/	> /kkoyɛ/	"coconut grater"
/ɣamo ^o tɛ/	> /mo ^o tɛ/	"rambutan"
/gugoyɛ/	> /ggoyɛ/	"miscarriage"
/saloyɛ/	> /suloyɛ/ > /lloyɛ/	"channel"

3.3.2 Metathesis

Metathesis refers to a change of order, either of words in a sentence or speech sounds in a words, which deviates from normal usage and may in some cases lead to permanent changes in the language (Hartmann, 1973:141).

Metathesis is not a common sound change in Pattani Malay. It can occur with Arabic loan words in which /m/ in the first syllable is followed by /s/ or /j/ in a following syllable, as in the following examples:

/masjid/ > /masuje?/ > /sumuje?/ > /ssuje?/ "mosque"
 /majlis/ > /majuleh/ > /jummuleh/ > /mmuleh/ "council"

3.3.3 Loss

Loss is the discarding of phonological, grammatical or lexical items at a particular stage in the history of a language. (Hartmann, 1973:135)

Loss in the process of shortening in Pattani Malay can occur word initially or word medially: i.e., syncope and aphasis.

3.3.3.1 Syncope

Syncope refers to the loss of one or more sounds or letters from the middle of a word.

Syncope that occurs in word shortening in Pattani Malay is loss of syllable. The loss of syllable occurs across syllable boundaries, i.e., the vowel of the first syllable and the initial consonant of the second syllable are omitted. This is the main type of change in shortening without long consonants.

/tʷyubɛ/	>	/tubɛ/	"fly"
/tʷyiyɔʔ/	>	/tiyɔʔ/	"cry"
/dʷyiyɛ/	>	/diyɛ/	"durian"
/gumanɔ/	>	/ganɔ/	"how"
/dumanɔ/	>	/danɔ/	"where"
/sʷyati/	>	/ssati/	"kind of duck"
/sʷyaniŋ/	>	/ssaniŋ/	"kind of duck"

3.3.3.2 Aphesis

Aphesis is the omission of one or more sounds or words from the beginning of an utterance (Hartmann 1973:16). The types of aphasis included in word and phrase shortening in Pattani Malay are the loss of initial syllable and loss of initial morpheme.

3.3.3.2.1 Loss of Initial Syllable

Initial syllables which are omitted may or may not be replaced by long consonants.

/buwi/	>	/wwi/ ~ /wi/	"give"
/hʷliʔ/	>	/lliʔ/ ~ /liʔ/	"avoid"
/yamoʔtɛ/	>	/moʔtɛ/	"rambutan"

/haliyo/	>	/liyo/	"ginger"
/halubo/	>	/lubo/	"fennel"
/kumayen/	>	/mmayen/	"yesterday"
/sudadu/	>	/ddadu/	"policeman"

3.3.3.2.2 Loss of Initial Morpheme

This type of change occurs in shortening of prepositional phrases, verb phrases with verbal linker /bwi/, and reduplicated words: and blended morphemes.

(i) Loss of Functional Words

a. Loss of Preposition in Prepositional Phrase

/di kuda/	>	/kkuda/	"at the market"
/di manɔ/	>	/mmanɔ/	"where"
/ku kapon/	>	/kkapon/	"to the village"
/ku jusoh/	>	/jjusoh/	"to Yusof"

b. Loss of Verbal Linker /bwi/

/bude bwi mati/	>	/bude mmati/	"shoot dead"
/ʔubon bwi pan ^j ε/	>	/ʔubon ppan ^j ε/	"prolong"
/buwaʔ bwi mɔleʔ/	>	/buwaʔ mmɔleʔ/	"do well"

(ii) Loss of Initial Morpheme in Reduplicated Words.

/diyε diyε/	>	/ddiyε/	"quietly"
/dɔyah dɔyah/	>	/ddɔyah/	"fast, quickly"

(iii) Loss of Other Initial Free Morpheme

(/baleʔ/) /ttayi na¹ʔ/ > /tuna¹ʔ/ > /nna¹ʔ/ "east"
 /ʔapo namɔ/ > /punamɔ/ > /nnamɔ/ "what"

3.4 System of Change

The following is the system of change or the summary rules of change included in the shortening process. Rules of change without long consonants are also discussed here because in many cases trisyllabic shortened words are former forms of disyllabic shortened words with long consonants.

3.4.1 $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3V_3$ ---> $C_1V_2C_3V_3$

By this rule, the vowel of the first syllable and the initial consonant of the second syllable of the former form are deleted.

/tuɣurɔ/	>	/tunɔ/	"unmarried person"
/tuɣubɛ/	>	/tubɛ/	"fly"
/puɗiyɔ/	>	/piyɔ/	"who"
/suɣupɔ/	>	/supɔ/	"be like, same"
/subute/	>	/sute/	"clf. for fruit"
/sulalu/	>	/salu/	"suddenly"
/duɣumɔh/	>	/dumɔh/	"at home"
/duɣiyɛ/	>	/diyɛ/	"durian"

$$3.4.2 \quad C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3 \quad C_4V_3C_5V_4 \quad \text{----} \rightarrow \quad C_2V_2C_3C_4V_4$$

This rule is used in shortening two morphemes by blending together. The first syllables of both morphemes are deleted: what is left is the second syllables of both morphemes, and then they are put together to form a new single morpheme. This rule of shortening is limited to very few morphemes, and the second morphemes must be question words.

/sabaʔ ʔapɔ/	>	/baʔpɔ/	"why"
/balah manɔ/	>	/lahnɔ/	"how"
/bɛʔ manɔ/	>	/bɛʔnɔ/	"how"

$$3.4.3 \quad C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3V_3 \quad (C) \quad \text{----} \rightarrow \quad C_2C_2V_2C_3V_3 \quad (C)$$

The first syllable (C_1V_1) is deleted, and the second consonant (the first consonant of the second syllable) is doubled. This rule is applied to most prefixed polysyllabic words and a number of non-prefixed polysyllabic words. The result is disyllabic words with long consonants.

/mnanɔʔ/	>	/nnanɔʔ/	"cook (rice)"
/bukɛcɛʔ/	>	/kkɛcɛʔ/	"speak"
/tukwjuʔ/	>	/kkwjuʔ/	"be frightened, shock"
/tɔbaka/	>	/bbaka/	"be on fire"
/bɔgɔcɔh/	>	/ggɔcɔh/	"fight one another"
/pɔpɔpuh/	>	/ppɔpuh/	"broom"
/kɔtupaʔ/	>	/ttupaʔ/	"rice cake"
/tɔpayɛ/	>	/ppayɛ/	"jar"

/kwtiyoʔ/	>	/ttiyoʔ/	"armpit"
/pusako/	>	/ssako/	"property inheritance"

On the other hand most trisyllabic words beginning with /kuy-/ , /buy-/ and /puy-/ have special rules of shortening, i.e., they are replaced by /xx-/, /ww-/ and /ff-/ respectively.

/kuyεto/	>	/xxεto/	"carriage"
/kuyitiŋ/	>	/xxitiŋ/	"curled (hair)"
/puyā [̄] /	>	/ffa [̄] /	"give water"
/puyā [̂] /	>	/ffa [̂] /	"boat"
/buyadu/	>	/wwadu/	"stop"
/buywne/	>	/wwwne/	"swim"

3.4.4 $C_1V_1 (CV) C_2V_2C_3V_3 \text{ ----> } C_2C_2V_2C_3V_3$

This rule may be applied in shortening prepositional phrases and verb phrases with verbal linker /buwi/ where C_2 is not /ʔ/ or /h/. The whole first morpheme is deleted and replaced by long consonants, as preferably used by the native speakers.

Prepositions in prepositional phrases which may be deleted are /ku/ or /ko/ "to" and /di/ "at, by". /ku/ or /ko/ and /di/ which are followed by any consonants except /ʔ/ and /h/ can be deleted and are replaced by the doubling of the next consonant. Following are some examples of words which are shortened by using this process.

/komidah/	>	/mmidah/	"to Midah"
/yo buwi baju mmidah/			"He gives a dress to Midah."
/di mɛjɔ/	>	/mmɛjɔ/	"at the table"
/suʔaʔ doʔ mmɛjɔ/			"The book is on the table."
/di sudiŋ/	>	/ssudiŋ/	"by Sudin"
/diyo kuno sɛpaʔ ssudiŋ/			"He was kicked by Sudin."
/kuʔaʔ buwi pan ^d ɔʔ/	>	/ppan ^d ɔʔ/	"cut short"
/kuʔaʔ kayu ppan ^d ɔʔ/			"Cut the wood short."

As an exception, /ku-/ and /di-/ which are followed by /ʔ/ are not replaced by long consonant but may be shortened by using the rule $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3V_3 \rightarrow C_1V_2C_3V_3$

/di ʔula/	>	/dula/	"by a snake"
/diyo kuno kuteʔ kula/			"He was bitten by a snake."
/di ʔaŋiŋ/	>	/daŋiŋ/	"by the wind"
/baju dɛmo kuno pupuʔ daŋiŋ/			"Your shirt was blown (away) by the wind."
/ku ʔile/	>	/kile/	"toward the north"
/ʔaŋiŋ pupuʔ kile/			"The wind blows northward."

3.4.5 $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3V_3 \rightarrow C_1C_1V_2C_3V_3$

This type of change occurs across syllable boundary. The vowel of the first syllable and the initial consonant of the second syllable are deleted, and the deleted syllable is substituted for by the doubling of the first consonant. This rule may be applied with words beginning with /suʔ-/ and some words with prefix /tuʔ-/, as in the following examples:

/swɣati/	>	/ssati/	"mandarin duck"
/swɣaniŋ/	>	/ssaniŋ/	"kind of duck"
/swɣibu/	>	/ssibu/	"one thousand"
/swɣatoh/	>	/ssatoh/	"one hundred"
/tɰyatoʔ/	>	/ttatoʔ/	"knock accidentally"
/tɰyʊm ^b ah/	>	/ttum ^b ah/	"knock accidentally"
/tɰyinaʔ/	>	/ttinaʔ/	"recall"

3.5 Effects of Word and Phrase Shortening

Word and phrase shortening affects Pattani Malay in many ways: phonological, morphological and syntactical.

3.5.1 Phonological Effects

3.5.1.1 The Occurrence of /f/ and /x/ in Original Pattani Malay Words

/f/ and /x/ are not autochthonous phonemes of Pattani Malay, but they may occur in Pattani Malay in Arabic and English loan words. But after the shortening process, /f/ and /x/ are used in original Pattani Malay words in the form of long consonants. /x/ is the result of shortening words beginning with /kɰy-/, whereas /f/ is the result of shortening words beginning with /pɰy-/, as in the following examples:

/kɰy-/	>	/xx-/	
/kɰyɛto/	>	/xxɛto/	"carriage"
/kɰyutah/	>	/xxutah/	"paper"

/kʷyabu/	>	/xxabu/	"kind of salad"
/kʷyijɔ/	>	/xxijɔ/	"work"
/kʷyiyɛ/	>	/xxiyɛ/	"kind of plant"
/pʷy-/	>	/ff-/	
/pʷyabih/	>	/ffabih/	"finish (food, money etc.)"
/pʷyiyɔ/	>	/ffiyɔ/	"kind of plant"
/pʷyati/	>	/ffati/	"pay attention"
/pʷyʌbɔh/	>	/ffʌbɔh/	"make fall"

3.5.1.2 The New Type of CV Pattern

In Pattani Malay consonant clusters, especially identical consonant clusters, are typically non-initial. However, when some certain words are shortened, there exist initial long consonants. And since long consonants are interpreted as double consonants or geminates, there occurs a new type of syllabic CV pattern with geminates in initial position as in the following examples:

/bmjalɛ/	>	/jjalɛ/	"walk"
/bmtajɛ/	>	/ttajɛ/	"sharpen"
/bmtayɔh/	>	/ttayɔh/	"bet"
/mʌnaji/	>	/nʌnaji/	"study"
/tʌkwjuʔ/	>	/kkwjuʔ/	"be frightened"

3.5.2 Morphological Effects

3.5.2.1 Homophones

Homophone refers to one of two or more words which are identical in sound but different in meaning and/or spelling (Hartmann, 1973:105).

There are quite a lot of homophones in Pattani Malay. The most common cause of homophones is word and phrase shortening. Words with the same stem but different prefixes may be homophones when they are shortened, so contextual clues are the only helpful thing in understanding the meaning. The following are some examples of homophones in Pattani Malay.

(i) prefix vs. prefix

/pʷnɔpʷh/	"broom"	>	/nɔpʷh/
/mʷnɔpʷh/	"sweep"		
/ʔadɛ buli nɔpʷh/			"Adam bought a broom."
/jusoh doʔ nɔpʷh/			"Yusof is sweeping (the floor)"
/pʷnnumoʔ/	"pounder, punch"	>	/nnumoʔ/
/mʷnnumoʔ/	"pound"		
/ʔaminoh doʔ nnumoʔ (kacɛ)/			"Aminah is pounding peanuts."
/kʷnɔ nnumoʔ ʔaku sute, diyo ymboh sulalu/			
			"Receiving my punch, he fell down suddenly."

/pʷnapeh/	"filter, strainer"	
		> /nnapeh/
/munapeh/	"filter, strain"	
/ʔameʔ nnapeh waʔyi suta/		"Please get me a strainer."
/diyo doʔ nnapeh/		"He is filtering (something)."

(ii) prefix vs. nonprefix

/tu + baka/		"be burnt"
/tʷbaka/		"tobacco" > /bbaka/
/di + baka/		"by Baka"
/kuda tu bbaka doh/		"That shop was burnt."
/kuda bbaka doʔ deʔnuŋ/		"The tobacco shop is over there."
/yo kuno sɛpaʔ bbaka/		"He was kicked by Baka."

(iii) prefix vs. suffix

/bʷsaye/	(/bʷ-/ + /saye/)	"having a nest"
		> /ssaye/
/kisyaye/	(/kisa/ + /-ɛ/)	"grinder"
/buron ssaye ʔatah pohon kayu/		"Birds have nests on trees."
/ssaye tu waʔ dʷna batu/		"That grinder is made of stone."

3.5.2.2 Change of Word Classes

Long consonants in shortened words can change the word class of their stems, e.g. /jalɛ/ "road, way" c.f. /jjalɛ/ "walk". As a matter of fact the classes of words are changed as a result of prefixes added before them. Long consonants do not change classes of words directly, it is in this case, only a substitution for a prefix. Doubling the initial consonants of their

stems can change the classes of words as follows:

(i) N ----> V.intr.

For example:

/jalɛ/	"path"	/jjalɛ/	"walk"
/mipi/	"dream"	/mmipi/	"to dream"
/pawɔ/	"life"	/npawɔ/	"breathe"
/bayeh/	"row"	/bbayeh/	"be in a row"

(ii) N ----> adj.

For example:

/pase/	"sand"	/ppase/	"sandy"
/dmbu/	"dust"	/ddmbu/	"dusty"
/kaboʔ/	"fog"	/kkaboʔ/	"foggy"

(iii) N ----> prep. p.

For example:

/bakɔʔ/	"Bangkok"	/bbakɔʔ/	"to/in Bangkok"
/dayaʔ/	"land"	/ddayaʔ/	"to land/shore"
/kapon/	"village"	/kkapon/	"to/in a village"
/bucu/	"corner"	/bbucu/	"at the corner"

(iv) N ----> V.

For example:

/bude/	"gun"	/bbude/	"shoot"
/gula/	"curry"	/ggula/	"make curry"
/misa/	"mustache"	/mmisa/	"have mustache"
/pucoʔ/	"sprout"	/ppucoʔ/	"to sprout"

(v) V.Intr. ----> V.tr.

For example:

/man ^d i/	"take a bath"	/mman ^d i/	"bathe someone"
/tido/	"sleep"	/ttido/	"make someone sleep"

(vi) V.tr. ----> V.int.

For example:

/golεʔ/	"roll something"	/ggolεʔ/	"roll oneself"
/baleʔ/	"turn something over"	/bbaleʔ/	"turn oneself over"
/paleŋ/	"turn something"	/ppaleŋ/	"turn oneself"

(vii) V.tran. ----> V.rec.

For example:

/tike/	"stab"	/ttike/	"stab one another"
/kike/	"bite"	/kkike/	"bite one another"
/gocoh/	"box"	/ggocoh/	"box one another"
/siyuŋ/	"kiss"	/ssiyuŋ/	"kiss one another"

(viii) adj. ----> V.tr.

For example:

/pan ^d ε/	"long"	/ppan ^d ε/	"lengthen"
/panah/	"hot"	/ppanah/	"to heat"
/bodo/	"foolish"	/bbodo/	"fool someone"

3.5.2.3 Irrelevance of Prefix

Since prefixes are deleted in shortened words, the full forms of prefixes disappear, and long consonants replace them as traces of the prefix. By this process, the significance of the prefix

is decreased. At present, prefixed words are not so often used by the native speakers, especially for the younger generation. Moreover, it occurs frequently that a large number of native speakers cannot even tell the full forms of a large number of shortened words. When using some full form words with prefixes, they may use them incorrectly, e.g. they may use /bmsɛpaʔ/ instead of /tmsɛpaʔ/ "to kick accidentally" etc. The following are some examples of shortened words which are derived from prefixed words. (for details see 3.1.1.1)

/ŋŋwtɛ/	/mŋŋwtɛ/	"harvest (paddy)"	/kwtɛ/	"harvest"
/ttatoʔ/	/tuyatoʔ/	"knock accidentally"	/hatoʔ/	"knock against"
/ssulɛ/	/tmsulɛ/	"be drowned"	/sulɛ/	"drown"

3.5.3 Syntactical Effects

3.5.3.1 Irrelevance of Prepositions

/ku/ and /di/

As discussed in 3.2.1.7 long consonants may be used in prepositional phrases. In doing so the prepositions /ku/ and /di/ are deleted and replaced by long consonants. (In some cases prepositional phrases may be shortened without producing long consonants. For details see 3.4.4) Compared with full prepositional phrases, new shortened forms are preferred by the native speakers. The following are some examples of sentences with new shortened prepositional phrases.

/baju dɛmɔ doʔ mmanɔ/ "Where is your shirt?"

or /baju dɛmɔ doʔ danɔ/

(c.f./baju dɛmɔ doʔ di manɔ/)

/ʔali doʔ dumoh/	"Ali is at home."
(c.f./ʔali doʔ di ʔuhoh/)	
/diyo mayi nnibon/	"He comes from Yala."
(c.f./diyo mayi di (or/dayi) nnibon/)	
/no kuno make ttupa/	"The coconuts are eaten
(c.f. /no kuno make di tupa/)	by squirrels."

3.5.3.2 Grammatical Ambiguity

When a noun which is a shortened word with long consonant occurs after the preposition /di/, the preposition may be omitted without any effect on the noun. This causes a grammatical ambiguity as to whether the noun is preceded by a preposition or not.

/diyo kuno kuteʔ bbuwε/	may be derived from
/diyo kuno kuteʔ tubuwε/	"He must bite a wasp."
or /diyo kuno kuteʔ di tubuwε/	"He is stung by a wasp."

3.5.3.3 Omission of Numeral Marker /su-/

The full form of the numeral marker /su-/ "one" before certain numbers and classifiers may be changed according to the shortening process. This may confuse non-native speakers because there is no clear cut between /su-/ and a classifier after it.

/suʔyibu/	>	/ssibu/	"one thousand"
/suʔatoh/	>	/ssatoh/	"one hundred"
/suʔjuto/	>	/jjuto/	"one million"
/sutoko/	>	/ttoko/	"one bar"
/suʔεko/	>	/sεko/	"one (animal)"

3.5.3.4 Omission of Object

In Pattani Malay objects after verbs with prefix /mu-/ may be deleted. When words with /mu-/ are shortened and the new forms become words with long consonants, it means that objects of verbs with long consonants may be omitted: they are supposed to be known.

/doloh gi n̄utɛ/	"Dolah goes to harvest (paddy)"
/ʔamin̄ mm̄ot̄on̄, minoh n̄akeʔ/	"Amin carves (rubber tress), Minah collects (the latex)."
/moʔ doʔ n̄ud̄on̄/	"Mother is transplanting (rice plant)."
/kito noʔ gi n̄abuʔ/	"We will go to pull out (rice sprout to transplant)."
/kito kuno n̄ako/	"We must dig the earth."
/janɛ n̄uyi nah/	"Don't steal (things)."

3.6 Linguistic Trend of Long Consonants

From observation of the use of long consonants in the younger generation (at the age of thirty and below), there are some remarkable points which may be indicators of the linguistic trend of long consonants in Pattani Malay.

3.6.1 The number of words with long consonants will be increased by the next generation, i.e., the number of prefixed words will be decreased and forgotten. The misuse of prefixes in the young people's speech is an indicator of this trend: the younger they are, the more mistakes they make in the prefixes they use. The following are some examples of mistakes in

prefixes made by the young people.

They use /mʉnʉpʉh/	for	/pʉnʉpʉh/	"broom"
/sʉlʉpʉ/	for	/tʉlʉpʉ/	"forget"
/bʉsɛpʉʔ/	for	/tʉsɛpʉʔ/	"kick accidentally"
/mʉnɛpʉʔ/	for	/pʉnɛpʉʔ/	"kick" (N)

This kind of mistake also happens with trisyllabic words: for instance, they use

/sʉmʉɣɛn/	for	/kʉmʉɣɛn/	"tomorrow"
/bʉkʉlɛ/	for	/pʉkʉlɛ/	"jetty"

3.6.2 Words with /pʉl-/, /bʉl-/, and /kʉl-/ take a longer time to be changed to shortened words with long consonants. Most such words are used in their full forms by the older generation, while they are changed to shortened words with long consonants by younger generation. The change of such words, especially for words with /bʉl-/, is a little bit confusing, since they may be shortened in different ways by different persons. The following are some examples of the words.

/pʉlʉtʉ/	>	/ppʉtʉ/	"lamp"
/pʉlʉtʉʔ/	>	/ppʉtʉʔ/	"woodpecker"
/pʉlʉnʉʔ/	>	/ppʉnʉʔ/	"mouse deer"
/bʉlʉkɛn/	>	/bbʉkɛn/ or /llʉkɛn/	"asphalt"
/bʉlʉkʉh/	>	/bbʉkʉh/ or /llʉkʉh/	"king-crab"
/bʉlʉwɔ/	>	/bbʉwɔ/ or /llʉwɔ/	"jelly"
/kʉlʉm ^b ʉ/	>	/kkʉm ^b ʉ/	"sleeping net"
/kʉlʉbʉ/	>	/kkʉbʉ/	"kind of plant"
/kʉlʉbʉn/	>	/kkʉbʉn/	"cover"

There is a high tendency for /pʷl-/, /kʷl-/, and /bʷl-/ to become /pp-/, /kk-/ and /ll-/ respectively.

3.6.3 /ff-/ and /xx-/ tend to be changed to /pp-/ and /kk-/ respectively. /kʷɣ-/ and /pʷɣ-/ are already changed to /xx-/ and /ff-/ by older speakers, but they are further changed to /kk-/ and /pp-/ by young speakers. This means that there may be a swing back to the use of /p/ and /k/ which are Pattani Malay original phonemes instead of /f/ and /x/ which are loan phonemes. Therefore, at this moment /kʷɣ-/ and /pʷɣ-/ fluctuate with /xx-/ and /ff-/, and /kk-/ and /pp-/ respectively. The following are some examples of such words.

/kʷɣɛtɔ/	>	/xxɛtɔ/	/kkɛtɔ/ "carriage, car"
/kʷɣijɔ/	>	/xxijɔ/	/kkijɔ/ "work"
/kʷɣʊpɔʔ/	>	/xxʊpɔʔ/	/kkʊpɔʔ/ "fish chips"
/pʷɣa ^u /	>	/ffa ^u /	/ppa ^u / "boat"
/pʷɣaŋaʔ/	>	/ffaŋaʔ/	/ppaŋaʔ/ "warm"

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

4.1 Summary

Word and phrase shortening in Pattani Malay results in the occurrence of two classes of new shortened forms: shortened words with long consonants, and shorted words without long consonants. New shortened words are mostly disyllabic. Monosyllabic shortened words with long consonants are very few, and are not significant because they fluctuate with their non-long consonant counterparts. Moreover, the number of monosyllabic shortened words with long consonants does not seem to be increasing, i.e., the process of shortening disyllabic words to monosyllabic words may no longer be productive.

It can be said that all words with long consonants are derived from old full forms of which the categories are as follows:

- i) Affixed Words
- ii) Polysyllabic Stems
- iii) Preposition Phrases
- iv) Compound Morphemes
- v) Verb Phrase with Verbal Linker/buwi/
- vi) Disyllabic Stems
- vii) Reduplicated Words

Among those categories, shortening in i), ii) and iii) is more productive than in the others.

The following types of change may take place in word and phrase shortening:

i) Assimilation

The assimilation which occurs in word and phrase shortening includes progressive assimilation and regressive assimilation.

ii) Metathesis

iii) Loss

Loss is the most common type of change which occurs in word and phrase shortening including

- a. loss of syllable
- b. loss of initial morpheme

The effects of word and phrase shortening may be classified as phonological effects, morphological effects, and syntactical effects.

Phonological effects include the use of /f/ and /x/ in original Pattani Malay words and a new type of CV pattern. Morphological effects include homophones, the change of word classes and the irrelevance of prefixes. Syntactical effects include the irrelevance of prepositions /ku/ and /di/, grammatical ambiguity, omission of numeral marker /su-/, and omission of objects.

The system of change in producing shortened words with long consonants may be roughly summarized as following:

In shortening polysyllabic words, mostly trisyllabic, the first syllable is deleted, then the initial consonant of the next syllable is duplicated: for instance, /tɒpuyon/ > /ppuron/. This is a very

important principle which may be applied in other cases. On the other hand some certain trisyllabic words, especially words beginning with /suɣ-/ may be shortened by dropping the first vowel and the second consonant, and then duplicating the first consonant, for instance, /suɣati/ > /ssati/ "a kind of duck".

Prefixed words and words with {-ε} may be treated in the same way as polysyllabic words. Words with {km-ε} may be shortened by deleting /km-/ then duplicate the initial consonants.

/di/ and /km/ before prepositional phrases, and /buwi/ in verb phrases are deleted. Then the initial consonant of the next syllable is duplicated. (Except prepositional phrases in which words after /di/ and /km/ begin with /ʔ/, which are shortened without long consonants.)

Compound morphemes may be shortened to single words with long consonants. In this case, the shortening process which produces long consonants does not take place directly on their original full forms, but on their transition forms: for instance, /mato haɣi/ is shortened to /butaɣi/, then the latter which is treated as a trisyllabic word is shortened by using the same process as used with trisyllabic words, to /ttaɣi/. Therefore, it may be briefly concluded that words with long consonants which are derived from full original forms of two (or more) morphemes may be shortened by making the original forms trisyllabic single words as transition forms, then the transition forms are

shortened to disyllabic shortened words with long consonants.

Polysyllabic words beginning with /kɯŋ/ and /pɯŋ-/ are changed to disyllabic words with long consonants by changing /kɯŋ-/ and /pɯŋ-/ to /xx-/ and /ff-/ respectively, but they may become /kk-/ and /pp-/ as used by the younger generation.

4.2 Implications

Some linguistic evidences found in this study, through word and phrase shortening process, can lead us to a few implications concerning Pattani Malay.

4.2.1 The name "Pattani" is not derived from "Thani"

In touching the history of Pattani, the forefathers of the Phithen people, a Thai ethnic group who have settled in the Phithen village of Mayo district, Pattani, like to tell their offspring proudly and distortedly that the word "Pattani" came from "Thani" which was given to a particular area (Pattani province) by their ancestors who were Ayudhya soldiers who came to attack the Malayu government of Patani.

The fact is that Patani, or Pattani as it was changed to later, is shortened to /ttaniŋ/, with double initial /t/. It has been shown in this study that words with long consonants are shortened forms of full original forms. A long consonant in any word represents at least one deleted syllable. By this reason, it is

quite clear that "Pattani" is not derived from "Thani" (Thai word for "city") as claimed by those people. On the other hand, /ttaniŋ/ may be derived from either /pata niŋ/ "this beach", /paʔtani/ "a farmer", or /misani/ "the name of the prince's dagger". Those three names may be shortened to /putaniŋ/, and finally become /ttaniŋ/.

4.2.2 The first group of Pattani captives was taken to Bangkok and settled there before the existence of long consonants in Pattani Malay.

A lot of attempts have been made to find some words with long consonants in Malay dialects of Tha-It, Nonthaburi, Bang Pho and Klong Nung, Pathum Thani. But not one word with long consonants has been found in those dialects. Words which are equivalent to words with long consonants in Pattani Malay are without long consonants in those dialects. For prefixed words, in those dialects, the first syllables are deleted without any long consonants in new shortened forms, for instance:

/munaji/ (Standard Malay) /ŋaji/ (Pattani Malay)
/aji/ (Bangkok) "to study"

Malay in the outskirts of Bangkok does not use long consonants in its language development, it developed without any influences from its brother languages, whereas Pattani Malay developed in a similar way to Kelantan Malay by choosing long consonants as a development.

In addition, it must be true that those people were taken there before the colonization of the United Kingdom in the Malay peninsula. This can be proved by lexical data: there are no English loan words in their language. English loan words in Pattani Malay are equivalent to their Thai loan words, as in following examples:

Pattani Malay	Bangkok-outskirt Malay	
/sutuken/	/t ^h unt ^h aw/	"stockings, socks"
/gulah/	/kɛw/	"glass"
/beʔ/	/kapaw/	"bag"

4.3 Suggestions for Further Study

Firstly, this study does not present statistical figures on the use and disuse of prefixes of Pattani Malay native speakers. Different statistic figures may be found due to factors of age, education, dwelling place, sex etc. The figures may be an indicator for the trend of linguistic change in Pattani Malay. Sociolinguistic study concerning the stated matter would be quite interesting.

Secondly, studies about the Malay dialect of Malay speaking communities in the outskirts of Bangkok have not yet been done, especially in the sociolinguistic field. As those communities are not too far from Bangkok, it is quite comfortable and reasonable for linguistic post-graduate students, especially ones who are interested in Malay dialects, to study that Malay dialect in the field of sociolinguistics as well as historical linguistics.

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APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

GLOSSARY

The following is a list of words with long consonants. The words are written phonemically.

Word with Long Consonant	Former Forms	Meaning
ppipen	bupipen	"going hand in hand"
ppita	bupita	"twisted"
ppisoh	bupisoh	"part from one another"
ppiṽah	tupiyah	"sand tick"
ppin ^d oh	bupin ^d oh	"move out"
ppila	supila	"kind of fresh water fish"
ppiyoh	kupiyoh	"untasselled fez"
ppucoh	bupucoh	"be divided"
ppuṽe	bupuṽe	"fight in a war"
ppulen	bupulen	"confused"
ppulah	tupulah	"kind of climbing plant"
ppulo?	bupulo?	"embrace"
ppuloh	bupuloh	"to sweat"
ppati	mupati	"dove, pigeon"
ppati	bupati?	"spotted"
ppaton	bupaton	"alternating quatrain"
ppaka	tupaka	"usable"
ppaka?	bupaka?	"share, plan"
ppa [?] so	tupa [?] so	"be forced"
ppase	bupase	"sandy"
ppaṽo?	bupaṽo?	"scarred, marked (on the body)"
ppana	supana	"spanner"
ppanah	bupanah	"make hot"

ppalen	bupalen	"turn away"
ppalo?	bupalo?	"mixed well"
ppalo	kupalo	"head"
ppaye	tupaye	"jar"
ttupoh	butupoh	"touch"
ttube	tuyube	"slingshot"
ttuboh	kutuboh	"Muslim sermon"
ttuke	tuyuke	"overcharge grossing"
ttudoh	butudoh	"take shelter"
ttukih	butukih	"have a clash"
ttuken	butuken	"quarrel"
ttugo	butugo	"greet one another"
ttumun	butumun	"meet."
ttun ^d ε	butun ^d ε	"kick one another"
ttuna?	butuna?	"economical, cautious"
ttulo	butulo	"lay eggs"
ttapo?	butapo?	"based"
ttapo?	butapo?	"congregate"
ttapon	butapon	"patched"
ttabe	butabe	"furnish with curtains"
ttaje	butaje	"sharpen"
ttaje	tuyaje	"kind of plant"
ttaka	butaka	"having handle, stem"
ttaka?	butaka?	"catch one another"
ttako?	butako?	"notched"
ttayoh	butayoh	"bet"
ttahon	butahon	"for a year long"
ttamon	butamon	"in a heap"
ttanen	butanen	"contest"
ttano?	butano?	"having a horn"
ttali	butali	"connected, related (by blood, marriage)"

ttawa	bwtawa	"offer"
ttupa?	kwtupa?	"rice cake"
ttupu	bwtupu	"adjoin"
ttuken	sutuken	"stocking"
ttuka?	bwtuka?	"sustain, having a walking stick"
ttuku	bwtuku	"warm with a hot stone"
ttuko	kwtuko	"ray fish"
ttuyo?	bwtuyo?	"continuous"
ttuyon	bwtuyon	"followed, adhere"
ttumo?	bwtumo?	"fighting one another"
ttune	bwtune	"engaged"
ttun ^d o	bwtun ^d o	"being dragged"
ttun ^j e	bwtun ^j e	"founded on"
ttuwoh	bwtuwoh	"lucky"
ttum ^b a	kwtum ^b a	"coriander (spice)"
ttopon	tuyopon	"bellow"
ttoko	bwtoko	"become a chunk"
ttolo	kwtolo	"gourd"
ttolo?	bwtolo?	"depart"
ddiyi	hwdiyi	"stand"
ddive	hwdivε	"keeping still"
ddepẽ?	hwdepẽ?	"pressed together closely"
ddeye?	hwdeye?	"in rows"
ddeyo	hwdeyo	"flag"
ddene	hwdene	"damp, moisty"
ddwpo?	hwdwpo?	"meet with, encounter"
ddwbu	hwdwbu	"dusty"
ddwki	hwdwki	"jealous"
ddwka?	hwdwka?	"come close to"
ddwku?	kwdwku?	"stingy miser"
ddwkon	kwdwkon	"intensifier for "hard"

dduyin	buduyin	"making sharp noise"
dda ^o ŋ	buda ^o ŋ	"having leaves"
ddaka?	budaka?	"hug one another"
ddayo	budayo	"Chinese dates"
ddayoh	budayoh	"bleed"
ddudo?	kududo?	"kind of plant"
dduyi	bduyi	"thorny"
	kduyi	"feast, religious meal"
ddon ^d oŋ	kudon ^d oŋ	"hog plum"
kkici?	tukici?	"slight diarrhoea"
kkiyo	bukiyo	"consider, calculate"
kkila?	bukila?	"flashing"
kkɛhe	tukɛhe	"twisted"
kkɛlo	bukɛlo	"go on a picnic"
kkubon	bukubon	"owning or working in an orchard"
kkuta?	bukuta?	"tighten"
kkutu?	bukutu?	"red and swollen eyes"
kkuto?	bukuto?	"fart"
kkuto?	bukuto?	"clucking (hens)"
kkucin	tukucin	"urinate (accidentally)"
kkucu?	bukucu?	"shrink"
kkuja?	bukuja?	"fit well, fasten"
kkumah	bukumah	"tidy up"
kkum ^b ɛ	bukum ^b ɛ	"wearing a sarong but just tying it at the bosom level"
kkum ^b a	bukum ^b a	"twin"
kkunɛ	bukunɛ	"like"
kkuna	bukuna	"get to know one another"
kkuli?	bukuli?	"twinkle"
kkulɛ	sukulɛ	"scabies of scrotum"
kkapo	bukapo	"chalky"

kkatu	kukatu	"lamp fly"
kkato?	tukato?	"closed"
kkakah	pukakah	"equipment, apparatus"
kkaya?	bukaya?	"rusty"
kkayon	bukayon	"skink"
kkayo	pukayo	"matter"
kkale	pukale	"jetty"
kkalo?	bukalo?	"complicated, busy"
kkawe	bukawe	"make friend, in group"
kkube	bukube	"playing in a small pond"
kkubo	bukubo	"buried"
kkuko	tukuko	"large cuckoo dove"
kkuko?	bukuko?	"crowing (cocks)"
kkudo	bukudo	"riding a horse"
kkuye	bukuye	"decrease"
kkuyon	bukuyon	"lock up"
kkule?	bukule?	"have skin"
kkula?	bukula?	"fungoid, mouldy"
kkulu?	bukulu?	"dirty (skin)"
kkuwe	sukuwe	" <i>Dracontamelum mangiferum</i> (plant)"
kkuwoh	bukuwoh	"have gravy (food)"
kkoco?	bukoco?	"shaking"
kkoyo?	tukoyo?	"skull"
ggigi?	guligi?	"toothed (as a saw)"
ggise	bugise	"rub against"
ggiyi	tugiyi	"Spanish mackerel (fish)"
ggilin	tugilin	"scaly anteater, pangolin"
ggile	bugile	"alternately, turn by turn"
ggεgε	bugεgε	"making too much noise"
ggεsε?	bugεsε?	"a match"
gguta	buguta	"shake"

ggutɔh	bugutɔh	"sticky, sappy"
ggudu?	bugudu?	"wrinkled (skin)"
gguyɔ?	buguyɔ?	"move"
ggula	bugula	"confer title on"
ggula?	bugula?	"darken"
ggupa	gulpupa	"cheeky, impudent (of girls)"
gga ^o	buga ^o	"mixed, associated"
ggabuh	pugabuh	"rubber"
ggatɔŋ	tugatɔŋ	"hung up"
	bugatɔŋ	"hang (oneself)"
ggadoh	bugadoh	"take care of, be in hurry"
ggaga	bugaga	"groping"
ggasi	bugasi	"giant"
ggayu	bugayu	"scratching"
ggaji	bugaji	"a saw"
ggamɔ?	tugamɔ?	"manageable"
ggano	guyano	"eclipse"
ggalo	bugalo	"plough"
ggalo?	bugalo?	"play contentedly"
ggayo	bugayo	"having style"
ggutin	bugutin	"cutting with scissors"
ggudih	bugudih	"having itchy disease"
gguguh	buguguh	"bunched"
ggusu?	bugusu?	"interlinked, ruffled"
gguyih	buguyih	"scratched"
gguya	buguya	"teasing one another"
gguno	buguno	"useful"
gguwe	buguwe	"dispute"
ggulin	bugulin	"turn over, roll"
ggula	bugula	"cook curry"
ggocɔh	bugocɔh	"fight one another"
ggocɔ?	bugocɔ?	"rub, iron"

ggoyε?	pwgoyε?	"boring instrument"
ggohon	hwgohon	"having a hole"
ffido?	pwido?	"bring back to life"
ffigi	pwigi	"a well"
ffeka?	pweka?	"stage, grade"
ffeha	pweha	"situation, about"
ffumon	pwumon	"expose to dew"
ffa ^h	pwya ^h	"give water to a boxer, refreshen"
ffa ^h	pwya ^h	"middle man"
ffa ^u	pwya ^u	"boat"
ffabih	pwabih	"finish"
ffati	pwati	"observe"
ffato	pwato	"make flat (level)"
ffaka?	pwaka?	"trap"
ffaco	pwaco	"dissolve"
ffaηε	pwηηε	"bamboo stick used to support fish or meat (for roasting)"
ffana	pwana	"habit"
ffana?	pwana?	"to warm (food)"
ffuba?	pwuba?	"medical cure"
ffuboh	pwuboh	"make fall"
ssika	basika	"bicycle"
ssila?	tusila?	"mistaken"
ssilo	busilo	"sit cross-legged"
ssive	kusive	"pity, sympathize"
ssiyun	bussyun	"kiss one another"
ssipa?	tusepa?	"kick (accidentally)"
	busepa?	"kick one another"
ssibeh	swyebeh	"untidy"
ssube	swyube	"benumbed"
ssubeh	tasubeh	"bead, extolling God"

ssuda?	bussuda?	"make delicious, please"
ssuka?	suɣuka?	"cone shaped coop to catch fish"
ssuku?	bussuku?	"biscuit"
ssuko?	suɣuko?	"coop"
ssuko	bussuko	"ask a riddle"
ssukoh	suɣukoh	"broken off"
ssugi	pusugi	"square"
ssuɣe	bussuɣe	"feeling of having a fever"
ssujo?	bussujo?	"cool"
ssape	suɣape	"fork"
ssabu?	suɣabu?	"troublesome"
ssati	suɣati	"mandarin duck"
ssako	pusako	"property inheritance"
ssaye	bussaye	"having a nest"
	kisaye	"pounder"
ssaloh	tussaloh	"being wrong"
ssanin	suɣanin	"kind of duck"
ssupoh	bussupoh	"swear"
ssoyo	bussoyo	"sound aloud"
ssoyo?	bussoyo?	"applaud"
xxipu?	kuɣipu?	"shivel, shrunk"
xxitin	kuɣitin	"frizzled (of negroid hair)"
xxijo	kuɣijo	"work"
xxisi	kuɣisi	"chair"
xxise?	kuɣisa?	"fine sand, gravel"
xxeto	kuɣeto	"carriage, car"
xxene?	kuɣene?	"wink, furrow"
xxupo?	kuɣupo?	"crispy fish chips"
xxuta	kuɣuta	"mulberry tree"
xxutah	kuɣutah	"paper"
xxuto?	kuɣuto?	"wooden bell for buffaloes"

xxudah	kuyudah	"kind of plant"
xxukã	kuyuka	"scratch"
xxuku?	kuyuku?	"kind of plant"
xxukon	kuyukon	"uvular, throat"
xxukoh	kuyukoh	"crunch"
xxucu?	kuyucu?	"sedge"
xxuŋ ^ꞌ o	kuyuŋ ^ꞌ o	"red ant"
xxulin	kuyulin	"give a side-long glance"
xxapu	kuyapu	"rough"
xxapoh	kuyapoh	"in disorder"
xxaba?	kuyaba?	"climb"
xxabu?	kuyabu	"kind of salad"
xxama?	kuyama?	"magic"
xxap ^ꞌ i	kuyap ^ꞌ i	"kind of plant"
xxobe?	kuyobe?	"meddle, fidget"
yyiye	buyiye	"large monitor lizard"
yyiyõ?	buyiyõ?	"plenty, abundant (insects)"
yyehε	guyehε	"wisdom tooth"
yyuto?	guyuto?	"knock (on door)"
yyuto?	guyuto?	"bridge"
yyudo	guyudo	"garuda"
yyule	guyule	"cut into circular pieces of objects"
yyapu	guyapu	"coarse, rough"
yyapoh	guyapoh	"plentiful"
yyutu	guyutu	"grumble, rough"
yyupu?	guyupu?	"shivering"
yyobo?	guyobo?	"wagon"
yyohon	guyohon	"having holes, hollow (of trees)"
yyoŋ ^ꞌ on	guyoŋ ^ꞌ on	"hollow inside a tree"
ccudin	bucudin	"branched out"

ccuŋa	bucuŋa	"divorced"
ccapo	bucapo	"mixed"
ccabe	bucabe	"forking, branched out"
ccabu?	bucabu?	"drawn out"
ccago?	bucago?	"forked, supported"
ccayo	bucayo	"trial, look after"
ccuko	bucuko	"shave one self"
ccoŋeŋ	bucōŋeŋ	"scrawled over"
jjiyuh	bujiyuh	"water a tree"
jjino?	bujiño?	"tame, domesticate"
jjuta?	bujiuta?	"spring back"
jjuyi?	bujiuyi?	"shriek"
jjumo	bujiumo	"stay in the sun"
jjule	bujiule	"sticking out (tongue)"
ja ^o h	buja ^o h	"make far apart"
jjate	bujiate	"intercourse"
jjatoh	bujiatoh	"let fall, drop (of birth)"
jjayo	pujiayo	"jail"
jjajo	bujiajo	"peddling"
jjake?	bujiake?	"inflectious, spread"
jjakoh	bujiakoh	"step out"
jjago	bujiago	"awake, on guard"
jjaye	bujiaye	"bathe, wet area around the head to ease a headache"
jjamun	bujiamun	"give a feast"
jjamo	bujiamo	"tufted (bird, horse)"
jjan ⁱ	bujiān ⁱ	"to promise"
jjan?	bujiān?	"make up"
jjale	bujiāle	"walk"
jjalo	bujiālo	"striped, lined"
jjayo	bujiayo	"succeed"
jjup?	bujiup?	"meet, come across"

jjuto	bujuto	"millions and millions"
jjunon	bujunon	"carrying something on the head"
jjuwε	bujuwε	"fight, struggle"
jjuwεh	bujuwεh	"kiss one another"
jjuwa	bujuwa	"sell something"
mmiɲo?	bumiɲo?	"oily"
mmile	sumile	"nine, sea fish with poisonous sting"
mmila	tumila	"river fish trap"
mmiyã?	pumiyã?	"cane"
mmetɔŋ	gumetɔŋ	"intensifier for fat"
mmelɔŋ	tumelɔŋ	"banana leaf wrapper"
mmuci?	gumuci?	"spattering (water)"
mmuyε	tumuyε	"river fish trap"
mmato	pumato	"gems"
mmago	tumago	"copper"
maso?	tumaso?	"included, suitable"
mmaya	kumaya	"drought"
mmayo?	pumayo?	"grater, scraper (for papaya etc.)"
mmama	kumama	"dizzy and muddled, blinking"
mmaŋ ^ε	pummaŋ ^ε	"instrument used to roast"
mmalah	pumalah	"lazy person"
mmalu	pumalu	"shy person"
mmalo	gumalo	"herdsman"
mmuko	pumuko	"camera"
mmutin	kumutin	"rose myrrh"
mmusu	tumusu	"kind of tree"
mmucu?	tumucu?	"love grass"
mmulah	pumulah	"corkscrew"

mmuloh	gmmuloh	"title before names of dead persons"
nnipu	pwnipu	"cheater"
	mwnipu	"cheat"
nniti	mwniti	"pass over (along a bridge)"
nnido	pwnido	"sleepy head, sleeper"
nnikoh	mwnikoh	"get married"
nniyu	mwniyu	"imitate, copy"
nnimo	mwnimo	"floating"
nnineh	pwnineh	"anything used for pressing"
nnin ^a	mwnin ^a	"leave, die"
nnεπε?	pwnεπε?	"glue"
	mwnεπε?	"stick on, bill-stick"
nnετε	mwnετε	"stretching right across"
nnεε̃?	mwnεε̃?	"to paint"
nnεγε?	mwnεγε?	"draggle, lingering"
nnεγα?	mwnεγα?	"lie face downward"
nnεm ^b ?	mwnεm ^b ?	"explode"
nnεη?	mwnεη?	"see (entertainments)"
nnεη ^a ?	mwnεη ^a ?	"swing"
nnwpo	mwnwpo	"weld"
nnwbe	mwnwbe	"cut down (trees)"
nnwbah	mwnwbah	"cut down (shrub, bushes)"
nnwbuh	pwnwbuh	"redeemer"
nnwbo?	pwnwbo?	"instrument for boring"
	menwbo?	"drill, bore through"
nnwtε	mwnwtε	"oppose"
nnwtu	mwnwtu	"for sure"
nnwtu?	mwnwtu?	"explode"
nnwk	mwnwk	"intimidate, press"
nnwgo?	mwnwgo?	"affirm, retain"
nnna ¹ ?	mwnna ¹ ?	"move something upward"

nnā ^u ŋ	būnā ^u ŋ	"take a shelter"
nnā ^o ŋ	mūnā ^o ŋ	"shout, yell"
nnapi	mūnapi	"sift, winow"
nnapeh	pūnapeh	"strainer, filter"
nnapa	pūnapa	"slash, strike"
nnapoŋ	pūnapoŋ	"a patch"
nnabo	mūnabo	"scatter, deposit (seeds)"
nnaboh	mūnaboh	"beat a drum rhythmically"
nnatε	būnatε	"animal"
nnadoh	pūnadoh	"interceptor of falling 'objects"
nnaka [?]	mūnaka [?]	"jump (of fish)"
nnako [?]	pūnako [?]	"coward"
nnako [?]	mūnako [?]	"make a notch"
nnaza	būnaza	"make a vow"
nnayi	mūnayi	"dance"
nnaye [?]	mūnaye [?]	"drag, pull"
nnaya [?]	mūnaya [?]	"spreading"
nnam ^b ε	pūnam ^b ε	"bus fare"
nnam ^b oh	pūnam ^b oh	"addition, change"
	mūnam ^b oh	"increase"
nnamoŋ	mūnamoŋ	"pile up, toss in the air"
nnanε	mūnanε	"plant, grow"
nnano [?]	mūnano [?]	"cook (rice)"
nnanoh	mūnanoh	"suppurating"
nnan ^d o	pūnan ^d o	"anything used as an indicator"
nnalen	kūnalen	"shiver with fear"
nnamo	pūnamo	"full (moon)"
nnawa	mūnawa	"bargain"
nnawa [?]	mūlawa [?]	"visit"
nnupu	mūnupu	"lean on"

nnuto?	mnnuto?	"pursue (knowledge), study"
nnuku?	knnuku?	"broken rice grain"
nnuyo?	mnnuyo?	"adhere, follow"
nnuron	mnnuron	"descending"
nnujon	mnnujon	"forecast"
nnumih	mnumih	"cook a certain kind of food"
nnumo?	pnumo?	"a punch"
nnupo?	mnnupo?	"show off, indicate"
nnuleh	mnnuleh	"write"
nnopa?	mnnopa?	"jump, leap forward"
nnota	mnnota	"throw at"
nnoca?	mnnoca?	"jump up and down"
nnolo?	pnnolo?	"plough, pusher instrument"
npipe	mnpipe	"pick up"
npice	mnpice	"chop of bits"
npiku	mnpiku	"jostle (elbowing action)"
npise	mnpise	"comb"
npine	mnpine	"satire"
npεpa?	pnpεpa?	"a kick"
npεkeh	pnpεkeh	"rap on one's head with one's knuckle"
npεwo	pnpεwo	"a rent"
npupe?	pnpupe?	"pincher, claw (of crabs)"
npwta	pnpwta	"ruler"
npwdon	mnpwdon	"transplant seedling"
npwmo?	pnpwmo?	"cane"
npwmo	pnpwmo	"sprayer"
	mnpwmo	"spray"
npw ^b oh	mnpw ^b oh	"worship"
npa ^u ?	mnpa ^u ?	"reply to call"
npapuh	pnpapuh	"broom"
	mnpapuh	"sweep"

nnabu?	nnabu?	"pull out (rice sprout for transplant)"
nnabon	nnabon	"lather"
nnake?	nnake?	"disease"
nnako	nnako	"dig"
nnako?	nnako?	"hanger"
nnamun	nnamun	"robber"
	nnamun	"rob"
nnamo?	nnamo?	"receive, welcome"
nnam ^b a	nnam ^b a	"prepare condiments"
nnala	nnala	"expose to heat"
nnanin	nnanin	"sing songs"
nnalo	nnalo	"flaring, burning"
nnawo	nnawo	"alive, animate"
	nnawo	"breath"
nnayo	nnayo	"prepare vegetable"
nnuka?	nnuka?	"measure"
	nnuka?	"device for measuring"
nnuko	nnuko	"shaver (instrument)"
	nnuko	"shave"
nnusu	nnusu	"milk feeding"
nnuyi	nnuyi	"thief"
nnuya?	nnuya?	"write"
nnuma?	nnuma?	"cork"
nnom ^b on	nnom ^b on	"boaster, swaggerer"
nnuloh	nnuloh	"illuminate"
nnedo?	nnedo?	"scoop"
nnokeh	nnokeh	"lever"
nnole?	nnole?	"instrument to pick up sth."
nniton	nniton	"calculate"
nnikih	nnikih	"stirring stick"
	nnikih	"stir gently"

ηηisa	μμηisa	"sift (rice)"
ηηisa?	μμηisa?	"suck, smoke"
ηηεκεη	μμηεκεη	"walk with feet wide apart"
ηηεσ̃?	μμηεσ̃?	"move slowly and quietly"
ηηενα?	μμηενα?	"destroy"
ηηωγi	μμηωγi	"frightening"
ηηωγε	μμηωγε	"hatch"
ηηωloh	μμηωloh	"sigh"
ηηape?	μμηape?	"forceps"
ηηato?	μμηato?	"sleepy"
ηηade	μμηade	"referee"
ηηaca	μμηaca	"disturber"
ηηaku	μμηaku	"accept"
ηηako?	μμηako?	"crawl"
ηηasoh	μμηasoh	"maid, nanny"
	μμηasoh	"baby-sit"
ηηayo?	μμηayo?	"to dream"
ηηaηo	μμηaηo	"wide open"
ηηayoh	μμηayoh	"paddle"
ηηayo?	μμηayo?	"filter"
ηηupoh	μμηupoh	"wage, payment"
ηηute?	μμηute?	"collect"
ηηudoh	μμηudoh	"defame someone"
ηηukuh	μμηukuh	"steamer"
ηηuko	μμηuko	"measuring instrument"
ηηunin	μμηunin	"ripe (paddy)"
ηηuwã?	μμηuwã?	"yawn"
ηηosε?	μμηosε?	"disturb"
lidi	lidi-lidi	"kind of snake"
llinσ	twliεσ	"ear"
llen ^d	swlen ^d a	"cylinder"
llukoh	kwlukoh	"locker"

llugɔʔ	gʷlugɔʔ	"boiling"
llapuʔ	smlaɪ ʔ	"membrane"
llapon	pmlapon	"float used in fishing"
llapɔʔ	tmlapɔʔ	"footprint"
llagi	tmlagi	"tamarind"
llagɔ	tmlagɔ	"a well"
llaseh	smlaseh	"basil (plant)"
llap ^j ɛ	tmlap ^j ɛ	"naked"
llupɔ	tmlupɔ	"forget"
llunɔʔ	tmlunɔʔ	"pointing stick"
lluwah	pmluwah	"widen"
wwipon	bʷipon	"gather, assemble"
wwisi	bʷisi	"fleshy"
wwime	bʷime	"faithful"
wwinaʔ	bʷinaʔ	"careful"
wwinoʔ	bʷinoʔ	"shaking"
wwinɔh	bʷinɔh	"having mucus"
wwɛpẽʔ	bʷɛpẽʔ	"very close together"
wwɛkɔ	bʷɛkɔ	"by whole body"
wwɛkah	bʷɛkah	"to bunch"
wwunɛ	bʷunɛ	"swim"
wwunah	bʷunah	"factual, high spirited (of speech)"
wwa ^o	bʷa ^o	"watery"
wwapi	bʷapi	"flaming, sparkling"
wwapɔ	bʷapɔ	"how many"
wwatu	bʷatu	"haunted"
wwadaʔ	bʷadaʔ	"facing to"
wwaka	bʷaka	"rooty, intelligent"
wwakaʔ	bʷakaʔ	"depart, leave"
wwakoʔ	bʷakoʔ	"deliver"
wwasaʔ	bʷasaʔ	"smoky"



wwaso	buyaso?	"feel"
wwam ^b a?	buyam ^b a?	"chasing"
wwam ^b u	buyam ^b u	"fringed"
wwanin	buyanin	"brave"
wwano?	buyano?	"give birth to a child"
wwanu?	buyanu?	"floating away"
wwanin	buyanin	"windy"
wwane	buyane	"barnacle (plant)"
wwaleh	buyaleh	"move"
wwayon	buyayon	"hanging and swaying"
wwuba?	buyuba?	"medical cure"
wwubu?	buyubu?	"fighting for sth."
wwubon	buyubon	"connected, contact"
wwuboh	buyuboh	"changed, altered"
wwuti	buyuti	"stop"
wwute	buyute	"borrow"
wwuton	buyuton	"lucky"
wwumoh	buyumoh	"get married"